

GMB

CONGRESS 2017

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SIS. MARY TURNER MBE
(President)
(In the Chair)

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Held in:

Plymouth Pavilions
Plymouth

on:

Sunday, 4th June 2017
Monday, 5th June 2017
and
Tuesday, 6th June 2017

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PROCEEDINGS
DAY TWO
(Monday, 5th June 2017)

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SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, 4TH JUNE 2017

MORNING SESSION

(Congress assembled at 9.30 a.m.)

THE PRESIDENT: Congress, come to order, please. I have some announcements to make. I hope you enjoyed last night and I would like to thank Pattinson & Brewer for their sponsorship. Please visit the stalls. They pay a lot of money to come here and they do support us. We do thank them.

Let me announce that the collection we made on behalf of Dementia and Alzhiemer's was £853.54. *(Applause)* If anyone could not contribute last night, please go and see Penny Robinson. I have it on good authority that the General Secretary will double it. I have had an offer from Midland & East Coast Region for £500. Thank you, Andy, and thank you Midland & East Coast. Thank you, London. Is there anyone else? Yorkshire Region. *(Applause)* Tim's having a heart attack here, but don't worry about it, or Allan Wylie is. I don't know which. Anyone else? Southern? Thank you, Paul. Thank you, Southern. *(Applause)* I was asked by Standing Orders whether the President would agree to a collection at her do. So I said to myself, "Mary, are you going to allow them a collection?" "Yes, I am". I want to say "Thank you" to everyone. I really do. When Tim gets the bill, I have got the smelling salts. Will those organising the bucket collections inform me how much we have achieved so that I can let the finance office know. Then I will do something really nice for you. I haven't told the General Secretary yet, but I think he knows what is coming. Please ring it up.

Today is the birthday of Morgan Pugh of Leeds who is 84 years old. *(Applause and cheers)* He has been a GMB member for 67 years. *(Applause)* A little bit earlier and he would have made the first GMB Congress. Well done. Happy birthday to you.

Could delegates please go to the RMA stand by 2 p.m. and buy raffle tickets. Thank you.

I have somebody — I hope he is in — as a visitor who has been a delegate for quite a number of times. He is from the Birmingham Region. At times we have had disagreements on this platform, but I want to thank Alan Dudson, who has phoned me quite regularly to see how I am. I want to tell you, I really, really appreciated it. Thank you, Alan, and I will speak to you soon. *(Applause)*

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT NO. 3

THE PRESIDENT: I call on Helen Johnson to move Standing Orders Report No. 3.

SIS. H. JOHNSON (Chair, Standing Orders Committee): President and Congress, I move SOC Report No. 3. This is just to confirm to you all that the following motions were withdrawn from the floor of Congress yesterday by the regions concerns. Birmingham & West Midlands withdrew motions 107 and 116, and North West & Irish withdrew motion 119.

In relation to CEC Special Reports, the SOC would like to remind Congress delegates that if a CEC Special Report is carried, then any motions in opposition to the report in whole or in part will fall and will not be debated.

President and Congress, I move SOC Report No. 3.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Helen. Does anyone wish to challenge the report? *(No response)* In that case, I will move on. All those who accept the Standing Orders Report No. 3, please show? Thank you.

Standing Orders Report No. 3 was CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope that those who went to the South West & Irish Region Party had a good time. I am sorry that I could not attend. I know you have been up dancing half the night. I had a report about it this morning.

We now move on to the first of our CEC Special Reports for today. The report will be moved and I will then call one speaker from each region. Carl Parker will move on behalf of the CEC, and the report will be formally seconded.

CEC SPECIAL REPORT ON REVIEW OF GMB REP TRAINING

Introduction

At Congress 2016 we stated that we would get straight on with the job of reviewing the training that we offer Workplace Representatives to ensure that GMB reps are in the best possible place as part of a 21st Century Union.

The review has been completed and a number of steps already taken to start to change and improve the training available to reps. This CEC Special Report details what has happened since Congress 2016.

The review of training was agreed by the adoption of the CEC's Special Report to Congress. Its aim was to ensure that GMB reps – who are the bedrock the union is built on – are trained and supported in the best possible way.

The review focused on the key areas laid out by the Special Report:

- What GMB wants reps to be able to do at the end of their IST and 10 day induction
- How the IST and induction can be aligned to deliver the above
- How we ensure that the induction and IST are delivered in a way that helps bind new reps to the aims and values of GMB and the organising principles behind GMB@work
- How we can ensure a stable platform for GMB rep training in difficult financial circumstances that will withstand the inevitable pressure of cuts to trade union education funding

- How we can ensure we have the right tutors delivering the right content
- Improving the link between classroom training and on the job support and coaching provided by officers
- The wider provision of training opportunities for reps

The review has taken place in light of two main factors:

- A reduction in Government funding of Trade Union Education from 100% funding for providers to 50%. This means that the number of colleges offering trade union courses is reducing and that we will face charges to put on courses that were previously run for free.
- Our reps' experience of training varies significantly across the GMB Regions and, additionally, there are a number of challenges that face us including attacks on facility time, changes to working hours, and making the most of technology.

Visits were made to every Region to discuss the review with Regional Secretaries, Regional Education Officers and admin support staff. Meetings were also held in each Region with groups of newly trained reps, more experienced reps and GMB Officers. Various people at National Office, including the three National Secretaries, were also met. The full schedule of meetings and who has been interviewed are detailed in the table below.

| | Number of Experienced Reps | Number of New Reps | Number of Officers | Total |
|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------|
| Birmingham | 3 | 2 | 7 | 12 |
| London | 3 | 2 | 5 | 10 |
| Midlands | 5 | 4 | 6 | 15 |
| Northern | 6 | 3 | 7 | 16 |
| North West | 4 | 5 | 2 | 11 |
| Scotland | 3 | 3 | 6 | 12 |
| Southern | 6 | 3 | 3 | 12 |
| Wales & South West | 6 | 7 | 6 | 19 |
| Yorkshire | 5 | 1 | 4 | 10 |
| National Office | | | 11 | 11 |
| CEC | 2 | | | 2 |
| Total | 43 | 30 | 57 | 130 |

Each meeting followed a pre-agreed format, which ensured that all meetings followed a broadly similar line of questioning with room for the chair to go with the flow of the discussion where appropriate. Typically, each meeting lasted for 90 minutes amounting to about 200 hours of consultation.

GMB is not alone in facing the difficulties caused by the change to the funding arrangements and liaison took place with other Union Education Officers and the TUC to try and get a clear picture of what will happen to TU Education funding in the medium to long term.

This report sets out the following:

- The findings of the consultation exercise.
- Progress made so far in delivering these recommendations.
- Recommendations for further action.

Findings of the review and putting them into practice

The following findings emerged from the review and were agreed by GMB's Senior Management Team.

Initial Support Training

1. Reaffirm the purpose of the IST and standardise the IST across GMB in terms of the checklists and guidance to Officers but keep it flexible so that Officers can deliver it in a way that best fits the rep concerned.
2. Develop materials to support the IST such as a "quick start guide" for reps.
3. Re-think the pre-course mapping exercise and replace it with a number of options that the Officer can ask the rep to complete before their induction course; e.g. survey a small number of staff, refresh the noticeboard, etc.
4. Brief/train Officers on how to make the most out of IST sessions.
5. Consider introducing a system that "signs off" of a rep as competent at the different stages of their development.
6. Build in securing release from the employer and support for future training into the IST session.

Induction Course

7. Rewrite the materials for the 10 day course to focus on the fundamental building blocks that a new rep needs and to go deep on the basics (The role of the rep and their place in the union, representing members and resolving issues, organising and building GMB).
8. Modularise the course into the following core subjects:
 - Role of the rep and their place in GMB – 3 days
 - Representing members and resolving issues – 3 days
 - Organising and building GMB – 2 days
 - Health and Safety – 2 days

- Union Learning Rep – 2 days

This would allow, for example, a ULR to do the role of the rep and ULR modules ensuring that their training is focused on their specific needs. It would also allow Regions to choose their own timetable for delivery and would make it easier to run courses in light of any cuts to funding.

9. Focusing on the fundamental building blocks and modularising the course would mean embedding other elements of the training currently provided such as equalities, politics, public speaking, etc; i.e. ensuring the subjects are, in the main, covered throughout the training rather than as stand alone units.
10. Have a fresh look at resources provided to reps on courses including the WO Toolkit.
11. Establish standards for effective delivery (for both external and internal tutors) and agree how to monitor the quality of training – e.g. system of compulsory briefing for all tutors, post-course evaluations, tutor observation, etc. And agree how external tutors should be supported, monitored and managed.
12. Ensure that systems are in place to support officers so they are engaged with reps especially in relation to post-course action plans.
13. Provide a named mentor (who should be another rep) for each rep who completes the induction course.
14. Enrich the materials to make them more engaging and to reflect different learning styles, e.g. with video, use of IT, images, etc

Other

15. Liaise with the National Health and Safety Officer and Regional Health and Safety Officers over how we can best deliver effective health and safety training.
16. Develop web based learning options so we have an online offer for reps and the ability to run blended courses (that supplement our existing courses).
17. Identify development pathways for different rep roles and how this can be made available in a flexible way across all regions through a variety of routes. This should allow all reps to access appropriate higher level training.
18. Introduce a training passport, logbook or Learning Management System that can manage each individual rep's development and sign them off as competent at various stages. This would also help keep track of what could become complicated patterns of attendance on courses.

19. Establish how we can develop training courses to meet specific requests by reps such as mental health awareness, positive action courses, environment reps, tutor training, branch officer courses, etc.

Funding

20. Agree what constitutes a GMB tutor in terms of the commitment we can expect from an external tutor in order for us to allow them to run our courses.
21. Explore alternative funding options such as a relationship with a single college but only tap into funding only when it doesn't distract from our agenda.

Progress so far

The following progress has been made on the recommendations above.

Initial Support Training (IST)

The "Quick Start" guide for new reps has been finalised and is available for Regions to use immediately after Congress 2017. This guide contains sections on attending your first course (and securing release to do so) and on the tasks a new rep can complete before attending this course.

A guide for Officers on running IST sessions is being produced and will be available in Autumn 2017.

Induction Course

The re-write of the induction course has started and it will be launched in September 2017. See annex 1 for a summary of the course.

The new course will ensure that every new rep has a thorough understanding of:

- their role, how to get involved in GMB and where to go for support.
- how to represent members in a variety of circumstances (individual grievance, collective grievance, consultative bodies, disciplinary – conduct, capability and attendance).
- how to build GMB in terms of profile, membership, communications, etc.
- how to ensure members are protected at work through in terms of their health and safety and how to organise around health and safety issues.
- the role of the Union Learning Representative and the learning opportunities available to GMB members

The resources needed to support this new induction course are also being prepared and will be ready in time for the launch of the new course. This will include a wide range of material including video content and the use of IT.

Other

A series of webinars (web based seminars) on Pensions has been piloted and was well received by those reps who took part. A comprehensive series of webinars open for reps to attend will be available for the remainder of 2017. GMB webinars will be notified by email to reps and will feature on www.gmb.org.uk/webinars.

A web based Learning Management System (LMS) will be piloted in a number of regions by the end of 2017. The LMS will enable reps to check their own training progress via the web and will guide reps through the most appropriate course programme for them to follow. It will also help build the link between what is covered in the training room with what happens in the workplace, including consolidating learning and ongoing support by other reps and officers.

Funding

Agreements are in place with a number of Colleges to help provide GMB rep training, which will see courses being run by “embedded” tutors who are hand picked by GMB. These agreements have secured funding for GMB courses and ensured that such provision is available for the future.

The roll out of the new course materials will include a range of measures to ensure that all tutors running GMB courses do so to a high standard.

Summary

Since the adoption of the CEC Special Report in 2016 a thorough review of rep training across GMB has taken place and a number of recommendations have been agreed by the SMT.

Significant progress has been made on many of these recommendations with new materials already available and new training programmes being rolled out in September.

The main focus so far has been on the training and development of new reps and further work is planned on identifying what needs to be put in place for existing reps.

Recommendations

A lot has already been achieved but there is still more to do. The following recommendations are intended to continue with the work so far and ensure that we build on what has been done:

- Ensure that the findings of the review are fully implemented.
- Introduce revised IST and induction training programmes as soon as possible (launch in September 2017).
- Publish new materials and resources during 2017 to support the new training programmes.
- Continue to ensure that tutors running GMB courses are well briefed and are delivering to a high standard.
- Identify development pathways that will open up new training opportunities so that existing reps, as well as new reps, can access the training they need in order to be effective in their role.
- Ensure that these development pathways include a training programme for Safety Reps and those reps who want to understand more about health and safety.
- Determine how additional training can be provided and roll out such a programme (see 19 above).
- Continue to deliver a series of webinar based training and to look at what other e-learning opportunities we can make available for reps.
- Learn lessons from the pilot of a Learning Management System and establish if this can be rolled out across all regions. This would allow GMB to have a system where all reps know what training is open to them (and the best development pathway to follow) with access to some training online. It would also mean that GMB knows where each rep is at in terms of their development and what activities they are able to carry out on behalf of GMB members.

Annex 1 – Outline of Induction Course

| | Aims – by the end of the module, reps will have: | Overview |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Role of the Rep | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an understanding of their role, where to go for support and how they can get involved in GMB - established their status as a GMB rep and how to deal with employers - looked at how they can resolve problems that members face - explored how to build | <p>This module is intended to help a new rep get started in their role.</p> <p>It will look at how we work as a trade union and how reps can be effective.</p> <p>It will also equip reps with an initial understanding of how to represent members.</p> |

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| | GMB and encourage potential members to join | The module will also introduce a recruitment exercise that will run for the duration of the whole course. |
| Representing Members | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a thorough understanding of how to represent members in a variety of circumstances - identified the process by which to ensure a favourable outcome for members - examined in detail various situations where members need the support of GMB | <p>This module will go through several scenarios where members look to GMB to represent them.</p> <p>By the end of the module each rep will have had experience of representing members in life like situations.</p> <p>It will introduce ways of working to help reps organize themselves to be effective in representing members.</p> |
| Building GMB | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - established how to organise their workplace to build membership and ensure that issues are addressed - an understanding of how to map their workplace - identified how to build the profile of GMB and have a plan for communication with members and potential members | <p>This module will look at how reps can organise their workplace and build a strong union.</p> <p>It will equip reps with the skills and knowledge needed to help persuade potential members to join GMB.</p> <p>Reps will have an action plan as to what they need to do for GMB to be effective in their workplace.</p> |
| Health and Safety | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a thorough understanding of the rights and responsibilities of a Safety Rep - explored the trade union approach to health and safety - established how to | <p>In this module, there will be a focus of the legal rights that Safety Reps have under the SRSC Regulations.</p> <p>It will also look at how we can organise around safety issues and</p> |

| | | |
|-----|--|--|
| | enforce solutions to health and safety issues | ensure that safety concerns are addressed. |
| ULR | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - established the role of the Union Learning Representative and how to link this with other areas of GMB - identified how to help members get into learning - developed how to support apprentices and to get the best deal for them | This module will help new reps understand how GMB can play an active role in helping our members get the training and development they need. |

BRO. C. PARKER (National Training Officer): Congress, I am the National Training Officer to move the Special Report on the Review of GMB Rep Training. Education is the most powerful weapon which we can use to change the world. We know that because Nelson Mandela said it, and we also know it because it is in our Quick Start Guide, which we have just published to launch at Congress this week. You can pick this up at the National Office stand in the foyer. If we want to change the world and we are going to change the world through our reps, that means giving our reps the best possible start to their time as a rep and the best possible training that we can deliver to them. That is what the review over the last year has focused on.

The finding of the review are, firstly, that we need to be more consistent in the delivery of our initial support training for reps so that every rep gets the best possible start in terms of the welcome from their officer into their new role. We will be looking at rolling out some changes to the IST procedures later on in the year. As I have just said, we are also launching the Quick Start Guide, which is intended, rather than give a brand new rep a big pile of paperwork that could be daunting, to say, "Here's a very short booklet that you can take away, read and it will get you started in your role". So I ask you to pick up a copy from the National Office stand.

I would like to pause just to say thank you to John Stammers from the Comms Department at National Office who has put an awful lot of work to making sure that this guide could be ready for you to take away today.

Secondly, in terms of giving reps the best possible start, the Review told us a few things about the 10-day initial training that reps receive, the 10-day induction course that they go on. As a result of the findings of the Review, we want, fundamentally, to change that 10-day course. First of all, we want to make sure that we concentrate on the basics. We think there is too much within that 10-day period as we currently deliver it, and we want to get back to the basics. That means, firstly, that we want our reps to fully understand their role, to really know what their role is, to understand our equality agenda, what our values are, what our politics are and how they can get on

and win for our members. Secondly, we want to make sure that our reps are fully able, and I mean fully able, to represent our members in the workplace and deliver for them, so that will mean being completely on top of disciplinary procedures, grievance procedures, attendance and so on, and being fully able to represent people through those procedures. Crucially, by the end of the course, they must have practised doing so, so we don't send people away with a bit of theory but we send them away with practice experience of having represented people whilst on the course. Thirdly, we want to ensure that our reps go away being fully able to build GMB and to grow the membership. This goes beyond looking at understanding mapping and understanding how to win the arguments to persuade people to join. We want people to go away with the mindset that power at work comes from a strong membership, and that every non-member in the workplace is a burden on the back of those who choose to join. So it goes beyond the skills of just being able to recruit. It is a mindset and a way forward.

In addition to those three fundamentals of the course — knowing the role, being able to represent and being able to build the union — there is something more fundamental than that, and that is that we want every rep to finish their induction course feeling 10 feet tall, really proud of being a GMB rep and ready, able and confident to go and change the world when they get back into the workplace. We are determined to deliver that, and the report you have in front of you sets out how we are going to achieve that. We will be launching an all-new programme for the 10-day induction course for reps, starting in the new academic year. So starting from September we will have a new 10-day course. If you want a summary of what that new course will look like, it is in the back of the Quick Start Guide, and also in the Special Report that we are debating now. That is the first step we will be taking.

During the next year we will also be looking at how we can identify training and developing pathways for all reps, so not just to concentrate on new reps but to look at the training and development for everyone, so that every rep can understand, whether they are new or old, what opportunities are available for them in terms of their training and development.

We also want to beef up the health and safety training that is available to reps, and we also want to see how we can use technology to support the training through initiatives such as webimage, learning management system and so on. So there is much more detail to follow on that in the coming year.

In conclusion, Congress, I would like to thank everyone who has contribute ideas to this Review. We have seen a lot of people during the year, so thank you if you are one of the people who took part in the many meetings that we had. I would especially like to thank the regional education officers for their work and contributions to this report. It is the RIOs within the regions who have really shaped this report and its recommendations.

Finally, Congress, we have a lot to do in training. A lot is going to happen during the coming year. We have achieved a lot already in building on the report from last year, but this report, in and of itself, will not change the world, but what will change the world will be our reps when we fully support, train them and send them back into the

workplace ready, fighting fit and determined to achieve change on behalf of our members. Thank you, Congress. I move this Special Report. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Carl. The report is to be formally seconded. (*The CEC Special Report on Review of GMB Rep Training was formally seconded from the floor*) I will now go to the regions. You do not have to speak if you do not wish. I call Southern Region, Northern Region and North West & Irish Region to move first. There can be one speaker per region on the report. Does anyone wish to speak? (*No response*) Now I call on London Region, Wales & South West, GMB Scotland and, last but not least, Yorkshire & North Derbyshire. (*No response*) I thank you all so much.

BRO. N. WARN (Wales & South West): President, I wish to speak. I am speaking in support of the CEC Special Report on Review of GMB Rep Training. President and Congress, before I start what I want to say, I would like to thank everybody for turning up in sunny Plymouth to support the GMB's 100th year. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

The training and motivation given to workplace representatives is fundamental to the continued effectiveness of the GMB. They are the bedrock of our union. Both require and desire all the support that we can give them to undertake their increasingly challenging role. Our training programme must be set in accordance with what we want them to do, and to be structured and delivered in such a way that they are enabled to acquire the necessary level of skills, knowledge and confidence. It must also be taught by those who share our values, ethos, visions for the future and permit on-going development for each and every individual who is prepared to commit to the cause of the GMB and its members. We must be able to control what we teach and who teaches it in the most cost-effective way by using a combination of teaching methods to take account of special circumstances and representatives.

The report is a product of a very constitutional exercise with both those who deliver and receive training, and this, therefore, is an apposite reflection on the views and experience of all those directly involved in the process. It is a well thought out, evaluated and positive document which puts the needs of the representatives first. It recognises, too, the need to opt out and refresh both the course content and materials in order to bring greater relevance to the emphasis on the learning experience to ensure that our representatives are trained in accordance with the duties and responsibilities that they will be performing. President, it is an excellent report that will facilitate and improve the learning and development process. My region has no hesitation in commending to Congress. Thank you. (*Applause*)

SIS. J. SMITH (London): Congress, I speak in supporting the CEC Special Report on Review of GMB Rep Training. Congress, this document is well overdue in assisting our new-elected reps, giving them the option to do their training. Do we, as older reps, need training? Yes, we do. We need refreshing because from time to time legislation changes, our workplace has regulations that change, and we need to be kept up to date. The suggested training as laid out in *this* document sets out the role of the rep, how to build the GMB and new training programmes, etc.

Congress, in supporting this report, the GMB must ensure that the tutors are all singing from the same hymn sheet. I say this for the simple reason that when we had some training done in Norfolk, some agency tutors took the course. These new reps came back and started to recruit, but when it came on to the rates of pay they could not recruit them on the rates of pay that they were given by their tutor. Let me say that one happened within my own branch and, thankfully, this information came out at a meeting I attended and this new rep was backed up by another rep from another branch, so we know it's correct. Please make sure that the tutors know exactly what the GMB policies are.

Congress, London Region supports this Special Report so please give it your support.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jan. I always plead ignorance. Is there anyone else wishing to speak? (No response) Has every region now spoken? (Calls of "Yes") I now put the report to the to the vote. All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? That is carried. Thank you.

The CEC Special Report on Review of GMB Rep Training was CARRIED.

UNION ORGANISATION: EDUCATION & TRAINING

THE PRESIDENT: I now move to Composite 2, Funding for the Future of classroom based Trade Union Education. Birmingham to move and London to second. Then I will call motions 56, 57, 58 and 60.

FUNDING FOR THE FUTURE OF CLASSROOM BASED TRADE UNION EDUCATION COMPOSITE 2

C2. Covering Motions:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 53. | CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDING FOR THE FUTURE OF CLASSROOM BASED TRADE UNION EDUCATION | Birmingham & West Midlands Region |
| 54. | TRADE UNION EDUCATION | London Region |
| 55. | TRADE UNION EDUCATION | Birmingham & West Midlands Region |

FUNDING FOR THE FUTURE OF TRADE UNION EDUCATION

This Congress notes the attack on TU Education and celebrates the fact that over the last 10 years the TUC national education programme has trained and developed over half a million trade union representatives. This has:

- ensured that unions are effectively organised and deliver improved working conditions within the workplace
- built solidarity amongst union reps from the affiliate Trade Unions
- enabled working class people to gain qualifications that have given them life changing opportunities.

The future of Government funding for trade union education is uncertain. In September 2017 as a result of the withdrawal of Government funding the TUC national education programme will cease to exist and will be replaced by a non-accredited short on-line course.

Over 127 professionally qualified trade union studies lecturers with a knowledge, experience, commitment and passion for training trade union reps face losing their jobs. This vital resource will be lost to the movement. Without state funding the TUC national education programme could cease to exist and could be replaced by a non-accredited short on-line course.

Unions appear to be adopting individual approaches to this problem. This will result in a breakdown in solidarity between affiliate unions. Individual unions cannot hope to provide the scope or coverage that is currently provided by the national programme especially at a time when many unions resources are hard pressed and stretched.

For the Trade Union Movement to organise and grow it is essential that local union representatives and stewards are properly trained. The most effective way of doing this is to maintain the accredited national TUC education programme. Therefore Congress is instructed to act and campaign for the following:-

- To keep open the existing Trade Union Studies Units
- To protect the jobs and avoid redundancy of Trade Union Studies Lecturers.
- To keep the national TUC education programme accredited at level 1 & 2.
- To reinstate the national TUC education programme at level 3.

It is noted that when the Government previously cut TUC education funding in the 1990s affiliate Unions via the TUC funded the national education programme to successfully achieve the above. It is also noted that in the academic year 2016/17 after funding was cut by 50% the TUC made-up the funding shortfall.

In recognising the importance of TUC education in organising and growing the union and recognising that this represents good value for money,

Congress is asked to campaign for the continuing of a full TUC education programme and that the TUC continues to fund the full programme until Government funding can be reinstated.

(Carried)

BRO. K. BAKER (Birmingham & West Midlands): This Congress notes the attack on TU Education and celebrates the fact that over the last 10 years the TUC national education programme has trained and developed over half a million trade union reps. This has: (1) ensured that unions are effectively organised and deliver improved working conditions within the workplace; (2) built solidarity amongst union reps from the affiliate unions, and (3) enabled working class people to gain qualifications that have given them life changing opportunities.

The future of Government for trade union education is uncertain. In September 2017 as a result of the withdrawal of Government funding the TUC national education programme will cease to exist and will be replaced by a non-accredited short on-line course. I am not going to have time to read all of the composite. It is all down in the motions.

The main points are the Tory cuts, their attack on the unions and their attack on our training. If they can undermine the bottom tier — the reps — they will be attacking the main unions. I know that this union will not allow that to happen. I am just a

plain lad from the Black Country. If somebody had told me 20 or 30 years ago that I would have done a diploma in health and safety, I would have laughed at them, but because of this great union, it has given me the opportunity, the encouragement and the support to do that. I have nearly finished. I would like to say thank you.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Kevin, you have done a grand job. Well done. London.
(The composite was formally seconded from the floor) Thank you very much, indeed. Is there anyone else? *(No response)* I now call motion 56.

TU EDUCATION MOTION 56

56. TU EDUCATION

This Congress should be ensuring that TU Education remains up to level 3. Online training is not the solution online training removes the interaction with other reps which helps our progression and learning as effective negotiating reps. All reps should where possible, be trained to level 3 by the TU teachers to ensure our reps can look after our members and negotiate with hostile management effectively.

T37 TIPTON ELECTRICITY BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

BRO. E. DOWNING (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I move that this Congress ensures that all training is a minimum of Level 3 or equivalent. Training ensures that all trade unionists work to their most effective when representing, negotiating or dealing with health and safety issues. Training encompasses many aspects of our job and it can include health and safety, equality issues, initial and further representative training. Cuts to union learning funding from 2014 to 2015 amounted to a drop from £18.9 million to £15.3 million. This seriously undermines the training available to reps. In summation, I move that all reps, where possible, be trained to Level 3 or equivalent. Thank you. *(Applause)*

(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, very much, indeed. I now call motion 57, to be moved by the North West & Irish Region.

GMB CHARTER FOR EDUCATION & TRAINING MOTION 57

57. GMB CHARTER FOR EDUCATION & TRAINING

This Congress asks the CEC to develop a charter for education and training.

Working class education is under massive attack from all sides:

- The Government has overseen huge cuts to education budgets and increases in tuition fees.

- The contracts for delivery of training and education offered to Colleges and training providers are unfair. For example expecting providers to work six months before they receive their first payments.
- Payments by results systems leading to uncertainty and insecurity in education and training.
- The increase in the number of private contractors now controlling large sections of the training grants needs scrutiny and accountability.
- Large management fees charged by prime contractors to subcontractors is a profit driven goal for some, not an educational one.
- Unscrupulous, even bogus, training providers exploiting the adult learner loans system at the cost of those most in need of higher education and skills and least able to afford it.
- Adult and further education colleges facing financial crisis due to funding formulas that do not respect the true cost of running training establishments.
- Increases in tuition fees leading to higher student loans.

Congress, the attack is unceasing, leading to education becoming unaffordable or unavailable to many.

We ask the Congress to highlight through the National Lifelong Learning Committee the impact these cumulative attacks are having on our members and their access to affordable education and training.

We ask the GMB to look at increasing the way in which the Union can support members to gain affordable education and training to bridge the gaps in funding and provision. This should include exploring direct and indirect funding from the Union and other resources to develop a Regional and National LLL Fund to support members and develop new approaches to education for working people.

To examine new ways to enable members to access quality accredited training through partnerships with providers and colleges.

To campaign with sponsored MP's to highlight the impact of recent changes and to get the Government to look closely at how the funding and contracting system in education is failing the real needs of people and education providers.

Congress, access to affordable, quality education and training to help people participate in our global economy is a fundamental right for all citizens not a luxury. The development of a **GMB Charter for Education and Lifelong Learning** is a first step in this process.

Q22 BRANCH
North West & Irish Region

(Carried)

BRO. K. FLANAGAN (North West & Irish): Congress, I am speaking on motion 57: A GMB Charter for Education & Training. Colleagues, we have seen unprecedented attacks, and you have heard me at this rostrum on many occasions asking for support on education and training. Why? Because it is at the very heart of what this movement stands for. It is at the very heart of helping people to get out of exclusion or excluding them from the world of work. It is the way in which we actually enable

people to take control of their own lives and to have a future destiny. We have seen the unprecedented attack on education and training, but new dimensions have entered the marketplace, because now that this Government have turned it into a market we now have contractors who are bidding for education and training contracts at the exclusion of many training and community-training organisations, which have set up companies to bid for training contracts. Then what do they do? They sell the contract on with the companies they create with the contract to another provider. So we have management companies bidding now for main training contracts, even though they don't even employ one tutor! This situation is becoming an absolute disgrace. This is being done in our name. This is not adding value to education and training anywhere in this country. It needs challenging, and the way I see it is that it needs challenging because I think this movement, this great GMB, was built on the foundations of our forefathers. What we need to do is to have an integrated strategy for education and lifelong learning across this organisation and across the trade union Movement. We must reclaim the ground which was always ours. We have a position now where we have three million workers who actually are at Level 1 or below. Within six years' time, the need for people with Level 1 and below will have dropped to one million. What's going to happen to the other two million? What's going to happen to them? My fear is that they will be forgotten, they will be excluded and be marginalised. Congress, I ask you to support this integrated motion. I thank you for the formation of the Lifelong Learning Committee and the important work which that committee is now doing. That can pull it together. That can develop partnerships with providers. We must take the ground which is ours and belongs to our members, because dignity through education is vital. It is a vital part of this Movement. I make no excuse for putting this motion forward, and I will work to my dying day to achieve it across this great Movement. I ask you to support this motion, not just for yourselves but for the generations to come. I move. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Kevin. Well done. Secunder?

SIS. J. PITCHFORD (North West & Irish): Congress, in order for a success society, we need to make sure that we continue with Lifelong Learning. We ask for this charter because we feel that age really should not be a barrier to learning and neither should access to well-funded accessible training for everyone. It should not be unaffordable or unavailable. A GMB charter for education and learning would support the road to improve this access, regardless of the result on June 8th. I second. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I now move to motion 58, to be moved by the North West & Irish Region.

A VOICE FOR APPRENTICE WORKERS MOTION 58

58. A VOICE FOR APPRENTICE WORKERS

This Congress asks the national lifelong learning committee to lobby and identify ways in which workers and potential apprentices be given a voice and practical input before the apprenticeship starts. Currently the journey of an apprentice is decided without consultation with the learner and is a transaction between the training provider and employer. Congress the

current system is unfair and only takes into consideration the business gains with little or no input from the individuals whose lives are being moulded.

X02 BRANCH
North West & Irish Region

(Carried)

BRO. A. MALCOLM (North West & Irish): Congress, I am a first-time speaker and this is my first Congress. *(Applause)* Madam President, General Secretary and Congress, I am moving motion 58: A Voice for Apprentice Workers. There has been a lot of talk during the past decade about the need for quality vocational learning and for quality apprenticeships. We know from the practice in other countries that where the right approaches are taken it leads to a balanced economy which contain well-paid, interesting and skilled jobs. We also know from our own experience that where the wrong things are done we end up with low-grade schemes which get called “Apprenticeships”, but in which the apprentices play very little part in being central to their learning and development. This is a situation in which the training itself leads to a low-skilled, low-waged equilibrium. Many young people who undertake apprenticeships in good faith find, at the end of the apprenticeship, that they are not qualified for anything.

Recently, I was speaking to a group of young people in Belfast who had undertaken apprenticeships to become joiners. A good thing, you would think. However, these young people were told that their apprenticeship was a Level 2 apprenticeship and that if they wanted to take the apprenticeship further, ie to Level 3, they would have to find an employer willing to take them on. These young people were unable to get an employer to take them on and have found themselves, effectively, on the scrapheap having wasted two years in an apprenticeship leading them nowhere, the only gainers being the employers and the training providers. It was all short-term gain to the detriment of these young people and the wider economy.

This situation needs to be exposed as the disgrace that it is. The key way of exposing and stopping this situation is for the GMB to facilitate young people in gaining a much-needed voice at that table. The outcome of this is poor jobs and a low-wage economy where the potential of our young people is being wasted and where our young people are simply not being given a chance. This is a disgrace. One of the main reasons why this is happening is because workers and potential apprentices are not given a voice and practical input before their apprenticeships start. The journey of apprentices is decided without consultation. Fundamentally, this is a transaction between the training provider and the employer.

It has been a long-established fact in learning that when the learner is directly involved in constructing and learning, the outcome is likely to be successful simply because the learner has participated in the whole process.

THE PRESIDENT: Alan, will you wind-up, please?

BRO. MALCOLM: Congress, I urge you to back this motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Can we now move to motion 60 — Dyslexia and Training. It is for Birmingham & West Midlands Region to move.

DYSLEXIA AND TRAINING MOTION 60

60. DYSLEXIA AND TRAINING

This Congress is called upon to provide suitable training courses for our representatives within the GMB who are dyslexic.

We need to support and offer training at our local GMB offices. Our aim would be to encourage and inspire our reps, therefore bringing strength and improvement in their role.

This condition is explicitly listed in the Equality Act 2010.

GMB are experts in training, we are calling for supportive coaching and extra tuition for representatives who need this to enable them to carry out their role to the best of their ability.

A15 ASDA BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

SIS. L. HARPER (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I am a first-time delegate. *(Applause)* I am moving motion 60: Dyslexia and Training. Dyslexia is more common than many realise. It is a disability that can prevent the individual from prospering in their education and is very often misunderstood. We believe that there is a need for additional training and on-going support for our representatives and members and we are calling for our union to address this matter. In Asda alone there are numerous reps and members who would benefit from this training. Each of those reps and each of those members all have their own story with many heartbreaking and frustrating experiences. Unfortunately, there is not enough time to give an in-depth insight into the humiliation, suffering and embarrassment that many feel. In our region, we have an officer who has dyslexia, and he has been awarded an MBE for his tireless work in this field. After speaking to some of our reps and members, they clearly want to improve their training and education. We believe that as the GMB are experts in the field of training together we can offer the support, help, training and guidance needed.

I have spent many hours on numerous occasions helping and supporting a fellow rep who suffers with dyslexia. The gratitude and appreciation that I have received from him is truly humbling. Congress, we ask you to support this motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Lisa. Well done, and welcome. Formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. Does anyone wish to speak against any of this group of motions? *(No response)* Thank you very much, indeed. I now call Carl Parker to tell you of the CEC stance with a qualification.

BRO. C. PARKER (National Training Officer): Congress, I will give the CEC position on composite motion C2. The CEC's position is to support C2 but with a qualification. I will come to the qualification in a second.

First of all, I would like to thank Kevin and the moving branch for the proposition that has been put forward and to the other branches that put in very similar motions. It is helpful to highlight the importance of continuing TU education provision by the TU studies units in colleges. So thanks to the branch for that. Also, I want to thank Jan

from the London Region for your comments earlier about the Special Report. You made a few points about the quality of provision when people other than our own tutors deliver training. I fully take those on board. In many respects, that goes to the heart of the motion that is in front of us, that when we do have tutors who are not GMB tutors delivering our courses we need to make sure that they are delivered to the best possible standard and to a common agenda. We are absolutely working on ensuring that that takes place.

Going to the qualification, GMB has a clear policy, which is that we want all of our reps to do their GMB induction training first before they move on to do any training provided by the TUC or TUC tutors. We want to make sure that reps do things our way; in other words, from the training that we provide to them. For brand new reps, we want them to be trained by one of our tutors and welcomed into the GMB family accordingly. First and foremost, we need to protect our ability to be able to deliver our own induction programme.

We also need to ensure the maintenance of our programme, and this is what we have been doing during the past year. Also motion C2 calls on us to ensure the continued funding of TU education by the TUC. That, in first principle, sounds great, but who is going to foot the bill if the TUC is going to be paying for TUC education delivered by the units? Well, it is going to be us, as an affiliate member of the TUC.

The shortfall in funding amounts to about £4 million in terms of what the TUC would have to put in if it was going to guarantee all future delivery of TU education by the colleges. We are, roughly, 10% of the size of the TUC, so that is a £400,000 cost to us. The qualification is that if we were to deliver every word of the motion it would mean that we would be having to find huge amounts of money that could, possibly, be better spent elsewhere in terms of GMB provision. So we ask the moving branches to accept the qualification that we are fully behind the spirit of the composite but we need to ensure that we can deliver our own training first before we then move to look to secure the TU studies units in the colleges.

So we are committed to supporting the TU education units, and there are a number of things that we have done during the past few months to demonstrate that. Firstly, we have secured the continuation of TU studies units in every region, and that has been down to the hard work of the regional education officers in liaising with colleges and making sure that those units can survive as well as being able to deliver GMB training for us. So we are living by what we are saying already. We have achieved that security for those units.

We are also looking at colleges in a number of regions that will have enhanced provision and there will be more training available to GMB reps through colleges over the coming years. Finally, we have also secured, again through work with colleges, a number of proper training-tutor jobs within colleges. What people probably do not realise is that a number of colleges employ tutors on a sessional basis and they are on zero-hours contracts. We don't want our tutors to be on zero-hours contracts. We want tutors to be employed to our values, not to the values of a college trying to make a quick buck. By working with colleges, we have been able to secure a number of proper posts.

In summary, we support the principles behind the motion and we ask Congress to accept the qualification that we put our training first before that of the TU units.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Carl. You got away with that one. Do Birmingham and London accept the qualification? (Agreed) Thank you. Does Congress agree? (Agreed) Thank you very much. So now I put composite 2 and motions 56, 57, 58 and 60 to the vote. All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? That is carried.

Composite 2 was CARRIED.

Motion 56 was CARRIED.

Motion 57 was CARRIED.

Motion 58 was CARRIED.

Motion 60 was CARRIED.

CEC SPECIAL REPORT ON ENERGY

1. BACKGROUND

- 1.1. This CEC Report supplements GMB energy policy, especially in respect of gas, as part of a facts based analysis of the UK's energy needs and supply.
- 1.2. Congress 2015 received and agreed a CEC Statement which included:
 - reaffirmation of GMB's balanced energy policy
 - recognition that gas will continue to play a crucial role in the development of the low carbon economy as part of a balanced energy mix
 - not ruling out shale gas extraction and to look at the environmental, socio-economic, industrial and safety impacts of fracking for shale gas
 - forming a view on whether the onshore shale gas industry is set to become a significant part of the energy sector and if so, how GMB can seek to influence the development of the industry and recruit and organise the workers it will employ
 - acknowledgement that recruiting and organising gas workers has been a core activity for GMB for 125 years
 - to monitor developments around shale gas and its extraction and to conduct a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis based upon honesty around the economic realities of gas, security of supply and where the gas we need comes from.
- 1.3 Since the 2015 CEC Statement there have been a number of large and key changes in the UK energy sector including:
 - construction beginning on the first new nuclear power station in a generation at Hinkley Point C - the biggest construction project in Europe
 - government cuts to subsidies and support for renewables

- Britain has voted to leave the EU
- the planned closures of coal-fired power stations has begun to affect the UK's energy supply and we are using an increasing amount of gas to meet our electricity needs
- further shale gas extraction licenses have been granted and a fracking industry is starting to develop
- the financial cost to consumers of the Climate Change Act 2008 are becoming clearer.

2. INTRODUCTION

- 2.1. GMB is one of the largest trade unions for Energy workers in the UK with around 50,000 members working directly and indirectly in all energy sectors including nuclear, gas, electric, oil and renewables across all of the main companies. GMB is by far the largest Union in the gas sector.
- 2.2. 637,000 people are directly or indirectly employed across the UK in the Energy sector (137,000 direct and 500,000 indirect jobs).
- 2.3. The sector contributes around £5.5 billion in direct and indirect taxes to the UK government.
- 2.4. The UK is experiencing an energy crisis. We are living through a period of serious vulnerability which, if not urgently addressed, will have hugely damaging implications for both our economy and our society.
- 2.5. The key problem is that the UK no longer produces enough primary fuels to meet its energy demand leading to issues of security of supply, increased price volatility and harming the UK's balance of trade, tax revenues and jobs.
- 2.6. Ernst & Young report fracking could generate £33 billion in investment and create over 64,500 direct and indirect jobs, mainly high-skilled and well paid.
- 2.7. Many existing areas that GMB are involved in, such as steel, chemical, construction and other manufacturing and service industries could benefit enormously from a fracking supply chain.
- 2.8. Good quality, skilled and well-paid jobs for GMB members is something we will always fight for. 128 years ago Will Thorne set out to organise the gas workers of his day and GMB should stand ready to organise tomorrow's gas workers in the shale gas sector and work with the regulatory authorities to ensure health and safety and environmental issues are dealt with properly.
- 2.9. GMB is, currently and historically, the union for gas workers with other unions in the sector being Unite and Community.

3. GMB ENERGY POLICY

Self-sufficiency and a balanced and sustainable mix

- 3.1. Britain needs a properly regulated government led cohesive approach to achieve a balanced and sustainable energy mix that tackles fuel

poverty, contributes to decarbonisation and helps to reduce energy bills.

- 3.2. Part of this must be a reduced reliance on imported energy and refocusing on what we need to create a viable, UK power supply with a well-paid and skilled UK workforce at its heart. After Brexit, common sense should indicate that Energy policy must look at ways of being more self-sufficient. Investment in renewables and nuclear is one way, which GMB strongly supports, but gas still has a key role to play in a balanced mix of energy sources.
- 3.3. GMB wants to see a world where we get most of our energy from renewable sources, not fossil fuels. We have never disputed that climate change is a reality. However, until there is a breakthrough in large-scale, economically viable and reliable solar or wind power storage, there has to be a sensible mix of renewable and non-renewable energy sources that should include energy derived from nuclear and gas.

Intermediate fuel in the transition to renewables

- 3.4. When the wind and solar fleets are combined, the power they generate is less than 20% of the installed capacity for 29 weeks of the year, and below 10% for 16 weeks of the year. That means wind and solar together produce no electricity for more than half the time. We need a base load electricity capacity we can rely on. Solar, wind and other renewable energy sources can, and should, form part of a balanced energy mix generating sufficient energy to meet demand.
- 3.5. Gas is the intermediate fuel needed for the foreseeable future. It is currently less expensive than power generated by renewables and nuclear, more reliable than renewables, produces less greenhouse gas emissions than electricity generated from burning coal and is the most responsive to changes in demand. Electricity generated from gas increased from 29.5% to 42.4 % in 2016 and is set to increase further as coal fired generation is reduced.
- 3.6. Gas is around three times cheaper than electricity - the main reason why 85% of homes use gas for heating, and access to gas is a key part of every fuel poverty strategy.
- 3.7. Wind and solar are intermittent and, for now at least, can only be a part of the mix. In the period of transition to greater use of renewables, we need a base load electricity capacity we can rely on and it is not correct to think renewables on their own can power the country. Conventional methods are needed to generate capacity by way of back-up when the wind doesn't blow and the sun doesn't shine.
- 3.8. The last year saw 46 low wind days, one day in 8, when wind supplied less than 10% of capacity to the grid.

Where our electricity comes from now

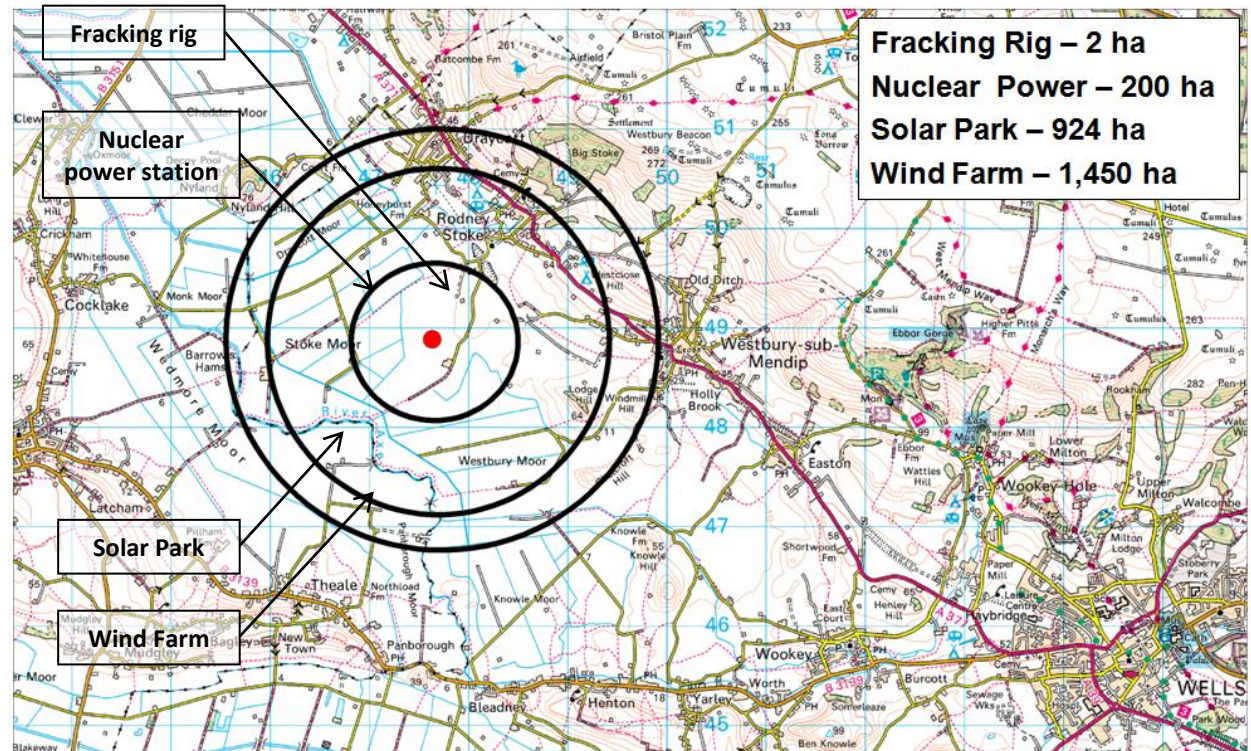
- 3.9. An ordinary day, 6:20pm, Thursday 11th May, 2017, showing where our energy is coming from. The vast majority coming from CCGT (Gas Turbines, 50.35%) and nuclear (18.4%) with back up coming



from other sources including wind (7.07%), coal (1.79%) pumped storage (3.5%), solar (3.3%), biomass (4.3%) and Hydroelectric power (0.8%) plus imported electricity from France (5.9%), Holland (3%) and Ireland (0.7%) via interconnectors (see Note 1).

The future land implications

- 3.10. The relative land area needed to deliver 9.5 TW-h (Terrawatt-hours) of electricity over 25 years is stark. If a fracking rig was to be built outside of Wells in Somerset, the land area of the whole facility is 2 hectares. A nuclear power station needs around 200 hectares. In comparison a solar park needs 924 hectares and a wind farm 1,450. The map below shows the different areas needed. (see note 2)



Put simply, we would need 450 times the land area for solar compared to gas and the land above a fracking well can still continue to be used for other purposes, whilst the land below solar panels cannot.

Socio-economic and industrial considerations

- 3.11. We need an energy policy that will reduce energy bills, help tackle fuel poverty, improve people's health, contribute towards lowering carbon and provide a huge boost to both national and local economies by creating wealth and jobs. Successive governments have failed in this duty and put their heads in the sand, closing power stations without providing clarity regarding viable replacement capacity.
- 3.12. GMB welcomed the decision to give the go ahead to build Hinkley Point C nuclear power station back in September after years of procrastination, hesitation and bewildering postponements. This vital piece of UK infrastructure will provide 7% of the UK's energy needs (6 million homes), creating at least 25,000 jobs during the construction phase and a further 900 during its operation. In addition to this is, an agreed minimum of 1,000 apprenticeships and adult trainees, creating a skill training level that will put other UK projects to shame. The Hinkley deal was the first serious sign that UK plc is open for business post-Brexit.
- 3.13. GMB policy would include the building of at least 6 more nuclear power stations, and we will campaign on the basis of much needed clean energy, well skilled, better paid jobs and security of supply.
- 3.14. Renewable energy has a key part to play in a balanced energy policy. More research and development into energy storage must take place to achieve a significant breakthrough because unless and until the mass storage issue is sorted out, the only way forward is nuclear and gas.
- 3.15. Transporting gas thousands of miles across the oceans is not good for the environment and not good for security of supply in the UK. Given we need gas to heat our homes and power industry, the question is, "where are we going to get our gas from?" We are increasingly going to be dependent on regimes with appalling human rights records for the gas we need. That isn't ethical and is surely an abdication of our environmental and moral responsibilities. It also makes us vulnerable to those regimes - something an Island Nation should never be.
- 3.16. GMB is not saying "frack and be damned", quite the contrary, but more investigatory work needs to be allowed by decision-makers so that informed decisions can be made that ensure we could "frack" as safely and as respectfully to local communities as possible in the UK.
- 3.17. GMB wants a sensible, open and honest facts based debate that will see a low carbon economy with electricity generated from a sensible mix of renewable and non-renewable energy sources which would include nuclear, gas, solar, wind and any other economically viable renewable options that come along.
- 3.18. This is not only how we will keep the lights on and help meet our future energy needs, but by doing so, we will be self-sufficient and secure while providing lower bills for consumers and highly skilled, well-paid and Unionised jobs for hundreds of thousands.

4. WHY GAS IS SO IMPORTANT

- 4.1. Gas is a vitally important source of energy for the UK.
- 4.2. In England the proportion of dwellings with gas central heating has steadily increased from 73% in 1996 (14.8 million dwellings) to 85% (19.9 million) in 2014. That is 8.5 out of 10 households using gas for heating.
- 4.3. Electricity is around three times more expensive per kilowatt hour than gas (see note 3). This is why households with electric heating are far more likely to be in fuel poverty (see note 4).
- 4.4. We have to accept that the UK will be using gas for many years to come.
- 4.5. A number of our industries, like steel and ceramics, are reliant on high grade heat that can only be produced by gas. These industries employ around 38,000 people, including 4,000 GMB members.
- 4.6. Around 45% of our electricity was generated by gas last year, according to provisional BEIS figures (see note 5), and more than 50% on cold days.
- 4.7. Gas is a raw material that is used to make many everyday items. Half a million jobs depend on gas as a feedstock (see note 6), and all of us depend on products that are made with gas including food that will have been grown with the aid of gas-based fertilisers - used on 75% of the farmland (see note 7) in this country - and medicines such as analgesics.
- 4.8. Natural Gas was the biggest contributor to electricity generation in 2016. It is less expensive than power generated by renewables and nuclear and more reliable than renewables.
- 4.9. Even if we had an electricity system powered completely by renewables, we would still need large amounts of gas. BEIS forecast we will be using roughly the same amount of gas in 2035 as we do today (see note 8), and the Committee on Climate Change says that the UK will only be using slightly less gas in 2030, in its scenario which meets the Fifth Carbon Budget (see note 9).
- 4.10. At a global level, gas is part of the solution to climate change. The coal-to-gas switch that we have seen in Britain should be replicated in other countries. In the International Energy Agency's 450 parts per million scenario, global emissions are kept at a level that gives us a decent chance of avoiding more than 2 degrees of warming. In that scenario, global gas use is higher in 2040 than it is today (see note 10). This scenario is backed up by the UK's Committee on Climate Change which says gas will play a key role through to 2050.
- 4.11. Other methods of gas production must be looked at to form part of a balanced energy mix. In particular, "green gas", (created by the breakdown of organic, household, agricultural and food industry waste) can be examined but questions around whether this gas could be produced on an industrial, national level should be looked at in detail. In Germany, for example, this method competes with food production and has led to large scale land use changes resulting in 'maize deserts.'

- 4.12. In short, it is not a case of “if” we will use gas in the future, because we will; the question that must be faced up to is “where will that gas come from”?

5. THE ECONOMIC AND IMPORT PROBLEMS

- 5.1. The Oil and Gas Authority expects that imports will rise to over 75% in 2035 (see note 11) and, according to National Grid, if Britain doesn't produce shale, then import dependency will rise even further - up to 89% over the same period (see note 12). At today's prices, the import bill could hit £9 billion a year (see note 13) – creating no jobs and generating no tax revenue in this country whilst continuing to have an impact on our balance of payments. The current UK balance of payments deficit is over £90 billion or 5% of GDP. This is not sustainable.
- 5.2. Imports now make up around half of our consumption. These imports come mainly from Norway, from Continental Europe where the gas may well originate from Russia, and by ship from Qatar. Imported gas costs around £14 million per day, money that is not generating jobs or tax revenues.
- 5.3. Qatar currently accounts for almost a third of global LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) supply, and over 90% of the UK's LNG imports. If the Straits of Hormuz were closed, for example due to renewed US-Iran tensions, it would not only represent a catastrophe for global oil supplies, but also a major threat to UK and global LNG supplies.
- 5.4. We know there is a huge resource in the ground. According to the British Geological Survey, over 1,300 trillion cubic feet of shale gas can be found in the North of England (see note 14), and 80 trillion cubic feet in Scotland (see note 15). We use less than 3 trillion cubic feet a year (see note 16), so if we could only get a tenth of the shale gas out of the ground, it would be enough for more than 40 years self-sufficiency.
- 5.5. Ernst & Young believe fracking could generate £33 billion in investment and create over 64,500 direct and indirect jobs, mainly high-skilled and well paid.
- 5.6. Imported energy creates no jobs, generates no tax and hits balance of payments.

6. CLIMATE CHANGE

- 6.1. UK CO₂ emissions are at their lowest level since the latter days of the reign of Queen Victoria, however climate change is a reality.
- 6.2. GMB believes the government should commit to complete transparency, efficacy, value for money and equity on all of the costs associated with decarbonising the economy and to commission a review of the cost effectiveness and fairness of the policies being pursued, including whether these cost should be paid for from general taxation rather than levies on consumer bills.
- 6.3. GMB established that if the cost of the implementation of the Climate Change Act 2008 of £6.76 billion was to recur until 2030, then the total cost would be £123.6 billion. However, as it is not possible to put figures

on carbon taxes, emissions permits, capacity auction costs, renewable levies or any indirect costs associated with decarbonising the economy, the figure is likely to be much higher.

- 6.4 Loading the costs of decarbonising the economy onto individual bill payers is highly regressive and will hit those who can least afford it the hardest. This is likely to be thousands of pounds extra on the bills of every household in Britain over the coming decade and a half.
- 6.5 Lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions from UK-produced shale are lower than for gas imported by LNG or long-distance pipeline.
- 6.6 The Committee on Climate Change produced a report for the Scottish Government and stated:

“There may be benefits for energy security and domestic industry if new domestic sources of natural gas production reduce dependence on imported gas.”

“Current evidence suggests that well-regulated domestic production could have an emissions footprint slightly smaller than that of imported liquefied natural gas.” (see note 17)

7. FRACKING – IS IT SAFE?

Myths versus facts

- 7.1. There are many myths out there with some preferring to deal with the propaganda of fear rather than facts. The facts are very simple: the industry has been reviewed by many eminent institutions and bodies including the Royal Society and Royal Academy of Engineering, Public Health England, Chartered Institute of Water and Environmental Management, the independent panel for the Scottish Government to name but a few. All have categorised the industry as low risk in a properly regulated environment.
- 7.2. The Environment Agency commissioned several expert panels to assess the safety aspects of fracking. In 2012, the Royal Academy of Engineering and Royal Society reviewed the scientific and engineering evidence on shale gas and stated (see note 18):

“The health, safety and environmental risks associated with fracking as a means to extract shale gas can be managed effectively in the UK as long as operational best practices are implemented and enforced through regulation.”
- 7.3. In 2013, the late Professor David MacKay (then the Department of Energy and Climate Change’s Chief Scientist) and Dr Timothy Stone wrote a report on potential greenhouse gas emissions from UK produced shale gas and wrote (see note 19):

“With the right safeguards in place, the net effect on UK Greenhouse Gas emissions from shale gas production in the UK will be relatively small.”

- 7.4. In 2014, Public Health England assessed the risk to human health of extracting shale gas. They evaluated available evidence on issues including air quality, radon gas, naturally occurring radioactive materials, water contamination and waste water. They wrote (see note 20):

“We conclude that the currently available evidence indicates that the potential risks to public health in the vicinity of shale gas extraction sites will be low if shale gas extraction is properly run and regulated.”

“Caution is required when extrapolating experiences in other countries to the UK since the mode of operation, underlying geology and regulatory environment are likely to be different.”

Risk management and regulation

- 7.5. Every industrial process presents a degree of risk. The issue is the extent to which this is controlled and managed. There have been several health and safety concerns raised over the process of hydraulic fracturing which centre on the development of seismic activity; the release of hydrocarbons and the potential exposure risk to workers from chemicals and substances, primarily silica.
- 7.6. As with any new process, the precautionary principle must apply. That is that until the health and safety risk is quantified, it must be assumed that harm will be caused and the risk must be reduced to the lowest reasonably practicable level.
- 7.7. Britain has a strong and well-developed regulatory system for high-risk industries. The HSE and the Environment Agency both have enforcement responsibility for fracking activity, and the work is covered by existing regulations which have been in place for more than 20 years.
- 7.8. These are the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974, with specific requirements detailed under the Borehole Sites and Operations Regulations 1995 and the Offshore installations and Wells (Design and Construction etc) Regulations 1996.
- 7.9. These place specific requirements on well operators, including providing a safety case assessment before any work is commenced; putting detailed protective requirements into place for the well operation which must be reported upon every week; and site inspections from both HSE/EA and independent Well Examiners.
- 7.10. HSE currently has enough Inspectors to manage the exploratory phase of fracking operations, but will need increased resources if and when large scale production goes live.
- 7.11. Ultimately, the crucial aspect is the enforcement of the Regulations. Onshore pressure fracturing has been operating at Wytch Farm in Furzey Island, Poole, Dorset since the late 1970s without incident, largely due to the strong regulation of the activity. GMB will seek to ensure that the HSE has the resources and impetus to maintain and improve these standards should large scale production from fracking begin in the future.

The US experience – inadequate regulation

- 7.12 The experience of the United States, where regulation is minimal and poorly enforced, would strongly suggest that fracking is highly dangerous and unsafe. Britain has a far stronger approach to safety regulation, and crucially the opportunity to learn from American mistakes and make sure we get it right.
- 7.13. Most of the safety issues relating to fracking are the same as for any gas extraction, so GMB has experience of the types of risks and hazards that workers are exposed to.
- 7.14 Overall, the oil and gas extraction industry has a poor track record on health and safety and internationally, fracking is no different. In the US, fracking workers are seven times more likely to die on the job than other types of workers. Some of the safety hazards that US fracking workers regularly encounter include:
- fatigue from working long shifts (the production workers work an average 20 hour shift)
 - being struck by moving equipment and high-pressure lines
 - working in confined spaces.

In Britain, health and safety law is much stricter, which reduces or removes these risks. The Working Time Regulations drastically reduce the length of shifts and there are specifically legal requirements on work with pressure systems and in confined spaces.

- 7.15. There is also the risk of explosion through the release of hydrocarbons. In the UK, this is the risk the HSE is most concerned with. The regulations on well design and construction specify measures to mitigate this risk and to control the release.

Health and environmental considerations

- 7.16. As well as the safety issues, there are considerable health issues. One is from exposure to the hydrocarbons, and chemicals used in fracking fluids, including biocides. The other is exposure to silica.
- 7.17. Transporting, moving and refilling silica sand into and through sand movers, along transfer belts and into blender hoppers can release dusts containing silica into the air. Workers can be exposed if they breathe the dust into their lungs.
- 7.18. Breathing silica can cause the lung disease silicosis. Silica can also cause lung cancer and has been linked to other diseases, such as tuberculosis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (emphysema) and kidney and autoimmune disease.
- 7.19. Silica exposure can be greatly reduced if the correct measures are taken, primarily by enclosing as much of the process as possible and providing extraction to remove the dust where this is not possible. The experience of Unions in the US is that employers rely too much on simply issuing workers with facemasks (which are uncomfortable and often not worn) rather than addressing the actual problem.

- 7.20. As no gas wells comparable to those in the US exist yet in the UK, comparisons have to be sought elsewhere. Unfortunately much of the evidence is not there. In the US, where fracking has increased massively over the past decade, the data is collected - often by the gas companies themselves - but not shared due to privacy issues.
- 7.21. One detailed study in the US was published in March 2016 in the journal *Marine and Petroleum Geology*. It looked at the data from Pennsylvania, one of the main areas of fracking in the US. It examined 3,533 wells between 2008-2011 and found that 91 wells (2.6%) suffered some internal or external well barrier failures, including four blowouts (0.01%). Whilst the US study showed overall risk of serious failure was relatively low, it was not tolerable to current UK standards and our stronger regulatory requirements which would have reduced the risk.
- 7.22. The key environmental safety factor is leakages through the well casing (the industry term for the sheath of cement that surrounds a newly drilled well). Strong and careful regulation can reduce risks by ensuring that well-shafts are leak-proof and the International Energy Agency estimates that proper regulation would add about 7% to the cost of each shale gas well. Likewise, the potential risk of groundwater contamination can be managed through evaporation and disposal or re-use, so long as this is designed into the process from the outset.

8. CONCLUSION

- 8.1 Britain needs an energy policy that will reduce energy bills, help tackle fuel poverty, improve people's health, contribute towards lowering carbon and provide a huge boost to both national and local economies by creating jobs and wealth.
- 8.2. We need a properly regulated government led cohesive approach to achieve a balanced and sustainable energy mix coupled with a reduced reliance post Brexit on imported energy through a viable, UK power supply with a skilled UK workforce at its heart.
- 8.3. Climate change is a reality. GMB wants to see a world where we get most of our energy from renewable sources, not fossil fuels. We also need a base load electricity capacity we can rely on until there is a breakthrough in large-scale, economically viable and reliable solar or wind power storage. GMB wants a sensible, open and honest facts based debate that will see a low carbon economy powered by a sensible mix of renewable and non-renewable energy sources.
- 8.4. In the interim that should include energy derived from nuclear, gas, solar, wind and any other economically viable renewable options that come along.
- 8.5. GMB will continue to campaign for the building of at least 6 more zero-carbon, nuclear power stations.
- 8.6. Renewable energy has a key part to play in a balanced energy policy. More research and development into energy storage must take place to achieve a significant breakthrough.

- 8.7 Britain needs gas and Britain will use gas. Gas is around three times cheaper than electricity - the main reason why 85% of homes use gas for heating, and access to gas is a key part of every fuel poverty strategy.
- 8.8. The UK has very large shale gas resources. It is estimated that if only 10% could be extracted, it would be equivalent to 40-50 years of UK gas consumption.
- 8.9. If, as looks likely, shale exploration is going to happen, GMB should work with the industry and put pressure on the employers to make it as safe as possible. If fracking is to develop in a way that does not harm the health and safety of workers, strong Union structures and organisation will be needed to hold employers to account and to maintain standards and performance. Exactly as GMB has done in the gas industry for over 125 years, delivering jobs offering better pay and conditions and with the risks from fracking controlled and reduced so long as lessons are learned and applied from the mistakes made in the USA, best practice is adopted and regulations are strongly enforced.
- 8.10 Shale gas production should be permitted, alongside the development of the UK's renewable and nuclear capacity, benefitting the security of our energy, the economy and the environment.

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THE PRESIDENT: We now move to the CEC Special Report on Energy. The report will be moved by the CEC. I will then call on only one speaker from each region. Gary Smith will move and the Special Report is to be formally seconded.

BRO. G. SMITH (Regional Secretary, GMB Scotland): Congress, the energy sector in the UK runs to the very heart of our proud trade union. We all know that this union was forged in the struggle of the gasworkers, led by Will Thorne and Eleanor Marx. The very story of our union is defined by energy. Today 50,000 of our members still earn their livings in the energy industries. Many thousands more of our members' jobs depend on affordable, secure energy supplies. I am talking about our members in the manufacturing sector and, of course, those in the chemical industries.

Congress, the first priority of any credible trade union should be the defence of its members' interests and the communities in which they live and work. That is why the debate over the energy policy is so important to the future of our union. The CEC report, Congress, is a reflection of the GMB's long-standing commitment to a balanced energy policy. In this report, we recognise the scale of our members' interests in energy and the economic, employment and environmental realities of energy.

Congress, this country does not have to seek challenges. In-work poverty is up with over four million working poor. Child poverty is up with four million kids classed as poor, and two-thirds of those kids come from working families. We have more than four million households now living in fuel poverty. No one in this organisation underestimates the importance of tackling climate change and the need to build a country that is prosperous and has a sustainable and secure low-carbon economy. However, we cannot do that by turning a blind eye to the social and economic inequalities that scar our nation. Congress, energy policy matters, and it is a fact that an affordable, prosperous and secure energy future through renewables alone is not just pie-in-the-sky politics, but it is a prescription for more fuel poverty and mass unemployment. The truth and reality, Congress, is that we need domestic gas production and we need nuclear in our energy mix. Many years ago, as many of you will remember, we took a difficult decision over "new nuclear". We support the development of new nuclear at Hinkley and in places like west Cumbria. We support new nuclear, and it will happen, because it will create tens of thousands of jobs. It will facilitate tens of thousands of apprenticeships being created, and it will support our manufacturing supply chain. But, very importantly, new nuclear will also give us a low-carbon electricity supply.

As we did all those years ago with new nuclear, we must now face up to some tough choices about domestic gas production. The hard truth again is that Britain needs gas. Our chemicals sector depends on gas. Industries like ceramics need gas. We heat our homes using gas and, increasingly, we need gas to keep the lights on because for half the year solar and wind put no electricity into the grid. Against the backdrop of our need for gas or the decline in North Sea gas supplies and our increasing dependence on gas imports, including shale gas, that arrive every week now into Scotland, we do need to ask whether we should explore the possibility of building a domestic shale-gas industry. It is far better for us, Congress, to try and tackle the scourge of rising fuel poverty with an affordable domestic gas supply. It is far better for our security of supply that we don't have to go cap-in-hand to dictators for our future gas needs. It is far better for the environment that we explore the opportunities that domestic shale gas might provide, rather than bringing gas across oceans in ships, loading it on to tankers and running it around the country. Surely, it is far better for us to explore the opportunity of creating jobs in a regulated and unionised domestic shale-gas sector.

Congress, the CEC asks you to support this report. This report is rooted in the real world. This report defends the interests of our members, and this report recognises that, as we seek to deal with the realities of climate change, we need a balanced and pragmatic energy strategy. It is the strategy that we lay out in this report that gives us the best chance for developing an affordable cross-borders and security energy future. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Gary. Well done. Can I have the Special Report on Energy formally seconded? (*The Special Report on Energy was formally seconded*) Thank you. I now move to the regions. I call Birmingham & West Midlands Region, Midland & East Coast Region and then Wales & South West Region. You can have one speaker from each region. (*Calls from the floor of "Formally"*) Thank you. Does Congress accept? (*Agreed*) I now call GMB Scotland and Yorkshire & North Derbyshire. Formally? (*Calls from the floor of "Formally"*)

BRO. C. WEATHERUP (GMB Scotland): Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. (*Applause*) I am speaking in support of the CEC Report on Energy. For workers like me and my colleagues, the energy policy of my trade union matters because it is a statement of intent over the safeguard of our livelihoods. It sends a clear message to my employer, to the politicians and to the public about how my trade union views the future of my sector. It is a message that defines who we are and what we stand for. It is industries like mine that will be at the forefront of technologies and systems that will deliver cleaner and greener energy supplies in the decades to come. But we also want to make our energy supply as affordable and secure as possible. We also want people to have decent jobs and opportunities in its delivery. We are not blind to the realities of climate change. We want our country to make that transition towards a low-carbon economy, but we want it to be a just transition. That is why we need a balance in our energy policy.

A credible trade union stands for the defence of its members' interests. A credible trade union stands for the growth of decent jobs and pay. A credible trade union stands for equality and shared prosperity. That is why I am a GMB member because we are a credible trade union. By supporting the CEC Report we can further strengthen our credibility, not only in the energy sector but in the wider debate about the future of the UK's energy policy. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Chrisy, thank you very much, well done and welcome. I call Yorkshire & North Derbyshire. (*Call of "Formally"*) I now call North West & Irish Region.

BRO. D. FLANAGAN (North West & Irish): Congress, I am speaking in response to the CEC Special Report on Energy. (*Applause*) Thank you. I live in Blackpool and the issue of energy and, in particular, the fracking is one of particular emotion and very much at the fore of our community. I thank the CEC for this report. However, at a time of climate change, which is having a significant impact, we are proposing the extraction of yet more fossil fuels. We have now a unique opportunity to be radical in our own environmental approach and embrace the new green economy for the future of our children and families. This should and must be our primary objective.

The CEC Special Report has many weaknesses, in particular, in the area of fracking and the future of renewables. The report states that a fracking rig only takes up two hectares. Whilst true, a fracking operation takes in hundreds of wells due to its inefficient process. The report highlights the operation on at Wytch Farm in Furzey Island, and a point of order that Furzey Island is an oil site, not a fracking site. The report also states that solar power requires 450 times more space than a fracking rig. This is true but, again, a fracking rig requires hundreds of drills for it to operate. I believe that some of the points are misleading.

Colleagues, the only people aligned politically to us on this issue are the Tory Government and the fracking companies themselves, companies which, in the instance of Cuadrilla in Lancashire, acquired land against the will of the people. Local councils were overridden by the unseen hand of the industry working behind the scenes. Are other communities now going to be bullied if they voice genuine concerns about the industry of fracking and its environmental impact? Are we going to sacrifice our existing membership on the back of potential recruitment in the future? On this issue, the union needs to do more work and should examine renewables in the same detail.

Congress, energy is a serious issue but so is the future of our own planet, children and communities. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: David, do you support the report?

BRO. FLANAGAN: Yes, President. Can I have it formally seconded? (*Formally seconded from the floor*) Thank you.

BRO. P. BLOCK (London): Congress, I support the report, so I am asking for you to support it as well. The GMB, as most of you know, has a proud history of working with the gas workers for over 128 years. I am from the electricity industry. Last year it was announced that a new nuclear power station is to be built at Hinkley Point C. Nuclear energy accounts for just over 18% of the electricity currently generated in the UK. We desperately need this form of power. As you may have heard, we import electricity from France, Holland and Ireland. The figure we import through cables running along the sea bed is nearly 10%. It is great that we are increasingly generating electricity from renewable energy — wind and solar — and they are good energy sources. We all know that and I am sure that we would all approve of that. The problem is that they only actually generate about 20%. As our colleague, Gary, said, when the wind is not blowing and it is night time, we are not getting a lot of electricity at all from those energy sources.

To meet our demands we use gas turbines that generate around 50% at the moment of our current demands for electricity by burning gas. This gas is currently imported from countries that, arguably, are more volatile than the UK, and I am sure you have already heard of the scenario where Russia refused to supply gas, or the ships were blockaded that bring the gas to us. There are problems which exist there.

We are currently sitting on a large reserve of gas that could be used to mitigate these circumstances. However, this gas is trapped in shale. As such, it can only be removed

by fracking. I know and fully understand that people have concerns over this, due to the issues that America have had. However, the health and safety methods used in the UK could be managed to make sure that we get it right.

The nuclear power-station building programme that the GMB supports would like six more nuclear power stations built. This programme would create thousands of jobs and go some way to securing our supplies for the future. If you have a copy of the Energy Report in front of you, I would encourage you to look at page 4, paragraph 3.9, which shows a snapshot of the electricity used on 11th May, 2017, at 6.20 p.m. It just shows you, roughly, where that electricity has come from.

The UK is vulnerable now because of the changing political landscape both relating to the EU and our poor relations with Russia. Sadly, as I am sure you have all heard, a number of people live in fuel poverty, and you hear sayings like, “Do I heat or do I eat?” I would urge each and every one of you to encourage your friends and families to change suppliers and to look for the best deal. People are being ripped off because they are not changing. You must not stay with your host supplier just because you have always been with them. Look for a better deal. Thank you for listening, comrades. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, very much, Paul. Is that formally seconded?
(Formally seconded from the floor) Thank you. I now call Southern Region and Northern Region.

BRO. C. WATTS (Southern): Congress, I stand to commend the CEC Special Report on Energy. This report is fact based, it is a dispassionate report and it addresses challenging subjects with reasoned analysis. This report will be welcomed by the 50,000 GMB members whose livelihoods and future depend on an economically and ecologically sustainable industry. The report shows a clear commitment to renewable energy and understands the technological and economical challenges. It is vital that our route to sustainable, low-carbon energy production broadly follows the aspirations of the Paris Climate Change Agreement. It understands that lower CO₂ emissions are underpinned by energy production from nuclear and gas, including the emerging shale-gas industry. It was disappointing to hear last year a member of my own region at a commercial services meeting suggesting that gas production should cease without a considered argument for jobs, affordable energy and a sustainable reduction of carbon emissions. To this end, I am concerned that opposition to shale gas production has become a stalking horse for those intent on opposing the gas industry as a whole. A position, surely, at odds with the GMB ethos. *This* report clearly states the GMB position in support of our colleagues in this industry, and I urge you to support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Chris. Well done. Is that formally seconded?
(Formally seconded from the floor) Thank you. I understand that we have someone from Southern Region to speak against, but I am afraid to say that, as your region has accepted the report, I will not be calling you. No. We have had one speaker and they are supporting the Special Report. They are the rules. *(Unclear shouting from the floor)* This is Standing Orders Committee Report No. 1. I am sorry. Anyone against in relation to their region... *(Unclear shouting from the floor)* I am not accepting... *(The President conferred with the Vice President)* I am not mandated. Your region

has mandated you. You would have to have the authority of your region because you would be speaking without. (*Unclear shouting from the floor*) You have had the standing orders. While you are standing there arguing with me —

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Congress, we have already accepted the SOC Report which explains specifically how we take this. All those in favour that we stick to that, please show? Thank you very much. That stands. Sorry. No go! (*Cheers and applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Does Congress agree? (*Agreed*) I am sorry, but those are the rules.

A DELEGATE (from the floor): This is a stitch up! This is a stitch up!!

THE PRESIDENT: It is not a stitch up. It is the rules. You should have challenged the Standing Orders Committee this morning.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Colleagues, we are already running half-an-hour late. Stop taking time from Congress. Please sit down! (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I know how sincerely you may feel about it, but they are the rules. Your region has the full authority and you don't have their support. Can I now move to Northern Region. Formally? (*Formally moved and formally seconded from the floor*) I have on the platform Justin Bowden with me. Gary, do you wish to speak?

BRO. G. SMITH: Thank you, President and Congress, I am conscious of time. I take the point from North West & Irish Region about the paper needing work. I actually think that the CEC report is one of the best reports that we have produced. As someone who used to look after the Energy Sector, I congratulate Justin and his team on doing that. Of course, it needs work, but let us also face some facts about the renewables industry. For the renewables industry, the turbines are built in Germany and Denmark. They are brought over here on Dutch barges and they are connected by Chinese cables. In Scotland, where we have a whole number of wind farms, they even import the lubricant, the WD40, from Denmark to lubricate the wind turbines. That is the fact of the matter. The idea that we can separate renewables from gas is a fallacy because the high-tech plastics that are in things like the turbines come from the chemicals industry, which in turn depends on gas. So I take the point of my colleagues in the North West & Irish Region that it does need work and this will be an on-going debate.

Let me say this to you again about gas. If you use gas in your house, here is a hard reality for you. Some of that gas comes from the North Sea and some of that gas will come from Norway. But more of that gas increasingly comes from countries like Qatar. Yesterday you voted on a motion about the unethical treatment of workers in Qatar. What do you think the story of the gas industry is Qatar? Yesterday we voted on motions condemning Trump. Let me tell you, Congress, we are now importing gas from Siberia through deals that Trump's people did with the Russians, and that gas is supplying some of the remotest and poorest communities in Britain.

Finally, on fracking, we have been fracking in the North Sea for 40 years. Our members drill and frack in the North Sea. That is the truth of the matter. If you are prepared to look at your gas boiler, having been given these facts, and if you are happy to live off the Grid, then by all means vote against this report. But if you are like me, pragmatic and understand that there is a journey that we have to go on to get to a low-carbon future, then you should vote for and support the report.

When we play fast and loose with jobs and when we don't take the issue about employment seriously, that is when we have French workers on picket lines supporting the Fascists. That is when we have rust-belt America voting for Trump. That is when we have our communities supporting UKIP and Brexit, and that is when we lose in Copeland. So support a balanced energy policy. This is not just about fracking. It is about the country's energy needs. Support the real world and back the motion. Thank you. (*Applause and cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Gary. Does North West & Irish Region wish to speak? (*No response*) No. After you have heard what Gary has said, do you support the CEC Report? (*From the floor: "Yes"*) You do. Thank you. You may have noticed, in case you don't know, that David looks very much like someone who came to the rostrum earlier. He is a chip off the old block. He is Kevin Flanagan's son. Well done, David.

Can I now put the CEC Special Report on Energy to the vote. All those in favour? Anyone against? That is carried unanimously.

The CEC Special Report on Energy was CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me inform delegates that in the Guidelines for Congress Business motions 331, 333 and 334 will now fall and not be debated as the Special Report takes priority. Is that okay, colleagues? Thank you all very much. I do feel sorry for my colleagues in Southern, but they are the rules that I have to stand by.

Motion 331 FELL.

Motion 333 FELL.

Motion 334 FELL.

EMPLOYMENT POLICY: HEALTH, SAFETY & ENVIRONMENT

THE PRESIDENT: We now move to motions 104, Wales & South West; 105, Wales & South West, and 106, Wales & South West to move and, I am assuming, to second. The CEC is supporting this group of motions so there will be no seconders.

GOVERNMENT TELLS EMPLOYERS THEY CAN OVERRIDE GP'S FIT NOTES

MOTION 104

104. GOVERNMENT TELLS EMPLOYERS THEY CAN OVERRIDE GP'S FIT NOTES

This Congress notes we are constantly seeing our members being forced back in to work and the Occupational Health Adviser overriding the GP's decision. Congress, we believe it is in the Occupational Therapists interests to get as many back to work as possible to show that they

can save the Company money. Congress, we are seeing colleagues coming out of the occupational therapists appointments crying. We are very concerned there are going to be serious consequences to our members' health and well-being especially with regards to mental health issues. The little noticed change was incorporated into the guidance on the fit note published by the Government in March 2013 and could allow an employer to give precedence to the views of an occupational health practitioner over those of a GP. How can the Occupational Therapist make a decision in just a short period of 15 minutes and override a GP with medical advice, taking into consideration the GP has the person's medical history and knows that person much more than the Occupational Therapist.

The Government have produced guidance for the sole reason just to get people back to work regardless of their medical condition. Furthermore, the occupational health person does not give a specific reason as to why they have overridden the GP's decision. The member of staff is notified that there is guidance in place to override the GP's decision and therefore will not be entitled to the Company sick pay scheme and may lead to disciplinary action if they do not return to work.

Conference agrees that any incoming Labour Government should repeal this guidance which discriminates against ordinary working people.

ASDA JOINT BRANCH
Wales & South West Region

(Carried)

BRO. D. ISMAY (Wales & South West): President and Congress, I move motion 104. The Government have indicated that employers may, in principle, be able to overrule GP's advice in a fit note as to whether a person is potentially fit to return to work. The little noticed change was incorporated into the guidance on the fit note published by the Government in March 2013 and this could allow an employer to give precedence to the views of an occupational health practitioner over those of a GP. Colleagues, we see colleagues coming out of their occupational health appointments crying. We are very concerned that, in some cases, undergoing cancer treatment may have been evaluated as "fit to return to work" all because they have turned up to the occupational health appointment.

Colleagues, occupation health professionals have a central role to play in allowing people to maintain and improve their health in their workplace and allowing them to recover fully. Please support this motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Dean. Is that motion formally seconded?

(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)

WORK RELATED STRESS MOTION 105

105. WORK RELATED STRESS

This Congress would like to bring your attention the significant problem of work related stress which is now one of the biggest problems for companies and unions alike. A recent report in the Welsh Ambulance Service shows that these people are more likely to suffer than most other jobs and this is just one important workforce being affected by work related stress.

This problem is present in numerous other jobs that may not be on the frontline but their mental health is affected exactly the same.

Up to one in four sickness absences from work are due to work related stress and those numbers are for people who have declared their absences as work related. There will be a large proportion for the other three in four workers who are sick but are using a different illness to cover their absences as they will be afraid or scared to admit to being ill through stress, especially male workers.

We need to get the Government the Health and Safety Executive, GMB and companies to address this problem.

We are not talking about the general pressures of daily work load that raise stress levels in the short term as this is part of a normal routine and give a rise in adrenalin to help you get past the problem for the short term need.

Currently, if a company sends an affected worker to occupational health for their stress it is deemed good enough for them to have discharged their legal responsibilities when it comes to a personal injury claim.

Most companies and unions alike are not looking at the root cause and there are no risk assessments done in most cases (and they should be the norm) for things like redundancies i.e. the mental effect on the staff going and those staying. This should take into account the extra workload, the loss of colleagues, the effect on home life and this should apply for a depot/office or factory closures. It should also not be taken for granted that moving locations for operational or rationalisation reasons will not have a detrimental effect on mental health.

Bankruptcy needs to be handled slightly differently but without losing sight of people's mental wellbeing.

We must all do more to address issues that lead to stress in the workplace. At the moment, a worker cannot claim for personal injury from their employer if they have sent them to occupational health. The only time you can claim is if you have PTSD or a diagnosed mental illness that the company have not taken into consideration. We are not saying that by allowing members to make a claim that this will get rid of the problems, as their wellbeing must come before anything else and we are aware that there are malingerers out there that will try to jump on the bandwagon but if it hits companies in the pocket it will go some way to get them to take mental health issues more seriously and address the problem.

Stress is not like a cut that you can see getting better and effect can last a very long time and in some extreme cases employers never recover so a great deal of thought and consideration should be put into changes of work patterns/workloads/moves our closures and environments that can lead to mental health issues.

So we urge Congress to support this Motion and get the appropriate departments to make it a legal requirement that all these issues are taken into account when changes are made.

WELSH WATER BRANCH
Wales & South West Region

(Carried)

BRO. P. HUNT (Wales & South West): Congress, I move motion 105. President, work-related stress is now one of the biggest problems for companies and unions

alike. A recent report from the Welsh Ambulance Service shows that people are more likely to suffer as ambulance personnel, and this is just one important workforce being affected by stress. This reciprocates itself in numerous other jobs that may not have such a frontline role, but their mental health is affected in exactly the same way. As many as one in four sickness absences from work are due to work-related stress, and those are the number of people who have actually declared that as the reason for their absence. It is believed that this figure could be significantly higher than people using other illnesses as they escape from admitting the real issue, especially male workers. We need to get the Government, the HSE, the GMB and companies to address this problem. We are not talking about the general pressures of a daily workload that raise stress levels as that is part of normal routine.

When it comes to personal injury claims, most companies and unions are not looking at the root cause, with very little or no risk assessments carried out when they should be standard practice. For example, with redundancies, risk assessments should be carried out to assess the effect of a person leaving and for those left behind to absorb the additional workload. It should also take into account the loss of a colleague and the effect on home-life balance. In moving location for operational or rationalisation reasons, is the effect of the mental wellbeing of the individuals taken into account?

We are not saying that by allowing members to make a claim it will eradicate the problem as their wellbeing is paramount. Also there will be people who try to jump on the claim bandwagon. If companies had to pay for the way they discharge their duties of care to their employees it would make them treat mental health as real and an increasing issue within the workplace. Work-related stress is not like a cut you can see heal, but it is long-lasting and extremely damaging, resulting in devastating effects on individuals and their families. Employers need to consider the changes to work patterns, workloads, reorganisations, closures, depot moves and any other changes in the workplaces. Mental health and the wellbeing of the people affected is paramount when these changes are made.

Mental health wellbeing within the workplace is an increasing issue, and I call upon Congress to promote and challenge the effects that it can have on our members.
Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Paul. Is that formally seconded?
(The motion was formally seconded from the floor) Thank you.

ELECTRONIC TRACKING DEVICES MOTION 106

106. ELECTRONIC TRACKING DEVICES

This Congress notes that the monitoring of employees via electronic devices has been an increasing concern to the GMB.

Congress further notes that CCTV, hidden cameras and car trackers are increasingly being used in workplaces and company vehicles. Companies are arguing that their use is designed to protect lone workers, increase safety and reduce fuel costs by monitoring driving speed. Unnecessary use of surveillance and monitoring have a detrimental effect on the workplace, reducing the level of trust, affecting productivity and increasing work related stress.

Congress calls on the Central Executive Council to implement a campaign to ensure employers follow good practice and act legally when operating surveillance measures in the workplace. Also to ensure that workers have a clear understanding and knowledge of their rights by producing a GMB guidance document on workplace surveillance.

NEWPORT COUNTY BOROUGH BRANCH
Wales & South West Region

(Carried)

BRO. H. WORKMAN (Wales & South West): Congress, I move motion 106: electronic tracking devices. President and delegates, we don't live in a totalitarian state, but sometimes it might feel like we work in one, given the increase in workplace surveillance by some employers. Many employers choose to monitor phone or on-line access by their employees, while others resort to CCTV to monitor activity at work. This is often justified as safeguarding staff, protecting business interests, ensuring the quality of customer service or compliance with legal and regulatory obligations. But too often employers fail to find the reasonable balance between the supposed purpose of the monitoring and an employee's right to privacy. Too often employers fail to assess the impact that monitoring may have on the workforce, or fail to inform staff of the nature and extent of the monitoring. Sometimes employers fail to make it clear how this information will be collected, stored and used. Many employers now use GPS in company vehicles to track how fast employees are driving, how long they take for breaks and where they are located. Placing tracking chips in mobile phones may soon become common custom at work.

Big-brother systems are now watching over about half of the workforce in this country, resulting increased anxiety, stress and already high staff turnovers. In unorganised workplaces, employers simply act on the assumption that staff are up to no good instead of building relationships of trust and confidence. In many workplaces, surveillance is just an exercise in asserting management power. The prevalence of intrusive surveillance is spreading across all industries, with those in lower-paid jobs more likely to experience it than those in professional and managerial roles. Surprise, surprise! To our union, the threat of increased surveillance presents an organising opportunity. As workplace organisers, we must canvass the opinions of our members, and where there are concerns we should campaign around the issue to build the profile of our union. Every organised workplace should be covered by a coherent surveillance and monitoring policy, setting out its clear code of practice to be applied fairly and consistently, a policy which counter-balances the interests of the employer with the rights of the employee to dignity and privacy.

Guidance for workplace organisers, to help them understand and negotiate the key points of these policies, would be a good start in addressing this issue. Thank you.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Hugh. Well done. Is that motion formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. Does anyone wish to speak against? *(No response)* No. Thank you. I will now put motions 104, 105 and 106 to the vote. The CEC is supporting all the motions. All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? They are carried.

Motion 104 was CARRIED.

Motion 105 was CARRIED.

Motion 106 was CARRIED.

INDUSTRIAL & ECONOMIC POLICY: General

THE PRESIDENT: I now move to agenda item 6: Industrial & Economic Policy: General debate. I call motions 214 and 213.

**TAXPAYERS HAVING TO MEET THE COSTS OF BAILING OUT THE BANKS AGAIN
MOTION 214**

214. TAXPAYERS HAVING TO MEET THE COSTS OF BAILING OUT THE BANKS AGAIN

Congress calls on the CEC to study the proposal from the previous Bank of England Governor Mervyn King to avoid the taxpayers having to meet the costs of bailing out the banks as they did in 2008.

The Governor calls for the Bank of England to adopt the role of Pawnbroker for all seasons whereby banks are able to borrow money from the central bank against assets but like in any Pawnbrokers the borrower does not get the full value of the assets used as collateral.

The Governor calls for clarity on the issue "of too big to fall" and says that banks as private sector organisations must pay the full market prices for compulsory insurance from the publicly owned central bank and that the Pawnbroker for all seasons role provides a market based solution to keep the costs away from the taxpayers.

Congress recognises that the issues involved are not readily understood but are crucial to avoid a repetition of 2008. Congress also calls for GMB MPS to press for Parliament to examine the proposal from the Governor for the Pawnbroker for all seasons role for the Central Bank to achieve this objective.

C28 CENTRAL BRANCH
Southern Region

(Carried)

BRO. J. HANRAHAN (Southern): Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. *(Applause)* I move motion 214: Taxpayers having to meet the costs of bailing out the banks again. Following the financial crash in 2008, people have paid the price for the bankers' greed. It is outrageous that working people have bailed out the banks and that the banks do not have to pay them back.

This Government keep talking about UK debt levels and they claim that is why they have imposed austerity on working class people. If banks were to repay all of the money with interest there would be no need for austerity. Imagine one of our members going to a bank and asking for a loan, and then said that they didn't want to pay it back. The bank would laugh at them. But this is, effectively, what has happened to the British taxpayer. There is a way of stopping this happening again. Mervyn King's proposal is for a Pawnbroker for all seasons. This is how it works. When things are calm, each bank must take its assets to the Bank of England shop, which casts a pawnbroker's eye over the lot and grades them. Government stocks might have a pawn rating of 100%, whilst riskier assets would be good for only a percentage of the costs. Some of the clever examples of financial engineering would

attract a savage write down. This is a way of making sure that banks only risk what they can afford. Leading up to 2008 the banks got away with murder. They feathered their own nests and the working class has been footing the bill. The banks benefited in the good times, but we should not have to pay for the bad times. A policy like this would go some way to ensuring that the British taxpayers never have to dig as deep again to bail out the banks. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Can that motion be formally seconded?
(The motion was formally seconded from the floor) Thank you.

OFFSHORING JOBS MOTION 213

213. OFFSHORING JOBS

This Congress should be recognising that offshoring jobs undermines the hopes, aspirations and job security of millions of low-paid working people across most sectors in the UK today.

The primary beneficiary being the millionaire corporate class whose objectives are diametrically opposed to that of the organised working class. Too often Unions looked the other way as millionaire hotshot men have destroyed the financial future of working class communities up and down the country by shipping jobs overseas. We must be front and centre from now on opposing this every time they attempt it. The people who actually do the jobs know the truth, they know offshoring functions and jobs actually make customer service worse. They are the ones that have to deal with the endless delays and errors that come back from outsourced, offshoring processing areas. Where we work, in the Energy Sector, this problem is widespread. All of the "Big 6" are engaged in wholesale offshoring in the search for ever greater profits at the expense of all else.

Congress we need to oppose this at every opportunity.

SCOTTISH GAS BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Carried)

BRO. C. WEATHERUP (GMB Scotland): Congress, I move motion 213 — Offshoring jobs. Let us be clear about this. There is one reason and one reason only why the big corporations ship jobs overseas. They do it for profit. They may dress up their intentions and they may bluff and bluster about efficiency savings. They may produce consultant reports to show how much customer service will improve. They may even pretend that they care about the workers here who will lose their jobs, but none of that masks the truth. They offshore jobs without care for those who they discard because they can utilise cheap labour elsewhere.

In the energy sector, the big six energy companies have substantially offshored in the past and continue to do so. Despite the high prices they charge and the substantial profits they make, the big six are unconcerned by the declining service to their customers, which is the result. Our members who work here are left to pick up the pieces, are being put under pressure to perform and are getting the blame for delays caused through offshoring. The situation is getting worse. It is a cynical, profit-driven and ruthless business model which exploits those employed overseas on lower wages and in poorer conditions.

Since this motion was submitted, we have seen a major meltdown of the British Airways computer system. This is a classic example of the problems caused by offshoring, which GMB has been at the forefront of criticising. It was absolute chaos. Thousands of flights were cancelled, thousands of customers were stranded and thousands of holidays were ruined. The system crashed so completely that the airline simply could not function at all. Only last year British Airways completely offshored its information technology function to India. Hundreds of GMB members, loyal and competent staff, were thrown out of work, and then the system crashed. Well, what a coincidence! But, Congress, we need to be concerned about the current and next rounds of offshoring as well as the results of previous bad decisions. This is still being embarked upon in the energy industry. With Brexit, we are only going to see more.

My GMB colleagues in the Scottish bottling industry — this is another example — are seeing big companies, like Diageo, move their jobs not to India but into the EU. Congress, we need to be ready to renew our fight against offshoring wherever it occurs. Let's show these companies that they cannot play with the job security and future hopes of GMB members. Please support the motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Chrisy. Well done. Is that formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. Does anyone wish to speak against? *(No response)* So I will now put motions 214 and 213 to the vote. The CEC is supporting. All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? Those are carried.

Motion 214 was CARRIED.

Motion 213 was CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: Colleagues, I have been joined on the platform by Linsey Mann, who was the National Health and Safety Officer at Head Office. On my left, is Maria Ludkin, our Director of Legal and Corporate Services. Of course, we have Jude Brimble, the National Secretary of Manufacturing. Welcome.

INDUSTRIAL & ECONOMIC POLICY: Manufacturing

THE PRESIDENT: I now want to take the next two items together. I want to take composite 14 and motion 172. I will then go back to motion 171. So we will start with composite 14, and I ask Yorkshire to move and North West to second.

EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED PEOPLE AND SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT COMPOSITE 14

C14. Covering Motions:

- 168. GMB SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT STRATEGY Yorkshire & N. Derbyshire Region
- 169. EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED PEOPLE AND THE MINIMUM WAGE North West & Irish Region

EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED PEOPLE AND SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT

This Congress recognises the massive decline in employment opportunities to people with disabilities brought on by this and the last Government.

The reduction in supported employment placements for disabled people from 22,000 in 2006 to just a small handful, has left people with disabilities without a choice of employment.

Furthermore the increase in the living wage has also affected people with disability employment. Large or medium sized companies are giving less opportunities to disabled people because of the cost.

The only way forward is to develop and encourage more not for profit organisations which can offer support and meaningful work.

We call upon this Congress to set out their stance on supported employment and come up with a viable strategy and a new GMB policy on supported employment which can be presented to the next Labour government.

Ideally any such policy needs to reflect the abilities of the working disabled and emphasise specifically the contribution that those with disabilities can make in today's society if given the opportunity. i.e. workplaces run by disabled people for disabled people.

The previous policy centred around the Remploy network needs to be resurrected, modified and modernised to reflect a new positive way forward and find a place for a modern supported employment program which through ring fenced finance can provide a support structure for long term meaningful employment.

GMB can be proud of its record in the field of supported employment, all too often, disabled people are left by the wayside – we believe that not-for-profit, social enterprises such as Enabled Works Limited are one way forward for Supported employment.

We call on the CEC to campaign with the Labour Party for the introduction of a subsidy for social enterprises such as Enabled Works and York Disabled Workers Cooperative of 50% of the living wage.

This would mean job security for disabled people, a hand up is better than a hand down, when Remploy closed its doors, the Government saved a £150 million a year a pure job subsidy would bring back into the workplace without costing anything near the 150 million pounds.

We ask for Congress to endorse this motion

(Carried)

BRO. P. STEER (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): Congress, I move composite 14. We call upon this Congress to set out its stance on supported employment and come up with a viable strategy and anew GMB policy on supported employment which can be presented to the next Labour government, which, hopefully, will be Thursday or Friday morning, if all things go well.

Ideally, any such policy needs to reflect the abilities of the workers, the working disabled and emphasise specifically the contribution that those with disabilities can make in today's society as much as normal people, assuming they are given the opportunities. Workplaces like Remploy, which was set up by a Labour government, is now near enough defunct. I believe that the only ones left are in Wales. All the others have been scaled back. This is not on. Disabled people have a right to work,

and we need to be able to encourage them, because they have got as much to give as everybody else. I want you to support this motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Phillip. I call the North West & Irish Region to second.

BRO. J. SMITH (North West & Irish): Congress, I second composite 14. Since the final closure of Remploy there are more than 6,000 less manufacturing jobs in the UK. The Government are £150 million better off and disabled people have less opportunity for work. A new approach is required and a future Labour government must be committed to bringing back a system of workplaces tailor made for disabled people. We do not want to bring back a system like Remploy where 480 managers, non-disabled, cost 40% of the subsidy. We want to see a new and vibrant way of working with disabled people, taking control of the means of the product, making decisions on all aspects of the business, supported by trade unions and part-financed by a wage subsidy.

For every disabled worker employed in an establishment owned by workers a wage subsidy of 50% should be paid by the Government. We want to see more social enterprises, such as workers' co-operatives, set up and not-for-profit organisations. We want to see a central fund to be established for start-ups and every local authority to provide rent-free properties. We want to see fully bona-fide organisations to start up businesses on the basis that I have described. GMB can play a leading role in this development and together we can bring back the much-needed support that disabled people have lost.

Recently, in York Disabled Co-operative a young man who had never spoken since childhood started a work experience. Our members are working with him to prepare him for his future. Without the York Disabled Co-operative there would be nowhere for him to go, nowhere whatsoever.

Comrades, I fully support the direction of the GMB and the Labour Party on bringing out a new Living Wage of £10 an hour. I also agree that each disabled person working in establishments like social enterprises and workers' co-operatives deserve the same rate of pay as any able-bodied person. This is why this much-needed subsidy is required to top up the wage. Please support our vision for change.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Joseph. Is the motion formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Let me make this comment. No-one, but no-one, pulled every stop in the book to save our Remploy jobs as did this union. I was so proud of my union, but in the end the Tories won. Labour must not get off the hook either. They felt the other end of my tongue. I still feel that, maybe, we should let them go a bit more. Thank you. For the new delegates, just to let you know, we did not stop for nothing. Paul Kenny and the regions did so much to help. Thank you. *(Applause)*

COMMERCIAL SHIPBUILDING IN THE UK MOTION 172

172. COMMERCIAL SHIPBUILDING IN THE UK

This Congress calls upon the GMB, by all means possible, to campaign for the return of a viable commercial shipbuilding industry, now that the UK has voted to leave the EU and therefore will not be bound by any directives affecting commercial shipbuilding.

B05 BARROW 5 BRANCH
Northern Region

(Carried)

BRO. B. SAMPLE (Northern): Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. *(Applause)* I move motion 172: Commercial shipbuilding in the UK. The commercial shipbuilding industry has been blighted for decades by privatisation, lack of vision and cutting the rate for the jobs. Last year the UK voted to leave the European Union. I fully realised that the shipbuilding industry has adopted a very short-term approach to the industry and our members. Too many big firms have been only interested in their short-term profits or keeping their current paymasters happy with little thought for going out and getting wide and varied work.

Congress, the reality is that in the UK the shipbuilding industry has a golden opportunity. We have a chance to rebuild our shipbuilding industry. We also have the chance, once again, to demonstrate that we are a maritime nation and we can use our own decision-making abilities in the UK to develop a new approach to commercial shipbuilding. When we do that, we will see our members prosper. If we fail as a nation to take the opportunity and use this facility, we will then have failed our people. If we fail as a trade union to campaign by not making a success of our shipbuilding industry, we will be failing our members, their families and our communities. Please support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Brian. Is that motion formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. We will now deal with motion 171, which is to be moved by Wales & South West Region. We will then go on to deal with motions 173, 174 and 177.

THE PARKER REPORT MOTION 171

171. THE PARKER REPORT

This Congress agrees the importance of placing the UK naval shipbuilding industry on a sustainable basis for the long-term future by way of developing and introducing a coherent strategy.

We call upon Congress, therefore, to give its full support to the recommendations of the Independent Parker Report into the country's national shipbuilding strategy.

DEVONPORT BRANCH
Wales & South West Region

(Carried)

BRO. N. WARN (Wales & South West): Congress, I move motion 171, The Parker Report. President and Congress, the Parker Report on the future of shipbuilding in this country presents a great opportunity to re-vitalise this great industry of ours. It follows year after year of delay and cost increases to warship construction, and it sets out a transparent 30-year shipbuilding plan. It also permits the revival of commercial shipbuilding and repair within the UK, which is relatively weak. There is a real prospect of yards like Appledore and Devonport, in my region, to really expand and start winning foreign orders again.

The report also, and quite rightly, recognises the shortage of skilled staff reported by the National Engineers Guild in this country. It also referred to the average workforce age in the shipbuilding sector being around the mid-40s. There is a pressing need to attract more young people into these jobs and improve the chances of training through apprenticeships. The harsh reality is that without the influx of younger talent, both the Royal Navy and the defence industry faces a bleak future. Shipbuilding must also embrace digital engineering technology as the techniques now available can deliver significant efficiencies. By using high-skilled and well-paid workers, we have a real prospect of good job security. Regrettably, the Royal Navy has been seriously depleted by policies of all ships having to work well past their retirement date due to chaotic delays in ordering and building replacements. Ministers use the cash that is available to use ships in service much longer than planned. This situation has an increase on costs in the long term. Depletion of the fleet and higher costs to the taxpayer is the result of the flawed approach.

Let me take, as an example, the delay in building the Type 26 Frigate, which is a crucial means of protection for our aircraft carriers and observing enemy submarines. They were conceived as far back as 1997 and yet the first steel was cut in November of last year. In contrast it took five years to build a whole fleet of luxury cruisers and liners for the Royal Caribbean Line's Quantum class. What a great urgency that is, the national security of posh cruise ships for the wealthy!

The Parker Report should act as a wake-up call to Ministers who have presided over damaging cuts affecting the capability of the Royal Navy. The National Shipbuilding Procurement Strategy must action the key recommendations of the Parker Report. However, one thing must be clear, and that is the overwhelming need to ensure the future of our UK shipbuilding onshore contracts. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Nigel. Formally seconded? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. I call motion 173.

NORTH SEA DE-COMMISSIONING MOTION 173

173. NORTH SEA DE-COMMISSIONING

This Congress notes the publication of the report Status, Capacity and Capability of North Sea De-Commissioning Facilities, commissioned by GMB Scotland and the fact that UK taxpayers will be liable for a significant share of the North Sea de-commissioning costs over the next Forty Years.

Recent estimates associated with fields across the UK Continental Shelf mean an increasing financial burden will be placed on the Treasury in the form of Tax refunds to Oil and Gas companies, potentially as much as 75% of the out-turn costs.

Average costs for North Sea de-commissioning expenditure are growing by 14% per year, with the final cost of decommissioning now expected to be in excess of £100 billion.

The report authors, CRF Consultants, propose that urgent focus should be placed in three key areas - Life of Field Extension, Decommissioning Execution, and Job Retention – and have identified where Scotland could realise significant value and compete against more established foreign competitors.

This Congress supports every effort to extend the life of North Sea Fields and to sustain production and maintenance jobs but believes that if we don't act fast on decommissioning too then it could mean the worst of all worlds: A chance to boost economic and employment prospects lost and the Tax payer paying for the clean-up of the North Sea while other countries profit from decommissioning at our expense.

This Congress therefore calls for the UK and Scottish Government to bring forward an urgent investment programme to get UK and Scottish Ports and Fabrication Yards “decommissioning ready”, allowing the country to compete for a “market share” it will ultimately pay for.

ABERDEEN CITY A13 BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Carried)

SIS. E. MARTIN (GMB Scotland): Congress, I move motion 173, North Sea De-Commissioning. Since 1975 oil extraction from the North Sea has provided well-paid jobs and economic prosperity. As now the North Sea production is dwindling, the oil rigs are coming towards the end of their useful life, we face a very different story. That is because the cost of de-commissioning the North Sea oil rigs could be absolutely crippling. UK taxpayers will be liable for a significant share of these costs over the next 40 years. The estimated final cost of de-commissioning in the North Sea is expected to be more than £100 billion. If you put that into perspective, Congress, the allocation of money to be spent on education in 2018 is £84 billion.

In the North Sea there are about 470 of these giant oil rigs. Each weigh several thousand tonnes and, including the underwater section, each structure is the size of the Eiffel Tower. By 2035 all of these de-commissioned rigs, plus 10,000 kilometres of steel pipeline will have to be transported ashore so that they can be broken up. It is an enormous project that will sustain employment for many years to come. This process has already begun, with the first of the huge structure strapped to a massive barge and taken to Rotterdam. Ninety-five rigs located within the UK sector of the oil fields are due to be de-commissioned by the year 2025. Congress, it is absolutely unquestionable that work of this type should be carried within our shores. We have communities in both Scotland and elsewhere in the UK that are crying out for the growth in job opportunities that would result. What is needed, and needed now, is urgent action by our governments. If they don't act fast, we will end up paying the cost of the clean up without getting any benefits. We certainly cannot afford to miss this opportunity to develop an expertise in offshore de-commissioning. We must be able to compete for the work that we, as taxpayers, will be funding. It is absolutely essential for jobs and our prosperity. To miss this chance would be madness. GMB in

Scotland is determined to fight for the investment urgently needed in North Sea decommissioning. This will greatly benefit our GMB members in our manufacturing sector and it will bring valuable work to ports and fabrication yards throughout Scotland and the UK for years to come. Please support this motion. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Elizabeth. Formally seconded? (*The motion was formally seconded from the floor*) Thank you. I now call motion 174.

DEFENCE INDUSTRY IN SCOTLAND MOTION 174

174. DEFENCE INDUSTRY IN SCOTLAND

This Congress notes the publication of the report *The Defence Industry in Scotland* commissioned from the Fraser of Allander Institute at Strathclyde University by GMB Scotland and its conclusion that there are 38,400 directly employed jobs in the Aerospace, Defence, Marine and Sector in Scotland, including nearly six thousand jobs supported by defence shipbuilding on the Upper Clyde and nearly four thousand jobs in the Firth of Forth, these defence shipbuilding activities alone provide more than £267 million in wage payments across Scotland. Congress further notes the conclusions of the *Parker Review* of naval shipbuilding in the UK which calls for UK shipyards to work even more closely together to deliver upon the substantial opportunities to build world-leading defence ships for export.

This Congress believes in the vital importance of the defence industry in Scotland and the need for Scottish and UK politicians to face up to the need for the long-term planning for the success of this industry against a backdrop of continued constitutional uncertainty, vague political aspirations for diversification, and the frustration of workers in the ship and dock yards at defence contracts being used as a political football.

This Congress therefore calls on the UK Government to make clear its commitment to UK sovereign capability in defence shipbuilding by committing to the building on the UK of the three planned Royal Fleet Auxiliary support vessels, maintenance and routine refitting of the two aircraft carriers built by the Aircraft Carrier Alliance at Rosyth in the Forth and the delivery of the Type 26 frigate programme in full and in line with the promises that were made to shipbuilders on the Clyde in advance of the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence.

CLYDEBANK NO3 ENGINEERING BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(*Carried*)

BRO. M. LYNN (GMB Scotland): Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. (*Applause*) I move motion 174, Defence Industry in Scotland. It is almost impossible to overstate the importance of the defence industry to Scotland's economy. In the Scottish defence and marine sector there are over 38,000 directly-employed jobs. This includes almost 6,000 jobs supported by defence shipbuilding on the Clyde, and nearly 4,000 in the Firth of Forth. In Scotland, defence shipbuilding activities alone are responsible every year for more than £267 million in wages. The corresponding benefit in terms of the defence industry supply chain is also enormous.

The numbers of people employed and the wages earned are absolutely crucial to thousands of working people. Congress, these are skilled jobs bringing home good wages, helping to sustain and develop working communities, so it is nothing more than simple common sense for Scottish and UK politicians to support and develop this

sector of the economy. After all, the prosperity of countless numbers of working people depend on it. This means doing some serious long-term planning for the defence industry and not using defence contracts as political footballs. It means developing a strategy for success, not playing politics with the livelihoods of GMB members, and it means keeping promises, not making empty statements at election time.

Of course, the defence industry is not just important for Scotland. A commitment for shipyards across the UK to work more closely together is essential. Only then can UK build the world class defence ships that our workers are capable of delivering. Only then could we make the most of the enormous export potential that exists for these vessels. That is why GMB Scotland is calling for a clear, honest and unwavering political commitment to UK defence shipbuilding. We must not allow future shipbuilding contracts to be sent offshore. That would be a massive betrayal for British manufacturing. We want certainty and honesty about the promise to build the new Royal Fleet Auxiliary support vessels. We want certainty and honesty about the refitting and maintenance of the two aircraft carriers built at Royal Navy dockyards.

Colleagues, our politicians must act and encourage the foundations of a modern, efficient and competitive shipbuilding sector, capable of meeting the country's future defence and security needs. The country needs it, our members need it, our defence industry needs it and our politicians must listen and act. Please support the motion.
(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Malcolm. Well done. Formally seconded? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: I now call Motion 177, Support the UK Brick Industry/Build Houses. Like we don't need them!

SUPPORT THE UK BRICK INDUSTRY/BUILD HOUSES MOTION 177

177. SUPPORT THE UK BRICK INDUSTRY / BUILD HOUSES

This Congress notes the huge contribution the GMB members make in the production of bricks in the UK.

Congress believes that currently the UK Brick Industry is in an extremely difficult situation and one to which as a country if we are not careful could see a decline in jobs in future years.

Congress also notes that too much imports of bricks are coming into the UK and therefore the Government needs to act to stem the amount of imports and therefore enable the brick industry to survive and prosper.

Congress is appalled at the on-going housing crisis in the UK and demands that the present Government start building houses before crisis gets even worse.

Congress we therefore need to campaign for

1. Increase private/council sector home building

2. Ensure stable house prices that do not outstrip affordability or trap buyers
3. Affordable mortgages for first time buyers
4. Ensure a very substantial increase in social house building – local authorities to be able to raise finance to build
5. Ensure that UK construction supply chain gets maximum benefit
6. Quality employment in housing construction and supply chain
7. Cutting the amount of imports coming into the UK

K10 KIDDERMINSTER BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

BRO. D. DWYERS (Birmingham & West Midlands): This Congress notes the huge contribution that GMB members make in the production of house bricks in the UK. We believe that the UK brick industry is in a difficult situation and one to which as a country, if not careful, there will be declining jobs and factory closures in future years. We believe that too many imports are coming into the UK. We need to campaign for the Government to act to stem the imports for the brick industry to survive and prosper and protect our jobs for the future. We are fed up of factory layoffs every year due to house-building being slow and no stability in the construction market. Congress, let's campaign for increase of council and private sector home building, affordable mortgages for first time buyers, and ensure stable house prices everyone can afford, a large increase in social housing building, help the local authorities to be able to raise finance to build homes, ensure the UK construction supply chain gets maximum benefit, quality employment in construction and supply chain jobs, get the developers building and release more land that they have instead of drip feeding the market and keeping house prices high. Congress, I move.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Dale. Well done. Formally seconded? I think I heard a little tweet. Thank you very much.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: We now move to 178, 179, and 180, London Region to move.

**LONDON LIVING WAGE FOR ALL FOOD FACTORY WORKERS IN LONDON
MOTION 178**

178. LONDON LIVING WAGE FOR ALL FOOD FACTORY WORKERS IN LONDON

This Congress states that all food factory workers in London should receive the London Living Wage as a minimum. It has been recognised that for so long food factory workers have been exploited by being paid low wages by food companies that have made vast profits at the expense of the workers and this should stop now.

Food factory workers should be paid a London Liveable wage working in London especially with the ever rising cost of living and increasing transport costs.

This Congress instructs the CEC to implement this motion and to support a campaign to get the London Living Wage in all Food Factories in London.

(Carried)

BRO. G. DOWNEY (London): First Congress, first time speaker. *(Applause)*
Congress, for a number of years now the GMB has had a clear policy of calling for the living wage to be set at £10 per hour irrespective of a person's age. As a union, we believe that every worker, whatever their age, deserves this amount to be the basic minimum they need to live on. This motion is not an attempt to change that policy but what this motion is seeking to do is highlight a particularly vulnerable and low paid group of workers, for people working in the food processing and manufacturing sector. These people are often migrant or young workers and employers often see them as easy prey to low wages and poor terms and conditions of service.

Congress, we can change that. Low pay and poor conditions are not something we, or the people working in that industry, should accept. They deserve better. We already have a number of workers in food processing plants and factories and, in some cases, we have union recognition agreements that allow us to collectively bargain for better pay and conditions but, if we are honest, we as a union need to do better. We need to increase our presence in that sector of the economy. We need to recruit members in food processing and manufacturing plants. Once we have, we then need to ensure we get recognition agreements with employers so we can campaign for decent wages, decent terms and conditions of service. In other words, Congress, we need to put the principles of GMB@Work into practice and, colleagues, this is exactly what we have done at Eat Foods in Wembley, where last week it was announced GMB won a recognition ballot against an employer hell bent on keeping the GMB out but this did not happen overnight. *(Applause)* Our members remained loyal and they stuck to their convictions with such vigour. We had the issues to campaign around, protecting of terms and conditions, and low pay, and getting to our GMB £10 per hour or more objective will not happen immediately but we are now in a position to negotiate and influence and put the GMB agenda firmly on the table, including consolidating and growing the GMB membership.

Campaigns that raise the issues and highlight the problems will only take us so far. What we really need is a coordinated campaign that has clear objectives around raising a group of workers out of poverty wages. This is achieved not just by highlighting the issue but recruiting and organising the workforce. GMB has a strategy to achieve these objectives. It is called GMB@Work. Congress, let us put GMB@Work into practice within the food processing industry. Congress, I move the motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Is it formally seconded, London?

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: Before you start, could I take this opportunity to thank Louise Gilmore in GMB Scotland office and Edringtons for their kind donation of our commemorative GMB whisky made by our members. Make sure you pick up your bottle. Only one!

SCOTCH WHISKY INDUSTRY MOTION 179

179. SCOTCH WHISKY INDUSTRY

This Congress notes that Scotch whisky is the single biggest net contributor to the UK's balance of trade in goods. Ninety per cent of Scotch whisky is exported outwith the UK and of £3.8 billion whisky exports last year, almost a third was shipped to the European Union. The United Kingdom's vote to leave the EU has implications for Excise Duty and for VAT payable in other markets and will see the UK lose tariff reductions which have been negotiated through EU agreements in some parts of the world including countries in the Far East, South America and Southern Africa unless transition arrangements are put in place and new deals negotiated separately. Continuing uncertainty over the outcomes of the UK-EU Brexit negotiations are therefore creating uncertainty in an industry which, as well as being a vital component of UK exports, is also a major employer with 13,000 Scottish jobs directly reliant upon Scotch Whisky, 7,000 of these jobs are in rural or isolated communities.

This Congress believes that union jobs in the Scotch Whisky Industry are vital to the success of both the Scottish and UK economies and that Brexit negotiations and UK trade and industry policy must give the same priority to the Scotch Whisky industry as to other high-profile sectors of the UK economy such as the automotive industry.

Congress therefore endorses the GMB Scotland campaign to ensure that the jobs of GMB members in the Scotch whisky industry and calls on both the UK and Scottish Government to work together to understand the challenges of Brexit for Scotch Whisky and to secure open markets for UK exports regardless of where in the UK the jobs are concentrated.

CLYDE BONDING BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Carried)

SIS. B. CARSON (GMB Scotland): Congress, whether you vote to leave or to remain in Europe the indisputable fact is that as the politicians negotiate our departure from the European Union we face a period of great uncertainty. Regardless of your personal views on the EU and Brexit we all have one thing in common, we know that there are thousands of GMB members who face the prospect of upheaval in their industry, members whose jobs are at risk. For certain workers Brexit has very serious implications because the companies that employ them rely greatly on export.

Nowhere in Scotland is the uncertainty and the worry greater than the Scotch whisky industry. The success of the Scotch whisky industry relies almost exclusively on export. 90% of Scotch whisky is exported to markets outside of the UK with almost one-third of those exports going to the European Union, so Brexit has a massive implication for this industry and its workforce. Exports could be affected not just in European countries but the Far East and South America, which currently enjoy tariff reductions because of the EU agreement. Congress, the uncertainty about Brexit is destabilising the Scotch whisky industry and our members who work in it. This industry is a major employer in Scotland with 13,000 jobs directly relying on it, including the bottling of other spirits. 7,000 of these jobs are in rural and isolated Scottish communities. Losing jobs is unthinkable. Real people, real communities, and real jobs, not just numbers for the Tory Brexiteers to play fast and loose with.

Congress, our members working in the Scottish whisky industry need reassurance about their future from both the UK and the Scottish governments. They need to know that the importance of their industry is recognised and given the same priority as other industries, like the car industry. They need to know the transition agreement will be put in place and as a matter of urgency that new trade deals will be negotiated. We must be able to successfully export Scotch whisky after Brexit. Congress, the politicians must not lose sight of how much the whisky industry benefits both the Scottish and the UK economy. They must do everything in their power to support those who work in it. Please support this motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Brenda, can I just have clarification? I know which one you were moving, but for the writers, was it 179? *(Confirmed)* Thank you. Formally seconded?

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Motion 180, Tied Pubs and the Scottish Brewing Industry, Scotland. The bane of my life!

TIED PUBS AND THE SCOTTISH BREWING INDUSTRY MOTION 180

180. TIED PUBS AND THE SCOTTISH BREWING INDUSTRY

This Congress notes that the provisions of the UK Pub Code Regulations 2016 and the powers of the Pub Code Adjudicator, which GMB was instrumental in campaigning for, do not apply to Scotland and therefore welcomes the campaign by GMB Scotland and the Scottish Licensed Trade Association to secure overdue reform of the Scottish tied pubs market. Whilst the Scottish tied pub market is substantially different from that in other parts of the UK, many of the same issues do arise and the current arrangements are iniquitous for many tied pub tenants in Scotland and disadvantageous for many smaller brewers, including Tennent Caledonian, who find their products locked out of tied pubs.

This Congress believes that the Scottish pub market should not be more vulnerable to the expanding tied pub model without the protection of a statutory pub code or tenants having access to full market option if they choose. Nor should smaller brewers be disadvantaged by a market model which puts the interests of the big PubCos first, rather than the local brewing industry which is an important part of Scotland's distinctive food and drink sector. In the case of Tennent Caledonian, employing more than 500 people in the East End of Glasgow and brewing some of Scotland's most popular pub brands.

This Congress therefore calls on the Scottish Government to stand up for Scottish tied pub tenants, workers in the Scottish brewing industry, including GMB members in Tennent Caledonian, and consumer choice by supporting a statutory pubs code for Scotland as proposed by West of Scotland MSP, Neil Bibby's Tied Pubs (Code and Adjudicator) (Scotland) Bill.

GLASGOW 5 BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Carried)

BRO. F. McNEILL (GMB Scotland): Mary, just before I move the motion, I would like to say the lovely words in gratitude you passed on to our GMB Scotland last

night. I know that you have been ill and one thing and another, but it was very kind and humble of you to say that. I will pass it on at lunchtime. The lady has not been well over the piece but it is a credit to her so if you could take time off for a couple of minutes and I will whisper in your ear. Well done. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: It is not whispering you're doing. Thank you.

BRO. F. McNEILL (GMB Scotland): Congress, GMB Scotland had a fantastic campaign. The union fought to reform the pub industry. GMB campaign resulted in 2006 in the Pub Code regulations and the appointment of the Pub Code adjudicator to deal with disputes with tied pub owners and their tenants. This was an important step forward. The success of the campaign with the regulator and powerful pub companies was without doubt for the benefit of the customer and public alike. The moves to tackle exploitation of tied pubs and also the huge pub companies were long overdue. Under new regulations the large pub owners/companies are now obliged to follow suit, the rule on the fair rent and the way that they sell their products to their tenants in tied pubs.

Unfortunately, Congress, these new rules, and the adjudication of them, are only complied with in England and in Wales. In Scotland these legal revisions are not in place so Scottish tied pubs remain vulnerable to unfair treatment by the big owners of the tied pub industry. Our members need action to tackle inequality and for the existence of the Scottish pub market tied publicans need fairness, customers need more choice, and also given the choice of many others where they can pick up a pint of the local brewery, such as GMB members in Scotland, tenants in Caledonia, and the Wellpark Brewers in Glasgow, rather than the multinational brand which does not suit.

We need the Scottish government to stand up for them. Once again, the Scottish workers have found an SNP government wanting when it comes to its protection and make sure it happens. Our members need and also deserve the same protection as the 2006 Pub Code and regulations have given the tied pub chains south of the border. This needs a statutory Pub Code, not a system which can be ignored. In Scotland the Scottish Licence Trade Association has called for this to happen. The bill has been proposed by NSP to bring the statutory regulations to Scotland and also call the Scottish government to support. It is the bill for Scottish government itself ----

THE PRESIDENT: Fran, please wind up. Whispering in my ear last night isn't going to help you!

BRO. F. McNEILL (GMB Scotland): I move. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Formally seconded?

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I now call the mover of 208, Northern Region. I will then be passing over to Malcolm for five minutes. Thank you. Northern.

INDUSTRIAL & ECONOMIC POLICY: GENERAL

INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY MOTION 208

208. INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

This Congress notes that the Government's announcements in recent months are an implicit criticism of previous Governments who have failed to adequately address long term solutions to the need for Vocational Qualifications and Apprenticeships, as complimentary qualifications to University Degrees.

Congress, however, notes that the Government seems intent on pursuing an economic model post Brexit of a low tax economy as well as a potential race to the bottom in jobs and wages. Congress is also appalled that within the Government's Green Paper proposals there is no mention of the role of key social partners such as Trade Unions.

Congress therefore calls on Government to clarify where it feels Trade Unions fit in within its Industrial Framework and Congress calls on the Labour Party to clearly state where its policy is on this key area of the UK economy as part of its policy making process for its general election manifesto.

Congress calls on the CEC to monitor progress with the implementation of this motion.

C17 METAL BOX CARLISLE IND BRANCH
Northern Region

(Carried)

BRO. J. WARCUP (Northern): First time delegate, first time speaker. *(Applause)*
Congress, politicians from across various governments and especially the current one have never been able to get a settled position on vocational qualifications and apprenticeships. The sector seems to have been pulled from pillar to post over many decades and those who are trying their best to help with improving skills have always been a Cinderella service. Training and development is the first to get cut when budgets are tight, and they are the last to get resources when in fact we need constant training and development at post-16.

Congress, as we move to a position where the UK leaves the European Union we need an industrial policy that is focused on training and development and helping the UK make a success of the future. For example, our union's proud record in manufacturing and the strategy we have is a great model to adopt that will help make the success of the UK's approach to the future, if only policymakers would adopt this. We are clear, Congress, we know Labour's position on trade unions and our vital role in the future of the UK economy. We need the government to show that they think the role of trade unions and their members is in building a future for the country in terms of training and development. As our General Secretary, Tim Roache, said recently when the Tories announced their policy on workers' rights, we are not holding our breath. We are sick and tired of the UK's failure to use the power of government to drive industrial policy and growth. If government fails to adopt the policy of leading and helping post-16 in training and education it will be a total failure of this and future generations as we move to a future beyond Europe. I move.
(Applause)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, John. The mover of Motion 209, Midland?

PRODUCTIVITY & AUTOMATION MOTION 209

209. PRODUCTIVITY & AUTOMATION

This Congress calls on the GMB to investigate the threat of job losses, due to productivity and automation in the Government's autumn statement.

NOTTINGHAM TEC BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

(Carried)

BRO. P. SOPER (Midland & East Coast): Almost 48% of Brits fear automation will have a negative effect on them. Disappearing jobs can be a frightening concept and impossible to know exactly which jobs are safe. Alexander Hitchcock report says robots could replace 250,000 public sector workers, 90,000 National Health admin posts, 24,000 GP receptionists, and that is without the figures for the other industries.

Such a rapid advance in the use of technology would result in massive job losses. The main reason for the use of technology is it could save the public purse £26bn a year and massive profits in the private sector. It would be wrong to say productivity is going to create a great increase in automation in sectors like retail but it will be a contributing factor to the acceleration of automation in most other sectors. It will have a high impact on employment levels. The CEC are right, the motion does imply some of the job losses are due to productivity, which I believe is true. For instance, the national living wage, the Government's adviser on productivity, Sir Charles Mayfield, said the national living wage will be a spur for productivity because it will encourage more automation; just get rid of us, like.

A current example where productivity can cause job losses is simple, train guards, get rid of them and your production has gone up 50%, but that does not make it safe for the trains. Quite right, the GMB continues to call for higher productivity to close the gap on the rest of the G7, that is, from 18%, but what the motion is saying is that it is not that black and white. As we are all aware, it is not the fault of the workforce, there has been a number of explanations for the deterioration of productivity: the poor quality of the UK roads, railways, broadband networks, and the shrinkage of the financial sector which had been a great source of high productivity jobs before the boom and the crash in 2007. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Phil. Secunder? Formally. Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Gordon Richardson, from Birmingham to speak on behalf of the CEC. Gordon.

BRO. G. RICHARDSON (CEC, Manufacturing): Speaking on behalf of the CEC, supporting Composite 14, Motions 172, 178, 209, with qualifications, and supporting Motions 177 and 208 with a statement. I will start with the qualifications first.

The vision for change on Composite 14 outlines the difficulties the supported employment sector has faced over the years. There have been significant issues with funding, which has been cut since the Conservatives have been in power both in coalition and in majority. The qualification is that the motion suggests that supported employment employers can only be successful with subsidies negating any possibility that they can be profitable in their own right. The GMB have through the TULO group put forward a policy to be included in this election's manifesto which came around much faster than anticipated. We will continue to work with a Labour team, hopefully in government or as a shadow department, on improving the condition for those in the supported sector.

On Brian's motion, 172, it is important the shipbuilding in the UK is a diverse and innovative industry. It is an industry which employs a vast array of skills and communities have built on this industry. Do not take this as a criticism anyone in shipbuilding but the qualification is that it is not just EU directives which have stunted the growth of commercial shipbuilding. There has been an issue with the large shipbuilding companies depending only on government defence contracts which has made the UK shipbuilding a political football allowing for debate on the UK defence fleet to put jobs in that industry at risk. Reticence to diversify over decades has meant that work has been cut back and communities built on this industry have been affected detrimentally.

On Motion 178, the qualification is that a GMB living wage is £10 an hour, and above. We expect that any campaign taking place on this matter will be used as its benchmark, not as a ceiling but as a start.

On Motion 209, the Government's approach to raise productivity was outlined in the November 2016 autumn statement and this would form their industrial strategy. We welcome a debate on the impact of jobs. However, the motion implies some job losses are due to productivity, which is not necessarily the case. We are aware that automation and digitalisation can result in job losses but we are working on long-term plans for our industrial and manufacturing strategy. The GMB manufacturing section continues to work to improve productivity in order to close the gap on our UK's European competitors but there needs to be an improved infrastructure in place for this and investment.

Finally, the CEC is supporting Motions 177, on the brick industry, and 208, as they cover important issues which are included in the manufacturing section industrial strategy. The section has been working tirelessly this year to launch *We are Making It* because we still make things in the UK, which celebrates manufacturing jobs but also sets out demands for the Government and industry to ensure that quality jobs are created and maintained. Our key demands in this campaign are for government to create an environment that encourages manufacturing employers to invest; a procurement strategy that supports the UK industries, not hamper them; trade deals that deliver for workers and industry and avoid damaging tariffs on British goods; to build strong UK base supply chains to support local communities; to tackle barriers to work wherever they exist, and for all to be able to work; getting back to the energy policy statement, a balanced policy that provides sustainability and security in the UK. We are at an incredibly important turning point for our economy and the UK

manufacturing sector will be crucial to build a strong UK post-EU. Therefore, we will be encouraging all activists to support the GMB demands for manufacturing in the UK.

Therefore, Congress, please support Composite 14, Motions 172, 178, and 209 with these qualifications, and endorse our industrial strategy and support Motions 177 and 208. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Gordon. Yorkshire and North West & Irish accept the qualification on Composite 14? (*Agreed*) Northern accept the qualification on 172? (*Agreed*) Birmingham and Northern accept the statement on 177 and 208? (*Agreed*) London accept the qualification on 178 and Midland accept the qualification on 209? (*Agreed*) Thank you. I will now go to the vote. Composite 14 and Motions 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, and 179, 180, 208 and 209, all those in favour please show. Any against? They are carried.

Composite 14 was CARRIED.

Motion 171 was CARRIED.

Motion 172 was CARRIED.

Motion 173 was CARRIED.

Motion 174 was CARRIED.

Motion 177 was CARRIED.

Motion 178 was CARRIED.

Motion 179 was CARRIED.

Motion 180 was CARRIED.

Motion 208 was CARRIED.

Motion 209 was CARRIED.

EMPLOYMENT POLICY: RIGHTS AT WORK

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Could I now ask for Motions 138, Yorkshire, 140, London, 141, London, 142, London, 145, Northern, and 146 Midland, to come down to the rostrum, please, and Motion 138, Yorkshire, to come to the rostrum.

FOSTER CARE AND BOGUS EMPLOYMENT MOTION 138

138. FOSTER CARE AND BOGUS EMPLOYMENT

This Congress, we call on our union to campaign for the end to bogus employment practices within local authority foster care and ask that Council's recognise that although not defined by statute as employees, foster carers are treated as employed. Even where Council's allow foster carers to seek employment separate to their foster care commitment, and many do not, the requirement to be available at all times whilst caring for a child makes separate employment impossible. Holiday allowances and respite and 52 week payments should therefore be enshrined in all local authority foster care agreements.

BRIGHOUSE GENERAL BRANCH
Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region

(*Carried*)

BRO. B. CAIN (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): First time delegate, first time speaker. *(Applause)* Bogus employment practices regarding foster carers and local authorities are eroding the future for looked after children. With an inability to seek additional employment to supplement their income due to the commitments and requirements of the role, mean they are suffering financially. We have to question why local authorities can even consider cutting foster care allowances to save money when these valued individuals in most cases are working 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, and the majority end up with less than a living wage when they support the most vulnerable young people in society. This forces them to go to independent fostering agencies, which is much costlier for the local authority to pay for. Without statutory employment rights, or even basic rights, these individuals are unable to organise effectively and be heard by those who can make a difference.

The GMB has begun the campaign with representations to the Education Committee enquiring into fostering, amendments to the Children's Social Work Bill to be debated at the foster carers' stock-take, and lobbying of local MPs and local authority officers to take the matter seriously and stop cuts being made. We need to do more, though. We ask Congress to support the campaign. We ought to deliver foster carers being recognised as professionals with access to full statutory rights, holiday pay, sick pay, pensions, skills payments and fees, and access the trade union representation so we can give them a voice, standardisation of local authority and looked after children practices, be able to claim expenses without delay through a simplified process, better support and stronger integration with social workers and for their working opinion to be valued equally, ongoing training and support throughout their time as a foster carer and for paid adaptations required to support the child that is being placed with them not to come out of their own pockets and the local authorities to pay for it.

These are but a few things that we would like to see for foster carers. However, this cannot be delivered without support so we call on this Congress to support this motion and build the campaign for foster carers and provide a better future for them, which is valued and recognised as providing excellent care for the young people who will become the adults of tomorrow. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Benjamin. 140, London.

DISCRIMINATION OF THE LOWER PAID YOUNG WORKFORCE MOTION 140

140. DISCRIMINATION OF THE LOWER PAID YOUNG WORKFORCE

This Congress recognises the London Region Equality Group's campaign for equal fair pay to young workers.

We feel that this campaign is worthwhile, to be supported at Congress.

We urge Congress to support a campaign nationally and petition Parliament to get justice for our young colleagues.

STANSTED AIRPORT BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. W. OSWICK (London): Since January when submitting this motion and I thank the CEC for their support, so much has changed. I was prepared to stand up here and shout and campaign for your support, write petitions as recognition of the London Region's equality group's fight for the right for equal pay for all. Six months is a long time in politics. It feels like a lifetime. May announced yet another Tory U-turn and called for an unexpected election in April. There has been constant canvassing on the streets, by-elections across the country, and now the general election. Just recently the Labour manifesto, it all supports what we socialistically believe, a living wage for all. We all want the £10 an hour but let's look at some facts first and then let's get Corbyn to push them immediately into effect.

Prior to the announcement on 18th April the national minimum wage increased to a paltry £7.50 per hour for over-25s, £7.05 for 21 to 24-year olds, that is a financial deficit of 45p an hour. The most hard hit and worse off are the 18-20-year olds, the new hourly rate is an insult, a measly £5.60. These figures represent a lower income to day that was proposed by Ed Miliband's modern living wage of 2014, which was based on £8.55 capital wage and a national wage of £7.65. We all know the nasty party does not recognise a worthwhile idea from the opposition but not to agree the justifiable increase of the minimum wage to the under-25s to the higher rate is unacceptable. Some young workers in the 21-24-year age bracket are suffering a detriment and are being discriminated against without a voice. We must be their voice. If Labour are successful on Thursday, I urge support from our sponsored MPs to put pressure on Jeremy Corbyn with immediate effect to raise the minimum wage for all under-25s to the higher figure of £7.50 until April 2018. In April 2018, we require the promised £10.50 per hour for a living wage, not 2020. We cannot wait this long. The country is in a social crisis and it is the young that are suffering a detriment.

I was fortunate enough to purchase my first house when I was 19. This is impossible for the majority of our younger generation today as their prospects are hindered by crippling financial restraints. Yearly it has been stated that most successful mortgage applications are for couples over the age of 30 due to the increasing demands for higher deposits. We must ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Wayne, just move the motion.

BRO. W. OSWICK (London): We must ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Now, not later.

BRO. W. OSWICK (London): And I ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Wayne, move the motion, please. We are running late.

BRO. W. OSWICK (London): I support the £10 per hour for all. I move this motion.
(*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 141.

NON PAYMENT OF NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE MOTION 141

141. NON PAYMENT OF NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE

This Congress is appalled that hundreds of thousands of workers are being paid less than the National Minimum Wage and the National Living Wage in catering, cleaning, care and many other low-paying sectors of the economy and that tight-fisted employers are also failing to pay thousands of workers their wages and paid holidays to which they are legally entitled.

Congress calls upon the Central Executive Council to make this abuse of low-paid workers a major campaigning issue over the coming year, to produce detailed advice and guidance to help low-paid workers to fight for fair pay and to involve all units or organisation and representatives in making the campaign a resounding success

HENDON BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

SIS. M. GOODSON (London): Congress, the national minimum wage was introduced by Labour in 1999 and whilst it has never been a living wage it has done much to eliminate some of the worst examples of low pay in this country. All employers are legally obliged to pay the national minimum wage but many fail to do so. The Office for National Statistics has estimated that over 360,000 workers are paid less than they are entitled to because of this. Almost all workers are entitled to be paid the national minimum wage. This includes agency, casual, home and part-time workers, and zero contract hours. However, there are a small number who are not entitled to the national minimum wage, these include self-employed people, volunteers, or voluntary workers, and company directors.

It is against the law for employers to pay the workers less than the national minimum wage or to falsify payment records to hide their wrongdoings yet large employers get away with it, particularly when their workers are not sure of what they are entitled to. Some of the scams they use include wrongly classifying workers as self-employed or unpaid in terms of volunteers. Others include under-recording the number of hours worked, not paying for overtime, or travel time. Hundreds of companies and organisations are named and shamed every year when they are caught evading the national minimum wage. These include larger companies like Debenhams, John Lewis, Sports Direct, one of the unfairest of Britain's unfair employers, to name but a few. The Government is responsible for enforcing payment of the national minimum wage and the national living wage and increasing the enforcement budget, increasing staffing in HMRC enforcement units, and increasing penalties for employers who are caught breaking the national minimum wage legislation. A lot more needs to be done to ensure that low paid workers are not cheated out of their entitlement and we all have a responsibility for doing this.

A longstanding union principle is that an injury to one is the concern of all and union reps and union members cannot stand idly by when the rights of our low paid colleagues are being abused. This means that the GMB at national, regional, and local levels must do more to inform members and other workers of their rights under the minimum wage legislation and provide guidance and support to help them. We need to do more, for example, by supporting Labour that proposes to increase the

national minimum wage to £10 per hour and by fighting to persuade employers to pay the real living wage, which is currently calculated by the Living Wage Foundation as being £9.75 per hour in London and £8.45 ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Mary, can you finish now, please.

SIS. M. GOODSON (London): I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 142.

LOW PAID WORKERS TIPS MOTION 142

142. LOW PAID WORKERS TIPS

This Congress believes that the ongoing unfair tipping practices in the UK must change now as it has continued for far too long. This Congress instructs the CEC to push the campaign started in the London Region and to be led by the London Region nationally, join forces with all Trade Unions, relevant organisations and the Labour Party until staff are receiving 100% of card tips/service charge and receive no less than the minimum of the real living wage or fall in line with our £10 per hour national campaign.

FULHAM 1 BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

SIS. S. HURLEY (London): We have all eaten out in bars and restaurants and those workers are low paid workers, and they rely on their tips. Congress, for far too long they have not actually been getting all the tips, the tips we leave for them. This is because by law those tips when we pay service charge via our cards to these workers, it is actually owned by the company and after that the Government will then add a flat rate of 20% tax to that. Congress, we must set the standard and push for change by endorsing the Soho Central Project and endorse the GMB's Fair Workers Tip Campaign and the GMB Fair Tip Pay Charter, and take this nationally.

Congress, I need your help. What I want you to do is when you go out and you see this logo here, I want you all to go and eat there. I want us to take our families there. The reason we need to do this is because if we see this logo we know that the staff in there, our members, are getting £10 an hour and 100% of their tips, be it paid by cash or card. Congress, we need to support these workers. We need actively to campaign and recruit for them. I beg you to support my motion. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Sarah. Motion 145.

HOLIDAY PAY MOTION 145

145. HOLIDAY PAY

This Congress notes that there is evidence that many employers are failing to include regular overtime earnings, when calculating employee's holiday pay. As a result many of our members will be being underpaid.

Congress declares that the GMB will support members wishing to bring legal claims for underpaid holiday pay to Employment Tribunals where employers fail to respond to requests to amend holiday averages, so that they include regular overtime payments.

D30 DURHAM GENERAL BRANCH
Northern Region

(Carried)

SIS. K. BAKER (Northern): First time delegate, first time speaker. *(Applause)*
Congress, some employers are blatantly exploiting workers and ignoring past legal judgments that have been won at court. I appreciate the fact that we have a legal policy and a protocol when we decide to take cases. Let me say that it is absolutely right that we take cases on the basis of the merits of the case. Let me also say that we have taken the correct step as an independent union to seek to address the issue of holiday pay in the workplace through negotiation. That is from my point of view the right way to go.

However, Congress, the workplace especially with more and more employers being hostile to our members and the fact that they feel boosted by legal changes by the Government means that at times we have to take a stand. If need be, we need to test the employer out where we have a critical mass of our members in the workplace where the employer is paying lip service to the law and expecting us to sue. Also, we need to campaign to get our members to be ready and willing to use their industrial muscle to take industrial action, even with the Trade Union Act and all that the Government seeks to impose on our members.

I know that there are difficulties with the case of Air Scotland in 2014 and the limit imposed on clawing back holiday pay that may be owed to our members. I know the problems it gives us, I know it should be an opportunity in workplaces to recruit and organise but where we have problems with such things as overtime being ignored for paying holiday pay, I do think we need to be prepared to attack employers and make examples of employers, especially in areas where our members are having to work longer hours for their pay and where we have examples in workplaces where employers are looking after the higher earners at the expense of our members. Please support. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Kelly. Seconder? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Now, 146.

SICK PAY FROM DAY ONE MOTION 146

Congress asks the GMB to campaign for sick pay from day one in all companies that have GMB members and recognition.

LONG EATON CFTA BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

(Carried)

BRO. S. HODGKINSON (Midland & East Coast): First time speaker, first time delegate. (*Applause*) For many years sick pay has stood still for some of the lowest paid workers in some of the worst jobs and worst factories across the UK. Management have hidden behind the old saying, *If you want sick pay, you'll have to forego a pay rise*. It is sad to say this is still ongoing. It is time to move the poorest workers to the front of the queue and push for the rights of sick pay from day one and not having to exist on two days' sick pay in the first week, being £35.74 as of April 2017, and only getting a payment of £89.35 per week thereafter. We at the Midland & East Coast Region say this is not enough to live on and that pushes vulnerable workers to look at payday loans, money lenders, or even high street credit cards in order just to survive. The GM needs to set out a way to challenge these companies to bring them to account. These employers are making vast profit on the back of hard working men and women. They need to be embarrassed into paying fair and proper payment of sick pay when employees are injured or too ill to work. Please support. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Shane. I now call on Paul McCarthy, North West & Irish Region, to give the qualification on 145. Paul.

BRO. P. McCARTHY (Regional Secretary, North West & Irish): President, Congress, speaking on behalf of the CEC in relation to covering Motion 145, Rights at Work. Congress, the CEC asks you to support Motion 145 with a qualification. Our existing GMB policy is to support members in arguing for regular overtime earnings to be included in holiday pay. The CEC naturally wishes to support members on the issue but with the qualification that this should always be with an assessment of the cases and with regard to GMB Rule Book provisions on the authorisation of legal claims. Case law has now ruled twice that a claim for unpaid statutory holiday pay will be out of time if there has been a gap of more than three months between successive underpayment; in addition, new statutory rules on deduction from wages limits all claims for unpaid wages to a maximum of two years. These factors together with the practices of identifying claims, the value of claims, the evidence to support them, has lead the union strategy to be directed at resolving matters industrially with considerable success. Litigation can have a role but in appropriate cases. The CEC, therefore, asks you to support 145 but with the qualification outlined. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Paul. Does Northern Region accept the qualification for 145? (*Agreed*) Thank you. I will now put them to the vote, Motions 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, and 146, all those in favour please show. Any against? They are carried.

Motion 138 was CARRIED.

Motion 140 was CARRIED.

Motion 141 was CARRIED.

Motion 142 was CARRIED.

Motion 145 was CARRIED.

Motion 146 was CARRIED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Composite 10, London to move, Yorkshire to second, and 136, London. Can London to move come to the rostrum, please?

ZERO HOURS CONTRACTS COMPOSITE 10

C10. Covering Motions:

131. END TO ZERO HOURS' CONTRACTS AND ATTACKS ON WAGES Yorkshire & N.
Derbyshire Region
132. ZERO HOURS CONTRACTS London Region

ZERO HOURS CONTRACTS

This Congress says in September 2016 the Office of National Statistics produced figures which showed that nearly 3% of workers were on zero hours contracts. We have seen the increasing use of abuse of zero hours contracts.

Time and time again we hear of employers in all sectors introducing zero hours' contracts with reduced basic pay rates alongside previously negotiated ones.

These changes are leading to the degrading of all trades and positions which is a smack in the face to GMB postholders who have, over the years passionately and tirelessly negotiated pay, with terms and conditions bringing them up to an acceptable living wage and work life balance.

These measures implemented by employers have in one swift blow, wiped out years of pay and conditions agreed by both parties in the spirit of peaceful and harmonious negotiations.

In Britain there is more poverty in every ethnic minority group than among the white British population. Congress believes that a major cause of this poverty is race discrimination faced by black workers in the UK labour market. The lack of access to employment and to training and promotion opportunities has also consistently undermined the financial well-being of black communities in the UK. TUC research also indicates that workers from ethnic minority groups have been disproportionately engaged in agency work in the UK following the recession.

According to data from the ONS, these contracts disproportionately impact on particular workers, such as cleaning and caring work. However, there is increasing use across all fields, including widespread use throughout the NHS and generally in the public sector.

We have all seen growing evidence of agency workers and those working in the gig economy being exposed to poor working conditions. This growing trend raises questions over employment status and lack of workers' rights.

The GMB has rightly exposed conditions at Sports Direct and ASOS and also highlighted concerns about treatment of couriers and drivers at Uber, Hermes and Deliveroo.

Although ministers have ordered a crackdown via an enquiry on companies using large numbers of self-employed or agency workers, businesses up and down the country are jumping on the band wagon and following suit.

Parliament must decide whether the hidden costs to the state and the routine casualisation of labour in the UK are acceptable and question whether some of the extreme employer practices identified are actually legal.

This enquiry will be long and drawn out, so we urge members in the meantime to contact their branch secretaries and alert them to employers who "choose" to go down the route of zero hours and reduced pay packets to new employees who can in turn inform their regional

secretaries, so they ascertain the full extent of the distasteful introduction of these working practices and pass this information on to the appropriate persons/bodies carrying out the enquiry into zero hour contracts.

The Government has been challenged to close the loopholes which allow employers to exploit those on zero hours contracts, and although they have taken some limited action, there is still glaring inequality.

There is evidence of employers:

- Forcing workers to be self-employed and are told by agencies of the “benefits” of being self-employed, but not of the negative impact;
- Changing the job titles/roles of workers in a minor way, so they can avoid time limits for employment rights – particularly easy to do for admin/clerical workers;
- Avoiding redundancy payments by changing staff to zero hours contracts but then failing to offer any hours of work – effectively forcing them to leave;
- Manipulating working hours so that workers are unable to meet the threshold for occupational pension schemes.

This Congress should continue to campaign nationally against the exploitation of workers through the distasteful use of zero hours’ contracts.

We call upon Congress to:

1. Raise awareness of the loopholes which allow employers to exploit those on zero hours contracts;
2. Issue guidance to branches on how to work with employers to ensure that unfair practices are eliminated.
3. Lobby the Government for further legislative change to close the loopholes and create a level playing field so that all workers benefit from all employment rights.

(Carried)

BRO. A. THOMPSON (London): President, Congress, the use of zero hours contracts has become increasingly prevalent in recent years. The CEC’s Special Report states that they have increased in use by 413% since 2001. Our union once campaigned to reduce the working day to eight hours. How discouraging that the fight we face today is to ensure our members have any number of hours at all. The negative impact of insecure zero hours contracts is widespread and affects more than just the pay packet. It is the inability to make any plans in your personal life and having to accept other substandard working conditions at the threat of having no work at all. Zero hours contracts also disproportionately disadvantage black and ethnic minority workers. The latest study from the TUC has indicated that one in 13 BEM workers is on zero hours or temporary contracts compared to one in 20 white British workers. The GMB is already committed to undertake some work to address this inequality within our workforce as outlined within the Special Report. Composite 10 calls on Congress to continue to lobby Government for legislative change to end the use of zero hours contracts all together. Until this time, though, we must act to protect our members from the employers encouraging their use, which is why we must ensure that branches, and workplace organisers, are fully briefed on the tactics used by these employers and the loopholes they use to seek to exploit our members at the expense of their security in work. Guidance should also be issued to enable branches to lead campaigns against the worst employers but also to encourage positive engagement with those employers who are open to working with us to end the use of these contracts.

Congress, I know that you absolutely empathise with any worker that is in a position to do nothing but accept work on zero hours contracts, so please support Composite 10 in order that we can all be best placed to reduce their prevalence and also ultimately end their use all together. I move. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: I now move to Motion 136, Agency Workers Employment Rights.

AGENCY WORKERS EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS MOTION 136

136. AGENCY WORKERS EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

This Congress notes that agency workers are being encouraged to take annual leave entitlement as paid time; this paid time is being added to wages in employees' hourly rates which are spread over the financial year. This artificially increases workers hourly rates and could potentially hide the fact that an employer is not actually paying the minimum/living wage.

We therefore call on Congress to outlaw this practice and insist that employers allow their agency staff to take annual leave and the rest and recuperation from work that it is intended to be.

CAMBRIDGE 2 BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. K. ROBERTS (London): This motion is a very simple motion. It calls upon the CEC to investigate to see what we found locally that agency workers are being encouraged to actually have annual leave put in as part of their hourly rate. This actually sometimes hides the fact that that puts them below the minimum wage. This is a deceitful and unacceptable practice. We would like the CEC to see if this is actually common practice throughout the land and if it is we need to get a campaign to stop this absolutely deceitful practice. I move. Please support. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Kevin. Secunder? Oh, my Lord. Call a cab!

BRO..... (London): Agency workers face a daily onslaught of uncertainty on many levels and pressure from agency owners is one of the most difficult issues these workers face. Owners will use any route they can to create a cost saving and to appear legitimate in their behaviour. The problem is that unless employers are called out on this, and other issues, they will continue to act in a despicable fashion. Knowing that they can control the lives of those so reliant on them, by threatening to withhold them from work, delaying payments, unquestionable reasoning, or asking agency workers to take on unsafe practices gives these individuals what they believe is the whip hand.

We have all heard how agency workers such as those who provide care to the elderly and vulnerable have to make many calls to patients or people they are visiting in short order during their working day, often without breaks, and exceeding the hours they should be working, with travel times ignored. It speaks to the evil behaviour we see perpetrated. With councils seeking cheaper contracts and agency owners seeking bigger profits, the only individuals who are squeezed out are the workers. Congress must not only insist these taskmasters are taken to hand but must provide the same benefits enshrined in law and expected by UK law.

We also have as a union have a further issue, that is, how we actually recruit this membership, how do you levy a membership fee for those who do not know their working hours, or to reach those workers atomised by virtue of their lack of regular work. Perhaps a further rate for such members is required. We all deserve a quality of life just as the owners of these companies expect. I second. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Cancel that cab. Colleagues, does anyone wish to speak against? No? Thank you. I call Andy Irving on 136. Andy.

BRO. A. IRVING (CEC, Manufacturing): President, Congress, speaking on behalf of the CEC giving our qualification on Motion 136. Congress, we have grown accustomed to the many different tricks of the trade used by unscrupulous recruitment agencies and their corporate clients to fiddle workers. It is bad enough that the work is insecure and uncertain but it is even worse knowing that so many agencies are looking for every loophole to pick your pocket. The agency industry is rife of exploitation, tax evasion, and unfairness, skirting on the very edge of what is legal. Agencies try to outdo each other in their shameless stunts and practices. What motivates them is not getting people into work or, heaven forbid, moved on to a permanent contract, but ensuring that they pay less and workers work more.

The people who are at greatest risk of exploitation are the most desperate for work and they are least aware of their rights. That is often young people and migrant workers. We know that the Tories are not interested in policing any of this, and so do the agencies, which only encourages them. Many of these agencies operate with passing regard to rights at work. For some being caught breaking the law is an occupational hazard: here today and gone tomorrow. Just look at Transline, the agency based in Brighouse in my region. They have been the agency for ASOS and Sports Direct. They were so bad that Amazon sacked them. Now, they have gone into liquidation and they are just one of many who chew workers up, spit them out, for their corporate clients while directors make a fast buck. It does not come as any surprise to hear about the case outlined in 136. This motion describes how some agency workers are asked to take their annual leave as paid time which is then spread over the course of the year to bump up pay levels to the minimum or living wage. Such a practice is a disgraceful attack on the wages and hard fought employment rights of agency workers. GMB is more committed than ever to stamp out the exploitation of the agency industry in all its forms.

The CEC support this motion with a small qualification. We want to gather evidence and investigate just how wide this practice is and then we can shape a high impact campaign on it alongside many of the other well known abuses the agency workers

have to endure. We are, therefore, asking for this motion to be carried with that qualification. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Andy. Does London accept the qualification? Well done. Congress accepts? (*Agreed*) I now put to the vote Composite 10. All those in favour please show. Motion 136, all those in favour please show. Anyone against? No. Thank you very much indeed.

Composite 10 was CARRIED.
Motion 136 was CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: Before I move on to the next business, these glasses have still not been claimed.

The café mistakenly charged for teas and coffees yesterday for visitors. They took £48.50. This is sweet news to Tim's ears. I would like to donate this to the Alzheimer's Society. (*Applause*)

I am now, before I read the next one, asking is there a nurse in the house because I am not giving him the kiss of life! The total collection, Tim, was £2,902.04. (*Applause*) I can assure every single one of you that will be going for the most vulnerable in our society.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: There will not be a bucket collection. There will be a bloody hat out from me, I tell you.

THE PRESIDENT: The General Secretary out of the kindness of his heart has said he will double the collection. Thank you, Tim. (*Applause*) Can I ask, please, the bucket collection to let me know the amount of money that you have collected? That is absolutely necessary for the records. Thank you.

CEC SPECIAL REPORT: INSECURE: TACKLING PRECARIOUS WORK AND THE GIG ECONOMY

Introduction

This report is about the future of work in 21st Century Britain.

The 'gig economy' has become the trendy term for a new form of employment, where people are paid by the 'gig' they do. It's a new term, but one that feeds into an age old issue of insecure work.

Back in the 1900s, workers would turn up at the factory gates to see if they'd be given hours that day. Some would be chosen, some would not. Workers who kept their heads down and didn't make a fuss were inevitably more likely to get work than those who wanted any sort of rights in the workplace. In 2017 we find that trend growing again – but it's not just the so called gig economy.

Work in Britain is becoming increasingly insecure. This is not covered by one neat employment category.

Zero hours contracts, the proliferation of agency work and bogus self-employment combine to form a worrying picture of an increasingly insecure workforce across the UK where people cannot plan for their futures or even their childcare next week.

In such a climate, it is unsurprising that a message of 'take back control' appealed to so many in the EU referendum.

This report attempts to define Insecure Britain, looking at the spectrum of insecure work across the UK to better understand the scale of precarious work and the reality of life as a precarious worker.

But defining the problem isn't enough. GMB has always fought for a better deal for working people, that is what this paper is about.

Executive summary

Insecure work in the UK is on the rise.

GMB research suggests that approximately 1 in 3 workers (34%) are employed in insecure work. That is equivalent to 10.2 million workers. That is a staggering figure.

Insecure work impacts on all sectors of our economy, on the day-to-day lives of working people who are working hard but still struggling and society as a whole.

Looking at the proportion of workers in each category of precarious employment individually might make the numbers seem more palatable – because each category is a smaller subset of a wider problem - but the reality is stark when we look at the big picture.

- 906,000 workers are on zero hours contracts
- 866,000 are employed through an agency
- 1,550,000 are temporary workers
- 2,664,000 are underemployed and want more paid hours than are available to them

This does not include the number of people who are fake self-employed, work in the 'gig economy' or have short hours' contracts where there is a shortage of official data. Together these 7 categories make up a picture of insecure work today.

As part of this report, we commissioned the first proper poll of insecure workers to show exactly what life is like. Its findings included:

- 61% of insecure workers have experienced stress or other forms of mental ill-health as a result of their current employment
- 61% of precarious workers have debt and 35% are unable to pay an unexpected £500 bill within a month

- 61% have worked while unwell for fear of losing work
- 55% want to see zero hours contracts banned outright
- Around a quarter (24%) aren't aware of their legal employment rights
- 77% of precarious workers polled would trust trade unions with legal employment advice

That's no surprise to us. When we asked workers – and their families – to share their experiences of the working world, particularly agency work, we received almost 900 responses, with lots of qualitative data in the workers' own words, about what life is like.

When asked, what is your experience of agency work? People said:

'Awful, constant phone calls on your days off and even when on holiday, constant changes to your rotas, not enough time to travel between clients, always running late meaning elderly are always waiting' – night shift care worker, Hastings

'I have worked for an agency and felt like a 2nd class citizen, not knowing if work was available day to day and being expected to do the not so glamorous jobs compared to those on a full time contract' – picker, West Yorkshire

'I was sacked and rehired a week later. This is because once you work there for 6 months you are meant to be permanent. This is where they sack you and rehire you. Pay was £6.50 an hour.'

The global financial crash and technological change have changed how we work with 762,000 more people being classed as self-employed now than in 2008. The role of the Coalition and Conservative Governments has contributed to more precarious work through their inaction. In 2010 there were 168,000 zero hours workers whereas the latest figures from 2016 record 905,000. The number of people who are 'underemployed' and want more hours than are available remains high at 2,664,000 people and exposes how weak the so-called 'recovery' has been.

Elsewhere the recruitment agency sector is finding more and more devious practices to defraud workers and public finances through lost tax. Our exclusive interview with industry whistleblower Adrian Gregory explains the scale of abuse and how it could be outlawed. Temporary work and fixed-term contracts define the work of 1,550,000 workers and will reduce their ability to plan their future with confidence.

The problem for trade unions is that precarious workers are hard to organise. Consistent efforts by government to ensure a 'flexible' labour market has built into the system an endemic flexibility for the employer that keeps the worker in constant insecurity. But while it's not always easy, it can and must be done. This paper includes some of the ways in which GMB are already organising

with and making change happen for workers across the precarious work spectrum – from agency workers to those in the Gig Economy.

This paper recommends a series of measures to tackle the growth of insecure work, including:

- Continuing to be the leading union for gig economy workers and tackling precarious work, promoting and shouting about our successes so that precarious workers know a union can make a difference to them
- Pooling best practice from across our regions to build the union. With such a large number of workers employed in insecure work – there is a broad body of workers who would benefit from union representation, and as our case studies show, there are areas where we can practically make a difference through GMB@Work
- Driving forward decent employment standards to be adopted within public procurement that pay the industry union-negotiated rate, values trade unions and provides dignity at work
- Campaigning hard to change the law whether it's banning zero hours contracts, umbrella companies or introducing employment rights from day one
- Ensuring that the law is correctly applied by pressing government and HMRC as well as taking legal cases on behalf of members
- Gathering and sharing people's stories so that the human toll of precarious work is fully understood by the public, politicians and the employers.

Life as a precarious worker: what workers think

In this report, we look at who precarious workers are, where they work and what sort of contracts, terms and conditions they're on, but something that is often forgotten behind the headlines is that precarious workers are real people with real lives.

Many politicians and policy makers will write about precarious work issues without asking the workers. As a union led by and for members, GMB knows that the best solutions come from speaking to the people who are on the sharp end of policy.

Throughout the last 6 months, GMB has collected survey responses from almost 900 working people about the world of work, particularly about agency and precarious working. Alongside this, we have commissioned an exclusive poll – which is the first of its kind – of 1,000 members of the public who are employed in forms of precarious work including zero and shorts hours contracts, false self-employment, temporary contracts and of workers who are underemployed to get a real picture of insecure work in the 21st Century.

This section looks at the lives of precarious workers and the impact it has on their standard of living, health and financial security.

Standard of living

Across all forms of precarious work, we can see the toll insecurity takes.

Almost 7 in 10 (69%) precarious workers that were surveyed said that the cost of living was increasing more quickly than their wages, with that feeling being highest amongst older workers (83% thought so) and for workers in Northern Ireland (87% were of that opinion).

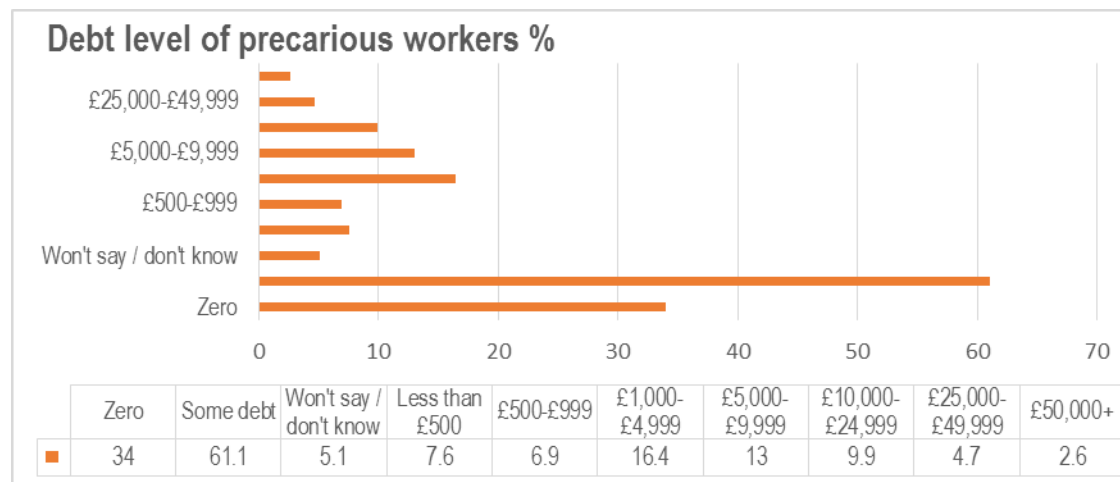
In the Future of Work survey, this was confirmed for us:

'Sitting by the phone waiting for a chance to feed your families is not acceptable' Gavin, Merthyr Tydfil

'I'm currently an agency worker. We aren't paid in the right pay bracket (we are employed as a level below everyone else) ... we don't receive any recognition for the work we do and are treated very badly' – Sam, Birmingham, and agency worker in admin

The tight finances of precarious workers are also clear when we look at the cushion people have if they have an unexpected cost – like a car breaking down or needing a new washing machine. 35% of all precarious workers said it would be 'quite difficult' or 'very difficult' to pay an unexpected £500 bill in the next month. This suggests that if these workers lose £500 of income for whatever reason they would find it difficult financially to cope and absorb this loss.

It's no surprise then, that almost 61% of precarious workers polled had some level of debt (outside of mortgages), with worryingly, 2.6% of respondents having over £50,000 of debt.



But it should also be noted that 10% of respondents said that their employment status hindered their ability to access financial goods and services in the last 12 months. This means that not everyone will be able to access credit when they need it.

Given the financial insecurity of precarious work, the fact that the majority of precarious workers have some savings is surprising, but overall, 32% have less

than £1,000 in the bank, with women significantly less likely to have savings than their male counterparts.

The good news is precarious workers tend to be able to get a holiday now and then with 65% having been on some sort of holiday within the last 12 months. However, a third of zero hours workers say they've not been on holiday in the last five years.

When it comes to retirement, over a quarter (27%) of precarious workers are not contributing either to a workplace or private sector pension – this is storing up problems for years to come. This rises to almost three quarters (73%) of those who are falsely self-employed – this is a shocking statistic.

One of the main issues raised by precarious workers, especially those on agency or zero hours contracts, was the way they are treated at work and the impact their working arrangements have on their home life. Our survey featured dozens of personal stories from workers who are all trying to get on in life – and working incredibly hard – but are just finding it too difficult to live a decent life on the type of work contract and pay they're on.

'Husband is an agency worker. Has worked in same location for 2 1/2 years but no security in his post - hours can vary greatly week to week'
Worker did not want to be named, Grays

Health and wellbeing

The research highlights some of the toll taken on precarious workers. More than 6 in 10 workers surveyed (61%) have or currently experience stress, anxiety or another mental health issue as a result of their current employment and working arrangements. The same proportion (61%) reported that they have worked while sick or unwell for fear of losing pay or risking their job or future work.

While this is a serious issue for individuals concerned, it is also a matter of concern for the health and safety of other colleagues or customers. An unwell worker in food production, a private hire driver with flu or a fork lift truck driver suffering headaches is a risk to others in their immediate working environment.

'My job is standing in one place, 8 hours a day sometimes 10 hours inducting clothes into an automation system. At the end of each day my feet and legs hurt. No one is allowed to sit unless they are pregnant...Pick targets too high, long hours working with only 1 break for 45 mins, no respect, low wages, bad management...Agency along with contracted staff are not people. We are just numbers that are easily replaced.' ASOS worker, Barnsley

Previous employment

78% of the precarious workers surveyed have had a permanent employment contract in their previous employment. This highlights the scale of the changing labour market. The central point of the defence of precarious working arrangements by employers and the Conservative Government has relied on the argument that the overwhelming majority of these workers want these arrangements and prize their flexibility.

Flexibility

Our study's findings show more precarious workers would prefer a permanent contract even if the alternative 'flexible' arrangements provided more hours. 44% of people surveyed said they would prefer 'more hours overall, with greater flexibility over which hours you work, but your hours are not fixed and your contract is not permanent'. This compares to 49% who stated they would prefer 'a permanent employment contract with fixed hours, but less flexibility over which hours you worked and fewer hours overall.' This highlights that while some will value flexibility of hours, for most precarious workers the prospect of a permanent contract remains a priority. Politicians and advisors who claim to the contrary should be robustly challenged.

Zero hours contracts

The precarious workers want government to act on issues like zero hours contracts with 55% saying they should be banned and fewer than half that figure stating they shouldn't (32%). 13% said they didn't know.

Understanding employment rights and trade unions

Employment law is complicated. There are different rights for different groups of workers and exercising those rights can be extremely difficult when you are in precarious work.

As part of our research, we asked precarious workers if they were aware of their employment rights. Over a quarter (24%) did not know about their employment rights. 50% said they were 'quite aware' with only 26% stating they were 'very aware'. 27% of workers polled were a member of a trade union and 34% said there was a trade union representative in their company.

The Citizens Advice Bureau polled most highly when we asked precarious workers who they trust on rights at work (88%), suggesting there is potential for cross working with them, especially during such a time that CAB funding is being cut. The good news for GMB is that the precarious workers we polled, trust trade unions when it comes to employment rights too – 77% trust unions, while 87% trust family and friends and 80% trust colleagues. The figures fall to 65% for the government and 63% for MPs.

We asked this group of workers explicitly 'if a Trade Union offered free employment law advice and support as part of their membership, to what extent would that make you more or less likely to join one?' 51% said they would be more likely. This is bread and butter work for GMB, but this figure shows that we could be pushing at an open door with such tools in our arsenal as skilled, trained reps and Unionline at the end of a phone line.

The positive news is that our research showed that. Whilst tackling precarious work will not be straightforward and we know some employers have a record of union-busting tactics, there is a foundation of membership to build from and more precarious workers are already in a union than may be expected.

GMB believes:

- Unscrupulous employers are exploiting legislation to maximise profit by keeping workers in insecure work – this is unacceptable

- Insecure work impacts on all aspects of life, from ability to plan, to health and wellbeing to family finances
- That the union movement has a crucial role to play in organising insecure workers to effect industrial and political change
- That not enough insecure workers join a union

GMB will:

- Continue to raise awareness of the impact of insecure work on workers, their families and the economy
- Continue to fight for our members who are in insecure work, helping them to improve their pay, terms, conditions and job security.
- Highlight the human cost of bad behaviour by companies who exploit precarious workers
- Fight for workplace rights that value all workers, and truly reflect life in 21st Century Britain.

Who are insecure workers in 21st century Britain?

Most of us know people in insecure work. Be it the brother-in-law on a zero hours contract in a call centre, your friend from the school gates who rushes between care jobs or your grandson who drives for Uber. Insecure work is a fact of life for too many people, it impacts on all of us either directly or indirectly.

Whilst it is widespread, there are certain groups more likely to be employed in precarious work.

Statistical analysis conducted for GMB (see note 1), shows that young people, older workers and Black and Minority Ethnic workers are more likely to be employed in insecure work. You are also more likely to be in insecure work if you are in an area with an already struggling – or that has a comparatively weaker labour market. Areas with high unemployment such as the North East, are therefore more likely to have a higher proportion of insecure workers – this suggests that where the supply of available workers is higher, the less likely employers are to offer decent terms and conditions.

Zero hours contracts

The total number of workers on zero hours contracts is 906,000 (see note 2):

What is a zero hours contract?

A zero hours contract is generally understood to be a contract between an employer and a worker where:

- the employer is not obliged to provide any minimum working hours
- the worker is not obliged to accept any work offered

Most zero hours contracts will give staff 'worker' employment status. Zero hours workers have the same employment rights as regular workers, although they may have breaks in their contracts, which affect rights that accrue over time (see note 3).

Why are zero hours contracts a problem?

Whilst, technically, zero hours workers may have the same rights as other workers, if your employer can simply say 'we don't need you next week' if you choose to exert your rights, then in reality you have no rights at all. Zero hours workers get hours at the whim of their employer, where there is high unemployment or a ready supply of labour, zero hours contracts mean zero rights and zero security.

What zero hours workers say:

'I know people on zero hours contracts they can't plan anything it's shocking, none of them choose this they don't have an option.'
Optician, Newcastle

'Based on my daughter's experience - zero hours contracts are a great way to discriminate between sex, colour, age, disability, gender etc etc. If the employer doesn't "like" you then you get no/less hours. Threat of "No hours" leads to bullying, harassment, coercion etc' Project manager, Warwickshire

'When working for a chain on zero hours we would arrive for work and be sent home with no pay after paying bus fares and often turning other work down expecting to be working at the other. There is a set time to clean each room which is too short to do a good job. Then if you've not finished in the set time the extra time worked to complete the task is not paid so not even getting the minimum wage rate due to working over the time scale lauded down. After being forced to work without pay we're told we may not get more work.' hotel cleaner, Cheshire

'I would frequently get pressured to work hours I wasn't getting paid for. One day I asked about how the tips were shared out and was told I wouldn't be getting any. Once, I asked if I could give the leftover food at the end of my shift to a nearby homeless shelter and was told not to rock the boat. Any time any worker made any suggestion to make work better, you basically knew you were putting your shifts at risk for the next week.' Diane, café worker, Sheffield

Zero hour workers: a national picture

Where?

The three regions with the highest proportion of workers overall on zero-hours contracts are the North East (3.9%), Yorkshire and the Humber (3.3%), and the

East Midlands (3.2%). When we look at young workers, the South East and South West of England also rank highly.

Percentage of workers on zero hours contracts

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| North East | 3.9% |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 3.3% |
| East Midlands | 3.2% |
| South West | 3.0% |
| Scotland | 3.0% |
| North West | 2.9% |
| West Midlands | 2.8% |
| South East | 2.8% |
| Wales | 2.6% |
| London | 2.4% |
| East of England | 2.2% |
| N Ireland | 1.3% |
| Whole of the UK | 2.7% |

Characteristics

More women are on zero hours contracts than men (3.1% vs 2.4%) and this is the case in every region except Scotland. You are almost three times as likely than the national average to be on a zero hours contract if you are under 25 (7.8% of young workers). Interestingly, the second most likely age group to be on a zero hours contract (3.1%), are workers aged 65+, the only other age group to rank higher than the national average.

% of UK employees on zero hours contracts

| | |
|-----------|------|
| age 18-24 | 7.8% |
| age 25-34 | 2.5% |
| age 35-44 | 1.7% |
| age 45-54 | 1.6% |
| age 55-64 | 2.6% |
| age 65+ | 3.1% |

There is a significant and noticeable difference in the proportion of Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) workers who are employed on zero hours contracts. Black workers (5.1%) are twice as likely to be employed on a zero hours contract than white workers (2.6%). Three parts of the UK have particularly high proportions of black workers employed on zero hours contracts. In Wales (14.3%), the North East of England (13.0%) and Yorkshire and the Humber (11.0%) of black workers are employed on a zero hours contract.

Of the different ethnicities recorded, Asian workers are the least likely to be employed on a zero hours contract (2.5%). Overall, black workers and workers of mixed or "other" ethnicities are more likely to be on zero hours contracts than white or Asian workers. Again there is some variation by region in the patterns; for example in South East England, white workers are most likely to be on zero hours contracts than black and minority ethnic workers.

Across the UK, as a whole, employees who are disabled under the Equality Act definition are more likely to be on zero hours contracts (3.4%) than non-disabled workers (2.7%) but there is substantial variation across the UK.

This analysis of the statistics available throughout 2016 shows that improving work for those employed on zero hours contract will have notable equalities benefits for people in work, including women, BAME and disabled workers. Whilst large numbers of young workers would benefit from improved working arrangements, so would a significant numbers of older workers.

Qualifications

Workers on zero hours contracts have a wide range of qualifications. Examining by highest qualification, employees with A-levels as their highest qualification are the most likely to be on zero-hours contracts (3.9%). This is a higher proportion than those with no qualifications at all (3.0%).

A similar proportion (2.9%) of people with GCSEs (grades A-C) as their highest qualification are employed on a zero hours contract. 1.7% of university graduates are employed in this way with the most graduates on zero hours contracts found in the North East (3.1%), Yorkshire and the Humber (2.6%), North West (2.4%) or South West (2.4%) of England.

Percentage of UK employees on zero hours contracts with qualifications

| | |
|---|------|
| Degree or equivalent | 1.7% |
| Other higher education (below degree level) | 2.5% |
| A-Level or equivalent | 3.9% |
| GCSE grades A*-C or equivalent | 3.0% |
| Other qualification | 3.5% |
| No qualifications | 2.9% |

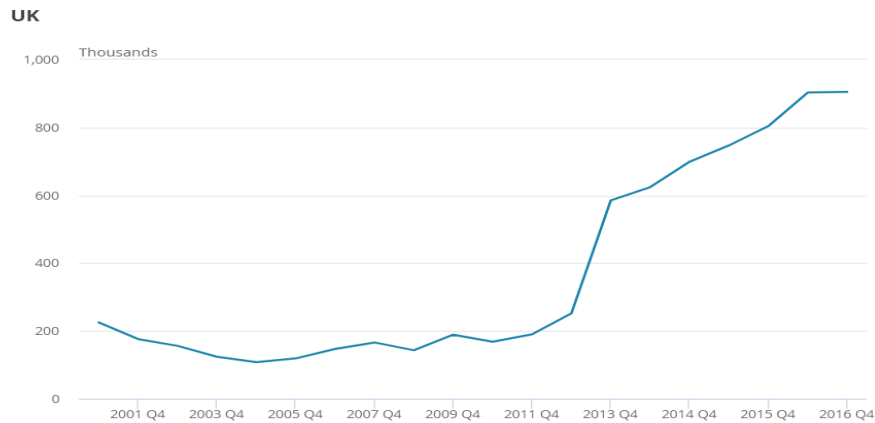
The Rapid Rise of Zero Hours

Zero hours contracts have been around for a while – some might say they go back to the days when workers would turn up at the docks to see if any work was on offer that day – but in the last 15 years, they have exploded, increasing in use by 413% since 2001. That is probably why, although just one facet of precarious work, this type of insecure working gets the headlines. There was a big rise after the financial crash and a big increase from 2011–2016.

The coalition Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition Government 2010-2015 and the Conservative Government since have refused to take any significant steps to tackle zero hours contract use, despite growing public awareness and opposition to them. On many occasions, Conservative Ministers defending the contracts and the ‘flexibility’ they provided. From GMB’s experience, the ‘flexibility’ overwhelmingly favoured the employer and not the employee who was often unable to plan their lives.

This mode of pernicious work has been allowed to become 'normal' in the post-crash UK.

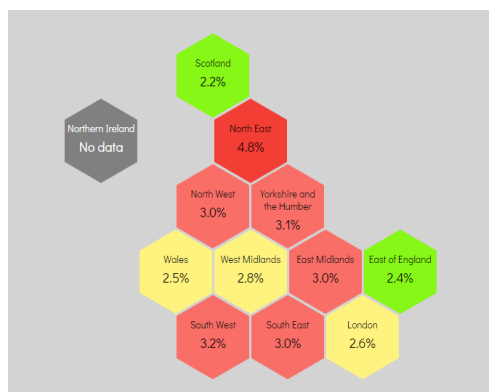
Figure 1: Number (thousands) of people in employment reporting they are on a zero hours contract October to December 2016



Source: Office for National Statistics

The rise of zero hours contracts has not been uniform across English regions and devolved nations.

When examining changes to the number of zero hours contracts over the last 12 months, the South East, North East and London have seen the biggest numerical growth. Interestingly the South West, Wales and Scotland have reported decreases. As well as experiencing reductions, it is worth noting that both Scotland and Wales have lower proportions of people employed on zero hours than most English regions. This certainly suggests that the economy and, in particular, the labour market in these two devolved nations is behaving notably different to that of regions in England.



Above: Left: Zero hours workers by proportion of workforce Right: Change in zero hours contracts over last 12 months.

The North East is the zero hours capital of the UK with more than double the proportion of people employed on zero hours than Scotland and the East of England (although the level of insecurity faced by those workers is potentially no less prevalent, they are proportionally just fewer in number in terms of the overall workforce).

There is no straight correlation between unemployment rates and the number of people employed on zero hours contracts. London (6.1%) and the North East (5.9%) both have the highest levels of unemployment in the UK yet a significant difference in the proportion of workers on zero hours contracts. The higher proportion in the North East suggests underlying weakness to the region's economy which London does not share.

Zero hours contracts: does it have to be this way?

Case Study: New Zealand scraps zero hours contracts

From April 2017 there is no such thing as a zero hours contracted employee in New Zealand. As a result of cross-party efforts following union campaigning, the country's parliament unanimously legislated to outlaw zero hours contracts in April 2016. Unions have spent the last 12 months ensuring that contracts are updated to meet the new law's requirements and ensuring they are at the heart of negotiations.

The campaign was driven by the relatively small Unite trade union (which has no connection to its UK namesake). By campaigning with workers, community organisations and a prominent TV show the union was able to raise the issue up the political agenda until legislative change was achieved.

Workers must now be offered a guaranteed minimum number of hours on a weekly basis and face not any sanctions for refusing additional work at short notice. Already the law has made a big difference and multinational companies such as Burger King, Pizza Hut, Starbucks, KFC and McDonalds are among those having to adapt their business models in New Zealand.

“Since the legislation was brought in banning zero-hours contracts, corporates realise they can't defend worker exploitation anymore,” Gerard Hehir, national secretary of New Zealand's Unite union told The Guardian. He added “If you forget to smile at your boss on their birthday, that's no longer something they can punish you for by withholding shifts. Workers have more stability, more confidence they will not be punished for personal slights – real or imagined.”

Hannah Shelton-Agar, employed on a zero-hour contract at Hoyts cinema in Auckland also told the Guardian, “This is going to change people's lives. It is such a relief for so many people to know they will no longer risk having zero dollars at the end of the week. It also means workers feel more included in the workplace and valued for their contribution.”⁴

Significantly, New Zealand's parliament ensured that alongside the law banning zero hours contracts were stronger penalties for employers flouting the law and a stronger labour inspection and enforcement regime.

GMB believes:

- The rapid growth of zero hours contracts is an unwelcome feature of the labour market under the Conservatives
- Zero hours contracts should be banned

- Devolved bodies, councils and public bodies should not use such contracts and ensure their public procurement policies prevent this
- There should be efforts to discourage the cynical use of short hours contracts
- The average hours worked over the past 12 weeks should be deemed to be the contracted hours of work for those currently employed on zero hours, as it already is for maximum hours of work under the Working Time Directive
- Ending zero hours contracts will improve security, improve family life and increase access to goods and services key to a decent and dignified standard of living

GMB will:

- Continue to press for the outright abolition of zero hour contracts in the UK, both industrially and politically
- Engage with relevant unions politicians in New Zealand to learn good practice that can be applied in similar campaigns in the UK
- Identify multinational employers with a presence in New Zealand and the UK and highlight how if these firms can stop exploiting zero hours contracted workers in another country then they should be able to do so here too

Agency workers

What is an agency worker?

'An agency worker is supplied by a temporary work agency to a client/hirer to work normally for a temporary period.'⁵

Agency workers are classed as 'workers' rather than employees which mean they are entitled to certain employment rights such as the National Minimum Wage, holiday pay and rest breaks. They are not given 'equal treatment' until they have worked in one job for 12 weeks continuously, and then that equal treatment does not extend to redundancy pay, contractual sick pay, and maternity, paternity or adoption pay.

Why is agency work a problem?

There is a need for agency work from time to time. Fluctuating demand and people being off sick mean that, on occasion, some employers may need temporary agency workers, but there is a big difference between this periodic demand and the use of agency workers being used as a business model.

In too many places, large employers have substituted an army of agency and temporary workers for their permanent workforce. It is not a case of meeting unexpected demand, but a planned business strategy to maximise profit and minimise the level of workplace protection available for the workforce.

As we will see from case studies and through an employer perspective in this paper, it may not be headline grabbing, the temporary and agency work is having a huge impact on people, families and communities.

What agency workers say.

'Job not secure (temporary agency worker for over 2 years), diminishing workforce with same workload...always feel a step below the permanent employee.' Building services worker, Cardiff

'I'm an agency worker and have been in the same "temporary" position for over 2 years. They say their hands are tied and can't take me on as permanent staff.' **Gardener, London**

'I have worked with agency workers, they are kept on till no longer needed, they are treated ok where I work. But when you talk to them and listen to where they have worked before it's horrendous, there is no job **security**' machine operative, Liverpool

'Agency workers expected to shut up and get on if you want to keep in work' engineer, Barrow

'Second class citizens and both need banning, especially agency who recruit from EU only, people can't live on zero hours or/and claim benefits, agency staff are treated and communicated by text message each day and don't know if working or not unless they get a text' refuse worker, Lincolnshire

'General terms - Zero hours contracts and agency workers used to avoid having to giving workers fair terms. Gimmicks used to avoid even paying minimum wages i.e. deductions from wages for the high of essential work equipment. Unachievable commission targets' Simon, Newport

Agency work: the national picture

Across the UK as a whole, 2.7% of workers are permanent employees on agency contracts.

East Midlands (3.6%), the East of England (3.4%) and London (3.4%) have the highest proportion of agency workers, whereas Scotland (1.6%) and Northern Ireland (1.4%) have the fewest.

Percentage of agency workers

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| East Midlands | 3.6% |
| East of England | 3.4% |
| London | 3.4% |
| West Midlands | 3.3% |
| North East | 2.8% |
| Wales | 2.7% |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 2.6% |
| North West | 2.5% |

| | |
|------------------|------|
| South West | 2.2% |
| South East | 2.2% |
| Scotland | 1.6% |
| Northern Ireland | 1.4% |
| Whole of the UK | 1.5% |

Looking at the statistical detail by gender, there isn't a huge difference at a UK level with 2.8% of male workers employed by an agency and 2.6% of women. However, in the regions and nations there is variation. Men in the East Midlands (4.2%) and East of England (3.8%) are most likely to be agency workers, whereas for women London (3.9%) and the East of England (3.1%) are the two regions with the highest proportions of agency workers.

By age group, workers aged under 44 are more likely to be on agency contracts than workers aged 45 and over. Analysis by highest qualification shows that workers with "other" highest qualification or no qualifications are more likely to be on agency contracts than workers with degree, other HE or A-levels as highest qualifications. This finding holds across most regions. The East Midlands is the region with the highest proportion of unqualified workers employed on agency contracts.

Across the UK, as a whole, black workers are the most likely to be on agency contracts, followed by "other" ethnicities and Asian workers. The proportion of black workers on agency contracts is highest in the East Midlands (13.8%) and the North East (13.2%).

% of UK agency employees by ethnicity:

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| White | 2.4% |
| Mixed/multiple ethnic groups | 2.7% |
| Asian | 3.8% |
| Black | 9.3% |
| Other | 5.0% |

The highest proportion of disabled workers on agency contracts is in the West Midlands (3.9%) with the lowest in Scotland (1.3%) and Northern Ireland (1.0%).

From precarious to permanent

Case study: Cranswick Foods

GMB has quadrupled membership at Cranswick Country Foods in Hull, but it's not been easy.

At the start of the campaign, in 2011, there were around 150 permanent employees at the factory with over 700 agency workers. The agency workers were employed via the Swedish Derogation and were employed on lower rates of pay and often migrant workers. Some agency workers at the factory had been agency - on the same job - for between 5 - 8 years.

The first barrier was that a translator was needed to overcome language barriers. The second barrier was explaining the Swedish Derogation. A number of workers assumed that after 12 weeks they would get equal treatment, GMB has to explain why this was not the case.

GMB@work was the starting point - bread and butter GMB organising around an issue, recruiting members and winning battles. Every tool in the arsenal has been use over a period of 6 years recruiting. From tailored recruitment materials in both English and Polish, to regular site visits and handling individual cases, to getting Channel 4 into film, appearing in the regional press and filming our own GMB videos with subtitles in different languages if needed. Industrial action was also taken, including strike action which is trickier than usual if you're taking the permanent workforce out on strike, but the rest of the workforce are actually employees of a separate company (the agency).

At the start, mapping showed 55 GMB members. Now we're at over 200 with workplaces reps handling cases and management reviewing on a quarterly basis how many staff can be moved from agency to permanent positions.

On the ground, it has been the product of a lot of hard work. The region emphasise that this has not been easy. It has meant a lot of organiser time, weekend work and evenings speaking to members. Initially it was hard to get people to put their heads about the parapet but closely monitoring the company and changes within the workplace - and acting quickly to mobilise around those issues and win - has slowly built up a level of trust with the workforce that they can change their own situation. This happened at Cranswick Foods when the management wanted to change the pay structure, cut bonuses and reduce pay. Using notice boards and word of mouth throughout the community to promote GMB's message and to organise off site meetings was crucial - especially in migrant worker communities, word of mouth and peer to peer communication is important.

There is a very simple message that can be used when agency work is rife, and that's about equality. Workers working side-by-side on the same job, being paid a different rate. The region continually, for the entire campaign has used that message over and over again.

The union has also engaged directly with the agency, but found - as we have in other places - that ultimately if the company tells the agency they want something, it will happen. Putting pressure on the company to influence the agency works.

The campaign was not just directed at (and with) agency workers, it involved the permanent workforce too where GMB also organises. The level of insecurity of the permanent workforce was increased by there being lots of agency workers to replace them if needed, and it was clear to the permanent workforce that that could be on the cards because agency workers were also cheaper for the company.

This example goes to show that the barriers can be overcome and GMB can bring greater security at work to some of the most precarious workers of all.

Temporary and Agency Work as a business model

There is a legitimate argument that sometimes temporary workers are needed, but where employers fall down is when the entire model of their business is structured around the use of agency work.

At ASOS up to 50% of the workforce are agency staff at any given time. The agency, Transline, was asked at the BEIS select committee whether that was because of poor workforce planning - surely such a large proportion of the workforce did not need to be agency? There was no straight answer to the question and a lot of obfuscation.

At ASOS, highlighting of the treatment of ASOS workers and a high profile sustained GMB public campaign against the company led to agency workers being moved to permanent employment in 3 months rather than 6.

Sports Direct are another culprit – but a familiar agency in Transline who also provided agency staff for Amazon – had 90% of its workforce on agency contracts.

This system is a business model set up to make a quick buck on the back of keeping workers in insecure jobs on inferior terms and conditions. GMB believes the reason companies do this is closely linked to exploiting the Swedish Derogation (something we have been and continue to be campaigning to scrap).

Temporary and Agency Workers - the Swedish Derogation

The EU Temporary Agency Workers' Directive introduced a range of important rights and protections for agency workers. The Directive enshrined in law equal treatment on pay and many other conditions across the EU. In other EU countries, that's what happens - equal treatment - but the UK sought a derogation (which is an exemption or relaxation of the law) to that for 12 weeks. As we discussed earlier, that means equal treatment of agency workers doesn't apply in the UK until the agency worker has worked for 12 weeks on that job. It's basically a qualifying period.

In the UK this has led to large-scale avoidance of equal treatment rights.

Another derogation (or exemption) was negotiated by Sweden. In Sweden, agency workers are contracted to an agency and when they are not working, they get paid approximately 80% of their previous wage while the agency finds them another assignment. Far from levelling down, the Swedes wanted to protect their system, so negotiated this exemption, which is now known as the Swedish Derogation. Unfortunately, not everyone has used the Swedish Derogation to make pay, terms and conditions better.

In the UK, this derogation has been used to pay agency workers less. Because the derogation exempts the agency from equal pay as long as certain other conditions are met (around workplace, hours nature of work for example), this has become a tool for employers to get cheaper labour - sometimes even for identical work; workers working side by side, doing the same job but one paid differently because they are an agency worker (this was the situation in Cranswick Foods as referenced earlier). It's no wonder Sweden's citizens are furious at having such a negative derogation in the UK in their country's name - it's certainly not what they intended!

This Swedish Derogation has been used across a number of sectors from food production/processing to public service and warehouse jobs in the UK to undermine pay and collective agreements. It is important to understand that

this derogation is not a legal requirement at EU level. It is a clause that says member states 'may' introduce this system - the UK government could scrap the use of this derogation tomorrow. GMB is and will continue to campaign for the derogation to be axed.

Other EU countries like Luxembourg go even further than the regulations when it comes to agency work. Norway puts additional limits on the numbers of temporary workers in any company, with employers limited to 15% temporary staff within their workforce. GMB is calling in this paper for a cap on the proportion of agency workers a company can use at any one time - of course, rights from day one and removing the Swedish Derogation would mean employers are less likely to want to use high numbers of agency workers anyway.

Over the last year, changes in Germany have also seen considerable tightening of legislation on the rights and use of temporary workers. Amendments to the German labour leasing law (AUG) saw many welcome changes which include; restrictions on the hiring time of temporary workers to 18 months, making sure temporary agency workers are counted as staff for determining the number of worker representatives on company boards and it also importantly sets a legal distinction between the status of a worker and a truly self-employed person.

These extensions of temporary worker rights have not negatively affected economies - quite the reverse - these countries have seen better outcomes, with Luxembourg being in the top four fastest growing European economies and Germany continuing to enjoy stronger predicted growth in GDP than the UK over the next year.

Agency work: a perspective from inside the business

Adrian Gregory is the Chief Executive of London-based recruitment agency Extraman. He worked there from 1979 before buying the company from its previous owners in 1986 along with business partner Gary Davies.

Adrian has spoken out against the levels of worker exploitation that he has seen from disreputable recruitment agencies and has called for urgent reform of the sector. Earlier this year in March 2017 he gave evidence alongside GMB's, General Secretary, Tim Roache to the House of Commons BEIS Select Committee into the Future of the World of Work.

In this exclusive interview for this report, Adrian exposes the levels of exploitation and tax avoidance in the industry and the importance of unions like GMB in helping expose it. This is a condensed version of the interview, for the full length version please see the appendix.

"How long have you been in the recruitment agency business and how has it changed during that time?"

I entered the recruitment industry by chance back in 1979, fresh out of university. I worked for Extraman for seven years, before staging a

management buyout, alongside a partner in 1986 and we've been going ever since.

“You have previously said that less reputable recruitment agencies engage in systematic tax avoidance. How big is the scale of this and how does that take place?”

Tax avoidance and worker exploitation siphon money from the Exchequer and workers' pockets at an alarming and growing rate.

The former occurs largely by means of Umbrella companies and other payroll services, all of whom offer “solutions” to the vexing problem of paying tax. False self-employment is also growing, while schemes which market the “Employment Allowance Scheme” – where companies split their workforce into hundreds, if not thousands, of small companies, with directors based overseas, in order to claim the annual £3,000 National Insurance exemption for each company – appear to be prospering.

The latter occurs through withholding holiday pay, avoiding the provisions of the Agency Workers regulations, charging workers for “services” such as worthless Personal Accident Insurance schemes and payroll services.

The scale is enormous. Combining the money removed from workers with the money avoided in tax, an educated guess would be that around 15% of the total income of the recruitment industry is misappropriated. This would amount to around £4.5 billion each year. Knowing the mathematically impossible rates at which agencies peddle their staff to end users, I would think this figure is conservative.

“What would happen to the recruitment agency sector if tax avoidance was completely eradicated?”

The recruitment industry would contract significantly, but it would be much improved. Agencies are frequently employed simply because they, through illegal and unethical practices, can supply staff cheaper than end users, as well as shielding the latter from employers' responsibilities. This would no longer be possible if tax avoidance and worker exploitation was eradicated. Agencies would then have to charge a fee for their services, rather than that fee being absorbed within exploitative practices.

If tax avoidance was eradicated, recruitment agencies would then be rewarded by the quality of their service, not the extent of their corruption.

“Why do you think HMRC and the government doesn't act to tackle these practices? Surely it's in their interest to gather as much taxes owed to it as possible?”

The recruitment industry is largely ignored by both government and HMRC. Those within the industry appear supremely relaxed that there is no-one breathing down their necks. Why this should be so is harder to explain.

The umbrella companies and payroll service companies that market tax avoidance schemes are never around for long. Companies are formed and struck off with alarming speed. Even those peddling schemes often caution

that a shelf life of a couple of years is likely, before closing a scheme and migrating to another. Often, such companies employ directors based overseas, the real owners hidden behind a complex web. Almost without exception, umbrella companies marketing the most aggressive schemes never even get as far as filing accounts. I heard only last week of one organisation that had liquidated 182 recently formed companies last year.

Agencies can use an umbrella with confidence that, even if the umbrella ceases to trade, or comes under investigation, they can simply migrate to another. Under the umbrella model, the umbrella is the employer, not the agency. There is no shortage of salesmen promoting new "solutions"; examples saturate my inbox and the recruitment press. It would be hard to overstate just how easy tax avoidance is; an umbrella company salesman who spoke to me recently almost choked when I revealed my company pays "straight" PAYE and has done for 30 years. He found it one of the funniest lines he'd heard.

HMRC must take the blame for much that is wrong within the recruitment industry. For many years, tax avoidance has been richly rewarded while compliance has been heavily penalised. Their disregard of a substantial industry is shameful.

"What role do you think trade unions have in challenging the exploitation of agency workers?"

The high profile interventions of GMB at ASOS and Unite at Sports Direct have shown that unions can bring cases of exploitation into the public arena. Agency workers have no voice; any sign of dissent can be handled by instant sacking (or the offer of an unsuitable job in a distant location to achieve the same aim). While agency workers are seldom union members, increased union representation which highlights their plight may well lead to increased permanent employment, with a consequent increase in membership.

"To what extent do you think the companies that use unethical recruitment agencies actually know what takes place in terms of eroding workers' rights or tax avoidance?"

Large users of labour are often instrumental in driving unethical behaviour. Tenders where price is key, as it almost invariably is, can only result in a disregard of ethical considerations. Workers, and the tax system, become the tools by which agencies can establish a commercial advantage.

Even where they are not instrumental, companies are complicit, their compliance audits asking all the wrong questions and none of the right ones.

The larger agencies, in particular, did not come down in the last shower. They have slick sales teams and stress to willing ears their commitment to compliance and fair treatment of workers. They will have accreditations plastered all over their websites, be leading members of their Chamber of Commerce, and their directors are likely to spend their spare time running half-marathons for charity. There will be rewards schemes, gold stars for temp of the month and smiling pictures of loyal staff. All of which is music to the ears of those companies whose overwhelming desire for cost cutting makes them

willing converts to the proposition that compliance and the cheapest price are not incompatible.

“In the current climate is it possible to run a commercially viable and ethical recruitment agency that treats workers properly and doesn't avoid tax?”

It is possible, but rare.

My own agency is London based and we are viable because there is an almost unlimited pool of potential customers. We partner with organisations that share our approach, who realise that a well-treated and properly rewarded workforce is more productive than an exploited one, who see temporary employment as often being a pathway to permanent employment and who use agencies for the “right” reasons, i.e. to cover seasonal uplifts, holidays, specific projects and other genuinely short-term requirements. They appreciate that we provide expertise and a professional service and are prepared to pay for that service. However, I believe we are denied access to between half and three quarters of our target market.

Outside the big cities, for an agency to survive, while treating workers properly and not avoiding tax would be hard, verging on impossible.

The CEO of the Association of Labour Providers claimed at the Select Committee that agencies can be split into four categories; criminal, dodgy, compliant and leading. When pressed, he would not commit to relative percentages. My own estimate would be that 80/90% within our sector (the unskilled or semi-skilled portion of the recruitment industry) are criminal/dodgy, while 10%/20% are compliant. I have yet to encounter an agency I would consider “leading”.

To give just one example of what “leading” might include, an agency should print on every payslip a column for accrued holiday pay. My agency does that and it means that every worker knows exactly what he or she is entitled to and can check that it is correct. I have never seen another agency that does this. A simple and basic right, yet it proves beyond our industry.

“If you were Prime Minister and wanted to tackle exploitation and tax avoidance in the recruitment agency sector, what would you do?”

I would outlaw the Swedish Derogation.

I would tighten, enforce and publicise holiday pay legislation; industry estimates suggest that

70% of holiday pay, totalling nearly £3 billion per annum, is never paid.

I would either abolish umbrella companies or strictly regulate them.

I would legislate that agencies cannot offer insurance services or other products from which they or their directors profit.

I would set up a specialist HMRC unit to investigate the industry. The unit would be staffed by experts and properly funded. The funding would be paid for many hundreds of times over by the results it would achieve.

I would put the fear of God into the industry by announcing that reform of the recruitment industry is squarely on the radar of the government and that no stone would be left unturned in pursuing the criminals that populate it. This, of course, would need to be followed by action, in contrast to HMRC's present approach of making definitive statements condemning malpractice but doing nothing.

“Do you expect the growth in the number of people employed through recruitment agencies to continue at the same rate and do you have any advice for trade unions like GMB looking to respond to this recent trend?”

The recruitment industry is growing at almost 10% per annum, astonishing for a mature industry.

I have long believed that the industry may eat itself, by which I mean that it will gorge so greedily and become so bloated with the fruits of its rampant exploitation that government will be forced to take notice and legislate it into submission; current growth rates may hasten that as more and more money is extracted from the economy.

As increasing numbers of employers seek to avoid the rising costs of employing those on lower salaries, the use of those agencies who are prepared to supply labour at prices which cannot be achieved through direct employment can only grow if left unchecked. Both major parties have committed in their manifestos to increased rights for workers and purges on tax avoidance; the recruitment industry will be a good indicator of how those pledges unfold.

My advice for unions such as GMB would be that they should identify more sites with large numbers of agency workers to focus upon and bring reputational risk to the fore where companies are playing the agency game. Union involvement has been a crucial element in exposing workplace practices relating to recruitment agencies, along with the media coverage that has followed. The more light that can be shone on the abuses endemic within the recruitment industry, the better the hope of change.

Tackling abuse of agency workers: morally right, and delivering for our members

Case Study: SITA Sembcorp UK and undercutting at Wilton International, Teesside

Even if workers don't have their contracts changed, their position can become more precarious through the undercutting of industry-wide agreed pay rates and standards by agency workers. The situation at SITA Sembcorp on Teesside shows exactly why it is imperative that unions tackle the abuse of agency workers, for the individual workers that are being exploited, but also for our current members who are forced to take pay cuts or not have a job at all.

What happened at SITA Sembcorp

In the construction of an Energy from Waste facility on Teesside, SITA Sembcorp – instead of recruiting local workers on blue book rates have exploited

overseas agency labour from 18 different countries through umbrella companies. This has resulted in wage drops as big as £5 per hour for workers on site.

This is blatant undercutting and exploitation. It is one of the reasons why we find ourselves leaving the EU.

With a large local UK workforce facing the deterioration of job prospects and falling wages, GMB Northern Region has been protesting and lobbying against this. As well as the erosion of agreed wage rates and lack of local job recruitment, GMB has also highlighted serious concerns around health and safety.

GMB Northern Region public meetings and protests have focussed on the practices of the employer – in some instances protesting at the SITA site, which has gained widespread media coverage in the region. Northern Region has campaigned publicly on all fronts – with MPs and MEPs – in the press, in Parliament and in Brussels to show that this isn't acceptable practice in 21st Century Britain.

While the employer being targeted has not met all our union's expectations and demands, there have been other positive outcomes such as the agreement to host local recruitment fairs to increase the job opportunities for local people.

A major positive outcome has been that other employers moving into the area have seen the protests, campaigning and opposition to what is happening at SITA and have agreed to pay the industry's blue book rates for the job. GMB's campaign has practically made a difference for our members in construction, and for those who companies would otherwise seek to exploit.

GMB Northern Region believe that this would not have happened if unions have not challenged so robustly the exploitation taking place at SITA.

Action on Umbrella Companies

Case Study: Welsh government

GMB, alongside other unions, has worked closely with the Welsh Labour Party and Assembly Members to highlight the importance of tackling 'umbrella companies' in Wales' economy. Umbrella companies involve unfair and exploitative practices and lower employer tax contributions. Many workers engaged through umbrella companies are even charged for the processing of their pay. Their growth has been prolific in the construction sector and have previously been used in many publicly funded projects.

The legislation has had the effect of either ensuring public money isn't contributing to the profit margins of the most exploitative firms, or led to changing their behaviour by employers and has seen workers back to more orthodox forms of PAYE. Labour in Wales has used its devolved powers in

government to set higher employment standards than at Westminster and has shown how the power of procurement can change corporate behaviour.

This code of practice for 'Ethical Employment in Supply Chains' ensures that workers in public sector supply chains are paid the independent living wage and not exploited through:

- Modern slavery and human rights abuses
- Blacklisting
- False self-employment
- Unfair use of umbrella schemes and zero hours contracts

GMB believes:

- That some companies use agency workers as a business model to avoid paying proper wages and allowing decent employment rights
- That the agency work sector is exploiting workers in the name of profit, the sector must be regulated to prevent unscrupulous agencies from driving down wages and treating workers unfairly
- Umbrella companies should be abolished, there is no reason for them to exist other than to exploit workers and avoid transparent dealings
- The Swedish Derogation should be outlawed
- There should be a legal cap on the proportion of agency workers any company can employ as happens in Norway.

GMB will:

- Continue to lead campaigns to 'pay the rate' wages negotiated with unions
- Engage with MPs to ensure that the new government understands the serious social and economic implications of this issue and to fight for better regulation, especially in light of Brexit
- Push public bodies including local and devolved government to adopt ethical public procurement policies and decent employment standards that prevent undercutting of industry rates and use of umbrella companies
- Campaign for equal rights from day one for all workers
- Continue to campaign to abolish the Swedish Derogation and to limit the number of agency workers a company can employ
- Continue to name and shame companies who exploit the use of agency workers.
- Continue to campaign against the exploitative practices of umbrella companies and seek their ban by law

- Use the positive examples in Wales to demonstrate to other public bodies of what is possible and necessary to ensure that public money does not contribute to exploitation on such a large scale
- Ensure that the prohibition of umbrella companies feature in higher employment standards as part of our union's agenda for devolution and local government

Fixed Term Contract Workers (Temporary workers)

What is a fixed term contract?

'People on a fixed term contract can be either an employee or worker, a fixed term employee may be a seasonal or casual person who has been taken on for a peak period, a specialist employee taken on for a project or covering for maternity leave' (see note 4) according to ACAS. However, there is potential for fixed term contracts to be exploited.

Why are fixed term contracts a problem?

Fixed term contracts can be a good way to cover during staff sickness or maternity leave, but that's when they are used properly. Fixed term contracts that are constantly renewed instead of the employee being given a permanent contract, keep workers in a constant state of insecurity where they can't raise concerns if they're treated poorly because that contract simply will not be renewed at the end of the 'fixed term'.

Currently employment law states that fixed term workers cannot be let go at the end of their fixed term if they have been on the contract for 2 years or more, without a 'fair' reason being given. This is obviously open to abuse. After 4 years on a fixed term contract, employees are classed as permanent.

Temporary work: a national and regional picture

There are 1,550,000 temporary workers without a permanent contract in the UK with London and the North East possessing the most.

| Workers on temporary contracts by region | Percentage of workforce | Number |
|--|-------------------------|---------|
| London | 7.1% | 257,000 |
| North East | 6.8% | 71,000 |
| N Ireland | 6.5% | 45,000 |
| Wales | 6.5% | 79,000 |
| North West | 6.1% | 177,000 |
| East Midlands | 5.8% | 111,000 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber | 5.6% | 119,000 |
| Scotland | 5.5% | 125,000 |
| South West | 5.5% | 121,000 |
| East of England | 5.4% | 137,000 |

| | | |
|-----------------|------|-----------|
| West Midlands | 5.3% | 121,000 |
| South East | 5.1% | 187,000 |
| Whole of the UK | 5.9% | 1,550,000 |

Further statistics show women in work (6.4%) are more likely to be in temporary work than men (5.4%). 10.7% of black workers are on temporary contracts almost double the proportion of workers who are white (5.5%). Again this highlights the strong equalities dimension in tackling precarious work.

GMB believes:

- There is a legitimate use for fixed term contracts, but employers must not be allowed to exploit them
- Workers should automatically be entitled to a permanent position after 2 years on a fixed term contract, and that an employer should not be allowed to renew a fixed term contract more than once

GMB will:

- Continue to monitor the use of fixed term contracts and highlight politically and in the press where they are being abused

Gig economy and fake self-employment

What is the gig economy and fake self-employment?

The gig economy is characterised by short term, piece work employment where workers are paid by the job. Uber workers are gig economy workers, as are Deliveroo drivers and couriers with firms like Hermes.

Why is the gig economy and fake self-employment a problem?

Many Gig Economy employers refuse to accept that they are just that, employers. As you will see from our case study on Uber, the 'sharing economy' or 'platform economy' quite often means that companies take responsibility for dishing out assignments, often require a certain uniform, way of working and set the rate of pay for the job, but they refuse to give the employment rights that go along with that.

Fake self-employment is not new, it's been seen in industries such as construction for years, but it is on the rise thanks to gig economy employers who want to make profit on the backs of their workers, but not to pay them the minimum wage, holiday pay or for rest breaks.

This is also a problem for the Treasury, with the Citizen's Advice Bureau putting the potential figure of lost NICs contributions at £300 million. GMB believes this figure could be even higher.

What fake self-employed workers say

'My son works in a Bar/Restaurant/Venue in Glasgow and is treated appallingly. He is classed, by his employer, as "Self Employed" which he clearly is not but, as such, gets no annual leave pay nor any guarantee of hours of any kind! This should be illegal.' – James, Glasgow

Gig economy and bogus self-employment: a national picture

A survey by CIPD earlier this year placed the number of people working in the gig economy at 1.3 million. Citizen's Advice put the figure on fake self-employment at 460,000, but it is impossible to set a definitive figure.

Government monitoring of employment has not kept up with the changing world of work. The UK Government has no clue about the state of work in 2017.

We can, however, look at where there has been a higher than average growth in self-employment. There is, for example, no obvious explanation why self-employment should have grown by 7,200 in Stockport between 2010 and 2016 when it fell by 500 in neighbouring Oldham and only increased by 2,800 in Manchester during the same time. The government should be seeking to find out what is happening in these hotspots and why.

Tackling the Bogus Self-Employment in the Gig Economy

Case study: Uber

GMB has led the way in representing workers in the Gig Economy.

Our landmark case against Uber has hit headlines time and again, as the first case of its kind in the UK to tackle a gig economy employer head on and win.

Uber contends that it is not an employer. It maintains that it is an app. GMB knows Uber drivers are treated as employed, whether Uber wants to recognise its responsibilities or not.

GMB found that a member working exclusively for Uber received just £5.03 per hour after costs and fees were taken into account, significantly below the national minimum wage/national living wage of £7.20. Lawyers for the drivers also claimed that Uber acts unlawfully by frequently deducting sums from drivers' pay, often without informing the drivers in advance, including when customers make complaints.

GMB want Uber to conform to employment law as follows:

- Uber should ensure that its drivers are paid the national minimum wage and that they receive their statutory entitlement to paid holiday. Currently Uber does not ensure these rights for its drivers
- Uber should address serious health and safety issues. Currently Uber does not ensure its drivers take rest breaks or work a maximum number of hours per week. GMB content that this provides a substantial risk to all road users given that, according to Uber's CEO, there were 42,000 Uber drivers in London in 2016.
- Uber should adhere to legal standards on discipline and grievances. Currently drivers have been suspended or deactivated by Uber after having made complaints about unlawful treatment, without being given any opportunity to challenge this.

The union took a case to the Central London Employment Tribunal on behalf of our members.

The tribunal who ruled on the case summed it up in a perfect manner, calling the entire situation 'faintly ridiculous'.

'The notion that Uber in London is a mosaic of 30,000 small businesses linked by a common 'platform' is to our minds faintly ridiculous. In each case, the 'business' consists of a man with a car seeking to make a living by driving it. Ms Bertram [Uber] spoke of Uber assisting the drivers to "grow" their businesses, but no driver is in a position to do anything of the kind, unless growing his business simply means spending more hours at the wheel. Nor can Uber's function sensibly be characterised as supplying drivers with "leads". That suggests that the driver is put into contact with a possible passenger with whom he has the opportunity to negotiate and strike a bargain. But drivers do not and cannot negotiate with passengers (except to agree a reduction of the fare set by Uber). They are offered and accept trips strictly on Uber's terms.'

The ruling against Uber found that Uber does employ its drivers and that they fall under 'worker' classification. That means they are entitled to such rights as holiday pay, paid rest breaks and the National Minimum Wage. They are not self-employed.

Uber is now appealing this case, refusing to accept their responsibilities.

The union now has further cases of this nature pending, with courier firms Hermes and DX – an industry where bogus self-employment is rife.

Uber: Enforcement and HMRC

Not only does fake self-employment rip off workers, it fiddles the taxpayer too. Uber should be paying employers' National Insurance contributions for its drivers.

HMRC has a responsibility to investigate all companies suspected of using precarious forms of employment or bogus self-employment to avoid paying the correct level of tax whether through income tax, employer's National Insurance or V.A.T. As we've shown throughout this report, the number of self-employed workers is growing, with an estimated 460,000 workers being fake self-employed (which is the only estimate available – the government doesn't even know what figures it's working with). This has a huge impact on public finances, CAB estimates put the amount at £300 million per year. The public are on our side with this.

In March 2017 pollsters Survation asked the public the following question on behalf of GMB.

'HM Revenue and Customs has the responsibility for enforcing the legal requirement that employers pay the National Minimum Wage, pay the correct amount of taxes including V.A.T. as well as pay National Insurance contributions. To what extent do you think it's important that the government ensures these requirements are fully enforced, or do you not think it' at all important?'

65% said full enforcement was 'very important', 27% said it was 'somewhat important' resulting in a more than 9 in 10 adults (92%) believing it was important to act.

GMB will continue to hold employers to account to make sure they pay their way in all aspects of our economy.

The 'worker' debate

One of the main topics of discussion around fake self-employment, is how those workers should be classed. The employers maintain they are self-employed, GMB believes they are workers – because of that belief, we do not buy into the emerging narrative that somehow there should be another classification of worker. It isn't needed, enforcement is.

The existence of a contract of employment is the key to most employment protection and rights. This requires one or more of certain key elements:

- Personal service by the individual
- Control by the employer over the individual's work
- Mutuality of Obligation – the employer must be under a duty to offer work over a period of time and the employee must be under a duty to accept the work if it is offered

From the 1970s onwards, there was emerging a class of individual who was economically dependent on the employer but lacked access to most statutory protections. In the late 1990s the Government acted to address this by defining a separate category of the 'worker' which included individuals who contracted to supply their personal services in a situation of economic dependence but who did not have sufficient stability or regulatory of work to be able to demonstrate employee status.

Workers have access to limited rights including:

- Minimum wage
- Working time
- Health and safety protections
- Some collective rights relating to freedom of association

If there are to be any changes on worker classification, GMB believe that should be to provide greater protections for 'workers' as opposed to creating a new employment category with potentially inferior rights.

Self-employment – a regional analysis

Little work has been done to look at the growth of self-employment since the 2008 economic crash. It is not a straightforward picture, and few statistics are recorded to monitor the impact of self-employment or where that self-employment is genuine.

GMB firmly believes that the growth we see in some areas of the country is directly linked to the increase in fake self-employment. No data exists to explain why there is such a changing picture in some labour markets. If the government is seeking to ensure the appropriate tax revenue is raised, HMRC should – quite frankly – be all over this change in the labour market and the proliferation of bogus self-employment because it is costing the Treasury hundreds of millions of pounds. This will only continue to mount up if the trend continues unchecked.

GMB organises self-employed workers, we do so in the Gig Economy, private hire drivers and in areas such as foster care. The data below show areas where there is potential to make a union offer to self-employed workers – or to map out potential recruitment targets - should that be a priority of the region.

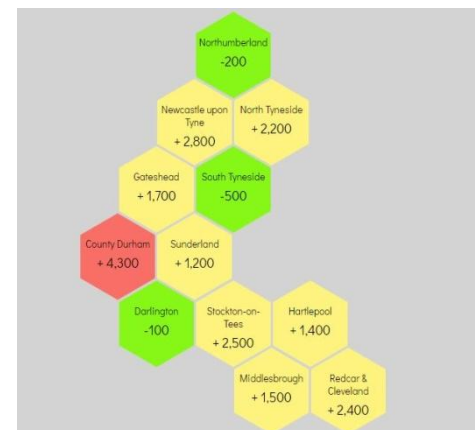


Scotland

It isn't a surprise to see that Glasgow has the biggest increase in self-employment in Scotland however the scale of the increase is very large. 12,000 additional self-employed workers in Glasgow between 2010 and 2016 contrasts with a more modest increase of 2,800 in Edinburgh. This suggests significant changes to the local labour market over those six years. While Aberdeenshire has seen a notable reduction of 4,100, neighbouring Aberdeen City has seen an increase of 3,300 self-employed people which could be directly linked. The vast majority of other parts of Scotland have had modest increases, North Lanarkshire, Fife and South Lanarkshire stand out for providing increases between

North East

County Durham has experienced, by far, the biggest increase in self-employed workers in the North East of England with an additional 4,300 between 2010 and 2016. This is higher than the total increases in Newcastle and Sunderland added together. Self-employment has increased more in the south of the region with Tees Valley experiencing a rise of 7,700 these workers. This certainly suggests significant changes across this labour market and is worthy of greater investigation.



North West

Surprisingly the main cities of Manchester and Liverpool do not boast the biggest increases in self-employment in the North West between 2010 and 2016. Instead Stockport (+7,200) and Bolton (+6,500) have large increases which stand out in comparison to the rest of the region. Something has happened to the labour market during this time in these areas that has caused considerable increases which should raise concerns of false self-employment.

Yorkshire and the Humber

The most surprising feature of the statistics for Yorkshire is the reduction of self-employed workers in Leeds by 8,100. This is in contrast to neighbouring areas significantly increasing in number within West Yorkshire. Between them Bradford, Kirklees and Wakefield have seen a rise of 17,300 self-employed workers between 2010-16.

Sheffield has a sizeable increase of 10,100 which is the largest in the region. More rural areas in the north of the region have seen reductions of self-employed in Craven, Richmondshire and Hambleton which may reveal a contraction in one part of their labour market.

East Midlands

The growth in self-employment in East Midlands is more evenly spread than in other regions. Ashfield (+5,900), Northampton (+5,900), Nottingham (+5,100), West Lindsey (4,600) and Leicester (+4,500) provide the biggest increases. Further investigation is needed here. There are clusters of reductions which suggest changes are taking place in some localised sectors.

West Midlands

Birmingham has seen, by far, the biggest increase of the region with 11,700 more self-employed workers. Given the size of the city this is not surprising but

it is something to be very mindful of in investigating false self-employment. The increases in Dudley (5,200) and Warwick (+4,500) are perhaps more notable. The big reduction 6,500 in Lichfield suggests something fundamental has changed in that labour market.

East of England

There have been significant increases in levels of self-employment in half of the areas of the East of England region. While East Cambridgeshire (6,000), Epping Forest (+5,800) and Basildon (5,500) have seen the biggest rises, 11 other areas in the region are not far behind. This suggests any campaigns attracting self-employed workers or seeking to explore false self-employment would find fertile economic ground in much of this region.

South East

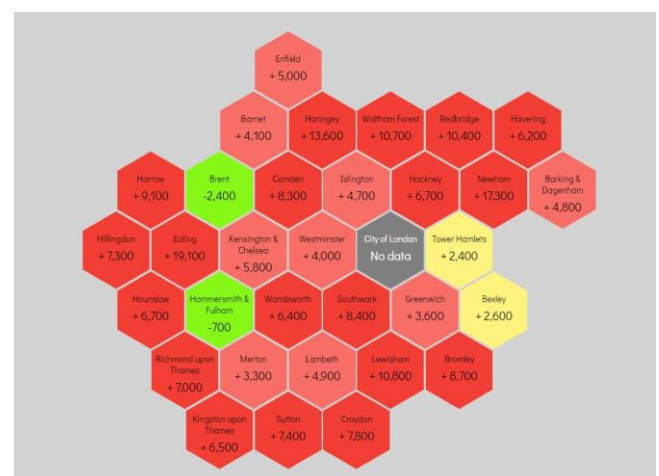
The Isle of Wight provides one of the more clearly defined local labour markets and has seen a significant increase of 5,200 self-employed workers between 2010 and 2016. Canterbury (+8,800) Oxford (+8,300) provide the biggest increases with Brighton and Hove (+7,600), Thanet (+6,700) and Chiltern (+6,500) witnessing large rises too. All these areas are worthy of greater investigation.

South West

As the largest economic driver and city in the South West it isn't a surprise that Bristol has seen the largest increase in the region with an additional 18,000 self-employed workers between 2010 and 2016. However, this is the biggest rise outside of London and the second highest of any local authority area of the UK. The rise in self-employed in Bristol is almost three times higher than the second highest in the South West region which is Wiltshire (+5,100). An investigation into the changes in self-employed work in Bristol would be worthwhile.

London

London is the self-employment hotspot of the UK. Only one area (Hammersmith and Fulham -700) has seen a reduction in the time between 2010 and 2016. Almost every other area has seen increases as big as some of the biggest growth levels in every other region. Ealing has the biggest increase in the UK (+19,100), with Newham (+17,300) close behind. The levels of increase in self-employment across London are without parallel in the UK and highlight how different the capital's labour market operates to elsewhere. London is the home of the 'gig economy' and if anywhere is in need of greater investigation, regulation and changes it is



here. Whilst there will be growth in genuine self-employment in the capital, the scale of increases highlights just how employment is changing on an industrial scale.

GMB believes that:

- The current employment rights system is not fit for a 21st century workforce. Employment rights have not kept pace with the changing nature of the working world, particularly in relation to fake self-employment and the gig economy.
- There is a growing category of worker who is currently classed as self-employed but who should be covered by workers status – this could extend across the economy from foster carers to couriers.
- 'That all workers should be paid a Living Wage but at the very minimum employers must be forced to pay the Minimum Wage'
- The changing nature of work and growth in self-employment means that the Government must look at what a modern social security system needs to accomplish
- All too often the 'flexibility' of the so-called 'gig economy' is in the interest of the employer and in practice has a profoundly negative impact on the lives of workers.
- There are considerable numbers of falsely self-employed people who should be regarded in the 'worker category'.
- There is no convincing case for a new employment category – the issue is enforcement of the categories we currently have
- A much stronger inspection regime is required. Trade unions are part of the solution with workplace reps who can ensure laws are enforced and to help improve pay and working conditions. Workers should therefore have the right to invite unions to access workplaces to inform them of rights, laws and to represent and collectively bargain for them as well as ensuring employment law is correctly applied.
- HMRC has a responsibility to investigate companies suspected of using precarious forms of employment or bogus self-employment to avoid paying the correct level of tax. The current lack of transparency and willingness to investigate and pursue employers further incentivises exploitative behaviour.

GMB will:

- Continue to take the fight to employers who refuse to accept their responsibilities on every front – legally, politically and publicly
- Press HMRC to take action in the interests of fake self-employed workers, the Treasury and the taxpayer, arguing for enforcement of current laws rather than new definitions of workers

- Develop recruitment materials for self-employed members for regions to use where they see organising potential.

Conclusion: tackling precarious work in the 21st Century

As we have seen throughout this paper, insecure work impacts on all workers, not just those immediately on insecure contracts. It impacts on people, families, communities, the economy and public finances.

This report shows the scale of insecure working in the UK in a way that has not been illustrated in such detail before. It shows that almost 30% of our workforce is in insecure work. That is a staggering figure.

What is also clear is that it does not need to be this way.

GMB campaigns to highlight the issue of precarious work, have recruited members and delivered practical change – we only have to look at ASOS where workers move from agency to permanent contracts in half the time they used to, to Northern region where companies are thinking twice about using agency workers to undercut pay rates because of our campaign at SITA Semcorp, and to Midland and East Coast where strides are being made to move agency workers onto the books as permanent employees.

In the Gig Economy we are recruiting private hire and delivery drivers who are for all intents and purposes – and in the case of Uber the courts say – employed, but where the employer refuses to accept it.

We can organise industrially and practically to impact on precarious work, and we can grow our union through it.

Political action can also make a difference. Banning zero hours contracts as has been done in New Zealand shows that multi-national companies can play by new rules, if new rules are set. Our work must be a combination of industrial and political pressure, backed up by 21st century communications and campaigns techniques.

Taking on exploitation and insecurity at work has been at the core of trade unionism since its inception as part of efforts to improve the living standards of working people. GMB will continue to take the fight to employers who exploit insecure workers, and seek to organise working people to make practical change.

GMB believes that:

- Driving down employment standards doesn't just harm the individuals employed but also risks undermining the prospects of those working for employers who pay the agreed rate of pay, respect decent working conditions and fulfil their tax obligations.
- The increasing numbers of insecure workers on precarious contracts is a challenge but is also an organising opportunity

- The process of achieving greater job security should work alongside the GMB@Work approach maximising member engagement and ownership of campaigns to grow and strengthen the union
- That exploitation in the gig economy and fake self-employment will continue to exist and grow if workers in those sectors are not organised, and that employers refusing to class themselves as such, opens up new avenues for organised activity as employment law does not apply if officially the employee is not an employee.

GMB will:

- Work at all levels of government, lobbying and fighting for policies that end the proliferation of insecure work
- Continue to be the union for Gig Economy workers by identifying sectors where workers can be organised around the issue of employment status
- Continue to name and shame employers and agencies who use an unnecessary over-reliance on agency workers in place of a permanent workforce in order to bolster their profit margin but at the expense of workers' rights, lives and communities.
- Tell the real stories of those in insecure work so that the public and politicians see the human impact of bad business practices
- Build on national and regional best practice - also looking at what has not worked in the past - to develop a guide to 'What works in organising precarious workers'; looking at recruitment of members, recruitment of reps, what changes we have practically been made for members in their workplaces and the cost/benefit to the union
- Monitor the success of different organising methods and campaigns in recruiting precarious workers and making change happen on the ground, so we can see across the union what works and what doesn't.
- Produce recruitment materials - that can be adapted to regional needs - that are specifically aimed at precarious workers about the benefits of joining a trade union
- Highlight good practice by employers to show that there is an alternative business model to profiting from insecurity.
- Hold a summit on insecure work to bring together workers, employers, politicians and GMB members.
- Monitor and highlight changes in insecure work in the UK, including in bogus self-employment, zero hours contracts and agency work.
- Monitor and research the impact of automation on insecure work and GMB sectors, especially for professional drivers as more

companies seek to expand into driverless technology, and develop campaigns to protect the jobs of GMB members as the world of work changes

- Call on the ONS and government to collect and publish much more detailed analysis of the state of the Labour market on a regular basis. It is unacceptable that our own government does not know what the state of play is in the UK labour market.

1.

Methodological summary

Poll of precarious workers

Sample size: 1,003

Fieldwork dates: 21st - 25th May 2017

The opinion poll of precarious workers was conducted online by Survation. The survey captured responses from a weighted nationally representative panel of workers with questions designed to identify GMB's designated categories of workers. Questions designed by GMB and Survation. Survation is a member of the British Polling Council.

Labour market data collection

Data source: Office of National Statistics Labour Force Survey, 2016 (April-June and October-December quarters only)

This data capture was of largely unpublished data of the Labour Force Survey by Landman Economics for GMB

GMB Future of Work survey

Sample size: 866

Fieldwork dates: 24th November – 9th December 2016

An online qualitative survey of primarily GMB members and postholders into their current experiences of work.

Hexmaps and localised changes in self-employment and zero hours

Data visualisation of ONS data from Annual Population Survey and Labour Force Survey by Open Data Institute (Leeds) using latest available data gathered in May 2017.

Appendix – Interview with Adrian Gregory of Extraman

Adrian Gregory is the Chief Executive of London-based recruitment agency Extraman. He worked there from 1979 before buying the company from its previous owners in 1986 along with business partner Gary Davies.

Adrian has spoken out against the levels of worker exploitation that he has seen from disreputable recruitment agencies and has called for urgent reform of the sector. Earlier this year in March 2017 he gave evidence alongside GMB's Tim Roache to the House of Commons BEIS Select Committee into the Future of the World at Work.

In this exclusive interview for this report, Adrian exposes the levels of exploitation and tax avoidance in the industry and the importance of unions like GMB in challenging it.

“How long have you been in the recruitment agency business and how has it changed during that time?”

I entered the recruitment industry by chance back in 1979, fresh out of university. I worked for Extraman for seven years, before staging a management buyout, alongside a partner in 1986 and we've been going ever since.

The industry has, in theory, become more regulated in recent years. However, as regulation has been ineffective, ambiguous and unenforced, corruption has increased.

Before 1999, there was no Minimum Wage. Recruitment agencies could, therefore, undercut competitors simply by offering lower wages; there was no real need to further exploit workers or the tax system. While the Minimum Wage was, of course, a positive move, it was also the catalyst for the recruitment industry to explore its unlimited capacity for deviousness and disregard for the rights of the people who represent it.

“You have previously said that less reputable recruitment agencies engage in systematic tax avoidance. How big is the scale of this and how does that take place?”

Tax avoidance and worker exploitation siphon money from the Exchequer and workers' pockets at an alarming and growing rate.

The former occurs largely by means of umbrella companies and other payroll services, all of whom offer “solutions” to the vexing problem of paying tax. False self-employment is also growing, while schemes which market the “Employment Allowance Scheme” – where companies split their workforce

into hundreds, if not thousands, of small companies, with directors based overseas, in order to claim the annual £3,000 National Insurance exemption for each company – appear to be prospering.

The latter occurs through withholding holiday pay, avoiding the provisions of the Agency Workers regulations, charging workers for “services” such as worthless Personal Accident Insurance schemes and payroll services.

The scale is enormous. Combining the money removed from workers with the money avoided in tax, an educated guess would be that around 15% of the total income of the recruitment industry is misappropriated. This would amount to around £4.5 billion each year. Knowing the mathematically impossible rates at which agencies peddle their staff to end users, I would think this figure is conservative.

“What would happen to the recruitment agency sector if tax avoidance was completely eradicated?”

The recruitment industry would contract significantly, but it would be much improved. Agencies are frequently employed simply because they, through illegal and unethical practices, can supply staff cheaper than end users, as well as shielding the latter from employers’ responsibilities. This would no longer be possible if tax avoidance and worker exploitation was eradicated. Agencies would then have to charge a fee for their services, rather than that fee being absorbed within exploitative practices.

Sports Direct, for example, would no longer employ 8,000 temporary workers throughout the year; figures produced during that company’s Select Committee enquiry believe the volatility that was claimed to be the reason for the vast army of temporary workers. Permanent work would result, with all the associated benefits for individuals and society.

If tax avoidance was eradicated, recruitment agencies would then be rewarded by the quality of their service, not the extent of their corruption.

“Why do you think HMRC and the government doesn’t act to tackle these practices? Surely it’s in their interest to gather as much taxes owed to it as possible?”

The recruitment industry is largely ignored by both government and HMRC. Those within the industry appear supremely relaxed that there is no-one breathing down their necks. Why this should be so is harder to explain.

The Umbrella companies and payroll service companies that market tax avoidance schemes are never around for long. Companies are formed and struck off with alarming speed. Even those peddling schemes often caution that a shelf life of a couple of years is likely, before closing a scheme and migrating to another. Often, such companies employ directors based overseas, the real owners hidden behind a complex web. Almost without exception, umbrella companies marketing the most aggressive schemes never even get as far as filing accounts. I heard only last week of one organisation that had liquidated 182 recently formed companies last year.

Agencies can use an umbrella with confidence that, even if the umbrella ceases to trade, or comes under investigation, they can simply migrate to another. Under the umbrella model, the umbrella is the employer, not the agency. There is no shortage of salesmen promoting new “solutions”; examples saturate my inbox and the recruitment press. It would be hard to overstate just how easy tax avoidance is; an Umbrella company salesman who spoke to me recently almost choked when I revealed my company pays “straight” PAYE and has done for 30 years. He found it one of the funniest lines he'd heard.

It could be that government is beginning to take an interest. The aforementioned Select Committee (if re-convened once a new parliament is formed) and the forthcoming Taylor report could curb some of the exploitation of workers in the recruitment industry, if they make recommendations that are acted upon.

HMRC must take the blame for much that is wrong within the recruitment industry. For many years, tax avoidance has been richly rewarded while compliance has been heavily penalised. Their disregard of a substantial industry is shameful.

“What role do you think trade unions have in challenging the exploitation of agency workers?”

There has historically been a distant relationship between unions and recruitment agency workers. Few agency workers will become union members. Many undertake temporary work for short periods, many move between jobs on a regular basis and many, particularly those from overseas, will have no knowledge of unions.

The high profile interventions of GMB at ASOS and Unite at Sports Direct have shown that unions can bring cases of exploitation into the public arena. Agency workers have no voice; any sign of dissent can be handled by instant sacking (or the offer of an unsuitable job in a distant location to achieve the same aim). While agency workers are seldom union members, increased union representation which highlights their plight may well lead to increased permanent employment, with a consequent increase in membership.

I have spoken with Tim Roache about the possibility of GMB (and other unions, by extension) endorsing recruitment agencies that are able to prove full compliance, and this is an area I am keen to develop. With catching the villains seemingly beyond the powers that be, championing the compliant would be, at least, some comfort.

“To what extent do you think the companies that use unethical recruitment agencies actually know what takes place in terms of eroding workers' rights or tax avoidance?”

Large users of labour are often instrumental in driving unethical behaviour. Tenders where price is key, as it almost invariably is, can only result in a disregard of ethical considerations. Workers, and the tax system, become the tools by which agencies can establish a commercial advantage.

Even where they are not instrumental, companies are complicit, their compliance audits asking all the wrong questions and none of the right ones.

The larger agencies, in particular, did not come down in the last shower. They have slick sales teams and stress, to willing ears, their commitment to compliance and fair treatment of workers. They will have accreditations plastered all over their websites, be leading members of their Chamber of Commerce, and their directors are likely to spend their spare time running half-marathons for charity. There will be rewards schemes, gold stars for temp of the month and smiling pictures of loyal staff. All of which is music to the ears of those companies whose overwhelming desire for cost cutting makes them willing converts to the proposition that compliance and the cheapest price are not incompatible.

"In the current climate is it possible to run a commercially viable and ethical recruitment agency that treats workers properly and doesn't avoid tax?"

It is possible, but rare.

My own agency is London based and we are viable because there is an almost unlimited pool of potential customers. We partner with organisations that share our approach, who realise that a well-treated and properly rewarded workforce is more productive than an exploited one, who see temporary employment as often being a pathway to permanent employment and who use agencies for the "right" reasons, i.e. to cover seasonal uplifts, holidays, specific projects and other genuinely short term requirements. They appreciate that we provide expertise and a professional service and are prepared to pay for that service. However, I believe we are denied access to between half and three quarters of our target market.

Outside the big cities, for an agency to survive while treating workers properly and not avoiding tax would be hard, verging on impossible.

The CEO of the Association of Labour Providers claimed at the Select Committee that agencies can be split into four categories; criminal, dodgy, compliant and leading. When pressed, he would not commit to relative percentages. My own estimate would be that 80/90% within our sector (the unskilled or semi-skilled portion of the recruitment industry) are criminal/dodgy, while 10%/20% are compliant. I have yet to encounter an agency I would consider "leading".

To give just one example of what "leading" might include, an agency should print on every payslip a column for accrued holiday pay. My agency does that and it means that every worker knows exactly what he or she is entitled to and can check that it is correct. I have never seen another agency that does this. A simple and basic right, yet it proves beyond our industry.

"How does the state of UK's employment agency sector compare with other countries you are familiar with?"

I have little experience of the sector overseas. I do know that the UK's recruitment sector dwarfs that of any other European country. The Agency Workers Regulations were an EU directive and its aims were commendable; to give agency workers the same pay and basic rights as if they were

permanent workers once they have completed 12 weeks at a single site. Tragically, the UK opted for the Swedish derogation as an option allowed into the legislation which undermined the entire thrust of the Regulations and enabled those who wished to exploit their workforce to do so. Why remains a mystery.

"If you were Prime Minister and wanted to tackle exploitation and tax avoidance in the recruitment agency sector, what would you do?"

I would outlaw the Swedish derogation.

I would tighten, enforce and publicise holiday pay legislation; industry estimates suggest that 70% of holiday pay, totalling nearly £3 billion per annum, is never paid.

I would either abolish umbrella companies or strictly regulate them.

I would legislate that agencies cannot offer insurance services or other products from which they or their directors profit.

I would set up a specialist HMRC unit to investigate the industry. The unit would be staffed by experts and properly funded. The funding would be paid for many hundreds of times over by the results it would achieve.

I would put the fear of God into the industry by announcing that reform of the recruitment industry is squarely on the radar of the government and that no stone would be left unturned in pursuing the criminals that populate it. This, of course, would need to be followed by action, in contrast to HMRC's present approach of making definitive statements condemning malpractice but doing nothing.

"Do you expect the growth in the number of people employed through recruitment agencies to continue at the same rate and do you have any advice for trade unions like GMB looking to respond to this recent trend?"

The recruitment industry is growing at almost 10% per annum, astonishing for a mature industry.

I have long believed that the industry may eat itself, by which I mean that it will gorge so greedily and become so bloated with the fruits of its rampant exploitation that government will be forced to take notice and legislate it into submission; current growth rates may hasten that as more and more money is extracted from the economy.

As increasing numbers of employers seek to avoid the rising costs of employing those on lower salaries, the use of those agencies who are prepared to supply labour at prices which cannot be achieved through direct employment can only grow if left unchecked. Both major parties have committed in their manifestos to increased rights for workers and purges on tax avoidance; the recruitment industry will be a good indicator of how those pledges unfold.

My advice for unions such as GMB would be that they should identify more sites with large numbers of agency workers to focus upon and bring reputational risk to the fore where companies are playing the agency game. Union involvement has been a crucial element in exposing workplace practices relating to recruitment agencies, along with the media coverage that has followed. The more light that can be shone on the abuses endemic within the recruitment industry, the better the hope of change.

The depth of agency corruption has barely been mined, despite the well-known examples. A warehouse site I know well (a household name) employed my agency several years ago; when we were involved the permanent workforce numbered around 450, while the agency workforce flexed between 100 to 250, depending on season. Unite represented the permanent workforce. We were replaced by an agency and have heard that the permanent workforce has now shrunk to insignificance while the temporary workforce has expanded significantly. The Swedish derogation is used exclusively; every manner of worker exploitation occurs. The wage bill per head for the company has diminished substantially.

Such developments will become the norm if sustained action is not taken. GMB and other unions can play a major role in demonstrating that the examples already in the public domain are far from unique and that the rapid growth in the recruitment industry casts an ever growing shadow over the future world of work.

Endnotes

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1. Research conducted by [Landman Economics](#), see Appendix 1
 2. Office of National Statistics, Labour Force Survey published May 17 2017
 3. Acas, Zero Hours Contracts, <http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=4468>
 4. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/11/zero-hour-contracts-banned-in-new-zealand>
 5. <http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=1873>
 6. <http://www.acas.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=4587>

THE PRESIDENT: We now move over to item 11, the CEC Special Report: Insecure: Tackling Precarious Work and the Gig Economy. I will call the mover of the CEC Report and then I will go round the regions, and call Andy Irving, and I will only be calling one from the regions. I am not forcing you to get up. Therefore, can I have the mover, please?

BRO. A. IRVING (CEC, Manufacturing): President, Congress, moving the special report on insecure work in the gig economy. Congress, this report shows the extent of insecure work in the UK. As you see in this report when you take zero hours contracts and add that to the numbers on agency contracts, then to those who are underemployed, fake employed, temporary contracts or fixed term contracts, the numbers are staggering. More than one in three workers is classed as in insecure employment. That is more than 10 million people. This is an issue that has gone unchecked for far too long, neglected by government in the name of the flexible labour market. Flexible for whom? The electric man is not flexible when it comes to pay the bills. Supermarkets are not flexible when you have to buy your milk and your bread. Often in insecure jobs your boss is not flexible about your caring responsibilities or transport issues.

The rise of insecure work has long since stopped being a tool to meet seasonal demand and to cover maternity. It has become a business model that is used to pay less, treat people worse, and dilute or remove employment rights. That does not just impact on precarious workers themselves, it serves to keep permanent workforce in a permanent state of insecurity, worried that they could be replaced by Swedish Derogation workers doing the same job for less pay. It has to end.

The GMB has been at the forefront of this already. In my own region, Yorkshire & North Derbyshire, we have recruited hundreds of workers at ASOS. ASOS have up to 50% of their workforce on agency contracts at any given time. We have taken the fight to ASOS, I am sure you have all heard about it, recruiting hundreds of members while the company will not even let us in the front door; not yet. In the London region we have taken the fight to Uber. They are a gig economy employer who refused to accept they are employed people. Who knew Uber did not employ taxi drivers? Getting agency workers onto permanent contracts in a place like Cranswick Foods in the Midland & East Coast Region, for Southern Region using the learning agenda and access to ESOL to organise a gig economy in hospitality, Wales and South West working with the Welsh Assembly to end the use of zero hours contracts in their supply chain. We are making a difference but there is more to do.

As the world of work continues to change with automation, the platform economy, employers seeking new loopholes to make a quick buck, we have to be stronger and more united than ever to lead our movement facing this challenge. We must act industrially and politically to show what insecure work means for our people, our communities, and our economy. This report spells out for the first time the real state of insecure work in the UK and what we are going to do to tackle it. It puts GMB at the forefront of tackling the issue of insecure working and in organising workers in the gig economy. The CEC supports this report. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Andy. Well done. I will now call Birmingham, London, and then Midland. Birmingham, do you support the report? I am going to

stutter in a minute. Yes? (*Agreed*) Thank you. London Region? Yes? No? Ugh! Carry on, Mr. Uber.

BRO. S. GARELICK (London): (*Small cheer*) Come on! We can't be shown up by those folk from Yorkshire. (*Cheers*)

THE PRESIDENT: I am watching the time! You might be sitting with them.

BRO. S. GARELICK (London): All that is in this report is good and it speaks to the work that the GMB does on a daily basis for everyone in this room and everyone who pays their membership fees. The question that we have over bogus employment, behaviour by organisations that can change prices at a whim, or the rates that people are paid, is ridiculous. Without the GMB's help many of us would not be able to enable others and whilst I am up here I want to thank Maria, Tim, Tony Warr, Warren Kenny, and his father, Paul, for what they did for us to get Uber taken care of. Without their work, frankly, every single worker in the United Kingdom would not now have the rights that they have. (*Applause*) That has been done by the GMB, not anyone else. Where we walk others follow. Remember that. Changes to workers' UK rights are happening on a daily basis now at tribunals all over the land and the reality of the matter is that unless we enable, unless we challenge, nothing will ever change. Again, I want to commend this report on behalf of London Region and say, God bless to all of you and thank you for your help. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Steve. Midland? (*Support*) Thank you. Northern? (*Formally*) Thank you. North West & Irish Region? I am assuming that is a yes? (*Agreed*) Thank you. Southern Region? Yes? (*Agreed*) Scotland? Yes? (*Agreed*) Thank you. South West Region? (*Support*) Thank you. And the noisy lot, Yorkshire? (*Cheers*) Thank you. I'm going to strangle you. Get on with it.

BRO. H. RAJCH (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): Supporting the CEC Report on the gig economy. The GMB is definitely the union that is leading the way in representing workers in the gig economy. Our legal action through the employment tribunal has been very important and well publicised. I want to talk a little bit about workers at Deliveroo who celebrated a victory in August last year as they forced management to back down over their plans to introduce new rates of pay following a six-day strike which brought up demands that went beyond defending the original pay rate, such as a real living wage and union recognition. The company pays nothing towards workers' pension, does not pay for sick leave, and contributes nothing to the cost of repairing their bikes and scooters that are essential for the job. Then Uber workers organised a strike and picketed the company's offices. These disputes show that workers self-activity, along with our legal action, is the best defence against bad pay and poor conditions. The strike showed that precarious workers like these can fight back, organise and unionise. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Henry. Hope the boy's okay. He is not a boy now! Colleagues, I now put the CEC Special Report to the vote. All those in favour. Anyone against? That is carried. Thank you.

The CEC Special Report: Insecure: Tackling Precarious Work and the Gig Economy was ADOPTED.

SOCIAL POLICY: TRANSPORT

THE PRESIDENT: I now move to 349, London Region, and anyone else who wishes to speak against, and then I will call Andy Irving.

CALL TO BAN DRIVERLESS VEHICLES – GIG ECONOMY MOTION 349

349. CALL TO BAN DRIVERLESS VEHICLES – GIG ECONOMY

This Congress notes that the effect of globalisation and the internet is to destroy jobs causing falling pay and conditions for workers. However, the one positive aspect of recent changes is that 100,000 new driving jobs have been created in the British economy, to deliver packages for companies such as Amazon, and for UBER.

However, we now expect driverless cars to be the next technological development. This will destroy those newly created jobs as people are replaced by robots.

The advantage of this development is that internet shopping will be slightly cheaper, but the jobs are of greater to the current economy than are cheap deliveries.

The GMB should call upon the British Government to pass a law that bans robot cars for general commercial use. This would mean that all companies would need to hire drivers for their vehicles. or private use people can still have robot drivers for their cars. We don't object to the technology, only to the loss of jobs.

LONDON CENTRAL GENERAL BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. D. McCURRY (London): First time conference, first time speaking. Hello. *(Applause)* Thank you. Okay. Everyone will know how the world economy has been in recent years with automation and the internet, which has been driving down wages, driving down conditions. The good news is that recently there has been about 100,000 new jobs created as drivers delivering stuff for e-commerce, and so forth. However, the next technological revolution is going to be driverless cars that puts out of work all those 100,000 drivers. Now, the only benefit of these driverless cars is that our Amazon purchases may be 5p or 10p cheaper. That is it. It is not a great benefit. The loss is 100,000 people paying their tax and being employed, and so forth. I am calling actually to ban driverless cars. We do not need them. It is just a matter of government policy. I think the Labour Party would get behind this policy. I am worried the Tories would not because although Theresa May says that she is behind the working man and so forth, she has actually subsidised driverless cars in this country with £100m, so she is actually paying your taxpayers' money to put 100,000 people out of work. That is an outrageous hypocrisy. We need to campaign against that. We also need to bring together the Uber drivers. If they were speaking in one voice, then Uber management would not be able to bring in driverless cars if they were willing to down ignition keys. If the drivers are united, they will never be divided. Congress, please back the motion and let's get behind this campaign and see if we can do something. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Daniel. Secunder? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: Anyone wish to speak against? No? Yes? Forever hold your peace. Up you get!

BRO. R. MELCIOIU (Southern): Congress, 100,000 jobs to deliver packages for Amazon and Uber. Amazon is a big company which does not like to pay taxes. So those jobs are actually supporting Amazon. Uber, they are the company which does not like to pay minimum wage. In actual fact driverless vehicles will actually make our roads safer. It will save lives. At the moment, distraction with mobile phones, which has made driving less safe, despite technology making cars safer, is the main reason why people are killed on the roads. This technology in the future is going to come, anyway, and I oppose this motion for that reason. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Robert. Thank you. Anyone else? No? Does London withdraw? Was that a no or a yes? No? No. I know you can speak louder than that. They will. (*Inaudible comments from the floor*) Okay, Congress accepts that? Yes? Thank you. I put the motion to the vote. All those in favour please show. Anyone against? That is carried.

Motion 349 was CARRIED.

INDUSTRIAL & ECONOMIC POLICY: COMMERCIAL SERVICES

THE PRESIDENT: I now move to 13, Industrial & Economic Policy: Commercial Services. I will be calling 157, London, 159, London, 160, Scotland, 161, London.

UTILITIES CONTRACTORS MOTION 157

157. UTILITIES CONTRACTORS

This Congress believes that a national forum for contractor workers engaged in work for the utility companies should be formed.

Contractors often undermine the terms and conditions of our direct labour members in the water industry, because of their inferior pay, terms, conditions and pensions.

Health and safety is often inferior with lip service being paid in order to cut corners.

These contractors are often brought in to work alongside our members or members are TUPE'd to these contractors which results in the loss of members pay and pensions.

We believe that a sustained national campaign targeting these contractors to organise, gain recognition and to improve their pay and pensions is the way to stop the utilities from seeing these contractors as an easy way to attack our members' pay and conditions.

EAST OF ENGLAND WATERWORKERS BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. T. CHOLERTON (London): President, Congress, this Congress believes that a national forum for contract workers engaged in the work for the utilities companies should be formed. Contractors often undermine the terms and conditions of our direct labour members in the water and other industries because of their inferior pay, terms and conditions, and pensions. Health and safety is often inferior with lip service being paid in order to cut corners. These contractors are often brought in to work alongside our members or our members are TUPE'd out to these contractors which results in the loss of members' pay and pensions. At a time when the cost of living is rising at an alarming rate, especially housing costs, action is needed to put pressure on companies that seek to undermine our members. We also need to make sure that standards in health and safety are maintained so that our members are protected. Action is also needed to protect pensions, which many companies see as a cost they do not want to bear. The actions of the utility companies are driven by profit and shareholder dividends. This needs to be changed so that the quality of service and fairness in the workplace take priority. We believe that a sustained national campaign targeting these contractors to organise, gain recognition, and to improve their pay and pensions is the way to stop the utilities from seeing these contractors as an easy way to attack our members' pay and conditions. Congress, please support this motion. I move. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Anthony. Good to see you. Secunder? Formally? No.

BRO. L. POLLARD (London): President, Congress, it is my first time as a speaker and first time delegate. *(Applause)* I support my brother. I work for a contractor for a very good utility. He, however, gets paid far less money. He gets no sick pay. I have worked with him now for 17 years and he can be off hire tomorrow, just like a JCB or a cement mixer. He is a lovely lad and works hard but that is where he is in life. This is the kind of thing these utility companies want for us. There is one ray of hope. The North West & Irish Region have a branch that does all gas workers. Fantastic. They get together. We need a utility group. We need to organise these guys, get them in, get them recognition with a sustained strategy to organise them. These companies meet every four months and they are forging a strategy for us. If we do not position them, they will position us. The T&Cs of my members will go down the tube, just like my mate's has. I call on Congress to back this and back my pal. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Liam. Thank you very much indeed. Motion 159?

IN-HOUSE SECURITY PERSONNEL MUST BE LICENSED MOTION 159

159. IN-HOUSE SECURITY PERSONNEL MUST BE LICENSED

This Congress, as it pointed out, there are two sides to the question of whether in-house guards should be SIA-badged, the same as contract officers. The Private Security Industry Act 2001 stipulates that if a person provides a licensable activity in connection with any contract then he or she requires a licence to do so (Section 3(2)). In-house security staffs are not required to have a licence, of course. One assumes because they are not providing this service under contract. Surely this concept needs to be challenged?

The SIA are designed to access a person's criminal record which is usually restricted under the provisions of the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974. However, as it is in the public interest for SIA to have full disclosure of a person's criminal record in order to assess their suitability for a licence, SIA are exempt from this restriction and are allowed full access to your criminal record.

There are many In House Security working at schools, supermarkets without DBS check which is not safeguarding for children.

We therefore call for Congress to lobby vociferously, constantly and commendably for the inclusion of in-house security officers within the Terms and Conditions of the Private Security Industry Act 2001. If the SIA has researched the in-house sector, and there is recognition that this issue does indeed demand to be tackled sooner rather than later, why cannot a formal plan of action be put in place for the industry at large? The SIA will have to put a business case to the Home Office justifying the inclusion of in-house regulation.

GMB LONDON SECURITY BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. G. BRUNNING (London): Congress, the SIA was established in 2003 under the terms of the Private Security Act 2001 in order to license and regulate all those working within the security industry. I am a frontline G4S security officer with over 15 years' experience and am proud to say that I hold an SIA licence which required me to pass approved and established training before it was issued, as do all of those I work alongside. It is with a great deal of frustration and disappointment that I must highlight the failings of the SIA in maintaining and regulating their own standards by allowing the practice of the use of unlicensed in-house security officers in major food retailers such as Asda, to continue.

The law does not as it stands require in-house security to be licensed. The law assumes they are not wholly or solely carrying out security functions yet they are and in most cases are responsible for and are required to carry out similar if not the same duties as those who are required to hold an SIA licence. Is it right that this established, acknowledged, and recognised practice within the security industry is allowed to continue unchecked. I say no. This is something which is clearly unacceptable and must be stopped. It is time for the SIA to step up and meet the challenge of upholding their own standards to ensure the security industry is all inclusive requiring everyone within the sector to be licensed. This will not be an easy task to undertake alone.

I call on Congress to work closely with the SIA to ensure in-house security officers are licensed and have undergone the appropriate approved training; and secondly, positive and actively to campaign alongside the SIA should they be forced to produce a business case to improve existing or new legislation, where appropriate, to include the licensing of in-house security officers, and ensuring that finally the SIA licence and the standards associated with it are recognised and maintained equally and, therefore, given the appropriate credence and credibility it and they deserve across the whole of the security industry. Please support the motion. I move. Thank you.

(Applause)

THE PRESIDENT: Well done, Gordon. Thank you. Secunder? Yes.

BRO. E. STEWART (London): Congress, next time you walk into your local Asda store, please take time to check out who is standing at the security desk. Invariably, it will be an unlicensed in-house security officer who more often than not will have completed little or no SIA training and who may well double up as either a shelf filler or a trolley porter in less busy trading times. These individuals are not fully trained but are expected by Asda to carry out security functions within the stores sometimes, which is clearly unacceptable to our members and demonstrates to us nothing more than disrespect for the SIA, its licence, and is the watering down of the role of a fully SIA trained and experienced security officer.

If this is allowed to continue unchecked, people will die as exemplified by a recent incident in an Asda store where an untrained in-house security officer tackled, literally, a shoplifter to the ground leading to the shoplifter being fatally injured. This is clearly most unacceptable as it is senseless, and had the in-house security officer in question been fully SIA trained you could argue a needless death may never have happened. The message of this motion is very simple and clear, all frontline in-house security officers must be SIA trained and licensed so I call on Congress to work with the SIA to develop an existing legislation in the hope and expectation that this senseless and needless death should and can be avoided in the future. Please support this motion. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Euton. GMB Scotland, 160. I will then be following on with Composite 13 and Motion 165. GMB Scotland? Formally, thank you. Formally seconded? Yes? Thank you.

CHANGES OF RESTRICTIVE SIA LICENCE RULES MOTION 160

160. CHANGES OF RESTRICTIVE SIA LICENCE RULES

This Congress calls for changes to the SIA licence rules wherein a holder/applicant of a SIA licence has their licence revoked/rejected even if they receive or have a minor police caution or conviction.

We feel that a licence holder/applicant should not have their licence revoked/rejected for minor offences and therefore lose their livelihood for something that has no bearing on their ability, honesty or integrity in carrying out their employment duties.

SCOTTISH SECURITY & AVIATION BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Referred)

The motion was formally moved and seconded.

CUTTING THE RED TAPE WITHIN THE SECURITY INDUSTRY AUTHORITY MOTION 161

161. CUTTING THE RED TAPE WITHIN THE SECURITY INDUSTRY AUTHORITY

This Congress says the profession needs to be able to debate technical operational security issues with suitably qualified staff from within the SIA. The London Security Branch is strong supporter of the Regulator, and feel both sadness and frustration when members attend security conferences and listen to senior practitioners outlining serious operational difficulties that they are now facing because they cannot find a point of contact within the SIA both available to them and capable of understanding specific security issues.

Regulation does not have to mean burdensome red tape.

At present, licensed door supervisors can work as licensed security officers, but licensed officers cannot work as licensed door supervisors, is that right?

The constant frustration of skilled and experienced practitioners stems largely from the fact that the contradictions inherent in some of these areas need to be looked at by regulatory staff and GMB who understand the not entirely simple business of security. The profession with the help of GMB needs to be able to debate technical operational security issues with suitably qualified staff from within the SIA.

GMB LONDON SECURITY BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. G. AKASIE (London): Congress recognises that the security industry was established in 2003 with the Private Security Act in 2001, which gave people the choice between two licensed options, namely, the door supervisor licence and the security guard licence. This dichotomy since 2005 when it started has raised some questions and caused more discussions within the security industry. Security guards and door supervisors are two sides to one coin both in concept and practice. Both are very closely related in purpose, namely, mainly guarding activity for protection of life and property, prevention of loss and waste, and prevention and deterring of crime. In fact, the Security Industry Authority defined the guarding activity to include any of the following: one, guarding premises against unauthorised access or occupation, against adverse disorder or against damages; two, guarding property against destruction or damage, against being stolen, and against being otherwise dishonestly taken; three, guarding one or more individuals against assault, against injuries that might be suffered in consequence of the unlawful conduct of others. These primary activities are performed in equal measure by the door supervisors and security guard licences. Their respected professional training is remarkably similar. The training courses include a model working in the private security industry and communication and conflict management. In like manner both cover physical interventions cases and safety awareness training. Today, Congress, why can a door supervisor act as a security guard but a security guard with a licence cannot take the position of a door supervisor? Congress does not consider this right or justifiable. We need more licenses for good security guards and door supervisors. It is the same business of protecting life and property. Both are trained to the same professional level. Both have the same role performing the same activity within the same environment. Both are faced with the same type and level of risk and therefore both should be fully licensed. Congress, support this motion. I move. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Godwin. Okay. Formally seconded? No? You have a speaker.

BRO. S. VOLLER (London): First time delegate, first time speaker. (*Applause*) Congress, the London Security Branch are strong supporters of the Security Industry Authority and feel sadness and frustration when members attend security conferences and listen to senior managers outlining serious operational difficulties that they are now facing because they cannot find a point of contact within the Security Industry Authority, both available to them and capable of understanding specific issues. At present, the licensed door supervisor can work as a licensed security officer but a licensed security officer cannot work as a door supervisor. Is this right? The constant frustration of skilled and experienced officers stems largely from the fact that the contradictions inherent in some of these areas need to be looked at by the Security Industry Authority. Security staff, who understand the not entirely simple business of the security profession, with the help of the GMB need to be able to debate the technical operational security issues with suitable qualifications, and staff from within the industry authorities. I second. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much indeed. Now Composite 13, London to move and to second.

**FAIR LIVING MINIMUM WAGE AND IMPROVED WORKING
CONDITIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED DRIVERS
COMPOSITE 13**

C13. Covering Motions:

162. FAIR LIVING MINIMUM WAGE FOR SELF-EMPLOYED DRIVERS London Region
163. IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR PRIVATE HIRE DRIVERS London Region

FAIR LIVING MINIMUM WAGE AND IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED DRIVERS

This Congress notes the outdated working conditions of many GMB Private Hire Drivers. Private Hire Drivers need to have more facilities where they can access at least one hot nutritious meal/refreshment a day, if not subsidised then at reasonable cost; especially for those who work longer than 8 hour shifts per day. There should also be access to spaces for exercise and even sleep pods. It is common knowledge that those who live a highly sedentary lifestyle are more at risk of premature death than those who smoke cigarettes. The statistics for sedentary workers show that 5.3 million out of 57 million deaths worldwide in 2008, could be attributed to inactivity; 5.1 million deaths were attributed to smoking.

The fact that drivers are compelled to work more hours for less pay, there should be access to places of rest and exercise and better resources in training/personnel and professional development in order to improve their employability. With the introduction of driverless cars, this could radically change the need for drivers to keep themselves in a state of good health and with the openness to learn new skills. Therefore access to occupational workshops is vital to prepare a workforce to develop transferable skills. The industry needs to unite and grow stronger and take action to create a better future.

Furthermore, this Congress believes that the time has come for a Fair Living Minimum Wage for self-employed drivers. At the moment some operators see it fit to lower the minimum fare rates at the expense of their drivers receiving lower pay. The operator's commission remains constant yet the driver has to accept lower pay and work longer hours just to maintain a regular

income. This can cause many to compromise their duty of care to themselves and put public safety at risk.

Congress therefore calls upon our full-time officers to negotiate better conditions and work with employers to ensure there is a workforce fully trained for the 21st Century and lobby MPs and campaign for a Fair Living Wage/Fare for self-employed drivers.

(Carried)

BRO. S. GARELICK (London): Long time no see! Just before I start I missed something from my last speech. I wanted to mention ASOS. That is all. It is important to Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region and Community. Any organisation like that - that is one community I would not want to be part of. What can I say!

Our motion speaks to the long hours drivers now have to undertake due to the over-supply and reduction of fares by operators, who are putting consumers ahead of workers. In the hours drivers now work, finding a rest space, as an example, is impossible without finding a parking attendant knocking on their window or being forced to pay parking charges for the basic human right of using a toilet. How in a developed country can one of the most discriminated groups of workers face such degradation?

Let me now turn to the need for a minimum living fare for private hire and taxi drivers. When you have drivers subjected to minimum charges, such as £3 anywhere in a town, such as Aylesbury, it does not take a mathematical genius to realise that even if a driver was lucky enough to carry out three journeys an hour, that by the time they strip out the costs for carrying out those journeys drivers would end up with an income below the national minimum wage let alone a living wage.

I could debate the nuts and bolts of what a final formula would look like. However, let me ask you, how many of you would want to work the unsocial hours or face the dangers working drivers face on a daily basis for low returns. Unless drivers can receive a reasonable income for their work, they will continue to be left behind whilst consumers benefit from lower rates to satisfy their pockets. Drivers are used to many operators using them as a means to an end and taxi drivers are expected to see lifelong income expectancies taken away as they see damage to them and they fear the request of lower rates or dropping their rates because, frankly, the consumers want more. This is compounded by licensing authorities giving out licences like candy rather than keeping a reasonable structure for drivers to earn an income based on the appropriate level of drivers for the work they undertake, rather than a free for all that sees the many fighting for the few jobs.

A further upside to any change to improve drivers' lives is important as we want to improve the environment by creating a minimum distance and price associated to that journey. This will stop low value journeys drivers often encounter when passengers wish to go on a comparatively short journey, and improve the environment. I ask Congress to support those who are still voiceless in the workforce and to support the request I make today as you have supported the need for the wage equality and equality of those in formalised employment in the past. I move. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Secunder? Formally.

The composite was formally seconded.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I now call the mover of 165, London.

**LONDON LIVING WAGE FOR WORKERS AT LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT
MOTION 165**

165. LONDON LIVING WAGE FOR WORKERS AT LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT

This Congress believes that all contracted workers at London Heathrow Airport should be paid the London Living Wage which currently stands at £9.75 an hour. GMB have always supported and campaigned for the Heathrow expansion and welcomed the Government's decision on giving the go-ahead for the expansion that will see the creation of up to 180,000 jobs. 40,000 jobs in the local area double the apprenticeships at Heathrow, to a total of 10,000 and up to £211bn in economic benefits across the UK by 2050. It is only right that many low paid workers at Heathrow should benefit from the expansion and be paid the London Living Wage and above.

The GMB understands that the Davis Commission report on the expansion contained a condition for Heathrow to demonstrate leadership as a community employer by adopting the London Living Wage as part of the planning consent for the Heathrow expansion. Heathrow Airport has accepted this condition and is committed to moving forward to become a London Living Wage community.

Heathrow Ltd should be in a position now to implement the London Living Wage at Heathrow Airport that will see low paid contracted workers benefit from the Government's support for the Heathrow runway. Heathrow Airport is the largest airport in the world and is a vibrant economic gateway to the rest of the world and it is only fair and proper that low paid workers and contracted workers at world class Heathrow should not be paid below living standard wages in London.

HOUNSLOW BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. D. LINDSAY (London): President, Congress, my motion is to ask for support to extend the coverage of the London Midland wage to all workers at Heathrow, including the expansion that is the third runway. Although this remains politically contentious it is set to be the biggest infrastructure project in Europe, currently costing around £17.6bn. It is set to create 77,000 jobs in its early stages in and around Heathrow with another 40,000 to follow. It is important that our members of our union and their families take full advantage of the jobs if they become available, especially for young people. If British workers do not take these jobs, labour will be imported from around the EU. It does not matter which party wins the election, an exception will be made for foreign workers who possibly will come in on agency contracts with low pay and poor wages. Heathrow Airport allegedly accepted the adoption of a living wage but the GMB realises this could be empty words and looks forward to all the challenges ahead, wages, health and safety, and all the workplace

issues that will arise from this huge infrastructure project. London Region officers have prepared the union for this challenge. We could double our Heathrow membership as a result of both the project and the vast increase of terminal jobs that will arise once the runway is completed. The TUC campaign will carry on to increase the living wage further but I hope that GMB members will support this motion and propose that an increase in the London living wage will be extended to all workers on the Heathrow project and possibly throughout London. I move. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Duncan. Secunder?

BRO. M. PEAD (London): First time delegate, first time speaker. (*Applause*) President, Congress, there was understandably a great deal of publicity given to the misfortunes of passengers in the recent disruption arising from British Airways' IT failures. What was not publicised was the treatment received by check-in and ground staff which included being spat at and even punched. This is the less glamorous side of air travel. The truth is that many jobs in Heathrow involve unsociable hours in difficult working conditions on low wages. The last few years have seen the spread of the no-frills business model leading to a race to the bottom when it comes to the terms and conditions of those working in aviation. As a result, employers who previously offered jobs with decent pay and conditions are now offering new contracts on low pay and with poor job security; added to this are the exceptionally high housing and other costs which prevail in the areas around Heathrow. This is leaving increasing numbers of workers at Heathrow worrying about how to make ends meet and paying their bills. So, while the GMB policy is to support expansion at Heathrow, at the same time we must ensure that any jobs resulting from this are safe, secure, and pay decent wages. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Does anyone want to speak against? No? I call Michael Husband on behalf of the CEC. Michael.

BRO. M. HUSBAND (CEC, Commercial Services): We are supporting Motions 157, 159, 161, Composite 13, and Motion 165, with qualifications. I am asking that Motion 160 be referred. I will deal with them in turn. There's a long way to go, Mary!

On Motion 157, the qualification is that any forum of contractual workers is dependent on union density, the number of activists and our ability to get release for reps across the membership in this sector. At present, we may not be able to field a strong team of activists to achieve all that is laid out in the motion but it should be the ultimate aim.

Security guards, of course, should be SIA licensed. However, all workers in schools go through regular background checks through DBS and safeguarding the children is paramount in this. In Motion 160 we are asking for it to be referred because the motion is asking for all minor police cautions and convictions should not automatically mean that a security guard's licence be revoked. The reason for asking for this motion to be referred is that there is concern of the generalisation and blanket use of the wording for cautions and convictions. GMB and security reps have worked with government and SIA for many years to professionalise the industry and checks on criminal convictions have been the central part of this.

On Motion 161, we have campaigned for the introduction of licensing and regulations for the security industry and will continue to do so. One qualification is that there remains an issue with using the term “red tape”. In this context, it is implied a watering down of regulations, which assumes by those looking to undermine health and safety in particular. GMB would only ever seek to improve regulations and policies to make the working environment safer for our members. The second and important qualification is that distinction in requirement is about controlling access on licensing premises. Therefore, any move to a single licence would need to ensure that vetting and training was set at the appropriate level to ensure public safety and deliver the proper training and support for officers.

On composite 13, while recognising that measures to improve pay and conditions for private hire drivers are needed, we are concerned we may not be able to achieve the intended aim without a universal minimum fare. There is a risk that some authorities could set a local minimum fare below the level needed to give drivers a living wage and in some localities drivers may even struggle to make the minimum wage. In addition, they ask some recognition agreement with some employers in the trade. However, in the main most operators do not have a form of recognition agreement. The answer to these problems is to join the GMB and gain recognition agreements with your taxi operators where rates can be negotiated and agreed. The qualification, however, is that the GMB is not in a position to accept that driverless cars are the best solution as by their very nature threatening the livelihood of our members in the private hire taxi industry.

Finally, on Motion 165 the qualification is that GMB has already committed to campaign for a living wage at the airport on a local level but it should be reiterated that the living wage we should be achieving is at least £10 per hour higher than the London living wage stated in the motion. Therefore, this would commit the GMB to recruiting and organising non-unionised workers in an effort to achieve this.

To recap, Congress, please support Motions 157, 159, 161, 165 and Composite 13, with the qualification that I have set out and agree to refer Motion 160. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Michael. I now go to the vote. Does London accept the qualification on Motions 157, 159, 161, Composite 13, and Motion 165? (*Agreed*) Yes. Thank you very much indeed. Congress agree? (*Agreed*) Thank you. Does GMB Scotland accept reference on Motion 160? (*Agreed*) Thank you very much indeed. Congress agree? (*Agreed*) I now put them all to the vote. I now put Motions 157, 159, 161, Composite 13, and Motion 165, to the vote. All those in favour please show. Anyone against? They are carried.

Motion 157 was CARRIED.

Motion 159 was CARRIED.

Motion 160 was REFERRED.

Motion 161 was CARRIED.

Composite 13 was CARRIED.

Motion 165 was CARRIED.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now move on with the business. Thank you all very much. I now move to Industrial & Economic Policy: Commercial Services, Composite 12, ASOS. CEC to move. London to second.

**ASOS
COMPOSITE 12**

C12. Covering Motions:

| | | |
|------|----------------|---------------|
| 152. | ASOS | CEC |
| 153. | ASOS COMMUNITY | London Region |
| 154. | ASOS | London Region |

ASOS

This Congress notes that in January 2017 ASOS/XPO Logistics did a “sweetheart” deal with Community Trade Union to sign up all staff free of charge for 6 months to Community and then after 6 months the staff members have to opt out. This deal was done behind the back of the GMB and behind the back of the TUC who are backing the GMB in their campaign on the “gig economy” at ASOS.

ASOS scampered off to Community because of the on-going recruitment campaign by the GMB’s Yorkshire Region, whose hard-work and determination over the past 2 years have gained many members of ASOS staff, whose terms and conditions are a national disgrace, and call out for a strong union at the warehouse.

This Congress calls for the expulsion of the so called union “Community” from the TUC for its recent action in agreeing a sweetheart deal with the company ASOS, a large online clothing warehouse and for siding with ASOS management removing the rights of GMB union members to the freedom of association, by way of dirty tactics. This agreement is nothing short of a disgrace and a form of scabbing. Other Unions such as UNITE, USDAW much to their credit when approached refused the sweetheart offer by the company, but the scabs at Community accepted.

The CEC calls on the TUC (plus the Select Committee) to put pressure on Community to back out of this “sweetheart” deal and if they won’t they must expel Community from the TUC for undermining the GMB’s work at ASOS. Members choose the union they wish to join, not their employers.

Many will say that this is the wrong time for an internal row within the TUC with all the problems the movement faces, but unity cannot be at any price, and actions such as Community’s should put them outside of our movement.

(Referred)

BRO. N. DERRICK (Regional Secretary, Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region):
Congress, this is all about our people, in Grimethorpe, in Barnsley, the poorest area in the most deprived borough in Yorkshire Region where once stood the famous Grimethorpe Colliery now stands the infamous giant ASOS distribution centre. ASOS stands for As Seen on Stars. The multibillion pound online retailer employs up to 4,000 people, 2,000 directly and 2,000 agency workers hired and fired to fit the needs of the business. We started organising there two years ago. We very quickly

realised what we were dealing with, a gig economy employer, exactly the same economic model as Sports Direct, making piles of money on the back of widespread exploitation, oppressive surveillance, swingeing targets and pick rates, ambulances and paramedics called out on average once every nine days to assist injured workers and the most sinister of all, a flexing up or flexing down clause in the contract would see workers clocking in, expecting to do an eight-hour shift only to be told, “We only need you for four hours and, by the way, it is going to be the four hours at the end of your shift.” That is called flexing down.

Congress, these people, our people, badly need a union and we have been building one with them for the past two years. At the end of 2016 we had 400 members and yet ASOS rejected every formal request for recognition from us, would not allow us on site, even holding disciplinaries in a local hotel. We as a union took them on with the full and public support of the TUC. We took them on industrially, in the media, within the community, with consumers, with shareholders. We threw everything we had at them and they were wilting under the scrutiny. Imagine our surprise, therefore, when on 23rd January this year, out of nowhere, the company announced it had signed a single union deal for the Barnsley site with Community – (*Boos*) – exactly – that Community membership was going to be free for six months, that all workers, including ours, would be automatically enrolled into this union, a deal with a union that had never been on site, did not have any members, had never been near any of the workforce or any of their issues. The workforce were dumbfounded. Our branches, our officials, our reps, were gutted. They were ready for a fight with a hostile employer, what they did not expect was to be shafted by their own side. Of course, we kicked off. We were entitled to. In the end, we did the right thing. We put our complaints to the TUC. Congress, there is no room in this Movement for those who wear the badge of solidarity only to discard it the minute an employer beckons with a deal. (*Applause*)

I am delighted to report today that we received the TUC’s ruling on Friday just before Congress started. The TUC has ruled Community have clearly and significantly breached TUC rules. Community must approach the employer and secure recognition for the GMB. Community must immediately withdraw its organisers and cease all recruiting activity on the site. (*Applause*) Congress, it does not just mean on the ground, it means we go on to do what we do best, organising vulnerable workers. We are more determined than ever to ensure this workforce gets a voice; that the workforce gets a union of its choice, not the bosses, and that that is the GMB. Thank you for your support. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Neil. You got away with that one! London Region, Warren Kenny to second? Warren Kenny has changed!

BRO. J. WOOD (London): ASOS, the most unwanted employer of the year. Congress, ASOS is a four-letter word and we consider this place to be a foul working place. Unfortunately, there is another enemy, and this is a word called Community. The GMB set up in Barnsley and have worked tirelessly night and day supporting its members in appalling working conditions around flexing up contracts. This is also debated in Westminster by the GMB defending the members at the highest level showing our members their struggle is our union’s fight, standing together united as one movement. Unbeknown to the GMB in January 2017 an announcement came out

to the union that there was a sealed and recognised agreement within the same factory. We were disgusted that the union was not the GMB. It was a union called Community. Despite not having one single member within the factory, Community were the union that sealed a backdoor sweetheart deal, giving away free membership throughout the factory, driving a clear stake through the heart of the trades union Movement by sleazy secretive handshaking knowing that the agreement is a direct attack to the trades union Movement, an enemy within, a spy in the camp, a traitor of its own. I move. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, John. I believe you are seconding. Thank you. I have another name for ASOS but I will zip it! Anyone wish to speak against? Paul Kenny. Warren Kenny, sorry. New ex-General Secretary! How did he get up here? Okay, Warren.

BRO. W. KENNY (Regional Secretary, London): Responding to the CEC on Composite 12. Congress, I would like to start by saying that all of us stand shoulder to shoulder with our members in ASOS XPO. (*Applause*) GMB understands solidarity, collective action, and the basic principles on which our union movement was founded. The CEC is asking for this motion to be referred purely because the motions were tabled before the decision Neil spoke of. GMB has argued our case at the TUC, a comprehensive case that could not leave anyone in any doubt that our union's role at ASOS XPO and now, rightly, the TUC have found in our favour. Congress, that was the only decision any reasonable person could come to because the GMB campaign at ASOS could be seen from space. The GMB built and campaigned for the membership at ASOS while other unions went to lunch. Everyone at ASOS XPO, from the shop floor to the boardroom table, knew the GMB was the only union that ASOS workers were joining. Solid, determined, organising work by the Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region built GMB membership in the face of a very hostile employer and from the streets outside the premises. The basic and most fundamental principle of trade unionism is that workers choose their union, not their bosses. Regrettably, and to their eternal shame there have been instances where employers have sought sweetheart deals with certain unions safe in the knowledge that those unions are happy to take the members' money and leave the employer unchallenged. In some countries these are called yellow unions but I think a better name is unprincipled sell-outs. (*Applause*) In this instance, Community have been instructed by the TUC to withdraw from their sweetheart deal at the ASOS XPO Barnsley site and to do this within three months. Congress, the CEC seeks reference of this composite in order to let the three-month process take place. On a personal note to me Community are like a cloudy day, the quicker it disappears the brighter it will be for the rest of us. (*Applause*) Let nobody be in any doubt, the GMB bites back. The CEC ask Congress to agree to refer this composite. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Warren, come back to the rostrum, please. Colleagues, this is our new Regional Secretary in London Region and how pleased we are to have him. I welcome him. This is his first Congress in that role. Well done, Warren.

BRO. W. KENNY: Thank you, Mary. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: London you have your Regional Secretary back! Okay. Does London accept the reference? (*Agreed*) Thank you. Congress agree? (*Agreed*)

Composite 12 was REFERRED.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT & ADDRESS

THE PRESIDENT: I now move on to General Secretary's Report. Yes, Mary, it gives you great pleasure to call on our General Secretary and Treasurer, Tim Roache, to move the General Secretary's Report and to address Congress. We start with a short video.

(Video shown to Congress)

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: Tim Roache, General Secretary. Incredibly proud to be moving the General Secretary's Report here in the 2017 Congress in Plymouth. Congress, there is only one place to start this speech, and that is by congratulating Mary and Malcolm on their utterly deserved re-election to President and Vice President of our union. (*Applause*) You are the shining light of all that is good about fairness and justice, and decency, and are the very pillars upon which our GMB union is built. I look forward to working with you both for many years to come.

Congress, I speak to you today in turbulent and frightening times. Looking back not just over the last year but since I was elected as General Secretary we faced the Trade Union Act, Brexit, a Labour Party leadership contest, a new Tory Prime Minister, the election of Donald Trump in the US and now a general election. I am sure I am not to take it personally. Whilst we may not have predicted all of these circumstances, if I am honest I struggle to be surprised by them. If the last year has shown us anything, it shows very clearly how far politics and those who make decisions on our members' behalf has moved from the people, something this Congress warned about year after year after year. Trump is not sat with his finger on the nuclear codes because he had the slickest campaign or the best sound bite, he is in the White House because his rhetoric spoke to people who had been left behind by a broken system, broken politics, and broken economics. In the States, as here with UKIP and Brexit, people have shouted and screamed at the Government that the system is not working for them, that their kids do not have jobs to go to, that there are not enough decent affordable houses, that immigration and the flexible labour market has had an impact on wages, working conditions, and job security. Those voices have been ignored and ignored for a very long time.

I will say more on that in a minute because as challenging as these times are, we are here celebrating today. We are celebrating over 100 years, 128 years, our 100th Congress and how far we have come from the Beckton Gas Works those many years ago. As we have said throughout this Congress and in the video we just saw, I am sure that Will Thorne or Eleanor Marks could never have imagined how strong our union would be 128 years down the line but I think they would be very proud. They would be proud of each and every delegate here today who day in, day out, takes the fight on for our members, and so am I. They would be proud of how we stand up for equality, for women, BAME members, the young the old, the disabled, the LGBT plus community, and so am I. They would be proud that we have a reputation of a

union that never gives up, never goes away, and never backs down. Congress, I cannot tell you how proud I am of that too.

In generations we have come a long way. We cannot allow that progress to be rolled back and, in fact, we cannot even allow that progress to slow. We can never settle for what we have for ourselves, our families, our communities, we must always strive for more. That means being relevant, it means understanding the challenges and worries, and threats that our members face every single day. It means responding to those challenges by resourcing and supporting our reps and officers to make them the most highly skilled in the business. It means understanding that while a minority of those who voted for Brexit are ignorant racists, and ignorant racists cannot and will not ever go unchallenged by us, for the majority who voted for Trump and Brexit, and Farage, they voted for change because status quo simply is not acceptable to them. They voted for change because they would rather risk bringing down the whole system than carrying on being ignored as they were.

The campaign to leave the EU tapped into the feelings of so many people up and down the country that are not in control of their own lives. We all here know that firsthand: construction workers who want to work but consistently see their pay and national agreements undermined by the exploitation of migrant labour by greedy bosses; young people who want to get on in life but have no hope, no hope of an education without crippling debt, no hope for a decent secure job and no hope of owning their own home; families in private rented accommodation who struggle daily to clothe their kids and put a meal on the table, and the irony of the CBI and others decrying the impact of Brexit when it is big business exploitation of workers that has led us down this path has not gone unnoticed. They put the flexible market on a pedestal but that flexibility was flexibility for employers only. There was no flexibility for our people, flexibility for childcare, flexibility for a decent work life balance, flexibility to look after our elderly relatives.

The abuse of agency contracts is rife across Britain. As Andy spoke about this morning when talking about insecure work and the gig economy, insecure work has become a business model for many companies, keeping workers on insecure contracts with inferior terms and conditions might make employers a few more quid but it is hurting workers, it is hurting their families, it is hurting their communities, and it is hurting our nation. It is utterly undignified, Congress. Our members, security scanned when they go to the toilet in case they nick something. Congress, is that how they view our people? I know who it is who is taking the piss. Our own research shows up to a third of working people are suffering that today.

Forgive my scepticism when Theresa May says that she is going to roll out the greatest expansion of workers' rights of any Tory government ever. That would not be bloody hard, would it? Theresa May, the artful dodger who dodges every single key question if she has not dodged the debate altogether. This from the party of Thatcher whose latest instalment of trade union attacks was the Trade Union Act which, yes, Theresa May voted in favour of just last year. Let's never forget that. This is from a Prime Minister who now wants to nick your house if you are unfortunate enough to suffer dementia. It is a scandal and we will never stop showing the Tories for what they are. Yes, Amber Rudd, we will judge you on your record, your record of austerity killing working people, your record of pay freezes and pay

cuts to workers, the rise in insecurity and the casualisation of employment, yes, we will judge you on that and we will judge you on June 8th.

Congress, we know it would be easy to look at the world as it is now and to retreat but we in this room cannot, do not, and will not, and we will not because we understand what it is like for people like Sarah. I was out knocking doors in Birmingham last week, as I always do at election time, and I spoke to a woman who was worried about the closure of her local children's centre. Sarah had been sexually abused as a young woman and was then a heroin addict. She had been going through a particularly tough time. She said to me, "Tim, if it wasn't for that children's centre I would be dead. That centre gave me somewhere to go to get help, get support, and I knew then that I wasn't on my own." She now has a husband and two wonderful kids who I met as well. That is Labour investment. That is what made SureStart happen in Sarah's community. It was Labour that understood the needs of the whole community, the whole family, and set about making a difference to them. Stories like that are the reasons that we will fight for a Labour government.

The Labour Party, colleagues, is not perfect, it is far from it, but it is ours. When you put the Tory pledges for this election against the Labour manifesto they do not even compare on workers' rights, on ending the public sector pay freeze, and investing in manufacturing, on tackling insecure work. The Labour manifesto speaks to the lives and the challenges of our members. Congress, we have to fight for that. We have to fight for those ideas and we have to fight for them now and again next week, and the week after. I am sick of hearing that the Labour manifesto is too radical or too left-wing. Guaranteeing a secure decent paid job and affordable roof over people's heads, free education for all kids, and properly funded NHS and care service. That is not radical. That is bloody fair play. (*Applause*)

Congress, there is everything to play for. Labour can and must capitalise on the complacency and arrogance the Tories have shown. They have no plan B. "Corbyn is no good. We will target Corbyn," as soon as that is not working where is their plan B, where is their manifesto policies, where are the costings that they always accuse us of. It is there for the taking. I will be out on the doorsteps from the moment this Congress stops until the polls close on Thursday night. Whatever shade of government is here at number 10, we will always do as we have done and that is to fight for our members.

In that regard, it has been another challenging year but again a year where the GMB have shown what we are made of. Since we met in Bournemouth last year, we have been hard at work building on the successes of our past to create a truly 21st century union. A new communications team are leading the movement and putting GMB's name in lights and I hope you like the new Congress set-up as you come in, celebrating our 100th Congress, befitting of exactly that celebration. After this Congress, we will be launching a new online bulletin for our reps and activists with access to national resources and updates so you will always know what your union is doing for you and with you.

As you heard this morning, Carl Parker led on the review on training that this Congress asked for last year. Over 200 hours of consultation with reps, officials, regional secretaries, that will lead to us having the very best training programme in

the movement because we know our reps are our very lifeblood. Our commercial services team and legal director, Maria Ludkin, are doing a brilliant job in taking the fight directly to employers who think the new trend of bogus self-employment is a cash cow worth milking. Our challenge to Uber in the courts has rightly been tagged the most sensational legal case in the last decade. In public services, we are fighting against the public sector pay pinch, where government has quite literally pinched millions of pounds out of the pockets of care workers, school support staff, and other frontline public servants. In manufacturing for the first time in a very long time we are recruiting and we are going to see membership growth over the coming year. In Asda we are showing our members that we put our money where our mouth is, 5,000 new members recruited in Asda in just the last five months as we pursue equal pay for our women workers who bloody well deserve it. (*Applause*)

Now the regions, our South West Region, ran a breakthrough campaign against Lidl and real ground-breaking stuff on retention. Birmingham & West Midlands Region continue to organise a growing and vibrant care section, and the Birmingham organised sisters go from strength to strength. (*Cheers*) Southern Region managed to do something not many others can claim, they renationalised a public service by bringing ambulance services back in-house along the coast of Sussex. (*Applause*) GMB Scotland piloted new ways of organising with a scholarship to develop senior activists which is paying huge dividends, incredible membership growth. Well done. Nuclear workers in Northern Region have taken on their bosses on pensions, and won. London Region, leading the way in tackling mental health problems at work, long overdue, a taboo subject, and also piloting a recruitment initiative with a thousand young people at university, again real ground-breaking stuff. Midland & East Coast Region is on the cusp of organising community energy and they have taken the fight directly to the precarious economy by helping our members move from agency work to permanent employment. North West & Irish Region continue to lead the movement in pursuit of justice and fairness, and in the development of women, their 16th regional women's conference; incredible stuff. (*Applause*) Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region, growing the ASOS membership despite Community's sweetheart deal. You have heard enough about that. They are also getting on with work for Tangerine members, Haribo members, and many others.

Congress, if I seem proud, that is because I am. I want to pay tribute to the brilliant senior management team that I lead. I would like you to stand up, please, John Phillips, Paul Maloney, Paul Mack, Warren Kenny, Neil Derrick, Lisa Johnson, Andy Worth, Gary Smith, Billy Coates, Emma Golding, Allan Wylie, Joe Morgan, Nick McGee, Wendy Bartlam, every one of you thank you for your leadership, your skills, they mean the world to me and to our great union. (*Applause*) Thank you all for fighting, campaigning, delivering, encouraging, supporting, representing, day in, day out. Congress, I have said before and I will say it again, nothing was ever given to working people. We have had to fight every step of the way. We have never looked at the world as it is and accepted that that is the way it will always be. We will take on the gig economy. We don't care if Uber are a multinational company. We will right their wrong. They are exploiting workers and it is going to stop. We will fight for a Brexit that works for working people. The Tory addiction to the free market and austerity politics is what got us here in the first place. Our political system will never recover if the result of Brexit is even more insecure, more flexible labour market, with fewer rights than we have now. That is the fight we are going to have. Congress, we

will not just have the fight, we will lead the charge as we always do. We will lead in representing all working people no matter your background. We will lead in representing all working people no matter your post code, your bank balance, your age, your gender, your colour, or your sexual orientation. We will lead by uniting where others seek to divide us and we will lead by embedding everything we do in the industrial work of our union, just as Will Thorne did, just as Eleanor Marks did. Their new unionism shaped a generation of trade unionists. Since then we have been through industrial revolutions and apparently now we are moving on to our fourth, the rise of automation will be a big challenge for us in the years to come. It is inconceivable, Congress, that the world of work will look the same in 20 years, let alone 50 years, as it does now. Machines may mean less workers, it may mean a move to four-day working week. I am all for that but does it mean five days pay for those four days a week? That is going to be a key battleground but we are ready. Yes, Congress, the robots are coming but in addition to our army of brilliant activists and officers, we have Dr. Who and Wonder Woman. *(Laughter/Applause)*

When preparing this speech I did a bit of reading about Will Thorne. He once said to a group of work mates, “Some of you are frightened of your own shadow but this morning I want you to swear and declare that you mean business and nothing will deter you from your aim.” Here in 2017 at our 100th Congress let’s renew that powerful promise to each other. We are GMB. We fear no one. Nothing will deter us from achieving decency, justice, and respect for all working people. *(Applause)*

Now, just as there was only one place to start my speech, there is only one place to finish it, and that is by thanking all of you, our activists who day in, day out, go above and beyond the call of duty to make a difference to people’s lives. People do not join the GMB because this Cockney bloke was the General Secretary. They join because they know they have a rep in their workplace who is trained and confident, skilled to understand their problems and issues and is ready to represent them. Be proud. Walk tall. Recognise the massive difference you make to thousands of people’s working lives day in, day out. It is because of people like you that we stand here today on the shoulders of giants celebrating our proud past but also looking forward to an even brighter future. I commend the General Secretary’s Report to you. Thank you. *(Standing ovation)*

THE PRESIDENT: Don’t make him too welcome. He might want to stay! Well done, Tim, very much so. Does anyone wish to raise any issues in the General Secretary’s Report? No? Yes? Will you please tell us the page? I will let Super Man answer!

SIS. T. CHANA (London): Speaking on the General Secretary’s Report. President, Congress, we commend and thank our General Secretary on his informative and 21st century report. As we know, proportionality and representation within the union is very important and as a union we must recognise the values of having a positive, diverse, and inclusive agenda. As the face of the workforce changes, it is essential that the structures of our union reflect those changes so membership remains empowered and connected with the union. Tim, in your report you quite rightly addressed the mapping of women in the union. However, we note that there seems to be no mapping of the equalities strands although we do note that the work done so far on the equalities through inclusion strategy has been set out on pages 23, 24 and 25.

If it is correct that the mapping of the equalities strands is not addressed in your report, can we in the interests of proportionality and representation within our union conduct possibly a full mapping exercise to include maybe, Tim, in your next General Secretary's Report for 2018. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Taranjit. Anyone else? No? Tim.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: Thanks very much, Taranjit. Yes. (*Laughter*) Seriously, it is a very fair point. We, as a senior management team, are very mindful of our membership and all the positions right across the union being reflective of our membership themselves. I think that is important. That is work in progress for us. We need to do more. We did an all member survey that you will have, hopefully, all received very recently. We asked for gender ethnicity and various other things too. That is the start of the process. Getting our data up to date is a crucial challenge for us, Taranjit, I will be honest, because the more we want to communicate with our members, how quick it needs to be, how swift, ideally we want their mobile phone numbers, we want their email addresses, so we are on with all of that stuff but to directly answer your question about mapping our membership across the strands and gender, the answer is absolutely unequivocally yes, and I will be happy to report back next year. (*Applause*)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Tim. Alright, Taranjit?

SIS. T. CHANA: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. Thank you. I now put the General Secretary's Report to Congress. All those in favour please show. Anyone against? Thank you. That is carried.

The General Secretary's Report was ADOPTED.

THE PRESIDENT: Congress, I thank you for your time. I had no idea we had gone over, that is the truth. I would have asked for your help. I would like to close Congress at the moment and return at 2.15 p.m. Is that okay? No? Okay? Yes? (*Agreed*) All right. Congress, see you all at 2.15 p.m.

Congress adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION
(*Congress reassembled at 2.15 p.m.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Congress, come to order, please. I know you have had a short lunch hour and I am extremely sorry. I know you did not expect to see me but I thought it was very important that I was here for Jo Cox. I am now going to call Standing Orders Committee Report No. 4.

Standing Orders Committee Report No. 4

SIS. H. JOHNSON (Chair, Standing Orders Committee): President, I move SOC Report No. 4. Withdrawn motions and rule amendments. This is to confirm that the

following motion was withdrawn from the floor at Congress this morning. It was London Region's motion 349. The SOC has also been advised that the following motions have been withdrawn by the regions concerned. London Region has withdrawn motion 250, and Midland & East Coast Region has withdrawn rule amendment 383.

Bucket collections. Yesterday's bucket collection by Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region for the Rotherham Great Get Together inspired by Jo Cox raised the lovely sum of £610.64p. (*Cheers and applause*) President and Congress, I move SOC Report No. 4.

Standing Orders Committee Report No. 4 was ADOPTED.

THE PRESIDENT: Does Congress agree to accept? (*Accepted*) Let me thank delegates for what you donated. I think that this cause is worth a lot more from this union. I ask the General Secretary if we could make it £2,000. (*Applause*) Somebody go and resuscitate Allan Wylie. Thank you, Tim, very much, indeed.

SPECIAL ELEANOR MARX AWARD

THE PRESIDENT: I have been joined on the platform by someone who we have got to know quite well. We respect him so much, and our thoughts are always with him. I would like to announce that on the platform is Brendan Cox himself. Well done, Brendan. (*Applause*) Thank you, Congress. We would like to make a special award in honour of Jo Cox, who was a GMB member and a dear friend to all of us. She was loved by all in the Region for her infectious and optimistic view on life. She gave her life to the trade union Movement and campaigned for fairness for all. She was a champion of women's rights and national chair of Labour Women's Network for four years, working to encourage women to enter public life. I know that Brendan would like to address Congress. Brendan, it gives me great pleasure to ask you to address us. (*Applause*) (*Video shown to Congress*)

BRENDAN COX: Thank you for inviting me to speak today and for your kindness, both since Jo's death and in today's award. The video reminds me very much of the night that Jo got elected in a sports hall, a bit like this, in Huddersfield. Jo was giddy with excitement, with energy, to a life of ideas and full of commitment to fight with everything that she had to make her community closer, our country stronger and our world fairer. That fight, the fight that she gave her life for, is more important now than it has ever been.

As we have seen in the last few days, our values are under attack with an intensity that I have not experienced in my lifetime, from Islamist Fascists, who believe that people of different religions should not mix, to white nationalist Fascists, who believe that people from different races should not mix. The first distorts Islam; the second distorts our nation. They are both driven by the same emotions of fear and hatred, and both of them will be defeated. Make no mistake, our country has beaten much bigger threats in the past, but it will not happen just by itself. There is no automatic brake that stops society going off the rails. It is not a fight that we can sidestep. I believe it is time for us all to ask what we can do.

Of course, the security response is critical. We have to support our police, give them the powers, information and resources that they require. They are the bravest of us and they deserve our full backing. But a security response is never going to be enough. This is a battle for hearts and minds, and it is there that we can all help, because extremism cannot survive in close integrated communities. It thrives on the isolated, the marginalised and the segregated. It might be easy to hate in the abstract, but when you know the other, it is very hard to maintain that loathing. Hatred thrives in weaker communities. We work in smaller workplaces, spend more time online in our own social-media bubbles and we don't go to the pub or the church as much as we used to. It means we know our neighbours less, mix less and fear each other more.

The reason why Jo went into politics was to build stronger communities. She loved her home town of Batley and wanted to make its community closer, stronger and more resilient. That belief in closer and stronger communities was the same reason why she joined the GMB and was proud to be a GMB MP. It is the work that you all do, day in and day out, and it is why I am so proud to be working with so many of you on the Great Get Together that you have just heard about, the weekend of events on 16th to 18th June, marking Jo's murder by bringing communities together. The idea is very simple. It is to ask communities to come together, to share food with your neighbours and celebrate all that we have in common, because we find so many opportunities to talk on what we disagree on, whether that is elections or referenda, but find very few opportunities to talk about what binds us together. Of course, one weekend does not create close communities by itself, so I hope we will continue to work hand-in-hand to build the values of togetherness. In doing so, we will help drive out the extremists and build support for Jo's belief that we have more in common than the things that divide us. There could be no better tribute. Thank you. (*A standing ovation*)

THE PRESIDENT: On behalf of the GMB, we present you with this certificate and brooch. I know that you will treasure it and look after it. I thank you so much. (*Presentation made amidst applause*)

(*The Vice President took the Chair*)

CEC SPECIAL REPORT ON RESERVED SEATS FOR EQUALITY STRANDS ON THE CEC AND REGIONAL COUNCILS

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Congress, we will now move on to agenda item 2, which is the Special Report on Reserved Seats. This report will be moved and then I will call one speaker from each region. I ask for Joe Morgan of Birmingham Region to move the report.

CEC SPECIAL REPORT ON THE INTRODUCTION OF RESERVED SEATS FOR EQUALITY STRANDS ON THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND REGIONAL COUNCILS.

C3 Covering motions:

38 REPRESENTATION OF GMB YOUNG MEMBERS Wales & South West Region

REPRESENTATION OF EQUALITY STRANDS ON THE CEC

The Trade Union movement maintains a proud tradition of representative democracy.

Congress believes that in order to best represent its members we must always seek to ensure that our structures are accountable, representative, and orientated to their needs.

This Conference notes that the Central Executive Council (CEC) has reservations for some equality groups notably women and black members and has agreed to two young members observing CEC meetings.

Due to the finite nature of being a Young Member (coupled with the existing structures) there is no real likelihood of a Young Member being elected to the CEC. This oversight in our democratic structures robs the GMB of the voice and representation of its Young Members in one of its most valuable forums.

This Conference believes that now is the time to review the inclusion of reservations for the equality areas to ensure that all equality strands recognised by the GMB through the National Equality Forum (NEF) are represented on the CEC.

Therefore, this Conference:-

- Resolves to establish a working group which will include members of the GMB Young Members Network to look at the democratic representation of Young Members within the GMB and to assess the feasibility of Young Member observer positions becoming full members of the CEC and assess RMA Representation on the CEC in its own right and not as an Observer
- Instructs the working group in question to work with National Equality Forum, the SMT, CEC, other regions/national forums for equality as well as the women's task force to agree proposals and rule amendments and deliver their report with recommendations to the next GMB Congress 2017.

(Carried)

BACKGROUND

In accordance with Composite 3 carried with a qualification by Congress 2016 an Equality Action Group was formed with members from the Central Executive Council (June Minnery, Kathy Abubakir, Colin Gunter, David Hope), the National Equality Forum (Farzana Jumma, Brian Shaw), the Young Members Network (Craig Dawson), the Senior Management Team (John Phillips, Joe Morgan), the General Secretary (Tim Roache), the National Equality & Inclusion Officer (Kamaljeet Jandu), the National Legal Officer (Barry Smith) and the Executive Officer (Steve Short).

In the interim period between Congress 2016 and the next Central Executive Council (CEC) elections to be held in 2019 the CEC agreed to introduce, in

addition to the existing Young Member observer seats, additional CEC observer seats for an LGBT member of the National Equality Forum and a Disabled member of the National Equality Forum. These observer positions took effect from the December 2016 CEC meeting.

The EAG was formed to progress Composite 3 and to make recommendations to the CEC.

The Equality Action Group (EAG) met on 13 December 2016 to discuss proposals for introducing reserved seats onto the CEC. The EAG was chaired by June Minnery, CEC member, GMB Scotland.

The EAG produced a consultation document which was circulated to the Senior Management Team, Regional Committees, Regional Equality Forums, the National Equality Forum, the Young Members Network, and the Central Executive Council.

Following the consultation period the EAG met on 28 March 2017 to consider comments and feedback. This EAG meeting was chaired by David Hope, CEC member, North West & Irish Region.

The EAG's recommendations were endorsed by the CEC in April 2017, to be proposed to Congress 2017.

Congress 2007 endorsed the CEC Special Report 'Progressing Equality Issues in the GMB' which established the current structure of six equality strands – Gender, Race, Youth, LGBT, Disabled and Migrant Worker.

In accordance with the 2007 Special Report the CEC's recommendations reflect these structures. The underlying purpose is to reflect the diversity of GMB members and potential members in representative positions at all levels of the lay member structure and therefore improve our ability to organise and represent members and potential members.

However, as determined by the CEC at their October 2016 meeting no migrant worker CEC observer position would be created as it was felt that migrant worker members do not necessarily identify as migrant workers and are represented by other strands, therefore the CEC do not think it necessary to create migrant worker reserved seats on Regional Councils or the CEC. This will be reviewed as our work on migrant workers evolves and develops. Equally the CEC do not think it necessary to create retired members reserved seats on the CEC, as this group is not an under-represented group on the CEC, nor is it one of the six GMB defined equality strands.

GMB rules require members of the CEC to be Regional Council members in order to be eligible for election to the CEC. Therefore additional reserved seats first need to be established in rule and elections held in order to ensure a pool of potential qualifying nominees for elections on to all reserved seats on the CEC at the next elections in 2019. These Regional Council elections for newly created reserved seats would replicate existing arrangements for existing reserved seats on Regional Councils in line with rule 20.2 for the election of black and minority ethnic members to Regional Councils.

Rule 20 Reserved seats on regional councils

2 Two representatives will be elected to seats on regional councils reserved for black and minority ethnic members of the regional equality forum. Only black and minority ethnic members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election under this clause. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women, and only black and minority ethnic women members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election to that seat.

Because Regional Council membership is a prerequisite for CEC candidates, and because new Regional Councils with four year terms of office have just been elected in April 2017, the CEC noted that the first CEC election where changes could be implemented would be in 2023. The CEC considered that such a long delay was not within the spirit and intention of Composite 3. Therefore in order to bring forward changes for the next cycle of CEC elections in 2019 the CEC would propose an interim round of Regional Council elections (see below):

PROPOSALS

The CEC should set the GMB's agenda, and equality strands must be part of this process. In order to be part of this process they should be elected members of the CEC with full voting rights, rather than observer positions as they currently are.

The CEC recommends to Congress:

1. Regional Council reserved seats

While preserving the existing equality strand reserved seats on Regional Councils, additional equality strand reserved seats should be established.

To ensure that members elected to reserved equality strand seats on Regional Councils are active members any new seats for equality strand members should be elected from amongst the members of Regional Equality Forums, in line with current elections held under rule 20.2.

To replicate the arrangements for existing BME reserved seats elections to Regional Councils the CEC proposes the introduction of the following equality strand reserved seats, for election onto Regional Councils:

Young Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

Disabled Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

LGBT Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

As with existing reserved seats nominations will only be made by Branches, from the list of Regional Equality Forum members, and branch votes will determine who is elected to these new Regional Council reserved seats.

Regions will conduct Regional Council elections to the newly created reserved seats only, following Congress 2017 and after the necessary rule changes comes into effect on 1 July 2017. Members of Regional Equality Forums elected to these new reserved seats must be eligible for and belong to the particular equality strand and would hold office until the end of the Regional Council term of office of 15 April 2021. For the term commencing on 15 April 2021 all Regional Council seats would be elected for the full four year term of office.

2. Central Executive Council reserved seats

While preserving the existing reserved seats on the Central Executive Council, additional nationally elected equality strand reserved seats should be established as follows:

Young Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

Disabled Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

LGBT Members - two reserved seats (one open seat and one women's reserved seat).

As with existing CEC elections nominations will only be made by Branches from the list of Regional Council members, and as with the current national Race Reserved Seats national one member one vote elections of all GMB members will determine who is elected to these new CEC reserved seats.

CEC elections to be held in 2019 would elect members of Regional Councils to the newly created national reserved strand seats for Young Members, LGBT members, and Disabled members. Members of Regional Councils elected to these new national reserved seats must be eligible for and belong to the particular equality strand. In the meantime the current observer positions for Young members, LGBT member and Disabled member would continue until the CEC elected in 2019 takes up office at the December 2019 CEC Meeting.

3. Impact on existing structures

The introduction of additional equality strand seats would:

Add 6 elected seats to a Regional Council

Add 6 elected seats to the Central Executive Council (however, as strand observer places would cease at the end of the current term of office of the CEC the overall number of CEC attendees would increase by 2) – see *Appendix 1, 2 and the diagram at Appendix 3.*

FOLLOWING CONGRESS 2017

Subject to Congress adopting the CEC Special Report the EAG will meet to discuss and agree nomination forms and personal details forms for new equality strand seats for the 2019 CEC elections.

RULE AMENDMENTS

In order to enact the CEC recommendations into the GMB rulebook the CEC recommends that Congress adopts the following rule amendments:

CECRA8

Rule 10.4

Line 9 delete "and"

Line 10 Insert after "race reserved seat,"

"and at least one representative elected to either a young members reserved seat or to a disabled reserve seat or to a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seat,"

Clause to read:

4 To carry out any part of its business, the Central Executive Council can appoint committees. It may give any of these committees as much responsibility to carry out its business as it feels necessary. In carrying out this business, the committee will act on behalf of the Central Executive Council, and must keep to the relevant conditions of these rules as if it were the Central Executive Council. The committees will make decisions on behalf of the Central Executive Council, who, except where it says otherwise, must give its approval. The committees will be made up of at least one member of each section, at least one woman elected to a women's reserved seat, at least one representative elected to a race reserved seat, and at least one representative elected to either a young members reserved seat or to a disabled reserve seat or to a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seat, and will always be made up of representatives from each region. The representatives will be appointed in whatever way the Central Executive Council feels is necessary. The committees will meet at the times and places decided by the Central Executive Council.

CECRA9

Rule 11.3

Insert new clauses:

3b Two members will be elected to national young members reserved seats of the Central Executive Council. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women.

3c Two members will be elected to national disabled members reserved seats of the Central Executive Council. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women.

3d Two members will be elected to national lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seats of the Central Executive Council. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women.

CECRA10

Rule 11.4

Line 5, insert new sentence after "reserved seat."

"Only members under 30 years of age on the first Tuesday of December in the year they are elected (or on the date of election if elected in a by-election) will be eligible to be nominated for election to a young members reserved seat."

Clause to read:

4 No member will be eligible to be nominated for election to a section seat unless they are a member of that section. Only women will be eligible to be nominated for election to a women's reserved seat. Only members of a relevant racial group will be eligible to be nominated for election to a race reserved seat. Only members under 30 years of age on the first Tuesday of December in the year they are elected (or on the date of election if elected in a by-election) will be eligible to be nominated for election to a young members reserved seat. Members must be members of the region in which they are nominated. No-one can be nominated for election in more than one group. All candidates must have the relevant qualifications set out in rule 18.

CECRA11

Rule 11.5

Line 1 delete "people", insert "members"

Line 2 delete "and", insert " ,"

Line 2 after "race reserved seats" add

" , the young members reserved seats, the disabled reserved seats and the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seats"

Clause to read:

5 Each branch in a region may nominate members for general seats, the women's reserved seat, the race reserved seats, the young members reserved seats, the disabled reserved seats and the lesbian, gay, bisexual and

transgender reserved seats. In line with rule 35.21 (Composite branches), only branches having members in a section can make nominations for that section seat. Only branches in Ireland can make nominations for the general seat under clause 2c, and these branches will not be entitled to make nominations for any other general seat. If a branch is entitled to nominate a candidate for election to any seat, it cannot nominate more than one candidate for election to that seat.

CECRA12

Rule 11.6

Line 6, Insert after "race reserved seats"

", national young members reserved seats, national disabled reserved seats and national lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seats"

Clause to read:

6 Each member in a region will have one vote for each of the seats to be filled from that region. However, only members who live in Ireland will be entitled to vote to elect the general representative under clause 2c, and these members will not be entitled to vote for any other general representative. Each member of the union will also have one vote for each of the national race reserved seats, national young members reserved seats, national disabled reserved seats and national lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender reserved seats.

CECRA13

Rule 11.8

Line 6 add ", or may define qualifying criteria for other reserved seats elected under clauses 3, 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d of this rule"

Clause to read:

8 Elections under this rule will be organised and held in line with by-laws issued by the Central Executive Council. These by-laws may say whether failing to keep to any by-law will disqualify a candidate from being elected. By-laws may define the racial group or groups (referred to here as 'a relevant racial group') whose members are eligible to be nominated for election to one or more of the national race reserved seats, or may define qualifying criteria for other reserved seats elected under clauses 3, 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d of this rule. The Central Executive Council can amend or withdraw any by-law, as long as doing so would affect only the future conduct of current or future elections.

CECRA14

Rule 19.4

Line 3 after "one member" add "for each seat elected under this rule and rule 20"

Line 3 after "more than one" add "for each seat elected under this rule and rule 20"

At end of clause 4 add "Only members under 30 years of age on 15 April in the year they are elected (or on the date of election if elected in a by-election) will be eligible to be nominated for election to a young members reserved seat."

Clause to read:

4 Members of the regional council will be elected every four years from nominations sent in by the branches in the region. Branches will only be entitled to nominate one member for each seat elected under this rule and rule 20, and will not have more than one representative for each seat elected under this rule and rule 20. Members who are nominated for election as section delegates must be members of the appropriate section and can only be nominated by a branch of their section. However, these nominations can be made by the appropriate section members of a composite branch in line with rule 35.21. Members who are nominated must have the necessary qualifications as set out in rule 18. Only members under 30 years of age on 15 April in the year they are elected (or on the date of election if elected in a by-election) will be eligible to be nominated for election to a young members reserved seat."

CECRA15

Rule 20

Re-number clause 2 as 2a

Insert new clauses:

2b Two representatives will be elected to seats on regional councils reserved for young members of the regional equality forum. Only young members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election under this clause. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women, and only young women members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election to that seat.

2c Two representatives will be elected to seats on regional councils reserved for disabled members of the regional equality forum. Only disabled members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election under this clause. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women, and only disabled women members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election to that seat.

2d Two representatives will be elected to seats on regional councils reserved for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender members of the regional equality forum. Only lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election under this clause. One of the two seats under this clause will be reserved for women, and only lesbian, bisexual and transgender women members of the regional equality forum will be eligible to be nominated for election to that seat.

CECRA16

Rule 20.4

Line 2 delete "and"

Line 3, after "clause 2", add ", one member to be elected under clause 2a, one member to be elected under clause 2b, one member to be elected under clause 2c, and one member to be elected under clause 2d"

Line 5 add "and/"

Delete Line 6 replace with "representatives elected to seats under clause 2"

Clause to read:

4 As well as its nomination under rule 19.4, each branch in a region will be entitled to nominate one member to be elected under clause 1, one member to be elected under clause 2a, one member to be elected under clause 2b, one member to be elected under clause 2c and one member to be elected under clause 2d. A branch that has:

- a representative elected under rule 19;
- a representative elected to a seat under clause 1; and/or
- representatives elected to seats under clause 2

will not be taken to have more than one representative on the regional council under rule 19.4. Elections to reserved seats will be held in line with rule 19.

Appendix 1

Current Breakdown of Membership of the CEC (62 members including observers):

Regional Seats

13 x General Seats

28 x Section Seats

9 x Women's Reserved Seats

National Seats

5 x Race Reserved Seats

General Secretary & Treasurer

Observers

2 x Ex-Unity Observers, as agreed by the CEC

2 x Young Member Observers, elected by the annual Young Members' Summit

1 x LGBT Observer, selected from the members of the National Equality Forum

1 x Disabled Observer, selected from the members of National Equality Forum

Appendix 2

Proposed Breakdown of Membership of the CEC (64 members including observers):

Regional Seats

13 x General Seats

28 x Section Seats

9 x Women's Reserved Seats

National Seats

5 x Race Reserved Seats

2 x Young Members Reserved Seats

2 x Disabled Members Reserved Seats

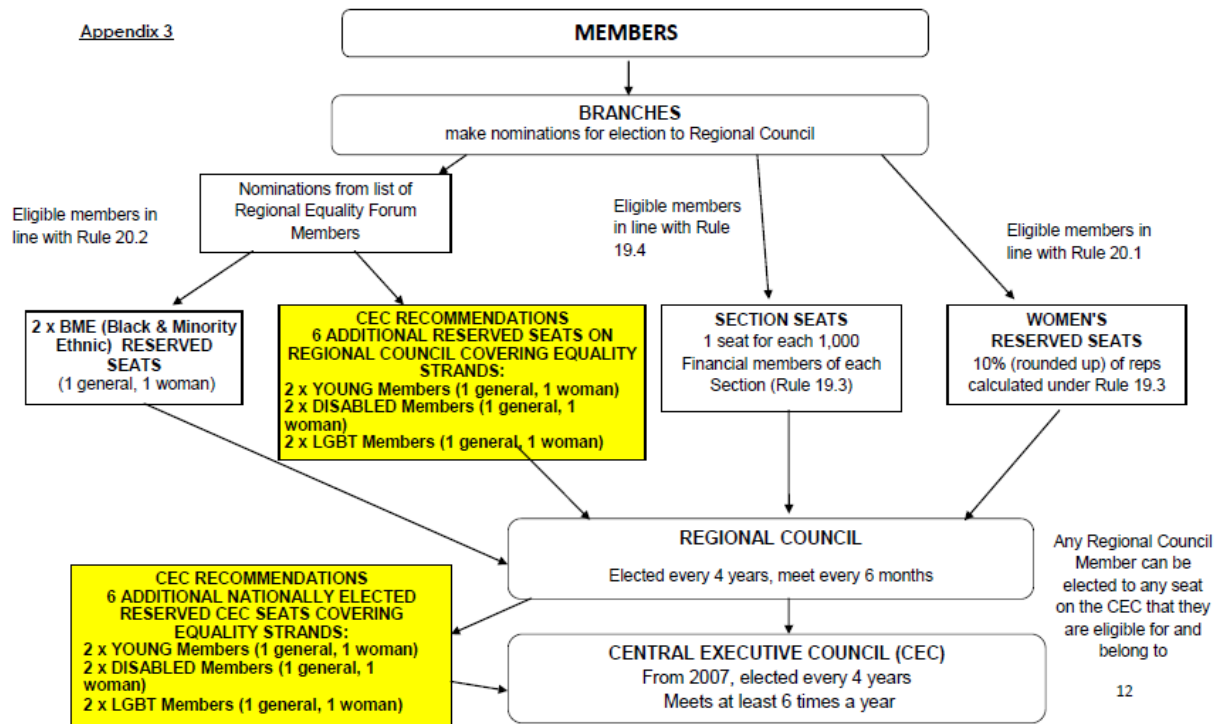
2 x LGBT Members Reserved Seats

General Secretary & Treasurer

Observers

2 x Ex-Unity Observers, as agreed by the CEC

Appendix 3



BRO. J. MORGAN (Regional Secretary, Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I move the CEC Special Report on the Introduction of Reserved Seats for Equality Strands on the Central Executive Council and Regional Councils. I am also asking for rule amendment 383 to be withdrawn as this rule amendment is contrary to the proposals in the Special Report.

Congress 2016 carried composite motion 3, representation of equality strands, on to the CEC. It tasked the CEC with establishing a working group to progress the composite and to make recommendations on the introduction of further equality strand seats on to the CEC. An Equality Action Group was set up which met and produced a consultation document, which was then circulated widely to regions, branches, the National Equality Forum, the Regional Equality Forums, the Young Members' Forums and the CEC itself.

The Equality Action Group met again to consider the feedback and produced a report for the CEC including recommendations. The CEC endorsed the working group's recommendations and produced the Special Report that is in front of Congress today. The CEC firmly believes that the underlying purpose of their recommendations is to reflect the diversity of GMB members in representative positions at all levels of the lay-member structure and, therefore, improve our ability to organise and represent members.

The CEC recommends to Congress that the current reserved seats on the Central Executive Council, the regional women's reserved seats and the national race reserved seats remain unchanged. The CEC recommends that additional nationally-elected reserved seats are created for LGBT, youth and disabled members, with two seats for

each strand, one open seat and one women's reserved seat. As Congress will be aware, it is a requirement under the GMB rule book that, to be eligible for election to the Central Executive Council, a candidate must first be a member of their Regional Council. Therefore, the CEC also recommends that these same reserved seats are established on Regional Councils, with two seats for each strand, one open seat and one women's reserved seat.

Again, colleagues, the CEC recommends that existing reserved seats on Regional Councils, women reserved seats and black and minority ethnic reserved seats remain unchanged. The new strands of reserved seats should be elected in the same way as the BME reserved seats are from members of the Region's Equality Forum.

Congress, one concern that was raised during the consultation process was how members are elected on to Regional Equality Forums, and the CEC is considering a common process to apply across all regions because it does differ at the moment. That process will include full participation with the branches.

Another issue that the working group encountered was that as Regional Councils have just recently been elected — April 2017 — this would mean that the first CEC election where these proposals could be introduced will be 2023. Therefore, comrades, the CEC is recommending, in order to bring forward these changes for the next round of CEC elections in 2019, an interim round of Regional Council elections is held following Congress this year when rule changes will come into effect on 1st July.

Congress, should also note that in the interim period the CEC has introduced further equality strand observer seats, in addition to the existing Young Member Observers, and there is now an LGBT observer and a disabled observer from the National Equality Forum attending CEC meetings. These observer positions will remain until the next CEC elections in 2019. Congress will note that the net effect of introducing newly-elected strand reserved seats on to the CEC will mean that the CEC will grow by just two extra members as the current observer seats would cease to exist from the 2019 elections.

Each Regional Council will also have an additional six members, so Congress should be assured that these proposals will not vastly change the size of the CEC nor Regional Councils.

To summarise, colleagues, the CEC is recommending that additional strand reserved seats be introduced on to the CEC and Regional Councils bringing to fruition the decision that was made at Congress 2016. These proposals will mean that GMB will, yet again, lead the way and set the standards for other unions to follow. I, therefore, ask Congress to adopt the CEC Special Report in front of you and endorse the related rule amendments within the Report to introduce these new reserved seats into rule. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Joe. Can I have that formally seconded, please? (*The CEC Special Report was formally seconded from the floor*) I will now go round the regions and if they wish to put in a speaker, they can. The first one will be Birmingham & West Midlands? (*No response*) London?

SIS. T. CHANA (London): Congress, I am speaking in support of the CEC Special Report, the introduction of reserved seats for equality strands on the CEC and regional councils. This report is not only encouraging but also cements a fundamental move to ensure that equality is achieved through inclusion and not through exclusion. It is commendable that the report finally recognises that the equality strands set out in the CEC Special Report: Progressing Equality Issues in the GMB at our Congress in 2007 will now be represented on the CEC.

We note, however, that retired members are not addressed in this report. London Region recognises retired members as a special group whose contribution is invaluable. Having said that, the proposals set out in the report reflect the diversity of the GMB members and potential members, and recognises the value of having a positive and diverse agenda through a democratic inclusive process. We, therefore, welcome and support the CEC Report on strand representation. Thank you.
(Applause)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Okay, Birmingham. Come up.

BRO. W. JUSS (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President, I am speaking in support of the CEC Special Report on Reserved Seats for Equality Strands.

Congress, I am somebody who, although not currently on the CEC, was able, because of the race reserved seat, to get on to the CEC. Had it not been for the reserved seat, I might not have been on it. It is important within our union, whilst recognising the immense diversity that we have, that we embrace it and promote it. It is very important that all the equality strands are represented on the regional councils and on the CEC. This is a very positive step that is being taken. I am very inspired by this initiative. If we are really serious about pushing forward all equality issues, including those affecting young members, the disabled and LGBT members, then we need these representatives on the bodies.

You will remember last year that one of our disabled members from our region, Byron Cooke, made a rousing speech here and, as a result, caused the CEC to change its stance on a motion. He got a standing ovation and managed to get a kiss from Mary in the process. It is a bit of a clichéd phrase to say that “our members are our future”, but for any organisation to prosper, we need to have a proper success procedure. Our young members need to be inspired and work with our role models and current leaders so that they can be the leaders and role models of the future. I support this statement and I hope you do, too. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Warinder. I call Midland, Northern, North West & Irish, GMB Scotland and Southern. *(No responses)* I now call Wales & South West.

SIS. R. DAWKINS (Wales & South West): Congress, I am a first-time delegate from Wales & South West Region. *(Applause)* I am speaking in support of the CEC document on reserved seats for equality strands. Vice President and Congress, equality and diversity is at the very heart of the GMB. It is crucial that our structures adequately reflect and represent the composition of our membership. We recognised

some time ago the increasing importance and influence of women in our union by allocating them reserved seats on both regional councils and CEC. In the same way, BME seats were also built into both constitutions, following on with other observer positions on the CEC for younger members, together with disabled and LGBT groups.

It is a matter, then, of both logic and fairness that we continue with our progression route by upgrading the observer positions into bona fide seats on the Executive Council. *This* document is the product of a widespread opportunity to contribute to the discussion. Sadly, responses have been minimal, but the consensus is very much in favour of taking the next step forward. The GMB plays a vital role in engaging with and advancing the workplace interests of women and other strands by articulating our policy into the bargaining agenda. Having the correct structures within our own organisation is essential to our dedication of equality issues.

Sometimes we have to challenge established interests and power structure, even within the GMB itself, and find a balance in terms of the way we are accommodating our increasingly diverse membership. We cannot, with any real degree of credibility, have a lower commitment to the promotion of equality within our own structures than we have to the workplace. On occasions, of course, we do face some hostility from our own members in pursuing workplace policies on grounds that it could cause diversions and undermine trade union power. We cannot have this. We need to support this report. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Rebecca. Yorkshire?

BRO. I. KEMP (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): Congress, I speak in support of the CEC Special Report on Reserved Seats. Before I start, on behalf of my region, my branch and the people of Rotherham, thank you very much for the contribution to the Great Get Together. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

Congress, the fact that just 12 months after the passing of composite 3 we are discussing the work of the Equality Action Group and their recommendations is not only testament to the work of those involved but, hopefully, it should put paid to the notion that motions passed at Congress disappear into a black hole. The GMB has always been at the forefront of the fight for equal rights, both in wider society and within our union. We might not always get it right and we know we have some way to go, but the recognition of the various equality strands coming into the governance of this trade union just shows how engaged this union is on this issue. Comrades, we have to live in the world as it is, not as would like it to be. Whenever one of our members is being abused, bullied and discriminated against because of their race, sexuality or whatever, I am going to fight with my last breath to make sure that their voice is heard within this union.

No matter how much I empathise with people facing discrimination, as a white, heterosexual male, I am not going to experience discrimination in trying to get a job because of my colour, or the fact that my sartorial elegance is on a par with Tim's, or appearance. Having reserved seats for our equality strands brings not only those experienced to inform or work and policies, it also brings forward the enthusiasm and idealism of our young members. That is why Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region supports this report and calls on other regions to follow suit. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Ian. I now put the report to Congress. All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? That is carried.

The CEC Special Report on Reserved Seats for Equality Strands on the CEC and Regional Councils was CARRIED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: The next item was to be rule amendment 383, but that has just been withdrawn. So we now move on to agenda item 3, which is motions 68 and 70. I call Birmingham.

**UNION ORGANISATION: EQUALITY & INCLUSION
GMB YOUNG MEMBERS NETWORK BUDGET
MOTION 68**

68. GMB YOUNG MEMBERS NETWORK BUDGET

This Congress acknowledges that the GMB Young Members Network should be given its own transparent element of the National Equalities budget so that it can actively carry out its aims and objectives, as well as a separate budget for the Young Members Summit.

The GMB Young Members Network has been running for several years now, with all regions being active in the Network and getting involved with campaigns and other activities. Due to how active and organised this particular strand is at both regional and national levels in comparison to other strands, Congress agrees that the Network will need its own transparent budget to be able to take its campaign effectiveness further and to maximise the effectiveness of the 'Recruit, Organise and Retain' Campaign in particular and this budget should come from the part of the National Equalities Budget that is allocated for young members.

The Young Members Summit, which takes place annually, also needs a separate budget. At present, the hosting region will pay for the Summit and then try to reclaim the expense from other regions. This means that there is no certainty for the Young Members Network on whether the region hosting the Summit will pay for the Summit in the first place and then if they do, the region that hosts could end up out of pocket. The uncertainty on whether the Summit will be paid for each year means that it is hard for the Network to properly plan a Summit, which is massively important, especially when we should be encouraging Young Members to be active and to not only be the future, but also the present. Therefore, Congress agrees that a set structure should be agreed for regions to pay each year their part towards each annual Young Members Summit.

S85 SANDWELL COMMUNITY BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Referred)

SIS. J. SEAR (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President and Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. *(Applause)* Congress, I would like us all to acknowledge the magnificent work done by the National Young Members Network, including work done on the *Mental Health Matters* campaign, GMB's *£10 Now* campaign and general support in helping campaigns from all equality strands. The latest campaign by the Young Members Network campaign is *Recruit, Organise and Retain*. The aim of this campaign is to take their campaigning to the next step and actively target specific workplaces where there are a higher amount of young people to grow the union's membership and also to retain the existing membership.

There is a massive potential for growing the union by recruiting and organising young people. There are currently more than 56,000 young members in total across the GMB, which shows the good work done so far in recruiting and organising them.

However, the TUC's *Good Innovation Project* has found that there are 8.7 million people aged between 21 and 30, and 6.5 million of these are in employment, meaning that there is a plethora of young workers ready to be recruited. In order to maximise the effects of the *Recruit, Organise and Retain* campaign, the GMB Young Members Network needs to know what resources and budget it has available. Congress, the motion is not asking for a brand new budget to be created but, instead, for the Young Members Network to be advised of what part of the National Equalities Budget is allocated towards them. The Network can then plan its campaigns around the budget to achieve their goal. Congress, thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Julia. I call the seconder.

BRO. E. DOWNING (Birmingham & West Midlands): Delegates, I move for this Congress to call upon the CEC to release funds nationally to Young Members Networks regionally. The future relies on having an active, engaged and representative youth movement. There are currently over 56,000 young members in the GMB, and only 752 young members are post holders. The current ethos of the young members is to recruit, organise and retain. The Young Members Network is currently engaged in industrial issues, such as low pay in the service industry, under-employment and housing. An active, organised and well-funded Young Members Network will ensure that efforts to recruit and retain active members will best serve the future of the union as it moves forward. Controlling their own budgets regionally, would allow young members to organise long-term campaigns raise the profile of the union in the public perception, press and social media. I second.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call upon Paul Wheatley from the Midland & East Coast Region to speak on behalf of the CEC.

BRO. P. WHEATLEY (CEC, Manufacturing): Congress, I am speaking on behalf of the CEC. We are asking for you to refer both motions 68 and 70. These motions are asking for a specific budget for work on and with particular equality strands. The various equality strands do some excellent work across the GMB, and that work needs to be integrated regionally with the intention of highlighting and tackling issues but also building the union. The CEC is totally committed to the principle of properly managed funding to support young members' activities, including the Young Members Summit.

However, we are asking that these motions be referred to the National Equality Forum to draw up the to achieve this. Young member activity is now led by two members from National Office, and the budgetary control for young member activity should be nationally led under the National Equality Department, which is what will be achieved. Therefore, Congress, please refers motions 68 and 70. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Paul. Does Birmingham accept the reference on motions 68 and 70? (*Agreed*) I will put it to the vote? All those in favour, please show? Anyone against? They are referred.

Motion 68 was REFERRED.

Motion 70 was REFERRED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: We now move on to motion 82, Birmingham; motion 83, Birmingham, and motion 84, Southern.

**UNION ORGANISATION: EQUALITY & INCLUSION
DEVELOPING CAMPAIGNS FOR COMMUNITY COHESION
MOTION 82**

82. DEVELOPING CAMPAIGNS FOR COMMUNITY COHESION

This Congress asks that all regional and local officers, establish joint campaigning with

1. Local Churches Together Groups
2. Local inter-faith forums
3. And other groups who support community cohesion

W50 WELLINGTON BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

BRO. A. ENGLAND (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I move motion 82: Developing Campaigns for Community Cohesion. This motion is aimed at union officers and activists, widening our approach to embrace faith groups and community organisations, to meet the needs of our members and their families in the wider community. Many of us here are part of other groups and organisations. We do and we need to use these links to the benefit of our members and their families.

In the name of austerity, we are closing libraries, community centres, youth clubs and so on. In the ward that I represent on the local borough council back home, we have saved the local library and a community centre, and we are working with faith groups to set up youth facilities. We are GMB members. We have a GMB Labour Party candidate and the council leader is a GMB member. It is that accent on ensuring that we link up with each other for the benefit of the community that is important. We need actively to promote and take part in wider community issues and work with others to this end, again, for the benefit of our members and their families. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Is there a seconder? Formally? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Motion 83.

**OPPRESSION OF NON-BINARY PEOPLE
MOTION 83**

83. OPPRESSION OF NON-BINARY PEOPLE

This Congress raises awareness of the marginalisation of non-binary people directly oppressed by binary prejudice within society and the workplace.

Gender identity is each individual's concept of self and how they view themselves – this may not align with the sex they were assigned at birth; it may be a mix of both/fluid or neither at any point.

Binary prejudice marginalises and oppresses non-binary people within our society the workplace and media depictions. Individuals have no strong voice/platform to raise awareness of issues faced daily from being verbally addressed/recognised to washroom facilities and workplace attire. No allowances or alternatives are afforded to non-binary individuals.

I call on the GMB Union to raise a nationwide campaign to promote awareness both in the workplace and society of issues faced and the marginalisation taking place on a daily basis I would like to see the GMB campaign to improve the working environment of non-binary individuals to include unisex bathrooms – androgynous terminology and unisex uniforms.

B01 BIRMINGHAM FORWARD BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

SIS. A. GILRAINE (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President and Congress, I am a first-time speaker and a first-time delegate moving motion 83. *(Applause)* The issue I am talking about is oppression of non-binary people. So what is non-binary? I will tell you. It is a person who does not define themselves as male or female. It is a hard concept to get your head round if you are not used to the term or even heard of it before. It means that people just want to be people, nothing more and nothing less. Why do we need to be defined as male or female? I would ask Congress to support this motion by supporting unisex toilets, unisex uniforms in the workplace for all and change what appears on our forms concerning gender. Although some banks have moved forward, the Passport Office and the DVLA ask questions around gender.

We also feel that educating our kids around this issue would help immensely, and not define what uniform kids must wear. It would allow them the choice of what they want to wear, which may not include items from the male or female list. Also we ask Congress to support professionals to enhance their knowledge around this area to support the individual so that the individual can go and access the service they need. Thank you, Congress. *(Applause)*

BRO. E. DOWNING (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I second this motion to end the oppression of non-binary people. A binary person refers to any gender that is neither exclusively male or female. A person's identity is a personal preference and the concept itself is within the realm of personal identity. I and this Congress call upon the GMB to promote and raise awareness of non-binary persons in the union and the workplace. This includes alternative pronouns, genderless uniforms and unisex bathroom facilities. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I call the mover of motion 84.

USE OF HONORIFICS MOTION 84

84. USE OF HONORIFICS (TITLES)

This Congress believes that following recent feedback from our LGBTI+ members and Southern Shout we are concerned that we are excluding members and potential members who may not define as Mr/Mrs/Ms. This subject was raised at a recent Trans conference where members of the trans community explained why some people prefer to use honorifics/titles which are non-gender specific and also the limited options of male or female for sex. This has also been raised at pride events.

This Congress considers that the GMB should include on all forms the option for transgender and non-binary people to self-define their own title and sex in addition to the options that are currently being used.

GMB should instruct that in future printing of any membership or other forms, there should have an option to add a title.

G36 SECURITY BRANCH
Southern Region

(Carried)

BRO. C. MURTON (Southern): Congress, I move motion 84: Use of Honorifics (Titles). I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. *(Applause)*

Vice President and Congress, this Congress believes that following recent feedback from our LGBTI members and Southern Shout we are concerned that, as a union, we are excluding members and potential members who may not define as Mr/Mrs/Ms for their title, or may not define as male or female for their gender. This subject was raised at a recent Trans conference that was attended by GMB Southern Shout where members of the trans community explained why some people prefer to use titles which are non-gender specific and prefer a different option to male or female gender. This has also been raised at Pride events attended by GMB Southern Shout.

It is traumatic enough to tell family and friends that you are transgendering from one sex to another without the added stress and complication of how to express this on a form. Putting an option on all GMB forms for people to define their own title and gender should not have to incur a cost to the union. The amendment could be done on the master forms before a new print run is started. Let us show that the GMB is inclusive and diverse, is open to all to join and that GMB is the union for the 21st century and beyond. Please support. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Clive. Is there a seconder?

BRO. S. OAKES (Southern): Congress, I support motion 84. As has been said, the GMB is a leading union in equality. My point is simple, really, Congress. We must give the dignity and the acknowledgement to the transgender community by supporting this motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Steve. I call motions 86, Southern; motion 87, North West, and motion 88, Southern, to the rostrum.

MANDATORY DISABILITY AWARENESS TRAINING MOTION 86

86. MANDATORY DISABILITY AWARENESS TRAINING

Dear Congress and Members,

I propose to put forward a motion for Mandatory Disability Awareness training, for all employees during their induction process.

Disabled People contribute over £80 million a year to the UK economy and account for up to 20% of the customer base for an average UK business. By treating them in the right way, your organisation or service is more likely to retain them and spread positive words. Organisations and Services are less likely to encounter complaints and this could save millions of pounds a year in compensation.

Staff awareness training is the most important element of delivering the right service to disabled people.

The training can focus on the legal context of disability, compliance issues, access to work, exploring the concept of people being disabled by society's barriers and attitudes and highlighting the role of the organisation in the removal of these, reasonable adjustments, customer care, etiquette, appropriate language and provide wider information on both Visible and invisible disabilities. This would enable employees to have a better understanding, broaden their knowledge base and equip them with skills to enable them to handle uncomfortable situations in the right way without feeling embarrassed or scared and making the usual mistakes.

Those whom are disabled themselves, I'm sure would respect their employer more, for taking the training seriously and because of it should be treated better by their fellow colleagues.

Advertising the training not only shows that the employer cares but also is a good look to the wider community that the employer has invested in this type of training.

I ask you today to bring this motion forward.

L26 LB WANDSWORTH BRANCH
Southern Region

(Carried)

SIS. C. NKUM (Southern): Congress, I am a first-time speaker and a first-time delegate. *(Applause)* I am moving 86: Mandatory Disability Awareness Training.

Vice President, colleagues and visitors, I propose to put forward a motion for Mandatory Disability Awareness training for all employees during their induction process.

Disabled people contribute over £80 million a year to the UK economy and account for up to 20% of the customer base for an average UK business. By treating them in the right way, organisations or services are more likely to retain them and spread positive words. Organisations and services are less likely to encounter complaints and this could save millions of pounds a year in compensation.

Staff awareness training is the most important element of delivering the right service to disabled people. The training can focus on the legal context of disability, compliance issues, access to work, exploring the concept of people being disabled by society's barriers and attitudes and highlighting the role of the organisation in the removal of these, reasonable adjustments, customer care, etiquette, appropriate language and provider wider information on both visible and invisible disabilities. This would enable employees to have a better understanding, broaden their

knowledge base and equip them with skills to enable them to handle uncomfortable situations in the right way without feeling embarrassed or scared and making the usual mistakes.

Those whom are disabled themselves, I'm sure would respect their employer more, for taking the training seriously and because of it should be treated better by their fellow colleagues. Advertising the training not only shows that the employer cares but also is a good look to the wider community that the employer has invested in this type of training. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Charlaine. I call the mover of motion 87.

DISABLED RIGHTS MOTION 87

87. DISABLED RIGHTS

This Congress notes the report submitted by Disability Rights UK (DRUK) in January 2017 which finds that equality for disabled people in this country "continues to be patchy and torturous" as a result of the Government carrying out cuts to social care and failing to take into account disabled people's rights in policymaking. Other issues include a shortage in accessible homes and continuing access problems on public transport for disabled people. As a result, the UK is failing to live up to the International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities which it signed in 2009.

Congress calls on the Government to follow the DRUK report's recommendations and make proper progress on disability rights and equality in society.

P41 BRANCH
North West & Irish Region

(Carried)

BRO. J. SMITH (North West & Irish): Vice President and Congress, move motion 87: Disabled Rights. Comrades, you have all heard this statement time and time again: We are all in this together. Yes, I'm quoting David Cameron from 2010. The test of a good society is to look after the elderly, the frail, the vulnerable and the poorest. That test is more important in difficult times when difficult decisions have to be taken than in better times.

Let us look at it from a disabled person's point of view. Everyone, no matter who or what they are, deserves to be able to reach their full potential. The Government agenda in relation to disabled people is scandalous. Disabled people are drowning in red tape and letters that are coming through their doors. The Government talk about affordable housing for disabled people. Disabled people have to pay a bedroom tax and are being faced with council cuts at the same time. Carers are facing cuts of £1 billion by the end of 2018. At the same time, the cost of living for essential products like food and keep yourself warm has gone up dramatically. Public transport in some areas has improved dramatically, but in other areas they have stopped the bus routes. They have axed them due to lack of funding. I can tell you that that has definitely happened in Lancashire. For the general public and disabled people these cuts will make the lives of much more difficult, never mind trying to get on a bus but especially if there is not one.

Where we have public services that put profit before care, changes need to be made. Please support this motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Joseph. Can I have the mover of motion 88?

**ALL GMB OFFICES SHOULD HAVE AT LEAST ONE UNISEX TOILET
MOTION 88**

88. ALL GMB OFFICES SHOULD HAVE AT LEAST ONE UNISEX TOILET

Many schools, businesses and public buildings are now providing unisex toilets for a whole range of reasons. Toilets segregated on the basis of gender binary cause problems for many of our trans and non-binary members, but all of these problems could be alleviated by changing at least one toilet to unisex in each GMB office. In addition, many equalities activists believe that sexual segregation will one day be viewed in the same light as racial segregation, and as no-one would see a return to separate toilets for BEM and white members, neither do we need separate toilets according to gender binary.

N10 BERKSHIRE AND NORTH HAMPSHIRE BRANCH
Southern Region

(Referred)

BRO. S. MASTERS (Southern): Congress, I am moving the Unisex Toilets motion. If the Vice President would indulge me for one second with a small liberty, I would like to ask you all a quick question. How many of you have separate toilets for men and women in your own home? Nobody. I've never been into a house that had two separate toilets so demarcated. We just don't do that. When we go into a small café, a restaurant or whatever, when there is one toilet we use that. It is just not even an issue. It is not something worth even thinking about. Men and women use the same bathroom facilities all the time without issue and without problems.

However, some people, for a whole variety of reasons, find segregating the human race into two — man and woman — challenging. Toilets are not only a political minefield but they are also personally very isolating for many trans comrades, non-binary comrades and for anyone who simply doesn't like to be segregated on the basis of their genitals or their gender. Back in the days of the Jim Crow laws in the US, segregated toilets for black and white people were seen as utterly normal. There was outrage when that segregation was stopped. Let's just not do this any more, GMB. Let's follow the lead of so many schools, restaurants, cafés, big offices, workplaces and so on who have chosen Unisex over segregated toilets. Of course, let us not forget in our own Unisex bathrooms at home. Let's make at least one of our GMB office toilets a Unisex toilet. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Steven. Secunder? Formally? *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* We will now deal with motions 89, London; 90, Yorkshire; 91, London; composite 5, Birmingham to move and second, and composite 6, London to move and second.

**DISABLED TOILETS AND DISABLED ACCESS
MOTION 89**

89. DISABLED TOILETS AND DISABLED ACCESS

This Congress alongside the Norfolk and Suffolk Equality Forum, the GMB London Region Disability Forum would like to highlight the failings of accessible disabled toilets in the UK. Not all disabilities are visible, we must remember this, there are many needs that are just not covered when it comes to the provision of disabled toilets and disabled access to these facilities for all those who require the use of them.

We call on Congress to ensure that **firstly all** GMB regional and national offices adhere to and comply with the minimum standards set out under BS 8300. However, as a modern forward thinking 21st century trade union which is equality and diversity led and like us the NSEF alongside we would hope and expect Congress would agree that where and when possible we should go above and beyond the minimum standards.

Then to secondly actively campaign and to fully engage in and support meaningful consultation with the leading UK policy makers and employers utilising expert legal advice and political lobbying to ensure **all** the basic needs of the disabled community within the working environment and society are at the least maintained. However we, the NSEF alongside Congress would strongly suggest and urge that these basic needs are further increased by removing **all** disabled barriers therefore allowing self-defined disabled people full participation in the working environment and society itself affording them the dignity and respect they deserve.

KING'S LYNN NO 1 BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. G. BRUNNING (London): Congress, I move motion 89: Disabled toilets and disabled access. I self-define as disabled and I am chair of Ability, the London Region's Disability Forum. We would like to highlight the failings of disabled toilets and the access to these facilities across the UK. We have disabled members who regularly carry out access audits of accessibility, including the inspection of workplace disabled toilets within the private and public sector. They find, wherever they go, that many disabled toilets and the access to these facilities are not fit for purpose.

Congress, not all disabilities are visible. We must remember this when it comes to the provision of disabled toilets and the access to these facilities. An approved checklist — BS8300 — was created as part of the Equalities Act to ensure the provision and safeguarding of these facilities. However, more often than not the first thing that is noticeably missing is a shelf and a hook, which are required in all cubicles and which are essential to those disabled people who need and use sterile equipment.

Even if a disabled toilet meets all the criteria for equipment, the way in which it is often positioned is inappropriate. The placement of sinks and grab rails, which are not at a regulation height, presents serious problems and issues for those disabled. Accessibility to use the facilities is another issue. Disabled toilets can often be locked, requiring a specialist radar key to gain access, which can be problematic for anyone with dexterity issues. To compound this, many premises may not have a disabled toilet, and you will be required to go up and down a flight of stairs, only to find that they use the toilet for storage facilities, the entrance is blocked or the gangways are blocked, making access and use of the toilet for a disabled person in a wheelchair not possible.

How many of you here are fit, well and health with friends and colleagues who are the same? Consider before you vote how many of your future friends and family could be born with disabilities. You never know. Don't just look at disabilities as if they don't affect you, because they may well do. Is it right that I or they should ask for access to toilets? No. This is clearly something that is unacceptable in our 21st century society. I call on Congress to ensure that all GMB offices comply with the minimum standards. As a modern and forward-thinking trade union, which is equality and diversity led, I would hope and expect Congress to agree that we should go above and beyond the minimum standards to ensure that all the basic needs of the disabled community within the working environment and society are at least maintained. However, I would go further and strongly urge Congress to ensure that these basic needs are further increased by removing all disabling barriers, therefore allowing self-defined disabled people full participation in their working environment and within society. Please support. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Is there a seconder?

BRO. A. LAW (London): Vice President and Congress, I am seconding motion 89. I am a carer for a self-defined person, who is my father. He is an active member of the King's Lynn No. 1 branch, which is why I support this motion. As I read the motion on disabled toilets and disabled access, I could see and relate to it on my own situation and to a great deal of things that affect my father, the person who I spend a lot of time caring for. My father has very poor eyesight and needs the aid of a walking stick to help him. There are lots of time he won't go out. That is to say, he won't travel very far in case he needs the toilet. Most of the toilets are not easy to gain access to. Also, with the current set up of disabled toilets, it would help a great deal if they were uniform. When they design disabled toilets, it can affect the person's confidence in waiting to use the facilities. If a disabled person — my father, for instance — felt unable to cope at such a personal moment, he may decide to stay at home and avoid the embarrassment. Asking for help can be difficult for many people. Sometimes help is not enough, even for him and them. This is why uniform layouts of disabled toilets would help with their confidence.

Since I have become a carer, I have had, like my colleague, to become much more aware of the issues concerning disabled toilets and disabled access for the facilities highlighted earlier. I call on Congress to actively and positively support this motion so that all self-defined disabled people can enjoy a better quality of life whenever and wherever they want, allowing them to fully participate in society. Thank you.
(Applause)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I call motion 90, to be moved by Yorkshire.

DISABLED ACCESS AT FOOTBALL GROUNDS MOTION 90

90. DISABLED ACCESS AT FOOTBALL GROUNDS

This Congress fully supports the work of Level Playing Field in promoting disabled access to football and other sports stadia. Football is the world's most popular sport, bringing pleasure to millions. For football fans, nothing compares to actually being at a match. However, many

professional football clubs fail to provide adequate places for disabled fans at their stadia. Whilst there is an Accessible Stadia Guide, setting minimum amounts of places specifically for disabled spectators, it is not compulsory. It is morally wrong that many Premier League and Football League clubs fail to adhere to the guidelines. It has been reported that of the 20 Premier League clubs in England, only 3 have adequate places for disabled fans. Given the astronomical amounts of money in the Premier League from TV rights, surely they can spare some of their money to help their loyal fans?

To redress the balance and to allow disabled fans enjoy watching their favourite sport, Congress calls for the Accessible Stadia Guide to be made compulsory.

PARKGATE BRANCH
Yorkshire & North Derbyshire Region

(Carried)

BRO. I. KEMP (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): Vice President and Congress, I move motion 90. First of all, as a Rotherham fan, can I congratulate Huddersfield on their promotion to the Premier League, especially as it was at the expense of Sheffield Wednesday. I also want to point out that the pride of south Yorkshire, Rotherham, along with for our north-west colleagues, Blackburn Rovers, actually exceed the recommended facilities for disabled fans.

In September 2015 Premier League clubs unanimously agreed to improve their disabled access provisions by meeting the Accessible Stadia Guide by August 2017. According to the Equality and Human Rights Commission, progress has been limited. Of the 20 clubs in the Premier League, 13 failed to provide the required number of wheelchair spaces, only seven have disabled fully-equipped toilets and seven are breaking Premier League rules by not providing full information to fans. All this despite the Premier League signing yet another mega-bucks deal for broadcasting rights. The Premier League is awash with cash, with players on exorbitant wages, but with nothing for, probably, their most dedicated and loyal fans.

At present, three clubs, the reigning Champions, Chelsea, Bournemouth and Watford, are in real danger of missing the deadline to make improvements. If they do miss the deadline, what will happen? In theory, a Premier League fine of up to £25,000 or, for serious breaches, references to an independent panel with authority to enforce heavier fines or points deductions. Will this happen? Probably not. Call me cynical, but in the case of one of those three clubs, definitely not! You can guess which club I am talking about. The Premier League is scared of confronting its clubs, especially the bigger one, and imposing proper sanctions for those who break the rules. Money talks, unless you are disabled. It is time that the Premier League got its house in order. Let's campaign for the Accessible Stadia Guide to be made compulsory, and if they don't, as we do with racism, let's show the Premier League the red card.

(Applause)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Ian. I call motion 91.

**RATIFICATION OF ISTANBUL CONVENTION — VIOLENCE AGAINST
WOMEN
MOTION 91**

91. RATIFICATION OF ISTANBUL CONVENTION – VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

This Congress notes on the 7 April 2011 the Council of Europe adopted the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention) and it was opened for signatures by member states on 11 May 2011.

It entered into force on 1 April 2014. The Istanbul Convention was drafted in response to the growing recognition in the early years of the 21st Century that member states had vastly differing approaches to matters of domestic violence and violence against women. The document sets out a legal framework for protecting women and girls from all forms of gender-based violence. The UK Government signed the Istanbul Convention on 8 June 2012 but has not yet ratified it and progress has stalled.

We call upon Congress to:

- 1) Lobby the UK Government and all parties to take action to overcome the remaining obstacles to full ratification.
- 2) Campaign for full ratification.

EALING BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

SIS. T. CHANA (London): Vice President, I move motion 91: Ratification of the Istanbul Convention — Violence Against Women and Girls. Congress, gender-based violence is prevalent in the UK. One in five women aged 16 to 59 have experienced sexual assault. Two women are killed every week. In England and Wales, one-in-four women will have experienced domestic violence. In 2015 66% of women and children who were referred to a refuge were turned away because there was not enough bed space. The Istanbul Convention is the strongest move that has ever been made to combat violence against women and girls globally. It outlines minimum standards for a government's response to violence against women and girls and it guarantees urgently-needed change in prevention.

For example, it requires governments, of which the UK is a signatory, to protect funding for domestic violence refuges, rape-crisis centres, 24/7 help lines, offer counselling for domestic violence survivors and ensure education on healthy relationships in schools.

On 27th April 2017 the Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence Bill was signed off and it became law. This is not the end, Congress, as the law simply means that the Government must put in place a timeframe for the ratification of the Convention and an annual report on the progress they are making towards this. Congress, the Government have not yet ratified the Istanbul Convention. We urge you, Congress, to lobby your MPs, asking them to be champions for the ratification, if elected, following the election on Thursday. Please support this motion. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Taranjit. I call the mover of composite 5.

DOMESTIC ABUSE IN THE WORKPLACE COMPOSITE 5

C5. Covering Motions:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 92. | ABUSE AT WORK | Birmingham & W. Midlands Region |
| 93 | DOMESTIC ABUSE IN THE WORKPLACE | Birmingham & W. Midlands Region |

DOMESTIC ABUSE IN THE WORKPLACE

This Congress asks you to stand side by side with us in solidarity against abuse at work. Statistics prove that 1 in 4 women and 1 in 6 men will be a victim of domestic abuse in their lifetime.

There are growing numbers of people carrying out their duties who are, or have been victims of abuse in the workplace. It is too often deemed 'part of the job', and the support offered following an incident is insubstantial and often non-existent. For many the workplace is seen as a safe haven or as an escape. However too many will not feel safe discussing their situation for fear of reprisal or judgement and may end up facing disciplinarys whilst remaining silent.

These incidents are widespread across all industries with the highest numbers recorded within the care sector and the emergency services. There are many issues that contribute to abusive situations such as staffing levels and inadequate training. Care staff report low morale, and working lengthy hours with relentless abuse daily.

This Congress calls on GMB to create a domestic abuse charter and to campaign to make domestic abuse in the workplace policies mandatory and calls for a zero tolerance campaign to be created and executed across all sectors that deal directly with the public or clients.

We call on GMB to work with employers and break down these taboos, to ensure staff know where to access support and that support will be offered, and that perpetrators can also access provision for help once they recognised that their behaviour is wrong without facing prejudice.

(Carried)

SIS. T. WILLETTS (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President and Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first time speaker. *(Applause)* I move composite 5: Abuse in the Workplace. A carer age 21, in her second week of working in a care home, was attacked and strangled by a resident with dementia. She had been hit, slapped, punched, kicked and even spat at. This happens on a daily basis. Workers are frustrated and hear the same excuses. They are blamed and receive abuse from service users. Then we were asked, "How did you deal with the situation?" "What could you have done differently?" I myself was attacked on a night shift by a service user after taking my eye off them for a split second to remove their slippers. In this attack, my hair was pulled from my scalp. While my head was still bleeding and I was in a lot of pain, I still tried calming the service user down. Before I could go to hospital, I had to finish my 12-hour night shift. Imagine the pain I was in. My manager said, "It's part of their dementia", quoting "You know what the job entails". Most service users with dementia don't have full mental capacity. After my hospital visit, I had to have four days at home to use a special treatment on my scalp, hoping it would mend the hair follicles. At the time I was a single parent. I had to ask for time off but only with statutory sick pay. I had to request four days emergency annual leave — four days! — and my hair has never grown back as my hair follicles were damaged through severe trauma. I felt really let down, and passionately so, by the company I worked for. I give my support and empathy to all of the service users. Where is our protection as workers? Everything is already in place for all the service users. Let me say that I am not blaming them as they don't understand due to their

illnesses. Managers and HR need to show some empathy, some compassion and some support because there is none, none at all.

I am calling upon GMB to provide our members with the vital protection they need. Safeguard our staff like we safeguard the vulnerable people we care for every day. I go to work every day to provide a safe service, so why should we tolerate abuse? Please, GMB, we work long hours on low pay, and in return we get relentless daily abuse. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I call the seconder.

SIS. J. SEAR (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I am a first-time delegate and a first-time speaker. I am speaking in support of composite 5. Abuse in the workplace can take many forms, from physical attacks to verbal abuse. More needs to be done to combat this behaviour by ensuring that staff have appropriate training and awareness of situations before they escalate. We support this motion, but we believe that employers need to do more than just deal with attacks from customers/clients. Being a good employer does not only mean supporting employees at work but also offering support during difficult periods. For some the workplace is a safe haven away from abuse that they are facing at home. I can tell you that 75% of domestic abuse victims will be targeted at work.

People experiencing domestic abuse are often subject to disciplinary action. GMB has already launched model workplace agreements for policies in the workplace, which demonstrate that the employer provides a safe haven for its employees, but also shows a commitment that domestic abuse is not tolerated in or out of the workplace. We ask that you support the motion for these policies to be made mandatory in all workplaces. Everyone has the right to a life without fear, whether that be at work or at home. So, Congress, I support these motions wholeheartedly and ask you to do the same. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Julia. I call the mover of composite 6.

CUTS TO DOMESTIC ABUSE SUPPORT SERVICES COMPOSITE 6

C6. Covering Motions:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| 94. | DOMESTIC ABUSE | London Region |
| 95. | CUTS TO DOMESTIC ABUSE SUPPORT SERVICES | London Region |

CUTS TO DOMESTIC ABUSE SUPPORT SERVICES

This Congress says that specialist and dedicated domestic abuse services which save lives, are suffering and bearing the brunt of this government's cuts.

For many women, refuges are the only option that or the streets, however despite the essential need for these services the Tory Government once again chose to take advantage of the most vulnerable in society, slashing funding available. Refuges are often full to capacity, having turned dozens of women away.

Women's Aid highlight 92 women and their 75 children were turned away from the refuge services responding to their annual survey on just one day in 2015 because they could not be accommodated (data provided by 129 refuges).

We call upon Congress to:-

- 1) Increase the awareness of the continued cuts to domestic abuse support services and the impact this has.
- 2) Challenge the continued cuts to domestic abuse support services.
- 3) Encourage regions to engage with local domestic abuse services to increase awareness of the issues they face and the support GMB can provide through networking. We believe that in line with existing GMB policy, we support organisations active against abuse and resolve that the Union will affiliate to Sisters Uncut and circulate regions and branches about their work and activities.
- 4) Lobby Government and MPs to address this issue.

(Carried)

SIS. T. CHANA (London): Congress, I move composite 6. Vice President and Congress, having worked in the violence-against-women sector for the last 20 years, we have seen a decline in the availability of life-saving specialist services. More than ever before, the one-chance-rule is the difference between life and death. As professionals, we only have one chance to help, support, advise and free women and girls from violence. This task is made much more difficult every day with the decline in specialist support services. This Conservative Government, Congress, has shown a hatred towards women and non-binary people with their cuts hitting women of colour and disabled women the hardest.

Since 2010 welfare cuts have cost women £79 billion as opposed to the £39 billion it has costs men. This means, Congress, that 85% of welfare cuts are falling on the shoulders of women. Thirty-four refuges have closed under the Conservative Government. In 2016 two-thirds of survivors were turned away from refuges. In 2014 child poverty rose by 200,000. In 2016 the Conservative Government gave a quarter-of-a-million pounds from the Tampon tax to an anti-abortion charity, despite young girls missing school because they cannot afford a sanitary product.

With tax credits tapped at two children, survivors will now have to prove that they have been raped to receive tax credits for a third child. Congress, it is unacceptable that specialist life-saving services are being cut through the austerity when the rate of domestic violence is surging. Two women a week are killed. Please support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Taranjit. I call the seconder. *(The motion was formally seconded from the floor)* Thank you. I call motion 370.

**NATIONAL EQUALITIES CONFERENCE
INEQUALITIES OF WORKING DOGS AND VAT
MOTION 370**

370. INEQUALITIES OF WORKING DOGS AND VAT

This Conference notes that Working Dogs, such as Racing Greyhounds, Sheep Dogs and Gun Dogs, the owners of which, do not have to pay VAT, on their dogs food. However, those owners who have Guide Dogs, Guide Dogs for the Blind and other dogs for the disabled, have to pay VAT. These dogs are essential for normal day to day living, for those affected by blindness, deafness and other disabilities. These “type” of dogs, regardless of breed, are working dogs.

At this time, Guide Dogs for the Blind, have a campaign, to lobby the Government, to make them aware and understand, that these type of dogs ARE working dogs. Guide Dogs for the Blind is a non profit making association and receive no subsidies from the Government.

Conference calls on GMB to:

- Campaign for equality for these types of dog owners, not to pay VAT for food.
- Lobby all MSP's/MP's, to have the legislation changed, to allow VAT free food for ALL working dogs.

NATIONAL EQUALITIES CONFERENCE

(Carried)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Could the speaker come to the rostrum today, if possible?
(Calls of “Ooooooh”)

SIS. A. DRYLIE (GMB Scotland): I move motion 370 on behalf of the National Equalities Conference. Congress, many disabled people rely on their guide dogs to help them get around and to live their lives fully. Guide dogs, hearing dogs and other accessibility dogs are a constant companion for many of our disabled members. GMB Scotland, in particular, has our own colleague, Yoko, with us in our delegation to help and assist their own Pat Duffy. Pat had intended to move this motion this afternoon. He would have told you about how much he relies on Yoko, but also about some of the challenges he faces in providing a home for his guide dog. Unfortunately, Vice President, Yoko has been feeling ill today and has taken part in a trip of her own to the vet.

Congress, when it comes to working dog, those who are in need of an accessibility dog are at a disadvantage compared with owners of gun dogs, sheep dogs and even racing greyhounds. Food for all of those dogs is VAT exempt. The purpose of the motion is to commit GMB to backing the Guide Dogs for the Blind campaign to achieve the same VAT-free status.

Disabled people face a double-whammy with their own benefits having been frozen or cut and an increasing stress associated with benefit assessments and even sanctions. At the same time, users of accessibility dogs face rising prices to feed their companions. Imagine being reliant on a dog simply to get about or to carry out normal daily chores, without having to worry about whether you have enough money to properly look after it. This simply cannot be right.

Congress, please back this motion and agree that GMB gets behind this campaign. We ask our national union to lobby our politicians and win a change in the law. Help us ensure that accessibility dogs are treated the same as working dogs, which there is no doubt that they are. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Annette. Is there a seconder?

SIS. A. LEADER (Wales & South West): Congress, I second motion 370. Chair and delegates, this motion is calling for the GMB to campaign for equality, equality for the owners of assistance dogs with the owners of other working dogs. It is way past time that guide dogs, hearing dogs for the deaf and other assistant dogs were recognised as working dogs. These dogs work every day to bring life-changing independence and help to people with severe disabilities. Any dog owner who chooses to buy food designated as being for working dogs pays no VAT, irrespective of whether they own a working dog or not. Unfortunately, as a high-protein food, these are totally unsuitable for guide dogs, etc. Guide Dogs for the Blind not only breed and train guide dogs — a two-year process — but they continue to support owners who find it difficult to pay for food, vet bills and so on. As a registered charity which receives no government subsidies, not having to pay VAT would save them £500. We need to lobby all MPs and MSPs to get the Government to recognise that all assistance dogs are working dogs and to allow their owners to buy whatever food is suitable for their dogs without paying VAT. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on David Hope from the North West & Irish Region to speak on the CEC Report.

BRO. D. HOPE (CEC, Public Services): Vice President and Congress, I speak on behalf of the CEC responding to motions 82, 84, 88, 89, composites 5 and 6, and motion 370. I will try to be as brief as I can and take them in order.

Motion 82 is on community cohesion. We support this motion with a qualification, which is that best practice and successful campaigns should include the broadest link with community-based organisations. Where appropriate, these should include faith groups. However, this should be dependent on the subject of the campaigning and that the organisations do not contradict or oppose GMB aims, values and policy.

On motion 84, again, we support this motion with a qualification, which is that the terminology in equality matters has evolved and changed to take account of external developments. However, there are cost implications for changes to the membership and other forms. We could work with regions to develop a project to look at the best practice.

On motion 88, the GMB recognises that the nature of some practices can be discriminatory, and we appreciate the intention of the motion. However, the language used is a little inappropriate. We, therefore, seek referral of this motion as the central proposal of providing Unisex toilets should be subject to a further consultation and review on flexibility and cost implications.

We support motion 89 with a qualification because access for disabled people remains central for the GMB's Equality Through Inclusion Strategy. We will continue to

work on recognising disability discrimination in all walks of life whilst campaigning on specific issues impacting on disabled people. The qualification is that the request for all regions to adhere to a minimum standard for disabled access should be processed through the Senior Management Team, which will be able to consider compliance to the standard set under BS8300.

We support composite 5 with a qualification. A number of motions raised awareness of violence and abuse at work, which have previously been passed by Congress. These motions have tended to be sector specific. Our campaign focuses on high-risk occupations, such as security, the NHS and education. Given the adversity measures, we are likely to see a further increase in abuse at work so our co-ordinated campaign to organise working is timely. The qualification is that we cannot be constrained into just a zero-tolerance to campaigning. Zero tolerance is only mindful if we can actually enforce it, and in most workplaces we cannot easily do that. We can demand that action is taken, but we need to have the widest possible range of approaches and we should not be limited to a single method.

Furthermore, the call for a charter should not be too onerous and would allow a specific route for campaigning our organising activity.

On composite 6, we are recommending support with a qualification, which is that GMB opposes all forms of domestic violence. In fact, a model agreement on domestic violence abuse was launched at this year's National Equality Forum 2017. It is available on the GMB national website.

We have contacted all those who came to the conference to give us progress reports on regional activities in this area, and will continue to raise awareness of issues and the impacts of cuts to this service. However, the qualification is that the call for affiliation to Sisters Uncut should be referred to the CEC Finance & General Purposes Committee to ensure that they are in line with the aims and value of the GMB.

Finally, on motion 370, from our Congress, we are recommending support with a qualification. The Guide Dogs for the Blind Association confirms that their dogs are classified as working dogs, as are other assisted dogs. We have been advised that in order to qualify for VAT exemption there would need to be specific food manufactured just for these dogs, as the cost of developing such specialist products would ultimately be higher than the rate paid for the food purchased for dogs. Therefore, as it currently stands, organisations are paying the best total price available for the products that are appropriate for their dogs. However, there continues to be extensive dialogue with HMRC around the ways to address the VAT cost for dogs.

The motion also calls for the GMB to campaign on this issue, but the campaign mentioned has not been used for seven years. Also we have been advised that Guide Dogs for the Blind would not be looking to campaign on this issue as they are now speaking to HMRC themselves. Therefore, whilst we fully support equality for all dogs and support the good work done by charitable organisations, there are limitations to what the GMB can do on this issue.

To recap, please support motions 82, 84 and 89, composites 5 and 6 and motion 370, with the qualifications that I have outlined, and agree to refer motion 88. Thank you, Congress. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Before I go to the vote, let me ask Jan if she will come to the rostrum, please. Does Birmingham accept the qualification on motion 82 and composite 5? *(Agreed)* Does Southern accept the qualification on motion 84? *(Agreed)* Does Southern accept the reference on motion 88? *(Agreed)* Does London accept the qualification on composite 6 and motion 89? *(Agreed)* Does the mover of motion 370 accept the qualification on behalf of the National Equalities Conference? *(Agreed)*

SIS. A. LEADER (Wales & South West): Just to say, Vice President, we accept the qualification with the caveat that the whole purpose of the motion was to make the difference between what working dogs are fed and what a guide dog is fed. You can't feed a guide dog on what working dogs get because they have high-protein foods. In that case, they would be running about at 100 miles an hour, and that is not suitable for a guide dog.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Ann. Does Congress accept the qualification? *(Agreed)* I now call for the vote on motions 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 90, 91, composites 5 and 6 and motion 370. All those in favour, please show? Any against? They are carried.

Motion 82 was CARRIED.

Motion 83 was CARRIED.

Motion 84 was CARRIED.

Motion 86 was CARRIED.

Motion 87 was CARRIED.

Motion 88 was REFERRED.

Motion 89 was CARRIED.

Motion 90 was CARRIED.

Motion 91 was CARRIED.

RETIRED MEMBERS ASSOCIATION

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Jan Smith, the National Secretary of the Retired Members Association, to address Congress. Thank you, Jan.

SIS. J. SMITH (Retired Members Association): Congress, Vice President, before I start, Malcolm, I see that Tim has run away. Has he turned the heat off to pay for the extra money for the collections that he has been making. If you look around the hall, people are beginning to wrap up. So could something be done, please? Right, I've got that out of the way. I see he has come back. He's put a shilling in the meter.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: He's been to put a coat on, Jan. *(Laughter)*

SIS. SMITH: Congress, since my report last year, we have gone from strength to strength and, sadly, we have received some bad news and we have had some good achievements. I will go into the sad news first. It has been mentioned already in

Congress on the opening day. We lost Steve Pickering. Can I say that, at our Congress last year, we extended our sincere condolences to his wife and his family. Steve was a stalwart of the RMA. He has been there from the beginning and he always supported us. Steve we wish you to rest in peace and thank you for all that you did for us. *(Applause)*

Secondly, you will notice that there is one lady not at Congress this year, and that is Monica Smith. Sadly, for some reason, she is no longer a member of our committee. I will not go into details of that because it would be remiss of me to do so. Monica has booked a holiday to cover for the days that we are at Congress. Monica, I hope you are having a good time away, but I can say we thank you for all that you did for us and the inspiration that you have given to the RMA over the years in which you have played a full part. You were there right from the beginning. What I can say from our last meeting — and it comes from myself — is, Monica, we are going to make you our Honorary President. *(Applause)*

I understand that Liz Blackman is in hospital. Liz, we send you our very best wishes and get well soon. Also within our sadness is Angela Murphy, who used to go and sit in the NEF meetings. She was endorsed by our previous co-ordinator, and she used to give us a full report on what was happening within the NEF. Monica, again, thank you for those full reports that you gave us. They were inspirational. You moved things forward and we know that you also took things back from ourselves. Once again, thank you.

Going on to the better part, last year our conference was held at Wortley Hall in Sheffield. It was a good conference, and it has been said that it was one of the best conferences we have had for years. We had speakers — Kiera Greenaway — from the National Pensions Office, and also Tim, our General Secretary came along and addressed us. Thank you, Kiera, and thank you, Tim, for the excellent addresses that you gave.

Let me inform Congress that there will be a conference again this year, but it is going to be in Manchester. The invitations have already been sent out to Kiera to come back, because he gave us some wonderful information on pensions and what is happening. He also told us what Brexit will mean to pensioners. Tim has also been invited along with Mary, our President, who we hope will be able to attend. I want to tell you that Kiera and Tim have accepted those invitations.

Finally, can I say thank you to all the regions which responded to my letter asking if you could bring a raffle prize to our stall. To those of you who responded, thank you very much. I can tell you — this is what I have been told — that the raffle amounted to £896.80p. So thank you all who bought a ticket to make us reach that sum. *(Applause)* Perhaps, and I say this tongue in cheek, Tim might endorse that as well. *(Cheers)*

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: It's just gone in the meter to put the heating up. *(Laughter)*

SIS. SMITH: Finally, there are two last persons I would like to thank. The RMA is mentioned in the equalities document. I will promise the RMA that, as long as I

have got breath in my body, we will eventually get on the CEC. It is no good keep using the same old arguments of “You’ve got members on the regional councils” and “You’ve got members sitting on the CEC”. We want a place in our own right.

Let me thank Warren Kenny, from London Region, who has got full commitment to the RMA, and London Region has recently made a video on the forthcoming election in trying to promote getting the return of a Labour government. If you haven’t seen that video, go on the GMB website where you will find it. Thank you, Congress. I look forward to seeing everybody at this year’s RMA conference, which I have mentioned. It will be on 18th and 19th October in Manchester. Let me say that all resolutions and motions must be sent into myself by 1st August along with names of your delegates, your visitors and, hopefully, your co-ordinators. Any late information will not be accepted. I commend this report to you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jan. Colleagues, before we move into the Finance Debate, I have a couple of announcements to make. The RMA’s raffle has been drawn, and could delegates check at the stall to see if they have won or not. The York Disabled Workers Co-operative have a small number of Mary Turner badges left. They also have GMB Women’s badges, bird boxes and bat boxes, if you anyone wants to go there and buy anything.

Could I also welcome Anna Matveeva from our external auditors, who is in the hall today. Welcome, Anna. (*Applause*)

FINANCE DEBATE

THE VICE PRESIDENT: We will now go into the Finance Debate. I call on rule amendments 388, London and 389, London. Rule amendment 390 has been withdrawn by London, and I thank them for that. Also I call rule amendment 400.

RULE AMENDMENT 388

RULE 35.7 Branches

Rule 35 Branches

7 All branch officers, and the branch committee, will be elected at the last meeting in June every four years. Nominations can be made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting, and should be displayed clearly in the meeting room. If no nominations (or not enough nominations) are made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting, nominations can be made at the general meeting. However, if enough nominations have been made, nominations for that particular office will not be accepted at the general meeting.

RA388

Rule No. 35 Title: Branches
Clause 7

Words to be amended or deleted:

All branch officers and the branch committee will be elected at the last meeting in June every four years. Nominations can be made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting, and should be displayed clearly in the meeting room. If no nominations (or not enough nominations) are made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting, nominations can be made at the general meeting. However, if enough nominations have been made, nominations for that particular office will not be accepted at the general meeting.

Amend:

All branch officers and the branch committee will be elected at the last meeting in June every four years. Nominations can either be made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting, or by post if the branch so decides, and should be displayed clearly in the meeting room, branch noticeboards and branch website if applicable. If no nominations (or not enough nominations) are made at any of the three meeting nights before the general meeting or by post if applicable, nominations can be made at the general meeting. However, if enough nominations have been made, nominations for that particular office will not be accepted at the general meeting.

REDBRIDGE BRANCH
London Region

(Lost)

RULE AMENDMENT 389
RULE 35.8 Branches

Rule 35 Branches

8 Voting will be by a show of hands or a ballot by those members taking part in the general meeting.

RA389

Rule No. 35 Title: Branches
Clause 8

Words to be deleted:

8. Voting will be by a show of hands or a ballot by those members taking part in the general meeting.

Amend:

8. Voting will be by either a show of hands or a secret ballot by those members taking part in the general meeting or if the branch decides by a postal ballot.

REDBRIDGE BRANCH
London Region

(Lost)

BRO. J. COLES (London): Congress, I am going to move rule amendments 388 and 389 together. The reasoning is the same behind them and one is a consequential amendment of the other. This is to allow branches to hold their elections by all-member ballot, which means amending rules 35.7 and 35.8.

I am moving these motions without the support of my region. Hopefully, that might a few issues with upcoming elections and our election for our new branch secretary went to a ballot after a decision from our regional committee. The reasoning was to make sure that all members had a chance to participate in the democratic process of our branch. This did have the effect of increasing our turnout to over 200. It allowed the decision to be made by what we stood for and not how many people we could personally get to the branch meeting. The election was not a success for me because I was not elected. H, I was asked to carry on as a full-time convenor.

Our branch secretary works in a school and they were not prepared to release her. However, when I say “work”, I mean work because Madeline does not take no for an answer, and she secured secondment as a full-time schools’ convenor. All our activists feel that the elections were a success and vital for ensuring that our branch members could be involved in the process. We have close to two thousand members, a lot in schools, many are female and work part-time and many have caring responsibilities. We have our branch meetings after school at 5 p.m. but that time is not easy for members to attend. Therefore, as the members of our branch feel that this is the way we would like to elect our branch officials, they why shouldn’t we?

The rule change allows the branches to democratically choose the method of holding elections. It does not take much to organise. A branch meeting can soon become a husting and, maybe, one extra to announce the result if there is a contest election. I was assuming that the objection might be the cost, but it is not expensive cost. It is just the cost of an additional branch mailing, and that could be reimbursed by the branches that the region decides on. At least, then we would have the democratic choice to ensure that our branch members can be involved in the process. So, please, vote for these motions and allow our branches the option of ensuring a wider turnout and more informed decision-making for their branch officers. By holding postal elections, there should, indeed, be contested elections. Unfortunately, a lot of branches do not get huge turnouts for a variety of sound reasons, so let us not disadvantage our members. Let us ensure that all our members can get to vote. Thank you.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jonathan. Are rule amendments 388 and 389 formally seconded? No.

BRO. S. JONES (London): Good afternoon, President and Conference. I am here to second this motion. As Jonathan said a few moments ago, it is not being supported by our region. However, one thing I would like to point out is that nowadays we have a lot of postal ballots that go out. We have a general election on Thursday, a lot of people will be voting by post and will have already voted. If it is good enough for a general election and it is good enough for council elections, European elections and referendums, surely, it is not beyond the world of possibilities that it is good enough for the GMB as well.

As Jonathan mentioned earlier, we did try this out in our branch and it was very successful. We have over two thousand members and we had close on two hundred votes in the postal ballot, as opposed to about 10 people turning up normally for other branch elections. So it is a lot more democratic. I know from experience, from previous elections that we have had in our branch, that when we had a branch election

for either the president or whoever, people have come up to me afterwards and said, “Why did we not get a postal ballot, because we were not able to come to vote on the day?” I could go on, but please support this motion. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Stephen. We now come to rule amendment 400.

RULE AMENDMENT 400

RULE 53.1

FUNERAL BENEFIT

Rule 53 Funeral benefit

1 If a full financial member, who has been a continuous member for 5 years dies, the regional secretary will, having been given a copy of the death certificate, pay the widow, widower, member of the family or nominated person a funeral grant of £350. (This person will need to show that they are responsible for paying funeral expenses.)

RA400

Rule No. 53 Title: Funeral benefit

Clause 1, Lines 1, 2

Words to be amended or deleted:

“5 years”

Clause 1 If a full financial member, who has been a continuous member for **5 years** dies, the regional secretary will, having been given a copy of the death certificate, pay the widow, widower, member of the family or nominated person a funeral grant of £350. (This person will need to show that they are responsible for paying funeral expenses.)

Nature of Amendment:

“1 year”

Precise words (if any) to be inserted:

Clause 1 If a full financial member, who has been a continuous member for **1 year** dies, the regional secretary will, having been given a copy of the death certificate, pay the widow, widower, member of the family or nominated person a funeral grant of £350. (This person will need to show that they are responsible for paying funeral expenses.)

B10 BANBURY NO1 BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Lost)

SIS. I. TURNBULL (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, I am speaking to a change to rule 53.1 regarding the funeral benefit. I am a first-time delegate and a

first-time speaker. (*Applause*) The present rule grants £350 to the estate of a deceased member who pays the funeral benefit. Firstly, if we leave rule 53.1 as it is could potentially have this result. If a young member who, unfortunately, died at 20, could never, ever have the benefit paid to help the family of the deceased. Secondly, payment should be after a year of joining, not five years.

As a selling point for recruitment, it is hardly a prime mover for the union to pay out £350 only to the deceased's family. At a time when the deceased's members family is at its wits end, it is never a great time to say, "Oh, I am sorry, you have not been a member for more than five years, so you don't qualify". This is unfair and discriminatory against young and new members. We are a proud union, and famed for looking after our membership. We should treat every member equally. Standing proud in remembering our deceased members at the opening of the Congress made me feel slightly uneasy in thinking how many of them did not qualify for the benefit. I move, equally, from the first year. We must fight to change this injustice and support this motion. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I call the seconder.

BRO. S. ROBERTSON (Birmingham & West Midlands): Brothers, Sisters and comrades, I second rule amendment 400, moved by the Birmingham & West Midlands Region. I am sure we all agree that it is absolutely brilliant to see so many young and new members represented amongst us here in our 100th Congress. But young members must remember to try their best not to die unless you have been a member for five years, because under the present antiquated rule 53, the CEC think that you are not good enough and not entitled to a meagre £350 funeral grant. That is not fair. It is not just. It is discriminatory and it is uninclusive. It is also embarrassing. It is embarrassing to have to tell the family or a loved one of a deceased member, "Sorry, your loved one was just not good enough because they had only been three or four years in the union, so they did not qualify for the funeral grant". I have had to do that four times now, and it is embarrassing. All right, they go to the branch and the branch gives them a hardship grant, but it is just wrong. I ask you, the GMB members, to support this rule amendment because it is outdated and embarrassing. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Stephen. I call motions 24 and 164.

**UNION ORGANISATION: FINANCE & CONTRIBUTIONS
BRANCH PLAN/FUNDING AND ACCOUNTING 2011
MOTION 24**

24. BRANCH PLAN/FUNDING AND ACCOUNTING 2011

This Congress says in 2007 it agreed to changes in GMB's Branch funding which became effective in 2011. Part of the changes including producing a branch plan of its forthcoming activities.

Congress says since 2011 there have been many more changes within the GMB making the wording of the plans wording not fit for purpose.

Congress calls for an overview of the plan's wording and be reproduced.

EAST DEREHAM BRANCH
London Region

(Lost)

SIS. J. SMITH (London): Congress, I move motion 24. This motion is asking about the branch accounting plan. What we are asking for is that the plan be reworded so it is fit for purpose. The plan, when it was first introduced, was passed at Congress so that all branches submitted a plan to explain how each branch was going to organise and promote its branch within the following year, it also incorporated, to do this, getting an honorarium.

If you go through the wording of the plans that we have at the moment — this was discussed at the beginning of the year as well at a meeting that I attended with one or two other branch secretaries, with Lisa Johnson — we agreed that this plan, as it is laid out at the moment is not fit for purpose. You only have to look at it and state what you are going to do in your workplace. If you are a branch with multiple workplaces, you have then got to select one workplace, and is it right that you are promoting one workplace more against the other. The plan should be what you are going to do as a whole within your branch, not as a workplace. I move that this plan be reworded to accommodate what it is meant to be. I now they are going to ask you to oppose it, but, please, support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Is there a seconder?

BRO. D. RIGBY (London): Congress, I second motion 24: Branch Plan/Funding And Accounting 2011. Congress the new way in which branches produce their plans must be looked at again. My branch is a small branch. However, 99% of what the plan states, we do. We have regular meetings and we support GMB values. However, getting members to fill positions like a political officer or even a youth officer is very hard. If you have to stick religiously to the plan, it might mean that we submit the plan and it gets rejected, meaning that the branch may not get their commission. I ask you to support this motion. Thank you.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I call motion 164.

INDUSTRIAL & ECONOMIC POLICY: Commercial Services

DRIVER BENEVOLENT SCHEME MOTION 164

164. DRIVER BENEVOLENT SCHEME

This Congress is aware of the need to introduce a national scheme to replace the existing benevolent scheme which is not operating in all regions. This will benefit the entire driver membership rather than a few.

GMB PROFESSIONAL DRIVERS BRANCH
London Region

(Referred)

BRO. S. GARELICK (London): Some regions have beneficial funds which members pay into to provide legal and financial protection where issues occur in relation to motoring offences. These funds are paid into by members and provide protection in the case of offences in connection with the Road Traffic Act. Contributing members

are entitled to free motoring legal advice and where in the opinion of the regional secretary it is desirable a member needs representation in court, then such a defence is provided. If a member of the Drivers' Benevolent Scheme is found guilty of an offence and is fined, a grant will be made by the union from the funds held. Having a union that is not united in offering such a valuable and beneficial facility to members in all regions seems wrong. This inequity does not speak to the value of being a union and shows the divisiveness that one would not expect. Not only is such a fund a benefit that adds value to the union's offering to members, but it could be a further reason to increase membership nationally by showing how far we will go for those who wish to contribute. However, having a fragmented situation as we have now, we are a union of haves and have-nots, and this should not be regionalised. We request the union to create one single scheme for all rather than a scheme for a few. Whilst membership of such a scheme is not mandatory, in the growing world of litigious police and insurers such a national scheme is not only pragmatic for all but also of great value for all. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Seconder? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Margi Clarke from Birmingham Region to speak on behalf of the CEC. Margi?

SIS. M. CLARKE (CEC): Replying to Rule Amendments 388, 389, 390, and 400, and to Motions 24 and 164.

RA388 AND RA389 seek changes to branch electoral procedures. One proposes nominations by post and the other seeks to give the branch authority to hold postal ballots. Colleagues, neither of these ideas was proposed by the branch working party which looks at all aspects of branch life. There is no evidence that the nomination process is not working and postal nominations would discourage attendance at branch meetings. Regional committees have the authority to call for a postal ballot for branch elections but to expand this for anything other than special circumstances would be expensive and again discourage attendance. We ask you to oppose RA388 and withdraw RA389.

RA390 on branch equality officers would enshrine in the rule detailed requirements on how this officer carries out their task. The CEC thinks the existing rule adequately covers the role and the responsibilities of the equality officer. How they deliver these responsibilities should be left to the branch and the region. We are therefore seeking withdrawal of RA390.

RA400 would change the rule for funeral benefit and reduce the qualifying membership period from five years to one year. Colleagues, this is a benefit aimed at long service members, the majority of whom are retired life members who are excused from all contributions. In recent years Congress has agreed on regular increases to the amount of funeral benefit to the point where the benefit cost £443,000 in 2016, an increase of 14% on the previous year. The CEC is not proposing an increase this year but we will keep it under review as budgets allow. We strongly

believe that this should continue to be a benefit aimed at longstanding members and we would ask you to oppose RA400.

Motion 24 asks for an update to the branch development plan. The motion implies that the plan has not been updated since 2007 or 2011. In fact, this is incorrect. The plans were reviewed in the branch working party special report, GMB Branches: A Future that Works, which was agreed by Congress 2014 and that report included an update pamphlet for branch plans. The main requirements are now built into the Rule Book at rule 35.1. The CEC asks for withdrawal of Motion 24.

Motion 164 asks for a national driver's benevolent scheme to replace the Drivers' Funds which are maintained in a number of regions. The CEC is asking you to refer this motion to see if a national scheme is desirable and, if so, how we will avoid losing some of the unique features of existing regional schemes.

To recap, Congress, please oppose RA388 and RA400, we are asking for withdrawal of RA389, RA390, and Motion 24, and we ask you to refer Motion 164. Thank you, colleagues. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Margi. Does London Region wish to withdraw RA389 and Motion 24? (*Right of reply*) Yes, you certainly have.

BRO. J. COLES (London): We did clarify that we said it will be the branch choice and at their own cost as to whether they wanted to hold ballots for their officials. We pointed out that attendance is already poor so it would not actually discourage any more attendance. People have difficulty to attend so I do not see why there is still the objection. The CEC is still unsure on this and wants to have a look at this so why not ask us to refer it?

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Does London Region wish to withdraw RA389 and Motion 24? No? Right, thank you. Sorry?

SIS. J. SMITH (London): Replying on Motion 24. Congress, the dates or the years that I quoted are the dates and years from when this all first started. The form that we have to fill in now has not been updated. It is the same form from when it was endorsed by regional committees that this form has to be completed. If you go through it some of the questions are repetitive and I go back and say, as I did before, it is not fit for purpose. It was agreed with one of our London officers. My region is fully behind me on this so please support. We will not withdraw that resolution.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jan. Does London accept reference on Motion 164? (*Agreed*) Thank you. I will now go to the vote and take them all individually. The first one is RA388, the CEC is asking you to oppose this rule. All those in favour please show. Those against? That is lost.

RA388 was LOST.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Now I will take RA390, and again the CEC is asking you to oppose this Rule Amendment. All those in favour please show. (*Calls from floor*) Sorry, no, RA389 has been withdrawn, if you were listening earlier on. Sorry, I have

crossed the wrong one out. I do apologise for that. Sorry, RA389. You are asked to oppose. All those in favour please show. All those against? That falls.

RA389 was LOST.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Rule Amendment 400 once again they are asking you to oppose this. All those in favour please show. All those against? That falls.

RA400 was LOST.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 24, once again they are asking you to oppose this. All those in favour please show. Those against? That is lost. Thank you very much indeed for that.

Motion 24 was LOST.

RULE AMENDMENTS

THE VICE PRESIDENT: We will now move on to RA398, Birmingham, RA399, Birmingham, and I do believe that RA386 has been withdrawn. That is Southern. Is that correct? Right, thank you very much. Can RA398 and RA399 come to the front, please, and the speaker to RA398 to the rostrum.

STRIKE BENEFIT

RA398

Rule 49 Strike benefit

1 If members stop working unconstitutionally, no benefit can be paid without the approval of the Central Executive Council. If members stop working as a result of a strike approved by the Central Executive Council in line with these rules, every full financial member who stopped working will receive £10 a day for 10 weeks (the limit being £50 a week). In any dispute, the Central Executive Council may increase these rates by any amount, at any time, and for as long as it feels is appropriate.

RA398

Rule No. 49 Title: strike benefit

Clause 1, Line 5

Words to be amended:

£10 a day

£50 a week

Insert:

£30 a day

£150 a week

(Carried)

SIS. J. INGLEBY (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President, Congress, we pride ourselves to maintain and improve wages and conditions for our members but, unfortunately, sometimes it is necessary for our members to take part in strike action. The decision to remove their labour is never an easy one and we have seen in recent years the number of disputes has decreased. Many employees know our rules and this gives them confidence but can see our members off because we offer such a low strike benefit. We need to support our members through these difficult times without having to ask for donations from branches. An increase to £30 a day will show our members that we understand the hardship they face when they are forced to take industrial action. The CEC were asking you to oppose but have now seen the need to support because I am confident Congress would have overturned the decision. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: The mover of RA399, please.

**STRIKE BENEFIT
RA399**

RA399

Rule No. 49 Title: strike benefit
Clause 1, Line 6, 7

Words to be deleted:

- 6. £10 a day
- 7. £50 a week

Insert:

- 6. £30 a day
- 7. £150 a week

(Carried)

BRO. P. JACKSON (Birmingham & West Midlands): Congress, changing a rule, especially one that could cost the GMB money, is never going to be very popular with either the CEC or the Management Committee, yet at the heart of our own ethics is our spirit of solidarity amongst the workers in their plight for what is right. The rare times when workers have to go on strike, and it is rare nowadays, are scary times, scary and costly. Scary because of the fear factor from the management on their

striking workers and costly because without a strike fund no one can afford to go on strike, apart from the odd occasion to disrupt and force more negotiation. The thought of losing wages can be the dividing factor between voting for a strike and potentially winning the issue, or action short of strike action which is rarely as effective. All too often the phase of action up to and including strike action puts the fear of god into some of our members. Unfortunately, there are times when the only alternative is strike when every other form of discussion has broken down and a democratic ballot divided. This is not to show our strength, it is the utmost in principle and importance. Support from our trade union, the GMB, is hardly the clincher at £10 a day, or £50 a week. My proposal is to raise the figure of £30 a day and £150 a week. It is a figure of support and it is a figure of reasonability. It is also a figure that unscrupulous bosses could be scared of. I also think that in the long term it is a figure that will save the GMB money because of the threat to strike action will cause the bosses a severe headache enough to think again and come back to the table. Congress, this rule is in today's earnings outdated, especially in the light of fellow trade unions' support mechanism for strike, and should be changed. Please support £30 a day as a responsible figure. I move. *(Applause)*

UNION ORGANISATION: FINANCE & CONTRIBUTIONS

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Colleagues, the General Secretary will outline the CEC position on those motions when he addresses Congress. We will now move on to Motion 26, London, 28, Midland, 23, London, 25, London, and Composite 1, Wales & South West to move and North West & Irish to second. Please come to the front and the mover of 26 to the rostrum.

MILEAGE RATES – LAY MEMBERS MOTION 26

26. MILEAGE RATES - LAY MEMBERS

This Congress agrees that as a responsible trade union the GMB encourages all employers to pay the national recommended rates for wages and other allowances or seeks to improve beyond the recommendations.

We would ask Congress to consider that many officials of its own organisation who are often lay members that provide time and representation often below the minimum wage for daily or half daily accompanying rep rates should be at least paid the HMRC rate of 45p per mile and not the current 35p per mile. We would ask Congress to consider a mileage rate rise in line with other mainstream employers.

We understand that budgets may have been set for the current year but we would ask for this increase to take effect for the next budgeting year.

CAMBRIDGE 2 BRANCH
London Region

(Referred)

BRO. K. ROBERTS (London): This motion is to ask the GMB to pay lay members the HMRC rate for mileage. The GMB already actually quote on a lot of their letters they pay the HMRC rates on subsistence so why not the mileage rates? It also makes negotiating with employers very difficult because when you go in there and say to

them, “We want HMRC rates,” and they come back and say, “Your own union does not even pay that, they pay 35p. Why should we actually negotiate with you to go to 45p a mile?” I know the CEC wants to refer this motion and I would like to ask the CEC to give Congress an indication on when a response will be likely. Please support this motion. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Secunder.

SIS. C. HOLLAND (London): I cannot believe we are still talking about this when people who are supporting the most vulnerable in the union are refusing to compensate the members by paying the proper rate for the job; after all, is that what the union is about? GMB, come on, pay the right rate for the job. I second. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 28, Midland.

REGISTER GMB WITH HMRC MOTION 28

28. REGISTER GMB WITH HMRC

This Congress is aware that our members on the lower pay bandings are having to use food banks to survive.

In the 21st century, is it right that our healthcare workers, cleaners and support service staff should be in that position?

We feel one way to assist our members on minimum wage is for GMB to do as our sister Unions and petition the HMRC to register GMB and provide tax relief on our subscriptions.

For the lower paid, the tax relief on subscriptions would be a massive help. Unison members receive 50% tax relief.

GMB EMAS BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

(Carried)

SIS. G. CHARLES (Midland & East Coast): First time delegate, first time speaker. (*Applause*) Congress, I am really pleased to be here this afternoon, really pleased to be here because I feel that I am amongst so many friends, pleased to be here because I am among so many likeminded people, and pleased to be here because I am presenting this motion for GMB to robustly petition HMRC to register GMB for tax relief on subscriptions. Congress, we are aware that members on low pay bandings have to use food banks to survive. To me, this country should hang its head in shame. In the 21st century, is it right for our health and social care workers, cleaners, and support staff, who work hard every day, to be in that position? We feel that one way to assist our members on low wages is for GMB to robustly petition HMRC to register GMB, thus providing tax relief on members’ subscriptions and rightly putting money back into our members’ pay packets. It is imperative that GMB ensures that our members are treated no less favourably than our sister unions. I know it is a swear word but Unison have already got this. We need to get it for our members. The latest Trussell Trust figures show a 2% increase in food bank use. Over one

million three-day emergency food supplies were given to people in crisis, many of whom were working people and many of whom will be our members.

Congress, let me ask you, why in one of the world's richest societies in a country that prides itself in having welfare provision that is from the cradle to the grave do we still have to use food banks? While I understand that the GMB are currently petitioning and negotiating with HMRC I request that Congress calls on the CEC to do so more robustly. Registration will help ease the pressure on our members. Additionally, registration with HMRC would give the further opportunity for us to maximise recruitment being able to say that, more importantly, it will help us improve retention in the healthcare and public sectors.

In order to earn recognition for tax relief, HMRC state the activities of an organisation must be able to show that they are helping their members to do their job. Congress, GMB does this. It acts as a source of knowledge for many health and social care workers. It gives legal and negotiating expertise to our members. GMB should be able to remove any existing barriers preventing our members from receiving the tax relief and finally demonstrates that our great and proud union should be added to the list of eligible organisations. A fundamental role of trade unions is to improve its members' terms and conditions and all the GMB members may accept at times that this is not always possible. They do, however, expect ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Can you move the motion, please?

SIS. G. CHARLES (Midland & East Coast): Okay. This is going to be £6.50 ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No, just move the motion, please.

SIS. G. CHARLES (Midland & East Coast): I move for us to accept.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Secunder.

BRO. D. PYMM (Midland & East Coast): First time delegate, first time speaker. (*Applause*) In this 21st century society with extreme austerity, low pay, and ever increasing reliance on food banks, we call on Congress to petition HMRC to provide tax relief on subscriptions in line with our sister unions. We ask the next Labour government on Friday to expedite this tax relief and allow it to be paid to all our low paid colleagues. Congress, I second this motion. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Motion 23, London.

REGIONAL FINANCES & AUTONOMY MOTION 23

23. REGIONAL FINANCES & AUTONOMY

This Congress agrees to ensure that at all times regional finances and autonomy is preserved, maintained and enhanced. Therefore any proposed revision of regional funding and autonomy should at all times be subject to consultation and agreement with the Regional Committees, CEC and Congress.

This will ensure regions have an ability to make full contributions to any discussions and final recommendations.

BARKING BRANCH
London Region

(Referred)

BRO. G. DOWNEY (London): First time delegate, speaking for the second time. *(Applause)* Congress, Vice President, visitors, our region has been asked to refer this motion to the CEC so that it can be part of the current work of the SMT working party on union finances. The future financial strength of the union, the regions, and the branches, is vitally important and clearly on the basis of the principles contained within Motion 23 we are proud to assist with the work of the CEC and SMT working party. Congress, I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Secunder? Formally?

The motion was formally seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 25, the mover, please?

POLITICAL FUNDING

MOTION 25

25. POLITICAL FUNDING

This Congress calls on the CEC to increase the political fund allocations to the regions.

Conference instructs the CEC to at least double the amount on political funding to regions without increasing the contribution rates of members.

With the increase in elections and by-elections it's within our regions then we want our members to build the political organisation which now calls for more funding.

BARKING BRANCH
London Region

(Referred)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: That is 25. Thank you.

The motion was formally moved and seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Composite 1, Wales & South West to move?

REVIEW OF GMB CONTRIBUTION RATES

COMPOSITE 1

C1. Covering Motions:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------|
| 29. | GMB CONTRIBUTION RATES | Wales & South West Region |
| 30. | REVIEW OF CONTRIBUTION RATES | Wales & South West Region |
| 31. | FINANCE | North West & Irish Region |
| 32. | NO MORE THAN AN HOUR'S PAY (LOW/MINIMUM WAGE EARNERS) | Wales & |

REVIEW OF GMB CONTRIBUTION RATES

As a general Trade Union, we seek to recruit workers from all industries and backgrounds, but has some concerns that our contribution rates are not conducive to maximising our recruitment aims.

This Congress notes that the challenges of recruiting new members in an ever-changing economy, characterised by increased labour flexibility requirements, fragmentation and public sector budget reductions are greater than they have ever been. Many of our members have been adversely affected by the Government's austerity policies, and public sector pay restraint strategies have also impacted heavily upon disposable income levels. We are currently seeing increased prices in shops and petrol forecourts which will put more pressure on the household budgets. Because of this Government's attitude, cuts to public spending, unwillingness to listen there has been little or no increases to salary and in some cases an embargo on any rise. (In Northern Ireland we are still fighting for the 1% to be awarded to Nurses).

The majority of job creation within the UK has been in the service sector and are mainly low paid. We know the GMB has a great service record and a wide range of benefits to offer, but we are increasingly being put under pressure in recruiting members where there are other unions who are offering lower fees by way of a range of membership fees which are related to earnings.

In many areas of the Public Sector we are in direct competition with other unions who may offer an inferior service but whose subscription rates are cheaper than our own, particularly amongst those groups who are on short hours and low incomes.

In too many cases, contribution cost is the criteria by which workers decide which union, if any, to join

The rigid contribution structure that we apply in the GMB takes no direct account of member's earnings or their ability to pay, and is not necessarily conducive to effective recruitment in what is, in some sectors, a very competitive environment.

This Congress is concerned that our membership contributions are not as reasonable and flexible as some of our sister unions and many of our core membership workers can find cheaper union coverage with competitor unions. Therefore the two-tier membership is long overdue for review.

This Congress notes that an increased membership will offset any decrease in fees from low paid workers

Congress believes, that it is now an opportune time for the GMB to conduct a thorough critical review of its contribution structure with a view to ensuring that we are able to remain an attractive and viable source of membership to potential members and in order to ensure that it is able to recruit and retain the maximum number of members.

Congress agrees, therefore, the need to call upon the Central Executive Council and the CEC Finance Committee to conduct a review of our contribution structure and investigate the possibility of introducing additional tiers of membership levy that will more accurately reflect the low earnings that many employees with casual hours or limited working time earn.

Such a review of how membership fees are structured should not be restricted to existing grade types and levels, but should also extend to considering the appropriateness of introducing new rates (for example – a family membership rate) and the application of concessionary arrangements to reflect length of membership.

The CEC should then report back to Congress 2018 with their findings and associated recommendations

(Referred)

SIS. C. SIBLEY (Wales & South West): Congress will agree, I am sure, that the GMB's benefits and service package ranks among the best. We are all aware our contribution structure is based on the number of hours worked with certain concessionary rates applying for students, apprentices, those off sick, unemployed, or retired. There is also a promotional rate that can be applied with regional discretion in terms of application once agreed by Congress or the CEC. Many unions have salary based rates, the less you earn the less you pay. For example, in Unison, if you earn between £2,000 and £5,000 you pay £3.50 a month but if you earn less than £2,000 it falls to £1.30. We have become relatively more competitive once someone earns over £20,000 but the problem can be quite acute in those areas of industry where hours of work are sparse and pay rates low. Using the Unison structure again as a comparator our grade 2 rate only becomes competitive when someone earns more than £11,000. From 1st April this year the minimum hourly wage became £7.78, someone working 20 hours a week at that rate would earn £8,091 per annum and pay a monthly subscription of £6.60 to Unison in contrast to our £7.59. At 21 hours the Unison rate stays the same but ours jumps to £13 a month. This is a real problem when trying to recruit in cleaning and catering groups within schools and other establishments. School staff are rarely paid outside of the academic year and the former retainer payment system was removed at the time of implementation of single status. Here we are trying to recruit amongst a national target, such as schools, but coming up against the problem where beyond the 20 hours a week point members are required to pay almost double that charge by a sister competitor union. The NUT and ATL are to merge to form a national education union presenting us with another threat to our ability to recruit and organise in schools and academies. Despite our stance on ensuring support staff remain outside of their scope, it is likely that this new union will try to infiltrate our spheres of influence, in schools particularly. ATL offer support staff 50% off the cost of membership in the first year. Their rate even when doubled after that year will make them a more affordable option and the hard fact is this, many people who consider joining a trade union are heavily influenced by the cost. It is recognised that protecting a union's income is important and that any reduction in rates may have an adverse effect, unless offset by a significant increase in members recruited. However, my region believes we cannot simply ignore the concerns of longstanding and committed activists regarding how our rates are acting as a deterrent to recruitment. There is no easy win-win but the case for review and possible overhaul of our structure is unarguable. Let's commission an internal analysis and bring a report back to Congress 2018 for consideration and decision. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Charlene. North West & Irish to second? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally seconded.

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS & AUDITORS' REPORT AND CEC FINANCIAL PROPOSALS (INCLUDING CEC RULE CHANGES)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Congress, I am now going to take the next two items together, items 12 and 13. Item 12 is the Annual Accounts and Auditors Report, and item 13 is the CEC Financial Proposals, with Rule Amendments. I call on Tim Roache, the General Secretary and Treasurer, to answer any written questions on the accounts, move the Annual Accounts and Auditors' report, move the CEC Report on Financial Proposals Report, and give the CEC response on any Rule Amendments and motions on financial contributions. Tim.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: I wish it was a woman General Secretary, she could multitask. Thank you very much, Malcolm. Good afternoon again, everybody. First of all, we have not had any written questions on the financial accounts so what I will deal with first is the various motions that have just been moved and seconded, and on behalf of the CEC, therefore, will be replying to Motion 26, 28, 23, 25, and Composite 1, and RA398 and RA399.

Colleagues, Motion 28 asks us to register with the HMRC so that our members can get tax relief on all or part of the GMB contributions. If it was as simple as that, Congress, we would have done it already. The rules are very restrictive and are biased in favour of professional bodies and against ordinary workers. GMB's policy is that all union contributions should be tax deductible but I have set up a project group to see how we can argue that GMB's members or groups of members can comply with the criteria and get tax deductions. With that qualification, I am asking you to support the motion. By the way, just as an aside and for factual accuracy, Unison's subs in these comparative grades are higher than ours, even after their tax deduction.

Motion 26 argues for an increase in the mileage rate paid to members on union business and says this should be 45p rather than 35p because that is the recommended rate by HMRC. Strictly speaking, it is not. Only for a certain amount of miles do the HMRC recommend 45p, and then after that it goes down to 25p, so you always need to be careful about comparing apples with apples. I do not want to split hairs. It has been six years since we increased the allowance and the CEC is asking for the opportunity to consider this and assess the cost in the context of our overall expenses system. Please refer Motion 26.

RA398 and RA399 both seek to increase the amount mentioned in the rule for strike pay. Colleagues will be aware that this union always uses its discretion in deciding the amount of strike pay and we would never allow any employer to starve our members back to work simply because they did not have the financial support. The amount in this rule is very much a floor and it is very rarely, if ever, used, but it is fair to say that £10 a day or £50 a week is far too low and, frankly, embarrassing and the CEC therefore supports the proposed Rule Amendments.

Motion 23 asks that any changes to the union's internal financial structures are only made with full consultation and involvement, including Congress. Colleagues, let me take this opportunity to say as clearly as I am able, there is no threat to regional autonomy and regional financing of our union and as long as I have a breath in my

body and am your General Secretary there never will be. What is right, however, is that we look, we investigate, and we examine whether our national finance structure is fit for a 21st century union, is transparent, is understandable, and everyone knows how our finances work around our great union. I am grateful to London Region for agreeing to refer this motion to the CEC whilst a subcommittee of our senior management team continue to look at and explore options on what we currently have as our financial structure and what we may want to do going forward. Again, please rest assured we will make no decisions that anyone is bounced into and everyone will go into with their eyes open and their hands up in favour.

Motion 25 seeks to increase the allocation of political fund monies to regions. Again, that is difficult. It is difficult because the direction of travel in our National Political Fund is going to go the opposite way. It will be reducing rather than increasing. I will deal with that when I have moved the Financial Report in more detail in a moment. Again, I am very grateful to London Region for agreeing to refer this to the CEC for the SMT looking at the whole finance structure to consider this as part of it.

Composite 1 argues that the GMB contribution structure is a barrier to recruitment, especially of lower paid workers. There is clearly a lot to be said on either side of this argument but, as the composite asks for a review, the CEC is happy to ask for reference so we can report back to you next year.

Congress, please support Motion 28 with my qualification, refer Motion 26, please accept RA398 and RA399, which are effectively identical, and finally please agree to refer Motions 23, 25 and Composite 1.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Tim. Could I have that formally seconded, please? The report. (*Agreed*) Thank you.

The report was formally seconded.

Financial proposal for Congress 2017

Congress meets at a time of great uncertainty for our members. With the Conservative government seemingly firmly entrenched and, having failed in their targets for the public finances, likely to launch yet further attacks on local authority and public service funding, with the massive uncertainty of Brexit hanging over every workplace in the country and the threat to workers' rights a very real component of that uncertainty, our members need us more than ever.

Following another year of financial growth, it is important that the union maintains the strength of our resources to deal with the growing threats to our members. At the same time, the CEC is acutely aware that stalled wages growth and the pressures from the zero hours and gig economy mean that we cannot allow union membership to become unaffordable.

This Congress has never dodged difficult financial decisions in the past. That is why, instead of the organisation we were years ago, an organisation teetering on the brink of insolvency, GMB is now fully able

to step in confidently wherever our members need us. We can take on the huge burden of equal pay litigation, in the public and now in the private sector. We can challenge the new economy of exploitation, in Uber, ASOS and Amazon, both in the courts and in the streets – and in the world of social media where so many of our members and potential members go for information and support. We can grow our organisation and support the individual member whenever required. And we must have the resources to build, educate and support the network of workplace activists which is the future of our organisation. To build the advanced digital power and people back up of a 21st century union.

For many years, Congress has had a policy of raising contributions annually by the retail price index. Because for the last twelve years we have better than broken even each year, this means we have advanced without the need to cut back on activity and service to members. The CEC proposes to maintain that pattern, but this year we intend fully to take our organising opportunities and grow the union so that we do not have to ask for a full RPI increase. Instead this year's proposed increase will be pegged to the lower inflation measure of CPI, and it will be the CPI figure of 1.8% from January, which is quite a bit less than today's figure. This means an increase of 5p per week on grade 1 and 3p per week on grade 2, with all other rates frozen.

Last year, the government enacted yet another set of unnecessary, antagonistic and petty anti-trade union laws. The most politically blatant laws were really an attack on the Labour Party. History tells us that the best way to undermine Labour finances is to demand that union members have to opt in, rather than opt out of the political fund, and that is exactly what the 2016 Act has introduced. This will apply to members who join after March 2018.

If we do nothing in reaction to this law, current members would still pay into the political fund, but new members, who are unlikely to opt in, would pay a lower contribution. At the current rate of membership turnover, this would result in an annual loss of £500,000 in overall GMB income. Members in the same workplace would then be paying significantly different contributions from each other, which would certainly lead to unrest, and possibly encourage opting out by existing members, further eroding our income.

The CEC's proposed solution is to reduce the political levy for future members to the minimum possible, 1p per week. This allows us to maintain a political fund, which we estimate will reduce by about one third over the next four years, but preserves the union's total income and boosts the general fund.

The CEC also proposes to alter the rule governing contributions so that all members, new and current will continue to pay the same weekly amount. If a member who joins after March 2018 does opt to pay in to the political fund, they pay an extra 1p per week. These new rules do not effect Northern Irish members, who already have an opt in system,

and only a handful pay into the political fund, so the rule is further amended to confirm that they will continue to pay contributions on the current basis.

The CEC is recommending the following rule changes:

CECRA5

Rule 45 Clause 1,

Line 3: After “Members”, insert “who join before 1 March, 2018 and all members in Northern Ireland”

Line 3: Delete “£3.00”, insert “£3.05”

Line 8: Delete “£1.75”, insert “£1.78”

Line 8: insert “Members who join on or after 1 March, 2018 will pay £3.06 a week if they opt in to the political fund and £3.05 if they do not, and be classed as grade-1 members, unless they are:

- **part-time members employed for 20 hours or less;**
- **young people under 18; or**
- **recruited as being unemployed;**

in which case, they will pay £1.79 a week if they opt in to the political fund and £1.78 if they do not, and be classed as grade-2 members.”

Line 8: Delete “However” and start new paragraph with “Grade-2”

Line 9: Delete “a grade-1 member”, insert “grade-1 members”.

Clause will now read:

1 Once they join the union, members will pay a contribution in line with this rule.

Members who join before 1 March, 2018 and all members in Northern Ireland will pay £3.05 a week and be classed as grade-1 members, **unless** they are:

- part-time members employed for 20 hours or less;
- young people under 18; or
- recruited as being unemployed;

in which case, they will pay £1.78 a week and be classed as grade-2 members.

Members who join on or after 1 March, 2018 will pay £3.06 a week if they opt in to the political fund and £3.05 if they do not, and be classed as grade-1 members, **unless** they are:

- part-time members employed for 20 hours or less;
- young people under 18; or
- recruited as being unemployed;

in which case, they will pay £1.79 a week if they opt in to the political fund and £1.78 if they do not, and be classed as grade-2 members.

Grade-2 members can choose to pay the contribution rate for, and be classed as, grade-1 members.

The above grades are only used for deciding what contributions members should pay and the benefits they may receive

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

CECRA6

Rule 45, Clause 2,

Line 4: Delete “£3.00”, insert “£3.05”

Line 5: Delete “£1.75”, insert “£1.78”

Clause will now read:

2 Branch committees will have the power to fix the amount lapsed members (members who joined but later stopped paying contributions) need to pay to rejoin. This amount will be between £3.05 and £10 for grade-1 members and between £1.78 and £5.50 for grade-2 members, except in particular circumstances when we may increase the amount with the approval of the regional committee.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

CECRA7

Rule 63

Delete existing rule, and replace with the following

Rule 63 Political fund

1 The objects of the GMB shall include the furtherance of the political objects to which Section 72 of the amended Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992, applies, that is to say, the expenditure of money-

- a) on any contribution to the funds of, or on the payment of any expenses incurred directly or indirectly by, a political party;
- b) on the provision of any service or property for use by or on behalf of any political party;
- c) in connection with the registration of electors, the candidature of any person, the selection of any candidate or the holding of any ballot by the Union in connection with any election to a political office;

- d) on the maintenance of any holder of a political office;
- e) on the holding of any conference or meeting by or on behalf of a political party or of any other meeting the main purpose of which is the transaction of business in connection with a political party;
- f) on the production, publication or distribution of any literature, document, film, sound recording or advertisement, the main purpose of which is to persuade people to vote for a political party or candidate or to persuade them not to vote for a political party or candidate.

Where a person attends a conference or meeting as a delegate or otherwise as a participator in the proceedings, any expenditure incurred in connection with his/her attendance as such shall, for the purposes of paragraph (e) above, be taken to be expenditure incurred on the holding of the conference or meeting.

In determining, for the purposes of paragraphs (a) to (f) above, whether the Union has incurred expenditure of a kind mentioned in those paragraphs no account shall be taken of the ordinary administrative expenses of the Union.

In these objects -

"candidate" means a candidate for election to a political office and includes a prospective candidate;

"contribution", in relation to the funds of a political party, includes any fee payable for affiliation to, or membership of, the party and any loan made to the party;

"electors" means electors at any election to a political office;

"film" includes any record, however made, of a sequence of visual images, which is capable of being used as means of showing that sequence as a moving picture;

"local authority" means a local authority within the meaning of section 270 of the Local Government Act 1972 or section 235 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973; and

"political office" means the office of member of Parliament, member of the European Parliament or member of a local authority or any position within a political party.

2 Any payments in the furtherance of such political objects shall be made out of a separate fund (hereinafter called the "political fund" of the union).

3 The particular rules which apply to those people that joined the union before February 28, 2018 and to Political Funds set up before February 28, 2018 are set out in Schedule 1 these rules.

4 The particular rules which apply to those people that joined the union after February 28, 2018 and to political funds set up after February 28, 2018 are set out in Schedule 2 to these rules.

5 For the purpose of enabling each member of the union to know as respects any such periodical contribution what portion, if any, of the sum payable by him/her, is a contribution to the Political Fund, it is hereby provided that the annual contribution to the Political Fund of the Union shall be:

a. for members who joined before February 28, 2018:

Grade 1 members - £7.65

Grade 2 members - £4.29

members paying the reduced rate under Rule 48 - 15p

b. for members who joined after February 28, 2018:

Grade 1 members – 52p

Grade 2 members - 52p

members paying the reduced rate under Rule 48 - 15p

The contribution to the political fund shall be payable in three equal instalments on the first contribution nights of the quarters ending March, September and December.

Any member who is exempt as provided in schedules 1 and 2 to these rules shall be relieved from payment of the said sum of £7.65, £4.29, 15p and 52p respectively.

The Central Executive Council shall have power to suspend at any time payment to the political fund for any quarter or quarters, in which event, that portion of the member's contribution allocated to political purposes shall be credited to the Central Fund.

6 A member who is exempt from the obligation to contribute to the political fund of the union shall not be excluded from any benefits of the union, or placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or disadvantage as compared with other members of the union (except in relation to the control or management of the political fund of the union) by reason of his/her being so exempt.

7 If any member alleges that he/she is aggrieved by a breach of any of the rules for the political fund, being a rule or rules made pursuant to Section 82 of the Act, he/she may complain to the Certification Officer, and the Certification Officer, after making such enquiries as he/she thinks fit and giving the complainant and the union an opportunity of being heard, may, if the Certification Officer considers that such a breach has been committed, make such order for remedying the breach as the Certification Officer thinks just in the circumstances. Any such order of the Certification Officer may, subject

to the right of appeal provided by section 95 of the 1992 Act, be enforced in the manner provided for in section 82(4) of the 1992 Act

8 Contribution to the political fund of the union shall not be made a condition for admission to the union.

9 The union shall include in the annual return that is submitted to the Certification Officer details of political expenditure as required by section 32ZB of the 1992 Act

10 The union shall ensure that a copy of the political fund rules is available, free of charge, to any member of the union who requests a copy.

Schedule 1

Rules that apply to people who joined the Union before and political funds set up before February 28, 2018.

Notice to members

1 As soon as is practicable after the passing of a resolution approving the furtherance of such political objects as an object of the Union the Central Executive Council shall ensure that a notice in the following form is given to all members of the Union in accordance with this rule:

Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992 (as amended)

A resolution approving the furtherance of political objects within the meaning of the above Act as an object of the Union has been adopted by a ballot under the Act. Any payments in the furtherance of any of those objects will be made out of a separate fund, the political fund of the Union. Every member of the Union has a right to be exempt from contributing to that fund. A form of exemption notice can be obtained by or on behalf of any member either by application at, or by post from, the Head Office or any Branch Office of the Union or from the Certification Office for Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, 22nd Floor, Euston Tower, 286 Euston Road, London NW1 3JJ.

This form, when filled in, or a written request in a form to the like effect, should be handed or sent to the Secretary of the Branch to which the member belongs.

2 The notice shall be published to members by such methods as are customarily used by the Union to publish notices of importance to members and shall include the following minimum requirements. The notice shall be published in the Union's website and a copy of the notice shall be posted up and kept up for at least 12 months in a conspicuous place, accessible to members, at the office or meeting place of each branch of the Union.

Request for exemption

3 Any member of the Union may at any time give notice on the form of exemption notice specified in this rule or by a written request in a form to the like effect that he/she objects to contribute to the Political Fund. A form of exemption notice may be obtained by, or on behalf of any member either by application at, or by post from, the Head Office or any Branch Office of the Union or at, or by post from, the Head Office or any Branch Office of the Union or from the Certification Office for Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, 22nd Floor, Euston Tower, 286 Euston Road, London NW1 3JJ

4 The form of exemption notice shall be as follows:

GMB

POLITICAL FUND (EXEMPTION NOTICE)

I give notice that I object to contributing to the Political Fund of GMB, and am in consequence exempt, in the manner provided by Chapter VI of the Trade and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act, 1992, from contributing to that fund.

Signature.....

Name of Branch.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

5 Any member may obtain exemption from contributing to the political fund by handing or sending a notice of exemption to the Secretary of the Branch to which the member belongs, and, on

receiving it, the Secretary shall send an acknowledgement of its receipt to the member at the address appearing upon the notice, and shall inform the General Secretary of the name and address of the member.

Manner of giving effect to exemption

6 On giving an exemption notice, a member shall become exempt, so long as his/her notice is not withdrawn, from contributing to the Political Fund where the notice is given:

- a. Within one month of the giving of notice to members under clause I of this Schedule following the passing of a political resolution on a ballot held at a time when no such resolution is in force, as from the date on which the exemption notice is given, or
- b. In any other case, as from 1st January next after the exemption notice is given

7 The union shall give effect to the exemption of members from contributing to the political fund of the union by relieving any members who are exempt from the payment of part of any periodical contributions required from the members of the Union towards the expenses of the Union as provided in Rule 63(5) and such relief shall be given as far as possible to all members who are exempt on the occasion of the same periodical payment.

8 Any member may withdraw his/her notice of exemption on notifying his/her desire to that effect to the Secretary of his/her Branch, who shall thereupon send such member an acknowledgement of receipt of the notification and inform the General Secretary of the name and address of the member so withdrawing.

Schedule 2

Rules that apply to people who joined the Union and to political funds set up after February 28, 2018 and incorporate the changes made to the 1992 Act by the 2016 Act.

Opting in by union members to contribute to political funds

1 A member cannot be required to make a contribution to the political fund of the union unless they have given an indication of their willingness to contribute to that fund (an opt-in notice).

2 A member of a trade union who has given an opt-in notice may withdraw that notice by giving notice to the union (a “withdrawal notice”).

3 A withdrawal notice takes effect at the end of the period of one month beginning with the day on which it is given.

4 A member of a trade union may give an opt-in notice or a withdrawal notice:

- a. By delivering it (either personally or by an authorised agent or by post) at the head office or a branch office of the union;
- b. By sending it by email to the following email address:
info@gmb.org.uk;
- c. By completing an electronic form provided by the union which sets out the notice and sending it to the union by electronic means with instructions by the union;
- d. By any other electronic means prescribed under the 1992 Act (as inserted by the 2016 Act)

Information to members about opting in to the political fund

5 The union shall take all reasonable steps to secure that, not later than the end of the period of eight weeks beginning with the day on which the annual return of the union is sent to the Certification Officer, all the members of the union are notified of their right to give a withdrawal notice.

6 Such notification may be given:

- a. By sending individual copies of it to members; or
- b. By any other means (whether by including the notification in a publication of the union or otherwise) which it is the practice of the union to use when information of general interest to all its members needs to be provided to them.

7 The notification may be included with the statement required to be given by section 32A of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992.

8 The union will send to the Certification Officer a copy of the notification which is provided to its members in pursuance of this section as soon as is reasonably practicable after it is so provided.

9 Where the same form of notification is not provided to all members of the union, the union shall send to the Certification Officer a copy of each form of notification provided to any of them.

10 If any member alleges that he/she is aggrieved by a breach of any of these rules for giving information to members about opting into the political fund, being a rule or rules made pursuant to section 84A of the 1992 Act, he may complain to the Certification Officer. Where the Certification Officer is satisfied that the union has failed to comply with a requirement of section 84A of the 1992 Act, the Certification Officer may make such order for remedying the failure as he/she thinks just under the circumstances. Before deciding the matter, the Certification Officer:

- a. May make such enquiries as the Certification Officer thinks fit
- b. Must give the union, and any member of the union who made a complaint to the Certification Officer regarding the matter, an opportunity to make written representations; and
- c. May give the union, and any such member as mentioned in clause (b) an opportunity to make oral representations

Manner of giving effect to decision not to contribute to the political fund

11 The union shall give effect to the members' decision not to contribute to the political fund of the union by relieving any members who are not contributors from the payment of part of any periodical contributions required from the members of the Union towards the expenses of the Union as provided in Rule 63(5) and such relief shall be given as far as possible to all members who are not contributors on the occasion of the same periodical payment.

12 Any form (including an electronic form) that a person has to complete in order to become a member of the union shall include;

A statement to the effect that the person may opt to be a contributor to the fund; and

A statement setting to the effect that a person who chooses not to contribute to the political fund shall not, by reason of not contributing, be excluded from any benefits of the union or be placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under a disability or at a

disadvantage as compared with other members of the union (except in relation to control of the political fund).

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: Me again, General Secretary and Treasurer moving the Annual Accounts and the CEC Financial Report. Congress, I am very pleased to present the accounts for GMB for the last 12 months, another good set of figures which show the union continuing to go from strength to strength. Costs were strictly controlled across the whole union as we kept to our very simple but absolutely vital policy of living within our means, never spending more money than we get in from our members' contributions in the year. Membership was slightly down over the year and some of that was caused by the change in legislation of the Trade Union Act, which meant in trying to outlaw check-off in the public services we had all officers and activists concentrating on conversion from check-off to direct debit and that took our eyes rightly off the ball on recruitment. However, we are back on the straight and narrow now and the other reason for the big reduction last year was the removal of 17,500 Asda names that had not paid a penny piece to this union for 10 years or more. That did not affect our money income. What I am pleased to report is that since the third quarter of last year we are now back to seeing a steady growth in union membership.

There are some other factors improving the accounts this year, investments performed very well. There has been a big improvement in the union's pensions' liability. I think, colleagues, we really are starting to see the light at the end of the tunnel in respect of our own GMB pension deficit. I would like to thank the pension trustees, and particularly the work of Paul Maloney, and before him Andy Worth, as chair of the trustees. Thank you both very much.

Our union's assets are now up to £94m, such a change from the dark days of only ten years ago but, Congress, we need to remain vigilant. We need to remain frugal. These figures are a tribute to the hard work of everyone connected with our union but our task is not going to get any easier. By the end of this week, we will see what kind of government GMB will be dealing with in the coming years. Many of you have been working tirelessly to help get Labour right back in contention but if the Tories do hang on, we can expect no favours, no support for our hard-pressed members in public and private sectors. This is not a government for workers and it never will be. Whatever the result on Thursday, the impact of Brexit is still hugely uncertain for our members' job prospects and to cope with economic upheaval GMB needs to be financially robust and stronger than ever. We need to adapt to new media. We need to talk to our members in places that they go and talk to each other. We need the systems and resources to take advantage of developments in Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and all other media networks and we need to grow our army of workplace activists and reps who are the bedrock of our union. We also have to be able to fund large-scale legal cases to support our members and protect workers' rights in this hostile environment. After our success in blacklisting and the continued fight with employers like Uber to stop them avoiding their employment obligations we are now working to enforce equal pay in Asda. None of this is cheap, Congress.

To keep the union's finances on a steady road we need to look at contributions. We are very likely to see inflation continue to increase mainly because of Brexit and the Tories' poor handling of the economy. Congress, policy in the past has always been to keep contributions going up in line with inflation. We know that many members' wages have been stagnant or gone down and we want to propose, therefore, the lowest increase we could possibly afford while still breaking even. We are recommending an increase of 1.8% the CBI figure of January 2017, that figure is now at 2.6% so we are way below what the current day says. This equates to a weekly increase of 5p a week on Grade 1 and 3p a week on Grade 2. All other rates will stay the same. Colleagues, GMB is the best union in the country. We need the tools to keep it that way and I hope you will give me support in agreeing these contribution rates.

Finally, I need to explain the Political Fund rules which I mentioned earlier on. In the 2016 Trade Union Act, the Tories included a measure aimed squarely at damaging the finances of the Labour Party. They did this before back in the 1930s so we know the effect of having to ask new members who join us whether they want to opt in to a political fund or not. If we do nothing, we know the answer is that our members will not opt in; they simply do not. If we, therefore, do nothing, the GMB will lose half a million pounds in income per year. The proposed rule change means that new members' contributions will not go into the Political Fund but they will not be lost to the GMB, they will go into our central fund, our general fund. That is crucial. Our Political Fund will reduce and with it our ability to support the Labour Party. That is inevitable. The only way to change and reverse that is the election of a Labour government. The change of rule the CEC proposes is all about protecting your union, the GMB, and our finances.

Congress, I commend the annual accounts to you and I ask for your strong support of the CEC's Financial Report. Thank you for listening. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Tim. I will now invite regions who wish to speak on the accounts or the report of the financial proposals. Southern? Northern? North West & Irish? London?

BRO. S. GARELICK (London): I am speaking on behalf of the region. Whilst the region commends the report, I do wish to bring up some points based on my interpretation of the document. In view of the contributions being made to European trade unions I would request an analysis of what value our future membership will receive from these organisations will be following Brexit. Unless we have a clear assurance that there is value in these connections for our membership we must reconsider where we stand.

I do have concerns in relation to the investments that the union is undertaking. Looking at a selection of investments, I recognise several names on the list where shares purchased or held which are of concern: John Laing named in the blacklisting trial is one which causes enough concern to me; Pets at Home, who do not seem to have a union recognition agreement and have from my brief overview of staff reviews serious concerns about staff treatment and bullying; Signet Jewellers have a sexual harassment claim ongoing of ten staff members. These are just three companies I have chosen. Unless we are careful to check the ethics of such investments, we are leaving ourselves open to question. I recognise there will be occasions where the

union will take a stake in a company so we can represent our members at shareholders' meetings. However, we must think first and foremost about the efficacy of our investments. Please can the CEC look at these issues as soon as is practical. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Wales & South West.

SIS. L. PARKER DELAZ-AJETE (Wales & South West): Responding to the Financial Proposals document. Congress applauds the achievement of the union in recording another year of financial growth. The financial strength of the GMB is fundamental to our ability to provide the levels of service and protection that our members desperately need in times of uncertainty. Our progress is testimony to the discipline shown in managing our own internal affairs and the willingness to make tough decisions when we are required to do so. That stand has to be taken again this year. Asking members to pay more is always tricky recognising that many of them work in low wage precarious sectors of the economy where trade union recognition is unlikely to be achieved. However, the proposal to increase Grade 1 and Grade 2 contribution rates by 5p and 3p a week, respectively, in accordance with a lower than usual inflation indexation rate strikes a very reasonable balance between the need and the ability to fully fund our package of benefits and services, and the earnings position of our members. It also addresses the competitive challenges faced by activists in trying to recruit new members and retain existing ones. We should never have to return to a situation where a freeze in contributions in any one year then leads to even more proportionate increases in future years.

With regard to the Political Fund levy we would all like to wake up on 9th June and discover a Labour Party majority in the House of Commons. The possibility of another Tory term in government and a fresh onslaught into the trades union Movement ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Finish now, Lorraine.

SIS. L. PARKER DELAZ-AJETE (Wales & South West): -- is abhorrent to us all.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Lorraine, just finish.

SIS. L. PARKER DELAZ-AJETE (Wales & South West): Yes, I am finishing. Wales & South West Region commends the report. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Scotland? Yorkshire? Birmingham? Midland & East Coast? No? I would now like to give GMB the right to reply on Motion 28. Would you like that right to reply? Come on.

SIS. G. CHARLES (Midland & East Coast): The CEC response was that it is not as easy as that. I joined GMB because it was the union that did things and was not put off by "It's not as easy as that". The fact of the matter is Unison has this for its members. We have members in these sectors and for me GMB should be fighting for those members to get that tax back. It is equivalent of 50% off their subscriptions so to me the statement that "It's not as simple as that", no one is saying it is as simple as

that, but GMB is not a union that does not do things because “it’s not as simple as that”. It is for our members. We should fight that cause. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Tim Roache to respond to the financial debate and then we will move to the vote.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY: Thank you very much. I will deal with Motion 28 first. With the greatest respect, I said if it was as simple as that we would have already done it and I then went on to say that we have set up a project group to look at it, to see how we can best effectively achieve what you are seeking out to achieve. There is no way that the GMB has not taken on every single battle on behalf of our members whether that be on your contribution rates or rights and decency at work. Please rest assured we are and will be working on it. I think the other misleading fact, though, is that it is not 50% of your overall contribution or anything remotely like it.

To the London Region, Steve, I take your point entirely. First of all, our contributions to European bodies and value for money, we always look at every contribution through our Finance & General Purposes Committee about whether it is value for money. Brexit may put a question in some people’s minds, what is our relevance to European trade union bodies, then. There are still the solidarity issues, of course, as we affiliate to solidarity in Nicaragua, and Palestine, and Israel, so we would always make sure that we maintain the value for money argument.

In terms of your question on investments, if you had put it in writing to me before I could have answered all of them, and I would have happily done so. Have a word with Allan afterwards, or write to me, mate, and I will give you an assurance we do not want, and we had a meeting with Schrodgers, our investment managers, only a couple of weeks ago when Allan and I, me particularly, stressed that I do not want to be involved with unethical investing on behalf of the GMB and our members’ money and our members’ contributions in any way. So, if there are examples where it is unethical we will raise it and we will be out of there *toute suite*. That is a promise I give you all.

Thank you, Wales & South West for your fair and reasonable balance, I think that is very, very helpful. I hope I have answered all the questions and I hope you will support the Financial Report. Thank you very much. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Tim. We will now call a vote and I will take them all separately. First of all, all those in favour of accepting the Annual Accounts and Auditors’ Report please show. Any against. That is carried.

The Annual Accounts & Auditors’ Report was ADOPTED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: All those who accept the CEC Financial Proposals Report, contained in CECRA5, 6 and 7. All those in favour please show. Any against? That is carried.

The CEC Financial Proposals Report (including CEC Rule changes) was ADOPTED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Does London accept reference on 23, 25, and 26? (*Agreed*) Thank you. Does Congress accept reference? (*Agreed*) Thank you.

Motion 23 was REFERRED.

Motion 25 was REFERRED.

Motion 26 was REFERRED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Does the Southern Region – they have withdrawn that. Thank you for that. Does Midland accept the qualification on Motion 28? (*Agreed*) All those in favour please show. Any against? That is carried.

Motion 28 was CARRIED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Do Wales & South West & North West & Irish Regions accept reference on Composite 1? (*Agreed*) Does Congress accept that? (*Agreed*)

Composite 1 was REFERRED.

POLITICAL: GENERAL

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much indeed. We will now move on to the Political and General and can I ask Motion 222 and 223 to come down to the rostrum, please, and 222 to the rostrum. They are both Birmingham.

FEMALE MPs' FEAR OVER RISE IN THREATS MOTION 222

222. FEMALE MP'S FEAR OVER RISE IN THREATS

This Congress calls upon the Government to help protect our women MP's and the police force to take these threats more seriously, in light of MP Jo Cox's death.

T10 TAMWORTH BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

SIS. J. INGLEBY (Birmingham & West Midlands): Vice President, Congress, more than half of women MPs have had a physical threat from a member of the public a new survey reveals. Nine out of 10 have been abused online and 80% have been verbally abused. Of the 73 MPs who replied to the survey, two-thirds said they felt less safe after the murder of Jo Cox. A third of women MPs who responded to the Radio 5 Live poll said that they had considered giving up their job because of the abuse. One said the level of violence and abuse had increased and at times being very frightened. Another said the response by Parliament and authorities, and certainly the police, remain cavalier in the face of threats of death and violence. Congress, we need to change this and protect our women MPs. Please support. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jackie. The mover of 223?

ANTI-CORRUPTION IN HEALTH MOTION 223

223. ANTI-CORRUPTION IN HEALTH

This Congress expresses serious concern over the involvement of any senior cabinet ministers and members of parliament who have been reported to have links with health care companies and GP's premises. This ought to be raised in Parliament, particularly in light of the anti-corruption and bribery legislation (Anti-Bribery Act 2010) which came about in the last Parliament.

W50 WELLINGTON BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

BRO. A. ENGLAND (Birmingham & West Midlands): I will keep this short. Congress, Vice President, at all levels of government our elected representatives are or should be obliged to declare any personal or family interest in contracts to be awarded. To have Cabinet Ministers who have links to healthcare determining who contracts are awarded to should be a sackable offence. That is not to condone, of course, privatisation of health services. We need to strengthen the rules around declaring such pecuniary interest and use our influence in Parliament to that end. I move. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Colleagues, Motions 222 and 223 are both supported by the CEC. We will go the vote. All those in favour please show. Anybody against? They are carried.

Motion 222 was CARRIED.

Motion 223 was CARRIED.

POLITICAL: THE LABOUR PARTY

THE VICE PRESIDENT: We move on now. Could I have the movers of 226, Midland, 229, Southern, 230, Southern, Composite 19 to be moved by London and seconded by Southern, to the front, please, and the mover of 226 to the rostrum?

LABOUR RE-SELECTION MOTION 226

226. LABOUR RE-SELECTION

This Congress welcomes the re-election of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour Party Leader, as a reflection of the general mood in the Labour movement against austerity.

However, we condemn the attempts of right wing Labour MPs, in cahoots with hostile sections of the media to de-stabilise and remove Jeremy Corbyn from his democratically elected position, despite his overwhelming mandate from Party members, affiliated and registered supporters.

We believe these attacks are designed to return Labour to a pro austerity position.

MPs have not got jobs for life. They represent their constituency, but ultimately are selected and are accountable to their Constituency Labour Party. To ensure democratic accountability and the rights of Party members to select candidates that reflect their views, Congress supports the need for mandatory re-selection of Labour MPs in each Parliament as essential.

We also call on the GMB to support moves to bring more democracy into policy making by returning powers to the Party conference.

BEVERLEY BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

(Lost)

BRO. T. DAVISON (Midland & East Coast): First time delegate, first time speaker. *(Applause)* I am moving Motion 226 without support of the region. *(Oooh!)* Ain't it a brave one! The Tories having lost the vote to remain in the EU, Cameron forced to resign, the Tories in complete disarray, you would think, what a golden opportunity to mount a mass campaign involving and mobilising the entire Labour and trades union Movements, including National Health workers, teachers, and community support groups, all breaking under the strain of austerity. What do we get? The lunatics take over the asylum. I refer to the Blairites. They orchestrate an all-out witch hunt to undermine the democratically elected leader, Jeremy Corbyn, whose anti-austerity position has inspired hundreds and thousands of mainly young people to join the Labour Party. Not only are the Parliamentary Labour Party opposed to Corbyn but also the constituency Labour Party who are attacking our members every day, attacking their jobs, their terms, their conditions, and withdrawing union facilities so our representatives are incapable and have difficulty in representing our members. It is not so much they dislike Corbyn but his anti-austerity position for which they have no alternative. They fully support the Tories in their austerity measures. We did not crash and wreck the economy but, as always, it is the working class that is made to pay for it. A victory for Corbyn is a return to the source of the principles, the very bedrock, the very foundation on which our Movement was built. If our Movement is not a socialist movement then it is nothing, it has no body, it has no soul, and it has to represent the interests of the capitalist class. It is has to be bare socialism. If we are to reclaim our party and demand those elected to represent our interests, that they live their ordinary lifestyle ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Just move the motion, Tony, please.

BRO. T. DAVISON (Midland & East Coast): I am ready ----

THE VICE PRESIDENT: No, no, no, move it now, please. Tony.

BRO. T. DAVISON (Midland & East Coast): I urge Congress to support this motion. I move. *(Cheers/Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. *(Off record comments by speaker)* *(Applause)* Is that formally seconded? No? Oh, right. *(Cheers)*

BRO. P. SINGH (Midland & East Coast): Vice President, Congress, first time delegate, second time speaking from Midland & East Coast Region. *(Applause)* I support this motion without the support from the region. I support this motion because we all place our trust in individuals with the hope and trust that those we elect will best represent us and the Labour values we stand for. Politicians should not be allowed to build an empire and feel they no longer need to engage with those that placed them in their position. Labour values mean a lot to us all today, which is why

we are here, and we should be in a position where we can hold them to account when the elected fail us. It is not about any single individual but about accountability in success and failure. I second this motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

POLITICAL: LABOUR PARTY CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

THE VICE PRESIDENT: The mover of Motion 229?

REINFORCING EQUALITIES IN THE LABOUR PARTY MOTION 229

229. REINFORCING EQUALITIES IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Given examples such as discriminatory comments made by Caroline Flint MP against the transsexual community on 1st December 2016, this Congress calls on the Labour Party to follow the approach taken to the previous anti-Semitism enquiry to investigate all equalities issues in the Party.

This Congress requests that an investigation takes place and action be taken against all members of the Party found to hold discriminatory attitudes towards any group protected by the Equality Act 2010.

D30 DORSET BRANCH
Southern Region

(Carried)

BRO. S. OAKES (Southern): In December 2016 Caroline Flynn MP made inflammatory comments about the transgender community at an equality conference. The comments that she made were identical to those expressed by the Trump administration, a Labour MP mimicking comments made by Trump. Caroline Flynn expressed that gender neutral toilets were a danger to women. There is no evidence at all of the transgender community acting violently to women in toilets. In fact, the opposite is true. Transgender people do face violence in gender specific toilets. Gender neutral toilets are not a new invention. They exist on trains, aeroplanes, and throughout countries in Europe, and they are in our homes. Congress, we ask that the Labour Party follows the approach used with the previous anti-Semitism inquiry to investigate all equality issues in the party.

Congress, we ask you that the investigation takes place against any members of the Labour Party that are found to hold discriminatory attitudes towards any group protected by the Equality Act. We have to make a move on this. We are a union of equality and, therefore, we need to protect people and we need to hold the Labour Party to account. Congress, I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Seconder?

SIS. K. TURNER (Southern): First time delegate, first time speaker. *(Applause)* I call upon Congress to back this motion in requesting a full investigation takes place and that action is taken against all members of the party found to have discriminatory attitudes towards any group protected by the Equality Act 2010. I second. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. The mover of Motion 230?

THE ROLE OF CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY TU LIAISON OFFICERS
MOTION 230

230. THE ROLE OF CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY TU LIAISON OFFICERS

This Congress believes that the role of affiliated trade unions in the Labour Party is vital in rooting the party in the real life experience of working people.

This Congress notes that the move by many Constituency Labour Parties to open meetings, rather than delegate based General Committee meetings has weakened the role of delegates from affiliated unions at constituency level. This has weakened the voice and influence of organized labour in the party at local level.

This Congress notes that there can be communication difficulties between the different unions and the Labour Party, such that CLP secretaries may not be adequately informed who the TU delegates to their CLP are.

This Congress notes that in some CLPs there may be no Trade Union liaison officer elected, and that the party does not clearly define the role or expectation.

This Congress notes the example of best practice by South West TULO, which has organized periodic meetings of CLP TU liaison officers for that region, improved communication links between unions and CLPs at a regional level, and has encouraged CLP TU liaison officers towards a better understanding of their role.

This Congress resolves that GMB will support and encourage CLPs to develop active Trade Union liaison officers.

This Congress resolves that GMB will pursue a rule change for the Labour Party, such that under Chapter 7, Clause VIII.2, the TU liaison officer becomes a voting executive officer of the CLP.

This Congress resolves that GMB will pursue a rule change for the Labour Party, such that under Chapter 7, Clause VIII.4, election of a TU liaison officer becomes a requirement, not an option for a CLP. Preference should be given in elections to the post of CLP TU liaison officers to delegates from affiliated trade unions.

This Congress resolves that GMB will engage with the Labour Party, and encourage improvement of processes for the notification to CLP secretaries of TU delegates, for example, Membersnet could be improved such that the secretary can search for TU delegates in the membership system, and unions could advise of TU delegates to the party nationally or regionally so that the information can be included in Membersnet.

W15 WILTSHIRE & SWINDON BRANCH
Southern Region

(Carried)

BRO. C. WATTS: The motion is actually written very well and quite self-explanatory but I would just like to add that the role of a trade union liaison officer within the Labour Party is crucial. It allows us as GMB activists to promote and push forward issues and policies on behalf of our membership through grassroots constituencies of the Labour Party, all the way to the national Executive Committee, if need be. It may also be that we can promote more local issues by shaping motions

to local councils through Labour councillors or, indeed, in my case you become a Labour councillor and cut out the middle man.

We as GMB activists bring a unique and far-reaching perspective to the public and private sector to the table and this intelligence collated in workplaces or via branch meetings, being involved with your local constituency Labour Party, allows you to break out of the echo chamber and give voice to ideas and work issues and, hopefully, solutions. As a trade union liaison officer in the constituency Labour Party you get to meet other trade union liaison officers in your region to promote further an agenda on behalf of the members. I ask that you support this motion. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. The mover of Composite 19, London.

LABOUR PARTY DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES: THE CHAKRABARTI REPORT COMPOSITE 19

C19. Covering Motions:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 233. | LABOUR PARTY DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES | Southern Region |
| 234. | LABOUR PARTY – CHAKRABARTI REPORT | London Region |

LABOUR PARTY DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES: THE CHAKRABARTI REPORT

This Congress notes the large number of Labour Party members who were suspended or expelled during 2016, many of whom have now been re-admitted to the Party. This Congress believes that in some cases decisions were made at either regional or national level that could feed into suspicions of political partiality in the disciplinary process.

This Congress notes the conclusions in the Chakrabarti report, published in 2016 by the Labour Party that “there is a lack of clarity and confidence in current disciplinary procedures from all sides of the Party, including on the part of those who have complained, and been complained against”.

This Congress endorses the spirit of the recommendations of the Chakrabarti Report relating to internal discipline in the Labour Party, and GMB urges the Labour Party to draw up and adopt an improved disciplinary policy and procedure.

In particular, this Congress resolves to encourage the Labour Party to include in its disciplinary processes and procedures, the following:

- * That the Labour Party’s disciplinary policy should be readily accessible and understandable;
- * That the Party’s disciplinary policy should be consistent in its application
- * That the Party’s disciplinary policy should, in the words of the Chakrabarti report, “seek to uphold the strongest principles of natural justice however difficult the circumstances, and to resist subjecting members to trial by media”
- * That the Party should use a wider and more creative range of disciplinary sanctions, in the words of the Chakrabarti Report “these may include a warning, the requirement for apologies and/or some other form of sensitive reparation to another member or person

or persons, a public warning or reprimand, suspension from the Party for up to two years, and expulsion”.

- * That the Party needs internal legal expertise, in the words of the Chakarabarti Report, in the form “of a General Counsel or other staff lawyer to the Labour Party to give initial advice, including and in particular on disciplinary matters and to take responsibility for instructing external lawyers as appropriate”.
- * That individuals who have been suspended or expelled should have the right for a review by a legal panel of that decision, and that the legal panel should have the power to refer the decision back to the National Constitutional Committee or other appropriate body.

(Carried)

BRO. D. McCURRY (London): The Chakarabarti Report was written after a big business in the Labour Party last year when literally hundreds of members were disciplined, many of them expelled from the Labour Party, and many of them felt really badly treated. We have to remember the Labour Party created laws that said when an employee is disciplined or dismissed they must be treated fairly, and that is all in the statutes now so you would expect that the Labour Party would behave with the same standard that they would lay down in law for companies. They did not, really, and the Chakarabarti Report exposed that and basically made some recommendations of how to make the procedures better.

A very simple example is if someone is expelled from the Labour Party, they should at least have a right of appeal. Come on. It is just very basic simple natural justice. If you look at the motion, there are lots of other examples in there as well. I think that is a very simple and easy one to get people to understand what the motion is about. We would appreciate it if you back the motion. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Secunder.

SIS. M. RODRIGUES (Southern): This motion would like the Labour Party to adopt the recommendations made in the Chakarabarti Report to be implemented to avoid opaqueness. As trade unionists we work tirelessly to preserve and promote the rights of individuals who may be going through a disciplinary process and our expectations, of course, as trade unionists is to be supplied with clear policies and procedures involving the disciplinary process of the organisation involved in the initiation of this. Likewise, we would like the Labour Party to have clear disciplinary party procedures to avoid occurrences that happened last year where a large number of Labour Party members were either suspended or expelled and then later reinstated. I second this motion. Please support. Thank you. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I now call on Lisa Johnson to speak on behalf of the CEC. Lisa.

SIS L. JOHNSON (Director of External Relations and Training): Director of External Relations and Training speaking on behalf of the CEC on Motions 226, 229, and Composite 19, taking them in turn.

Congress, there is much to agree with our delegate's passionate speech from Midland & East Coast Region around socialism and his critique of the New Labour years and I am sure the CEC would do so. However, what we are talking about in terms of the motion in front of us is not about any Labour Party leader, whether it be Tony Blair or Jeremy Corbyn. We are talking about the process by which we reselect our members of parliament. The CEC is seeking withdrawal of this motion because as it currently stands there is a process in place to re-select our members of parliament and it is called the Trigger Ballot Process. Within that process trade union branches have a collective voice. We have quite a lot of influence on the process and we would not seek to dilute the collective voice of our affiliated branches in that process. Affiliated branches can actually say, "We are not happy with our member of parliament. We want a selection process." We can do that. We have the power to do that. If we want to have a re-selection process we can, but we do believe that the best way to take on the Tories and to get a Labour government in place is to ensure that we fight the Tories, not each other continually on a year round basis. On that motion that is why we are seeking withdrawal. *(Applause)*

On Motion 229 just a small clarification on the motion to ensure that actually we are calling on the Labour Party to run an investigation rather than GMB. Obviously, we continue and we will raise any issues around discrimination and equality with the Labour Party on an ongoing basis outside of this Congress.

Composite 19, the CEC supports this composite with a qualification. We support all of the principles outlined but just to point out that some events have somewhat overtaken the motion in that some of these things have been already addressed. A broader range of disciplinary sanctions have been adopted. There is already access to legal advice and from the two firms of solicitors retained by the Labour Party. The appeals are made and are heard by members of the NEC on which GMB sits and sometimes jointly with the regional board in the region. We support with qualification, the qualification being that we would not support external bodies being brought into the disciplinary process of the Labour Party.

Congress, therefore, we are asking for Motion 226 to be withdrawn, and we support Motion 229 and Composite 19 with a qualification as outlined. Thank you.
(Applause)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Lisa. Does the mover of 226, Midland, wish the right of reply? Come on, then.

BRO. T. DAVISON (Midland & East Coast): Comrades, Lisa says we support a united Labour Movement. Labour is not united. It is a party of two parties, of the Blairites and the Corbynites. Win or lose Corbyn on Thursday, they have not finished with going for him. They will continue the witch hunt against Corbyn until they get rid of him. If you want a united Labour based around a socialist policy, chuck out the Blairites and get rid of them, and get in the party where you belong. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Ah, I think I know the answer to this question but I have to ask it. Do you wish to withdraw Motion 226? Do you wish to withdraw the motion? No. Thank you. In that case, the CEC is asking you to oppose. All those in favour please show. All those against? That falls.

Motion 226 was LOST.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now move on, then. Does Southern accept the qualification on Motion 229? (*Agreed*) Does London and Southern accept the qualification on Composite 19? (*Agreed*) Right. Motions 229 and 230, and Composite 19, all those are being supported by the CEC. All those in favour please show. Any against? They have won.

Motion 229 was CARRIED.

Motion 230 was CARRIED.

Composite 19 was CARRIED.

POLITICAL: HONOURS

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I move on now. Could I have the mover of 240, please, down to the front? It is London Region.

THE CIVIL HONOURS SYSTEM MOTION 240

240. THE CIVIL HONOURS SYSTEM

This Congress believes that the civil awards system needs to be changed.

At present the system is unfair, if a person is currently offered a civil award they have to either accept it and go through a civil award ceremony or decline it and receive no award.

Congress believes that if a person has merited the offering of an award that they should not be penalised for not wanting to go through this ceremony.

Some people feel that the notion of Empire Medals is outdated and needs to be changed. Others do not believe we should have a Monarch.

The current system is very complicated and there are lots of awards. To change the entire system in one go would be incredibly difficult and could therefore fail. This motion aims to change the awards that our members are most likely to be offered and proposes the option of equivalent Peoples' awards to OBE, MBE and CBE.

Many of our members do incredible work worthy of honour without prejudice.

Past motions have called for the abolition of the award but they have failed.

This motion offers a credible alternative.

LONDON ZOOLOGICAL BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. A. CHOLERTON (London): President, Congress, this Congress believes that the Civil Awards system is outdated, unfair, and needs to be changed. At present, if a person is currently offered a civil award they either have to accept it and go through a civil award ceremony, or decline it and receive no award. Congress believes that if a

person has merited the offering of an award they should not be penalised for not wanting to go through the ceremony. Some people feel that the notion of empire medals is outdated and needs to be changed, and others do not believe we should have a monarch. The current system is very complicated and there are lots of awards. To change the entire system in one go would be incredibly difficult and could therefore fail. This motion aims to change the awards that our members are most likely to be offered and proposes the option of an equivalent People's Award to OBEs, MBEs, and CBEs. Creating these people awards would then over time allow us to analyse the numbers of people opting for these awards so that we can, if necessary, propose further changes. Many of our members do incredible work worthy of honour without prejudice. Past motions have called for the abolition of all the awards but they have failed. This motion offers a credible alternative. It offers a fair system where those that want a people's award and those that want a civil ceremony can choose without fear of losing out or compromising their beliefs. Congress, please support this motion. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, colleague. Congress, the CEC is supporting the motion. I will now put it to the vote. All those in favour please show. Any against? That is carried.

Motion 240 was CARRIED.

POLITICAL: DEMOCRACY & CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

SCOTLAND'S CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE AND FULL DEVOLUTION OF LABOUR RIGHTS AND WORKPLACE PROTECTIONS MOTION 236

236. SCOTLAND'S CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE AND FULL DEVOLUTION OF LABOUR RIGHTS AND WORKPLACE PROTECTIONS

This Congress notes the differing results of the June 2016 European referendum in the nations and regions of the United Kingdom and particularly the aim of the Scottish Government to achieve a differentiated settlement with the European Union and the UK government following Scotland's vote to Remain, but the UK's vote to Leave. Congress further notes the immediate calls that were made for a second referendum on Scotland's place in the UK, or for further reform of Scotland's relationship with the other nations and regions of the UK to create a form of federalism. Congress recalls the Union's previous support for Scotland remaining in the UK, and the UK remaining in the EU, but acknowledges the continuing primacy of the constitutional question to Scottish politics and the implications of this for working people and for the pursuit of progressive change.

This Congress therefore calls for the fullest possible debate on the distribution of power in the UK, following the vote to leave the EU, including by the establishment of a UK Constitutional Convention; and commits GMB to fighting for a response to Brexit which seeks to address the concerns and interests of members in every part of the Union, and specifically affirms the right of people in Scotland to choose their own constitutional future.

This Congress also recognises that its first responsibility is to advance the interests of working people over any party political or constitutional position. Congress therefore declares it time to demand that full powers over employment law and health & safety now be devolved to Scotland. Congress believes that a stronger Scottish Parliament without control over labour

rights and workplace protections will continue to see Scottish politics compete for the support of working people without any need to deliver real advances in the workplace, and leave Scottish workers to suffer the consequences of a UK government determined to further attack their rights at work, the ability to organise and the capacity to defend their interests.

Congress further believes that the empowerment of the Scottish Parliament to stand up for workers, and the challenge to Scottish politicians to move beyond rhetoric, can act as a counterbalance to the actions of the UK government by safeguarding freedoms, rights and advancing collective bargaining and demonstrating that the only response to the challenge of Brexit, and the forces which gave rise to it, is not capitulation to international capital but rather decent regulation, willingness to intervene and promoting the rights of workers to organise, defend their own interests and light a way for others.

BATHGATE BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Carried)

BRO. T. CARR-POLLOCK (GMB Scotland) where apparently our money or our Scottish notes are not acceptable in Wetherspoons! *(Applause)* Congress, the general election in Scotland has been as much about attitudes to Scottish independence as it has been about Brexit. In the European referendum last year Scotland voted to remain while most of the rest of the UK voted to leave. The truth is that in Scotland the Brexit referendum has simply reopened an independent debate which was not resolved in 2014. Scotland is divided between those who continue to support independence, some of whom are keen on another referendum as soon as possible and those who want to see the 2014 referendum results stand.

The role of GMB Scotland is to stand up for our members regardless of their constitutional views. Union members need to have confidence in the information that we provide and a role to help bring people together rather than divide them. Significant change is already on the way with further devolution of power to the Scottish parliament and the transfer of powers from Brussels as a result of Brexit. GMB Scotland believes that these issues require a UK constitutional convention which engages people not just in Scotland but across the UK. This motion calls for our union to engage in a convention and support every effort to bring people together. Congress, the motion also recognises that there are some powers that trade unionists in Scotland need to be arguing for. We are not dewy eyed in the progressive politics of the Scottish parliament. You have heard the long list of complaints we have against the Scottish government and other motions this week. However, there is a consensus that the Scottish parliament must be in power to protect Scotland from the worst excesses of the Tories on trade unions and worker rights. At present the Scottish government can get away with saying the right things on workplace protections but with too many excuses as to why they cannot deliver it. Devolution of labour law will mean that Scottish politics will have to listen to trade unions rather than simply expect us to fund a campaign. We could make a difference and deliver change in Scotland but we also want to ensure that other parts of the UK can see that the Tory way and employment rights is not the only way. Safeguarding and enhancing labour rights wherever we can will demonstrate that deregulation and exploitation is not the only response to the challenges of Brexit and austerity. Brothers and sisters, please support GMB Scotland and support this motion. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

**NO BREAK UP OF THE UK
MOTION 237**

237. NO BREAK UP OF THE UK

This Congress, we at Beith Engineering would like to propose that GMB remain committed to no break-up of the UK, either by Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland or indeed England becoming an Independent Country.

Not only does the Ship Building jobs on the Clyde/Rosyth rely on our country being united our Labour friends and colleagues within GMB would never again see a Labour Government in Westminster.

Traditionally, Scotland voted our Labour colleagues into power and until the SNP fall from grace or indeed Labour re-invents itself then it will be a long hard road until we see a favourable government that would benefit our members.

If indeed Scotland (or any other part of the UK) was to become Independent then, sadly UKIP/Tories will have the ascendancy on what is left of UK.

Colleagues UNITY is STRENGTH used to be GMB motto, let it now be our watchwords.

B38 BEITH ENGINEERING BRANCH
GMB Scotland

(Referred)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: The mover of 237? The mover of 237, Scotland? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally moved.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I now call upon Kevin Buchanan to give the response of the CEC. Kevin.

BRO. K. BUCHANAN (CEC, Commercial Services): Vice President, Congress, speaking on behalf of the CEC and asking Congress to refer Motion 237. Congress, GMB Scotland was a very active participant in the last Scottish referendum and in that debate we ensured that the voice of our members in key industries like defence, shipbuilding, and energy, was heard and engaged by with both sides of the constitutional argument. Nearly three years on the truth is that Scotland's constitutional debate has not been resolved. The result of the referendum and the UK's membership of the EU revealed that a divided UK with Scotland voting strongly for remain while most of the rest of Britain opted to leave. That division has not proven as fertile ground as the Scottish government may have hoped for holding another Scottish independence referendum just yet. With continuing council and public service cuts, failing educational attainment, and a creaking NHS, many people in Scotland are rightly telling the Scottish government to get back to their day jobs. It is increasingly more likely that another Scottish independence referendum will take place at some point. UK government is failing working people in every part of

Britain and it should not be surprising that many people in Scotland believe there must be an alternative.

Whenever a vote comes in the role of the GMB in Scotland it will be to ask difficult questions of both sides of the argument. For the Scottish Nationalists that means answers we require on currency, on economy, on pensions, and on jobs. For those who argue that Scotland's future relies on a continuing partnership in the UK they will need to demonstrate how the UK will respond and how real positive change will be delivered for our members. Be in no doubt, Congress, no trade union, no political party for that matter, can simply tell our members how to vote in any referendum. The constitutional question in Scotland divides families, it divides workplaces. Our members do not all think the same way on the issue. Honest and sincerely held views exist on both sides of the debate. Our union cannot be a place only for those on one side of the argument. We must listen to each other, respect each other's opinions, and stay united on our mission for a fairer world of work.

That is why the CEC believes that our approach to this issue must be debated and led in Scotland by GMB Scotland. It is for that reason we are asking you to accept that this motion be referred to GMB Scotland rather than decided upon by this Congress today. The union that should be our first priority is our union, the GMB. We share a common purpose and a determination to make change but we cannot make decisions here in Plymouth for our Scottish members before they have an opportunity to have their say and to guide their union through further constitutional debate. Please support reference back and make sure that GMB Scotland is a place where this debate takes place, that we work together to make our union a trusted source of information on this issue, and a place where all our members in Scotland feel welcome and included in our democracy. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Kevin. GMB Scotland accept reference back? (*Agreed*) Thank you.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Does Conference accept reference back? (*Agreed*) Thank you.

Motion 237 was REFERRED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Motion 236 is being supported by the CEC. All those in favour please show. Anyone against? That is carried.

Motion 236 was CARRIED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Colleagues, you have been that good today we have finished the programme but with your permission I would just like to take some off tomorrow morning which will make us run over by about 20 minutes. Is that okay? (*Agreed*) Thank you. (*Inaudible comment from floor*) Tough! I now call on Bill Modlock, CEC, Southern Region, to move the CEC Charter on Housing, please.

CEC CHARTER ON HOUSING

GMB CONGRESS 2017

CEC CHARTER FOR HOUSING

Background

GMB Members and their families continue to face problems in the housing market in all parts of the country as house prices are increasing more than wage growth. GMB supports the fourth option (direct investment) as house ownership should be as a home not an investment

Despite the implementation of the Housing and Planning Act 2016 and the consultation on the Governments White Paper “fixing our broken housing market”, there continues to be a need for a radical rethink on housing policy and the Government needs to have a more robust and comprehensive Housing Strategy.

The new Housing and Planning Act 2016 has done little to address matters and provides for the selling-off of existing council and housing association homes – with no replacements for rent. The Act removes public funding away from affordable homes for rent and, does nothing to improve security or control rents for private renters resulting in rents and waiting lists being pushed up. Furthermore, it removes council secure tenancies for all transferring, as well as for new tenants.

More house building

Housing supply has failed to meet demand & regional imbalances hence a need to look at geographical pattern of housing provision and stop government prioritising in South East over the North. It is urgent that we build more houses and in the White Paper, the Government pledged to build a million new homes by 2020. However last year the total number of newly built houses was still less than 143,000, while the level of new affordable house building has hit a 24-year low.

The GMB CEC Special Report on Housing 2014 laid out a detailed long term strategy for making affordable housing a central part of the Governments economic and social strategy. We called for a target of 250,000 new build homes to be built a year with at least 80,000 to be in social housing plus a minimum of 30,000 empty homes brought back into use. This needs a major programme of house building and we need concrete steps to achieving building targets. The Government needs to stop “dithering” and start building houses in areas that people can afford to live in and we need to see all sectors—private house builders, housing associations and councils—firing on all cylinders to build the homes that we need. In addition, people owning second homes mean that there are less housing stock available for our members.

Any Housing Strategy should be aligned with an Industrial Strategy ensuring that infrastructures are also in place, such as schools, broadband, and transport links. This capital investment will boost the economy and create much needed manufacturing jobs.

We are in favour of more social housing and for local authorities to undertake new build and refurbishment strategies. We recognise that many young people have been priced out of access to housing and are forced into the high priced privately rented housing.

Existing housing stock must be brought up to a decent living standard and any new housing should be built to the highest environmental and energy efficient standards, and subject to the National Code for sustainable homes.

Where to build

Sustainable development for housing should be maintained but planning priority for new schemes should be on brownfield sites and marginal agricultural land. There are plenty of brownfield sites and plenty of low grade agricultural land without environmental restrictions that could be used without concreting over the countryside. Green Belt land should only be used for building if it is replaced by an equivalent increase in Green Belt land elsewhere. Also, we

should prevent houses being continually built on floodplains. All new build properties should be built to protect against flooding where an area is at risk.

GMB condemns the selling off of social housing by foreign investors or homes being demolished for redevelopment. The Government's Estate Generation National Strategy seeks to transform neighbourhoods but in reality this regeneration has meant building expensive private dwellings which local people would never be able to afford and the new homes are likely to be cramped. We are opposed to the demolition of Council Housing estates to make way for property developers to develop housing for sale that are unaffordable to the residents in the estates being knocked down. We welcome the local community being fully consulted say in any future proposals. This is in line with the Mayor of London's manifesto promise which states that any redevelopment of social housing should be carried out only when residents have had their say and should be by a ballot of the estate.

The 2014 CEC Report outlined the need for discussions with Pension Funds for higher levels of investment in affordable housing and consider whether legislation is needed to incentives pension funds to allocate a minimum proportion of investments to affordable housing.

Housing Controls

- Housing is now a devolved matter in all three devolved administrations. The 2014 Report discussed this in detail and outlined that there should be one Government Department responsible for Housing Policy and Control for England
- Council housing should be kept under local authority control and control and management should be returned to local authorities and they should keep the revenue from rents
- We believe there should be a greater role for the public sector including the introduction of legislation to give Local authorities a new power to impose penal Council Tax and to acquire compulsorily and refurbish homes that have been empty for more than six months continuously, including office blocks suitable for conversion and second homes that are continuously empty.
- We call for a return of all capital receipts to allow investment and building of Local Authority homes.
- GMB are opposed to outsourcing social housing stock by Local Authorities. We note that there is a lack of emergency accommodation for serious emergencies experienced by tenants. Councils have a social responsibility to ensure landlords have emergency procedures in place for such events.

Right To Buy

- GMB condemns the policy of Right to Buy which resulted in a shortage of housing stock.
- We seek the introduction of legislation to ensure that all future Right To Buy sales are replaced like for like and done for one by new social housing; and that all sales and discount offers have to be judged by the local authority against the housing needs of the area; and adjust criteria of eligibility.
- The Government's Help to Buy schemes have only helped a relatively small group of people. GMB calls to redirect such schemes from Help to Buy to Help to Build

Rents/ Landlords

- GMB deplores those private landlords who put profit before need. House ownership should be for a home and not as an investment

- Wealthy landlords continue to buy homes and leave them empty, GMB says that properties left empty should be compulsory purchased and transformed into desperately needed homes
- Private landlords need to commit to minimum standards of provision, charges and services to tenants in particular the care and maintenance
- Key public sector workers can't afford to live near their workplace, and so there needs to be extra support. GMB call for key worker status definition to be widened, it is too restrictive and should include key public sector jobs/ frontline workers and utility workers
- Rents should be affordable so there needs to be a fundamental review of Social Housings "affordable rents" policy
- GMB supports regulation of the Private Rented Sector including action to regulate landlords and introduce "rent control"
- We seek to introduce legislation requiring local authorities to introduce registration of private landlords with rules requiring minimum quality of premises and protecting tenants from arbitrary rent increases and eviction with reserve powers to regulate rents.
- We support the Right to Rent and if owner occupier defaults on mortgage/ falls into arrears, they should be given chance to rent/ right to remain

Housing Benefit/ Welfare

- We oppose caps on housing benefits and call for the halt of the integration of Housing Benefit into Universal Credit
- Homelessness is a national crisis- the number of people sleeping rough on our streets has more than doubled there needs to be a concerted effort to reduce this and GMB call for more support including supporting the Labour Campaign to End Homelessness.

BRO. B. MODLOCK (CEC, Public Services): Congress, GMB has a long and proud track record for campaigning for more affordable housing, decent housing, and for council-owned housing. A safe and decent roof over your head should be a right. It is not a privilege based on what you have in your bank account. A secure home will impact on children at school, whether you can hold down a job, and it will affect your health, both mentally and physically. Put simply, it is a vital and crucial part of each and every one of our lives. That is why this Government's failure to build more houses is not just a scandal. It is a derogation of duty. The CEC is recommending this housing charter, which underlines GMB commitment to good housing while recognising the difference between Westminster and devolved powers. We call for more housing under local authority control, more houses to buy and rent, and for more action to be taken on rogue landlords and those who buy properties as an investment portfolio and leave them empty while working people struggle. Right-to-buy cannot be allowed to continue while houses are not being built. Each and every right to buy property that is purchased must have a like for like property built. Too many people and families today are still feeling the impact of Tory policies of yesteryear. If Tories win this election those who bought under the right-to-buy decades ago could be faced with paying for their social care with their property. You could not make it up. The same people who squeal when Labour proposed a small increase in Inheritance Tax to fund public services are now bringing us a dementia tax that will penalise the poorest.

We must hold to account all administrations, all governments who give priority to investors and the wealthy above communities, working people, and the most vulnerable in our society. That extends to local government. We cannot allow councils to bulldoze entire estates, to uproot entire communities, and to build luxury flats no average worker can afford. There has to be a commitment to social housing in developments. Dodgy developers, who are just in it for a quick buck, should be taken to task and regulated.

Congress, the housing policy, based in commonsense and our members' real lives, is not just good for those who need a roof over their heads; it is a vital part of industrial strategy and economic growth. House-building must go hand-in-hand with the development of skills and jobs, pay the rate for the job, and not by agency workers hired by umbrella companies to undercut hard won pay, terms, and conditions.

Let me finish by putting a human face on housing. In Manchester a couple of weeks ago we suffered a devastating attack, an attack that rocked the city, rocked the region, and rocked our nation. In the midst of that attack a young man ran towards danger to help. He helped a little girl who had been hit by shrapnel and he helped a woman at risk of bleeding to death. In doing so, he said, "They needed the help. I would like to think someone would come to help me if I needed help." That young man was called John and he was homeless. He also said, "Just because I'm homeless it doesn't mean I haven't got a heart." Too often the debate about housing is about bricks and mortar. We know at GMB it is about real life and real people. Housing policy goes to the heart of equality, fairness, and social justice. The CEC recommends the GMB Charter for Housing. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Bill. Could I have that formally seconded, please? (*Agreed*) Thank you.

The Charter on Housing was formally seconded.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I will now call speakers from each region who wish to speak. Birmingham? London?

BRO. W. CONWAY (London): Supporting the CEC Charter on Housing. Vice President, Congress, whilst welcoming the report it does leave room for improvement by the less moral of our authorities. The local authorities should manage properties and keep rental revenue. Legislation is needed to set minimum standards and quantities of housing stock available at social rents. Councils must not be allowed to shirk their responsibilities. Theresa May pledged a constant supply of new homes for social rent. The Housing Minister, Gavin Barwell, described the new stock as what you would call affordable in housing terminology, of social housing. Affordable is defined at 80% of local rents whereas socially rental housing is defined by the National Rent Regime at typically around 40%. They are clearly not the same thing. This difference effectively puts councils into competition with private landlords and stands to be inflationary and self-defeating.

The statement rightly deplores the loss of housing stock due to right-to-buy but another aspect of that policy is the degradation of some of those properties because the buyers could not afford to maintain them. These and other dilapidated properties

need concerted action to make sure that nobody is living at standards below what is a reasonable level or at worst threatening their health. This raises the option of compulsory purchase for uninhabited or dilapidated properties. Government policy needs devising to ensure that unscrupulous landowners are not leaving houses unoccupied purely to profit unfairly and those left with uninhabitable homes are properly re-housed. We should not support the sale of any council housing or property except where it can be shown to be either uneconomic or surplus to need and sold at a fair market price. Where it is not surplus to need it should be replaced at least on a one-to-one basis. Congress, I support the motion. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Midland?

SIS. G. CHARLES (Midland & East Coast): Vice President, Congress, Midland & East Coast support the charter but feel that there is room for improvement. Like my colleague said earlier, there are areas that we think need looking at. For example, we do not think the report takes into account things like accommodation with support, so people with house needs or care needs; accommodation that will be required for those sorts of individuals needs to be taken into account. The Welfare Reform Act in terms of the cap that it is putting on those will impact on that particular sector. I think that needs looking at in terms of adding to the report. Thank you. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Northern? North West? Scotland? Southern? South West? Yorkshire?

BRO. I. BUTLER (Yorkshire & North Derbyshire): Afternoon, Congress. Vice President, General Secretary, and everybody else, first time speaker, second time delegate. (*Applause*) They got me this time, I had to come up! I would just like to say to Congress about landlords. Not all landlords are bad, you know. I am a landlord. (*Booo!*) No, no, it's not like that. When I was a young lad, we grew up in a council house and my Mum would never buy. I always wondered why. She had her principles. I know the reason why. If she bought it, nobody would be able to have it when she died. She did die and a family went in with three kids, so good on her, somebody got that house. Walking down to Congress on the first day, I saw two homeless people in the shop front and this is the problem, there are not the houses for these people. They are not all just laying around trying to scrounge money off you when you walk past. They are proper homeless and there is no nowhere for them to stay. I do think we need some houses. Where I live at the edge of Sheffield is a load of land a housing company has bought, they have had it for three years and still have not built on it. They are doing it for a reason. We all know. They are waiting until the prices go up and then they will build the houses and make more money. I am nearly there. I think that's it. We need more houses. Thank you. (*Applause*)

SOCIAL POLICY: HOUSING

THE VICE PRESIDENT: I now call on Motions 336, Wales & South West, 337, Birmingham, 339, Birmingham, Composite 25, Southern to move and London to second, Motion 342, London, 344, Midland and 345, Midland. Come to the front, please, and the mover of 336 to the rostrum.

FUNDS FOR SOCIAL HOUSING

MOTION 336

336. FUNDS FOR SOCIAL HOUSING

This Congress, in 2014 adopted a clear programme for investment in social housing to alleviate the crisis of soaring rents, poor conditions and rising homelessness.

For decades, successive Governments have failed to build the homes that we need, and the lack of affordable, decent homes is affecting families across the entire country.

Our programme recognised the need for urgent reform, and GMB has been campaigning tirelessly to solve this crisis. However, the Government retains an obsessional faith with the power of the markets to provide a solution, but this fails to accept the need for council housing to be a matter of long-term investment.

There must be a change of approach to house-building, to include allowing councils to both borrow money and lend money to housing associations. The policy should be both bold and innovative, and should also make provision for funding to come from pension funds.

Housing can be a good investment, as shown by Islington putting money from its pension fund, offering a tax-efficient way of investing without major risks and helping with the delivery of social objectives, too.

This motion calls upon the GMB to lobby Government to further relax investment cuts so that LGPS funds can investment a greater percentage of their assets to invest in our housing infrastructure.

AVON & WESSEX BRANCH
Wales & South West Region

(Carried)

SIS. C. SIBLEY (Wales & South West): President, Congress, we have a housing crisis and this crisis is not just about the houses but people too. The lack of affordable homes affects families across the country as homeownership becomes less likely or renting from private landlords increases. Many families struggle to repay mortgages or live in unsecure accommodation rented out by unscrupulous landlords with extortionate rent, and often in poor conditions. With levels of homelessness rising to almost 50,000 a year with up to 2,000 living completely rough, things have to change. It is beyond hope that this Government has a commitment to solve the housing crisis. Their faith in the power of the markets to remedy every economic or social ill ensures that a major increase in social housing will never happen whilst they are in office. A government with any sense of social responsibility would recognise that council housing was both an asset and an investment, and loan money to housing associates to get them building again, allow local authorities to borrow money and build homes in their constituencies.

Congress, the housing challenge facing this country requires innovative and far-reaching solutions. One possibility is to use pension funds to invest in affordable social housing. Local government pension funds when pooled run into billions in the form of investments that ensure they can meet pension payment liabilities when these fall due. Investment in housing using these funds can provide the homes people desperately need and enable good long-term returns to scheme members. It can help build more houses and stronger communities. The initiative requires commitment to

offer stable investment returns which then benefit our members when they come to draw their pensions.

At a time when public finances are severely restricted we must consider new ways of funding affordable housing. Councils have to find investments that offer better returns without the volatility of other methods. As both council pension funds and social landlords operate on a not for profit basis, they fit well together. Good retirement incomes and affordable homes are also social goals that match easily and both sectors work on a long-term basis. There are some drawbacks, of course, but in reality there is a huge untapped pool of capital here for long-term investors. That they need to maximise returns for scheme members is fully understood and investment must serve that purpose and not just act as a cash cow for local projects. However, achieving good returns can involve diversifying the assets of portfolios, investing in social housing building can be part of the strategy. The Government needs to relax its investment rules to allow LGPs funds to invest up to 30% of their assets into limited liability partnerships, which are the vehicles typically used to invest in housing and infrastructure by pension schemes.

A growing population and the building of fewer homes has seen prices spike to unaffordable levels. Future generations are being denied a foot on that all important housing ladder. It is time for Theresa May to deliver on her pledge to build more homes and reduce inequality. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Charlene. The mover of 337, Birmingham?

FUTURE HOUSING BENEFIT CRISIS MOTION 337

337. FUTURE HOUSING BENEFIT CRISIS

This Congress – It has been recognised for some years that this country has a housing crisis – in Manchester right now home ownership is down from 72% in 2003 to 58% which is the same drop in ownership rates as outer London. Following on from “Brexit” this is only going to get worse with the construction industry contracting at its fastest rate in six years resulting in higher pressure on the rented and housing stock already in the market.

Before “Brexit” it was predicted that the retirement housing benefit would reach £8bn by 2060 with 3.5 million pensioners claiming this benefit but that figure is now seen as an inaccurate estimate. There is a feeling among some experts that failing to tackle this problem right now could potentially bankrupt the welfare state.

I call upon this Congress to bring pressure on the government through Parliament to initiate the mass building of state-subsidised private homes for purchase at sub-market rates to avert in years to come an astronomical increase in Housing Benefit claims.

B01 BIRMINGHAM FORWARD BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally moved.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF HOUSING MOTION 339

339. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF HOUSING

This Congress calls for all Housing Associations to be taken under democratic control within Local Authorities. All empty dwellings should also be taken over through compulsory purchase powers by the Local Authorities after being empty for a six month period; and Local Authorities should build houses year on year until the need has been exhausted.

W50 WELLINGTON BRANCH
Birmingham & West Midlands Region

(Carried)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: The mover of 339, Birmingham? Formally? Thank you.

The motion was formally moved.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Composite 25, Southern.

ESTATE REGENERATION COMPOSITE 25

C25. Covering Motions:

| | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 340. | ESTATE DEMOLITION/REGENERATION | London Region |
| 341. | ESTATE REGENERATION | Southern Region |

ESTATE REGENERATION

Congress is concerned about the push by property developers to get local authorities to agree to demolition of council estates especially in London and the South East. Congress is aware that up to 80 estates in London face this threat.

This Congress deplores the instances of local councils in London approving in concert with developers plans for demolishing and regenerating council estates without regard to the opinions and interests of tenants and leaseholders.

Congress calls for all GMB branches and regional bodies to support members in estates facing the threat of demolition and to campaign for the following policies:

- Don't demolish good homes - let all residents have vote to approve or reject any [demolition] plan
- Stop social cleansing - no [net] loss of social housing. Council and housing association for rent or lease should be included in assessing the number.
- London Mayor's guidelines should include the Government's new guidance that all residents should have a vote.

- Leaseholders should not be subject to compulsory purchase of their homes for the purpose of developers making money
- Rents need to stay at council 'social' rent levels - up to 80% market rents and shared ownership are not a substitute
- All residents whatever tenure should have a say at every stage of any redevelopment
- Right of return must be contractually enforceable
- Advisors should be independent of landlord -councils should pay and residents should have right to de/select them
- All technical and financial information about estates to be made public.

Congress welcome robust guidance from the Mayor of London for existing as well as new redevelopment sites - and wants it to deliver on the Mayor's election manifesto promise which said " I will require that estate regeneration only takes place where there is resident support, based on full and transparent consultation, and that demolition is only permitted where it does not result in a loss of social housing, or where all other options have been exhausted, with full rights of return for displaced tenants and a fair deal for leaseholders'.

Congress calls upon the Mayor of London to ensure it includes in any future guidance/policy the commitment that "an independent ballot of estate residents would be undertaken which would inform of any final proposals to demolish" – as was recommended in the findings of the GLA Housing Committee report into estate regeneration "*Knock it down, or do it up*".

(Carried)

SIS. Y. ROSE (Southern): First time delegate and first time speaker. *(Applause)*
Families and single people continue to struggle with the huge housing crisis in London. I am here today to ask Congress for your support to oppose local authorities' demolition of council estates in London and the South East. London councils are demolishing large areas of council and social housing in the face of huge opposition from local residents. Whilst we accept that London is in need of high quality housing, many of these developments have done little to help social housing provision or included limited or no genuinely affordable housing. Many poor, disabled, and black and minority ethnic families have been moved out of the homes they love and forced to relocate in areas where they have no family, friends, or support. As a result, people become more vulnerable and isolated with no guarantee of returning to their communities. Council consultations have left tenants confused and unsure about what is going on and the outcome that will affect their lives.

When Labour built council homes for ordinary working people it was for life. Now it seems to be a crime to be a social housing tenant. People are subject to a form of eviction and scattered around the country. In my opinion, it is the opposite of a Robin Hood policy, robbing the homes of the poor to give to the rich. Much of the private housing on these developments are left empty after purchase or rented out at market rates. This reinforces the existing problem in the housing market.

This motion calls for the GMB to put pressure on London's mayor, Sadiq Khan, to ensure he fulfils his manifesto commitment to ensure each tenant has a vote in a ballot before homes are sold under their feet. The motion calls for social housing to be

genuinely affordable, rents that are 80% of market or shared ownership are still out of the reach of most working class people in London. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Yvonne. London to second.

BRO. G. AKASIE (London): First time delegate, third time speaking. (*Applause*) President, Congress, this motion is on estate demolition and development which is carried out in the country without the due consent and control of the residents and where there is no structure or requirement for refurbishment, such as demolition and new development, which generally means rendering current residents homeless. It leads to forced loss of homes and in some cases the Minister of Trade & Commerce selling off social housing in estates, and homes being demolished for development means in real terms expensive private homes which are beyond the affordable reach of ordinary local residents and our members. These particular matters are bedevilling us now. Records have shown that these communities have contributed equal to over a billion pounds to the London economy, but when they are demolished all this will be lost. Congress, it is important to protect council homes. We should be supportive of the construction of social housing that is affordable and within the reach of members and ordinary citizens. We should also be able to say no to the demolition of homes and give support to communities' control of their estates. Congress, I therefore support this motion. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Godwin. The mover of 342? The mover of 342, London.

ALTERNATIVE RELIEF ON INNER CITY HOUSING MOTION 342

342. ALTERNATIVE RELIEF ON INNER CITY HOUSING

This Congress is to get the Government to invest money into the old mining/distillery areas that have been closed down and the communities that have suffered as a result of the closures which has resulted in job losses and people going onto benefits, it has also affected small local businesses and them having to close because of the communities getting smaller and having to go to where the work is.

Just with the investment from Government into relocating/building colleges and universities would boost local businesses, create jobs in the area and encourage new businesses to come. The students could also use the void properties as student accommodation this would then free up properties in the inner city areas for social housing.

There would be more opportunities for education for local people; there would be no effect on the greenbelt.

ISLINGTON 1 & HARINGEY BRANCH
London Region

(Carried)

BRO. G. HARRIS (London): Congress, since the Thatcher government of the 1980s we have seen a decimation of too many working class communities right across this country, from Scotland to Cornwall, from the Humber to South Wales, industrial wastelands have been created where communities have been left to die by successive

governments. Policies have been pursued that have resulted in a decline or closure of traditional industries, such as manufacturing, steel, and mining. The effects on families have been devastating, condemning generations in some areas and towns, particularly the young people, to a life of benefits and poorly paid jobs and no career prospects. The effects on local business has been equally devastating; when local communities have no money to spend then small local businesses follow big companies in contracts, or close, resulting in a cycle of more job losses and more deprivation.

There can be another way. The government can take the proactive approach of investing in the local communities, encouraging others to do the same. Government can relocate public sector organisations such as government departments, institutions of further and higher education, to move away from the South East and other more prosperous parts of the country, or to expand the operations into areas of deprivation. This in turn would encourage local businesses to invest and reopen or expand the service, and a growing community. Equally, housing stock that is currently vacant can be bought back into social housing to house and expand towns, cities, and other areas.

Congress, too long have we lived with an economic policy that has destroyed our traditional industries, that has failed to invest in or replace them and as a result has destroyed communities. There can be another way. Government can invest in communities and provide education and training for these populations to diversify away from the economic policy that centres on the service sector in the South East only.

On June 8th, you have a choice, more of the same, more deprivation, more broken communities, or you can vote for a government that will invest in its citizens and the whole country for your future and your children's future and you know your only choice is to vote Labour. I move. *(Applause)*

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. The mover of 344, Midland.

R.I.P. SOCIAL HOUSING MOTION 344

344. R.I.P. SOCIAL HOUSING

This Congress deplores the latest ruling on social housing brought about by the introduction of the 'overall benefit cap'.

This cap will render more people and families homeless, due to every Housing Association and Council landlord in the UK saying 'no' to DSS.

HULL PAINT & ENGINEERING BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

(Carried)

SIS. C. CLARKSON (Midland & East Coast): I come every year with a different ailment! *(Laughter)* People think I just want sympathy. Vice President, Congress, RIP Social Housing. Yes, this Government have capped the benefit for rent. They are only allowing the maximum of £50 per week for a couple with three children.

This is a shortfall of approximately £50. Where are these people going to get this £50? The thing is the benefits are supposed to find the kind of money - no, I can't make this out now. Never mind! - kind of money when the Conservatives have already slashed other benefits they are entitled to. The outcome will be eviction, eviction for families and single people. Families will be broken up and children go into care, which will cost more. There will be more young people living on our streets. It is disgusting. This is 2017 and we live in one of the richest countries in the world. The Tories want to take us back to the 18th century where we have to live in multi-occupied homes because we cannot afford to live in a family unit. Please, Congress, these people are low paid, on zero hour contracts. They are people who cannot find jobs but they are still workers. They are not working at the minute because they have no job to go to. Congress, fight the Tory cap on rent. Give a roof over their heads. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Carol. The mover of 345.

SUPPORT FOR HOMELESS PEOPLE MOTION 345

345. SUPPORT FOR HOMELESS PEOPLE

This Congress calls for better support for homeless people in society by the provision of more and better housing, increased spending on social care and the removal of the stigma regarding homelessness promoted by the Tory government.

LEICESTERSHIRE 2000 BRANCH
Midland & East Coast Region

SIS. T. YEL (Midland & East Coast): Second time delegate, first time speaker. (*Applause*) Vice President, Congress, it is reported that since 2010 homelessness has doubled but it is difficult to get accurate figures because people move about and can be hidden away. Approximately 62% of single homeless people may not actually show up in official figures. The main cause of homelessness is relationship breakdown but there are wider factors which make people much more vulnerable, such as mental health or substance misuse issues. Access to the help they need is very difficult and we have already heard at Congress that due to service and funding cuts this is going to make things worse and the Tories have put a stigma on homelessness. There is currently a massive reliance on charities and the goodwill and fundraising of people to support local homeless communities because services and appropriate accommodation are not funded sufficiently, and this needs to change.

The Homelessness Reduction Bill was passed in April and whilst it is a positive step it is not enough and those classed as in priority need, such as parents, those fleeing domestic abuse, or care leavers, are at risk of falling through the gaps. There are more than 150,000 young vulnerable people asking for help and they will not meet the Government's criteria for emergency housing. This leaves them facing a terrible choice between being on the streets or resorting to desperate measures like staying with strangers. Not having a home can make it harder for people to find a job, to stay healthy, and maintain relationships. They suffer feelings of isolation and increase the potential of mental health problems. In 2016, 73% of accommodation projects have had to turn people away because their needs were too high. The Tory Government's benefit cap has actually supported the increase of homelessness and pushed more

people into severe hardship. Everyone should have safe, secure, and affordable housing.

I call upon Congress and the GMB to lobby and support their Labour Party and the manifesto plan to end rough sleeping by investing in additional homes reserved for people who are rough sleeping, and safeguard homeless hostels. Congress, please support this motion. I move. (*Applause*)

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Toni. The CEC support all these motions. I will put Motions 336, 337, 339, Composite 25, Motions 342, 344, and 345 to the vote. All those in favour please show. Any against? They are carried.

Motion 336 was CARRIED.

Motion 337 was CARRIED.

Motion 339 was CARRIED.

Composite 25 was CARRIED.

Motion 342 was CARRIED.

Motion 344 was CARRIED.

Motion 345 was CARRIED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Congress, this year's Congress Local Gift of £2,000 has been chosen by Northern Region and will be donated to the People's Kitchen in Newcastle, which offers food, friendship, and support to the homeless. You will find details on the flyer in your Congress bags and the National Office and regions will send their contributions to Northern Region for a presentation to be made in the region.

Colleagues, that concludes the business for today.

I have just a couple of quick announcements. The first one is as reported by the SOC, there will be a bucket collection as you leave the hall in aid of Guide Dogs for the Blind organised by GMB Scotland. Please give generously, as you always do. Could the regional organisers please inform the SOC of the total amount raised so this can be reported to Congress.

Delegates, tomorrow morning the Anthony Room, which is opposite the GMB Info Desk, will be available for delegates and visitors to store their luggage.

Also, another pair of spectacles has been left. If anybody owns them this is where they are.

Thank you for your cooperation and I hope you all have a good night. (*Applause*)

Conference adjourned.