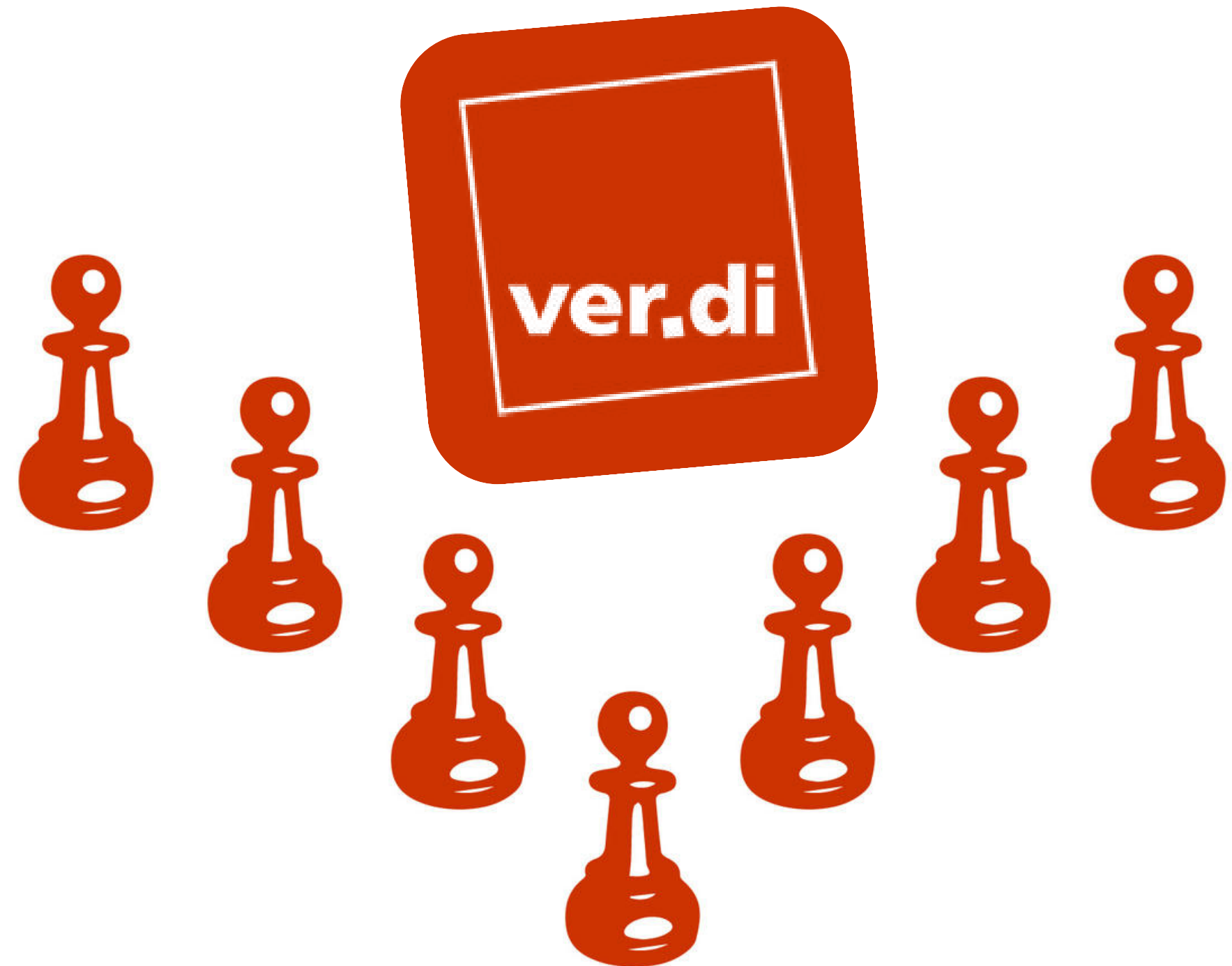
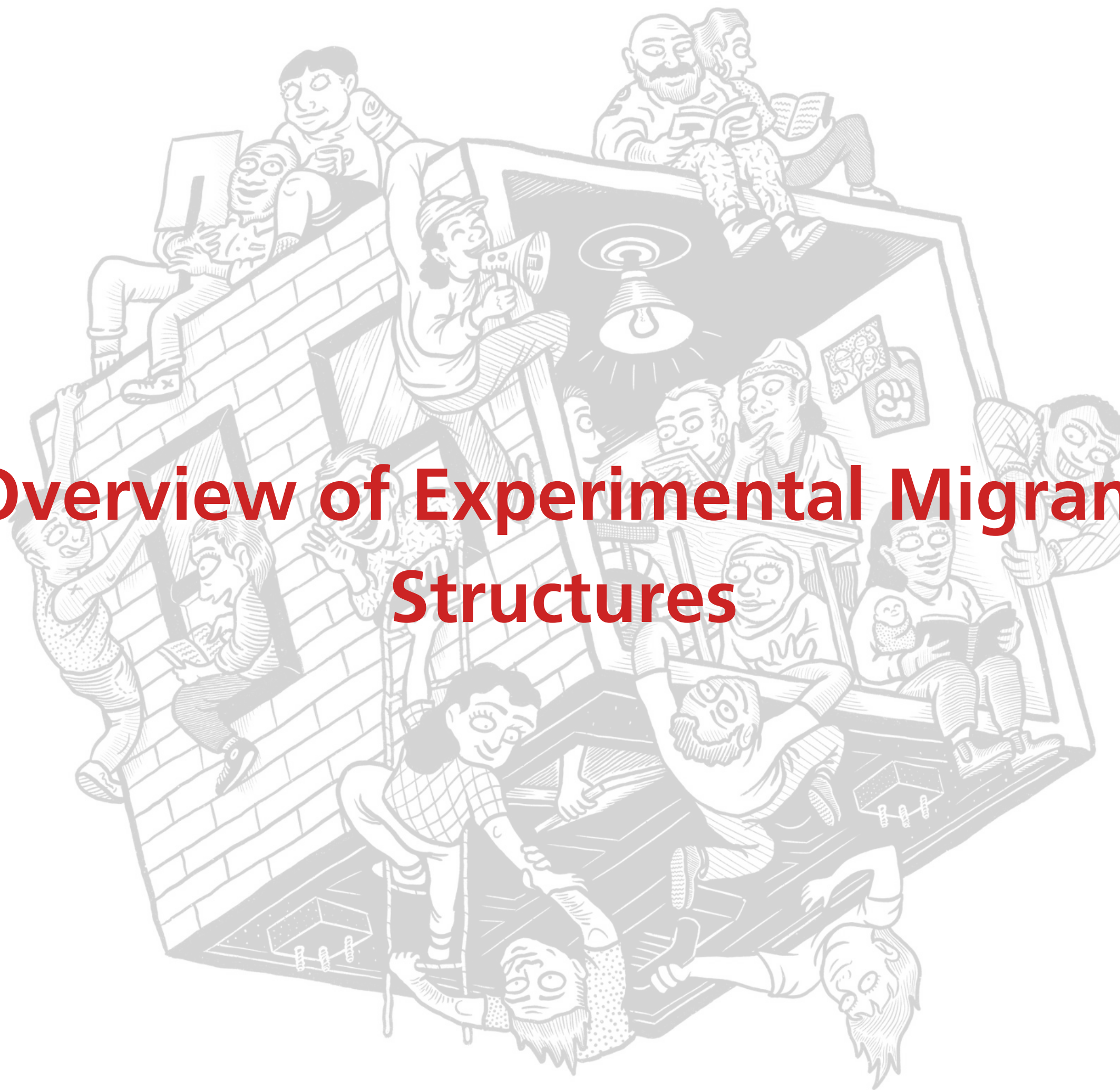


# Introduction to the ver.di Migrant & Worker-to- Worker Organizing Structures

Dr. Daniel Gutiérrez,  
ver.di Projekt Zukunft der  
Mitgliedergewinnung



# Overview of Experimental Migrant Structures



# Obstacles That Migrant Workers Face in Berlin's Tech



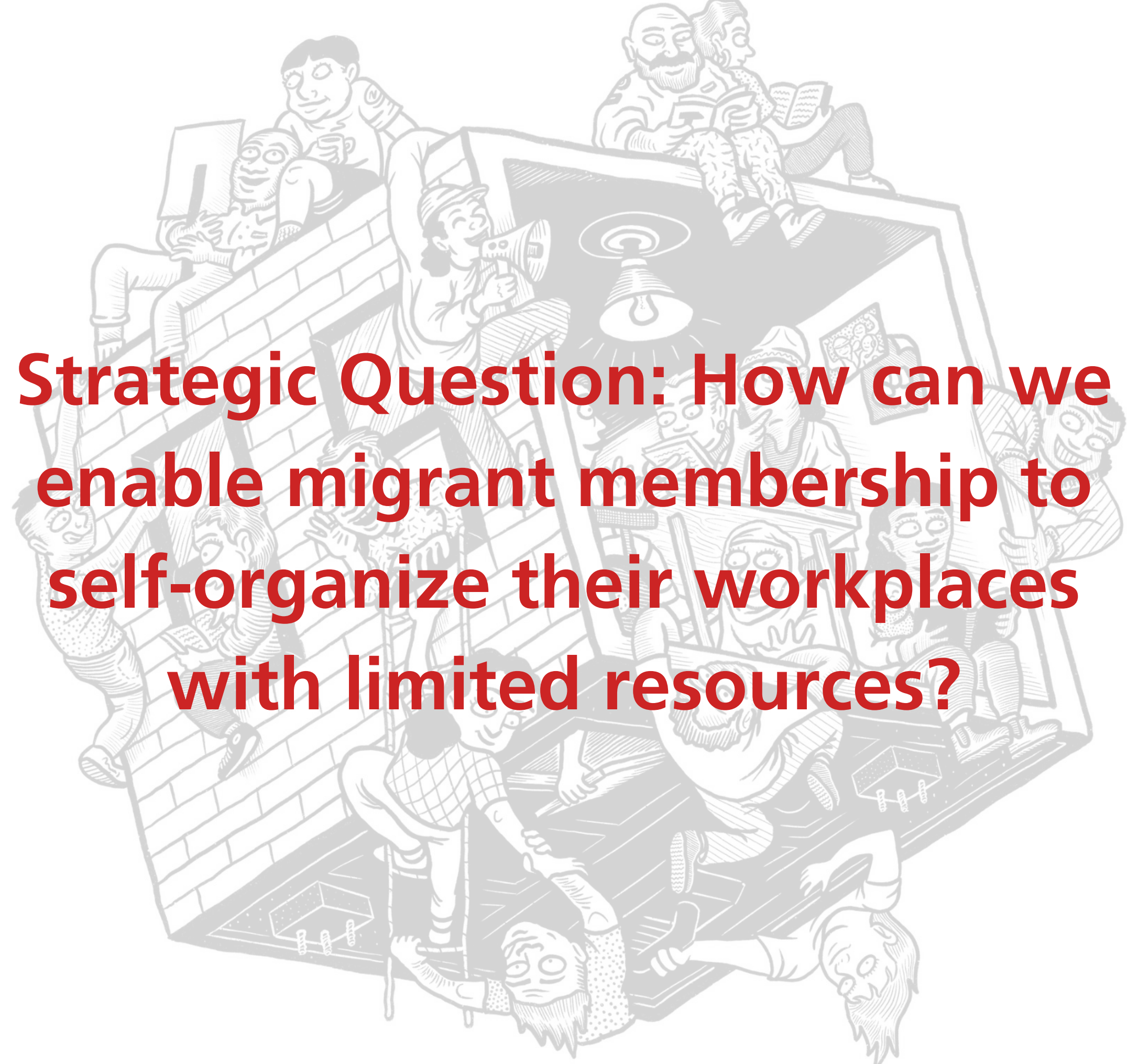
**ver.di often plays little to no role in their everyday life**

**German labor law and union tradition is unknown**

**Those that have won a works council often face difficulties in organizing colleagues afterwards (in 2020 only 1,000 tech workers were represented by works councils but now 20,000 workers are represented by works councils)**

**Members that are not in a strategic workplace have little to do as union members**

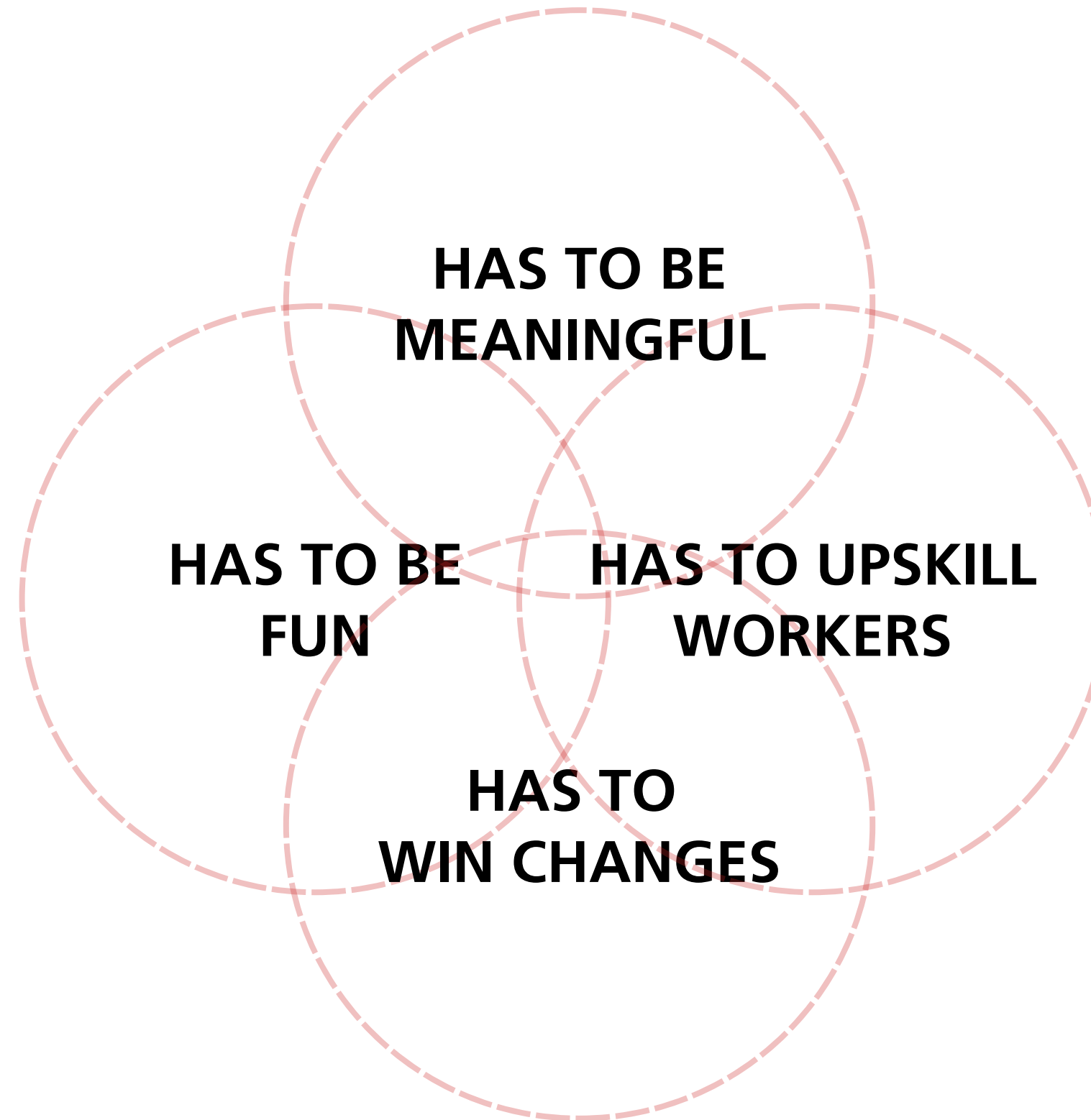
**Lack of structures available to enable migrant workers**

A detailed black and white line drawing of a brick building under construction. Numerous people are shown working on the structure: some are climbing ladders, others are using tools like hammers and saws, and one person is shouting into a megaphone. The scene is filled with activity, representing a community or group working together to build something from limited resources.

**Strategic Question: How can we enable migrant membership to self-organize their workplaces with limited resources?**



# Membership Needs



**We need to meet these needs to expand and maintain membership**

# Strategische Hypothese: Worker-to-Worker Organizing

ver.di

Structure-based Organizing Campaigns that are initiated by workers themselves and wherein workers take on important tasks that staff typically is in charge of.

That means:

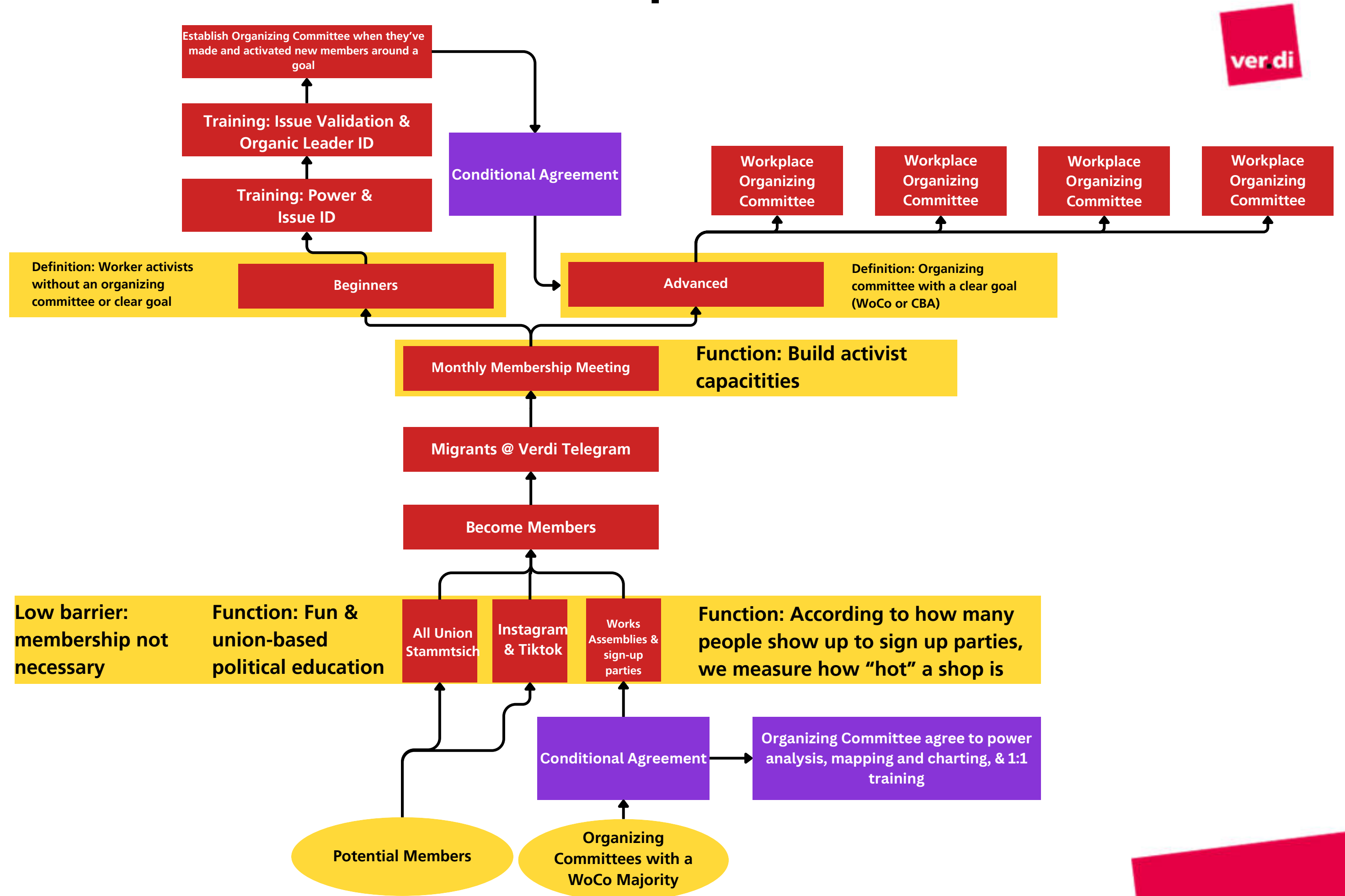
1. Rank-and-file initiate unionization themselves
2. Strategy and campaign development is developed in participatory manner
3. Rank-and-file train rank-and-file



A detailed black and white line drawing of a 3D funnel-shaped structure. The structure is divided into several horizontal sections. At the top, a group of people is shown, some sitting and some standing, with one person holding a megaphone. Below this, a person is climbing a ladder on the left side. The middle section shows a group of people sitting on the floor, some looking at books or papers. At the bottom, a person is climbing a ladder on the right side. The funnel narrows as it goes down, symbolizing a process of selection or progression. The entire illustration is rendered in a simple, sketchy style.

# ZdM Migrant Membership Funnel

# ZdM Membership Funnel



# What is the All Union Stammtisch

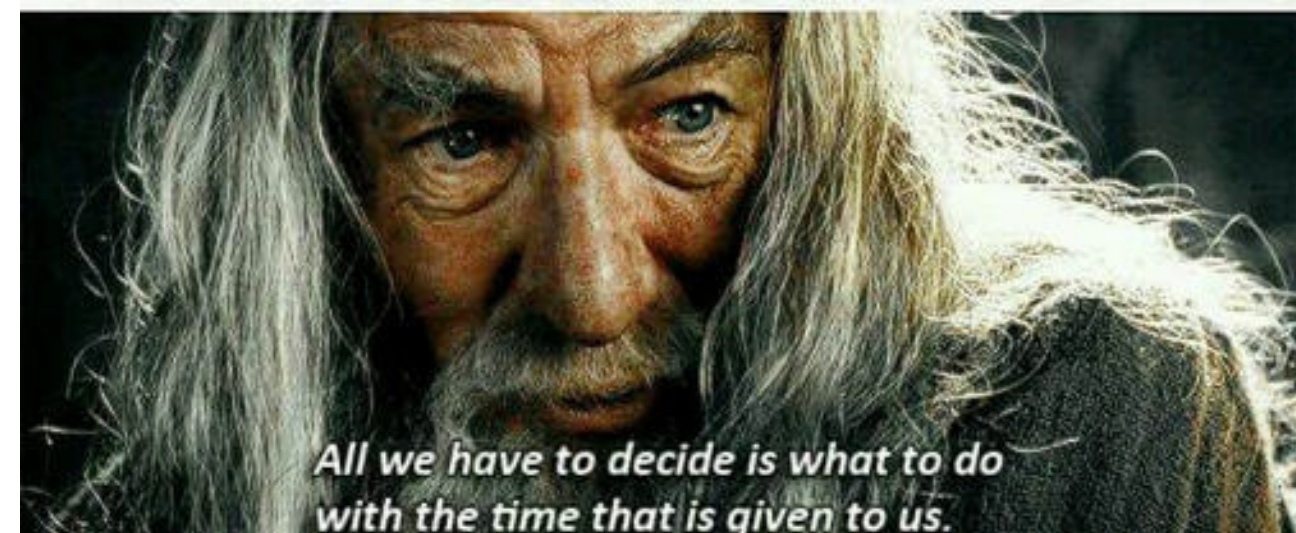
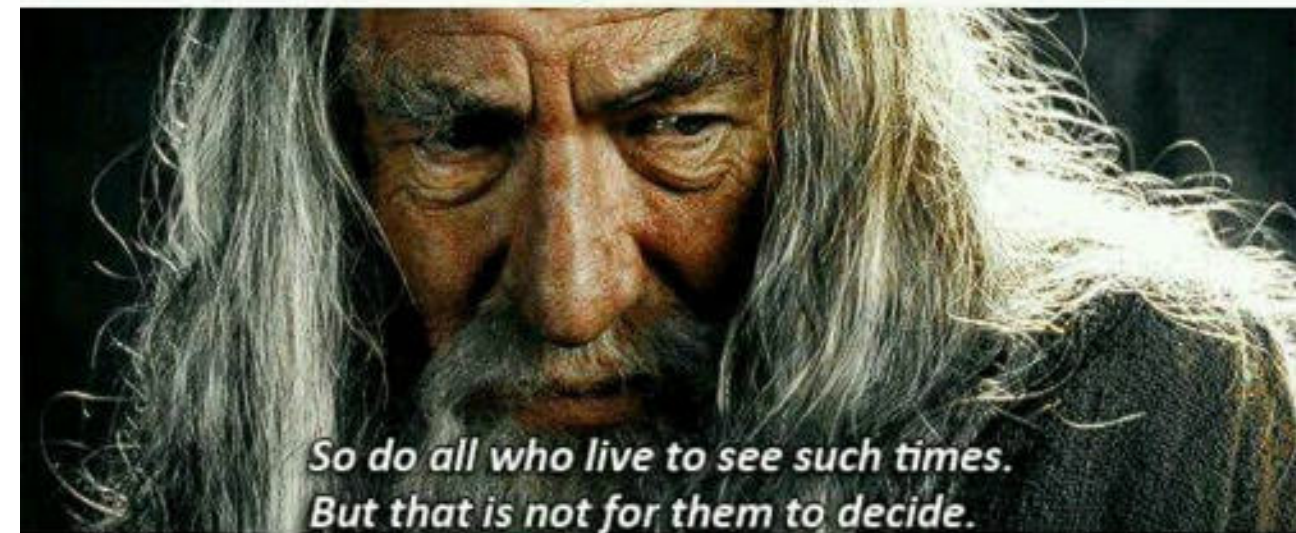
ver.di

- **Function: cultivate and inspire union fun, culture, and identity**
- **Quarterly meet up, open to all**
- **Participants are invited to bring a dish from their home country**
- **Enables rank-and-file & not yet members to understand that ver.di is more than a single workplace and that their own struggle fits into a more larger mosaic-like narrative of justice and collective empowerment**



# How we use Works Assemblies

- **Function:** Circulate an inspiring vision of the union including an offer to become a union member and active in organizing your workplace
- **Method:** Story of Self | Story of Us | Story of Now
- **Organized by** ver.di majorities in WoCos
- **Sign-up Party** after assembly (Strukture-test)
- **Allows staffers** to measure how “hot” a shop is and whether we in sprint or marathon mode



# What is the monthly membership meeting?

ver.di

- **Function: Jumpstart organizing committees**
- **Monthly training that brings together migrant workers across workplaces**
- **Allows the development of cross workplace relationships & exchanges/learnings**
- **Training & community building structure**

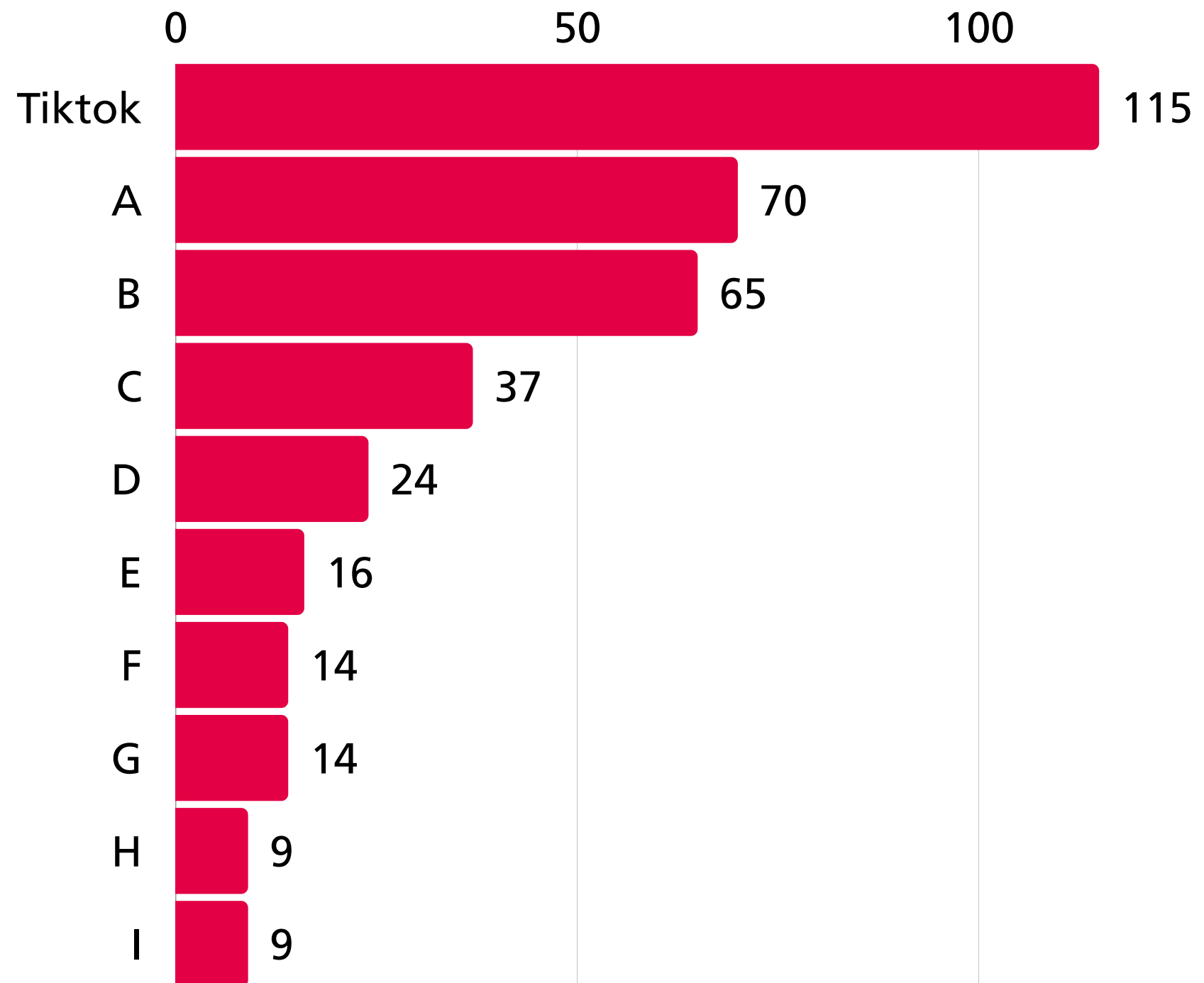


# 393 New Members Since October 2024

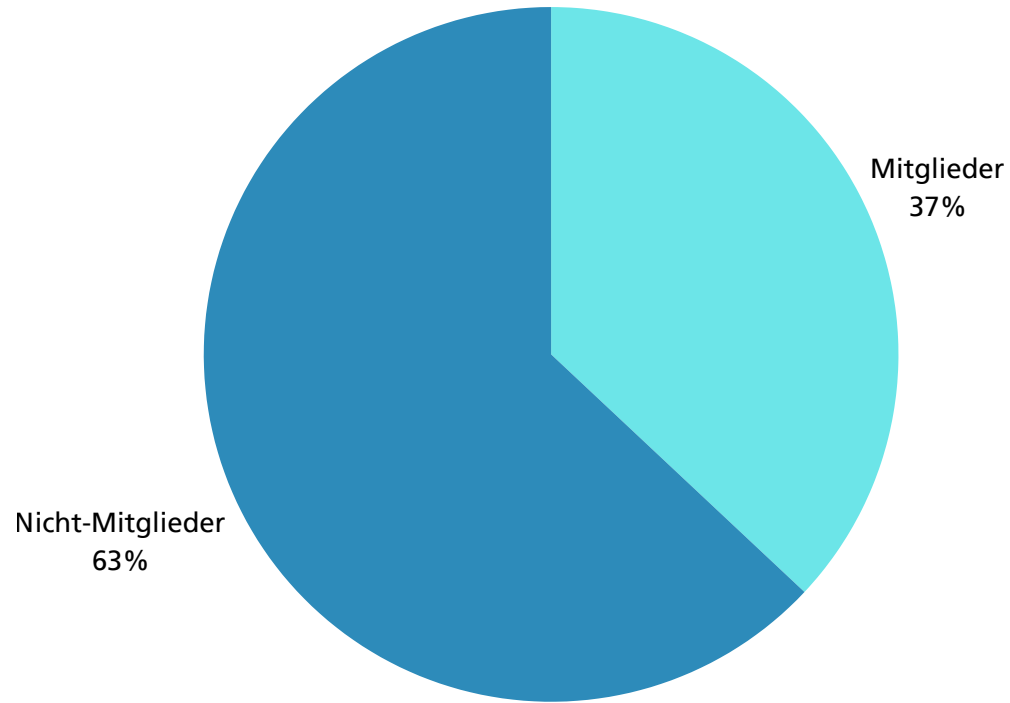
established through worker-to-worker structures



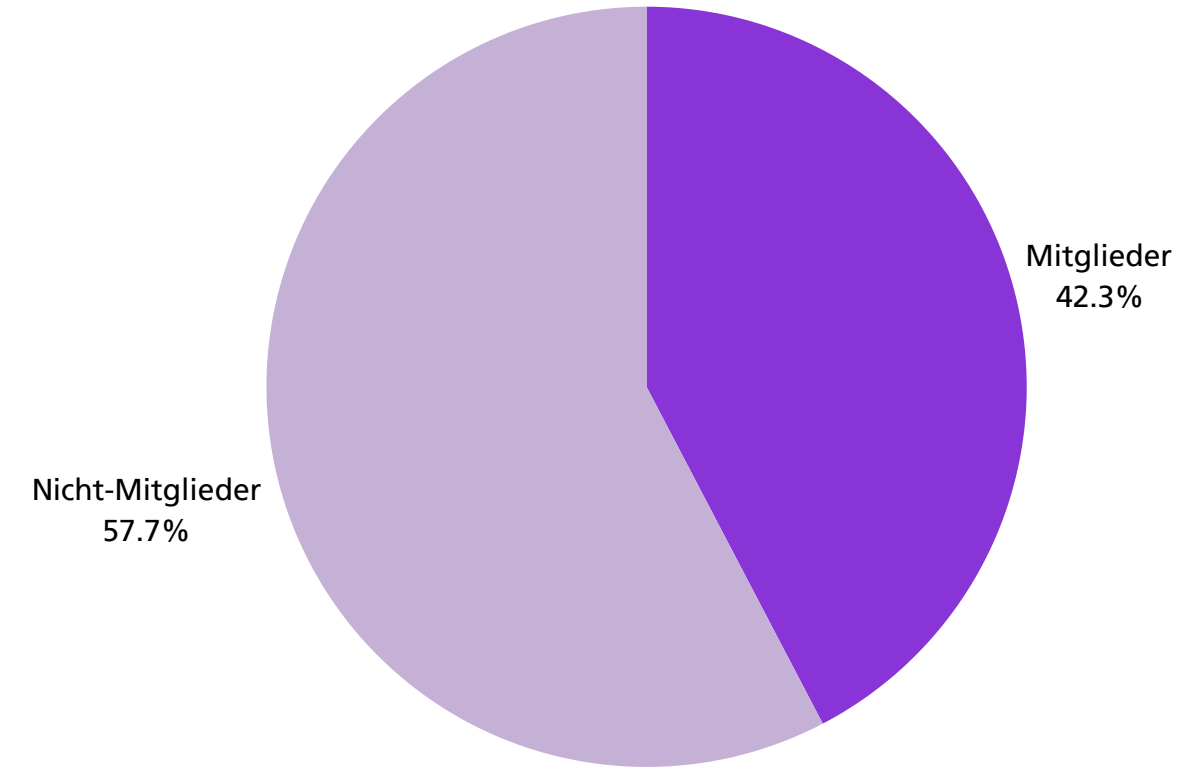
## Top 10 Membership Campaigns



# TikTok

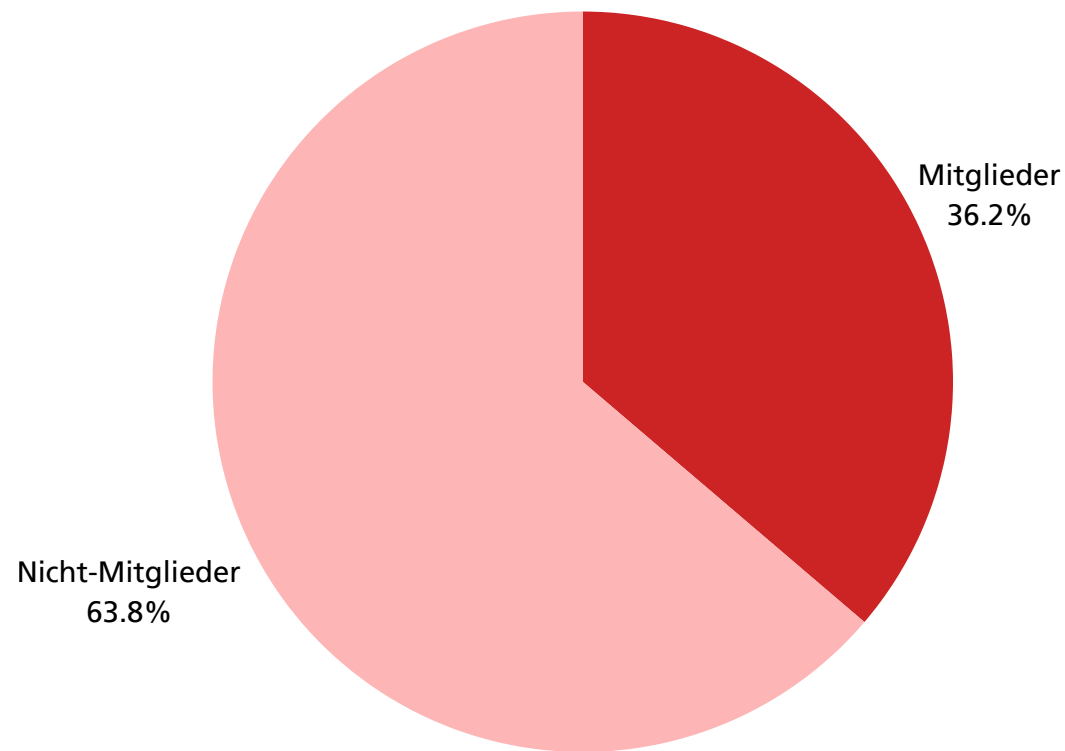


# Shop A (189 Workers)

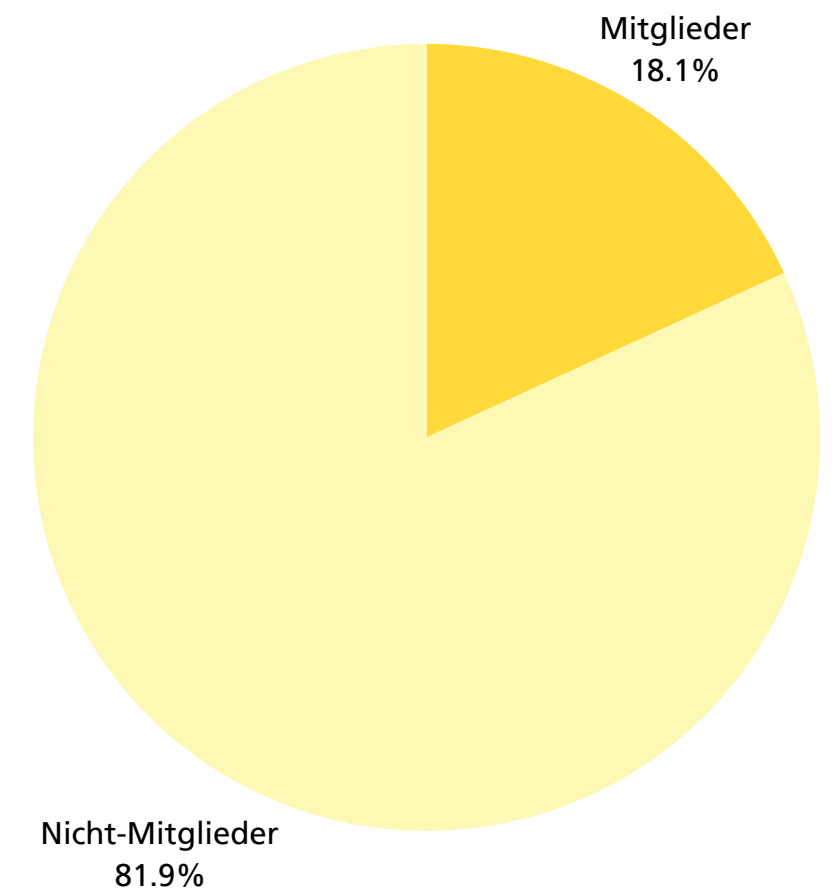


# Sprint Candidates

# Shop C (150 workers)



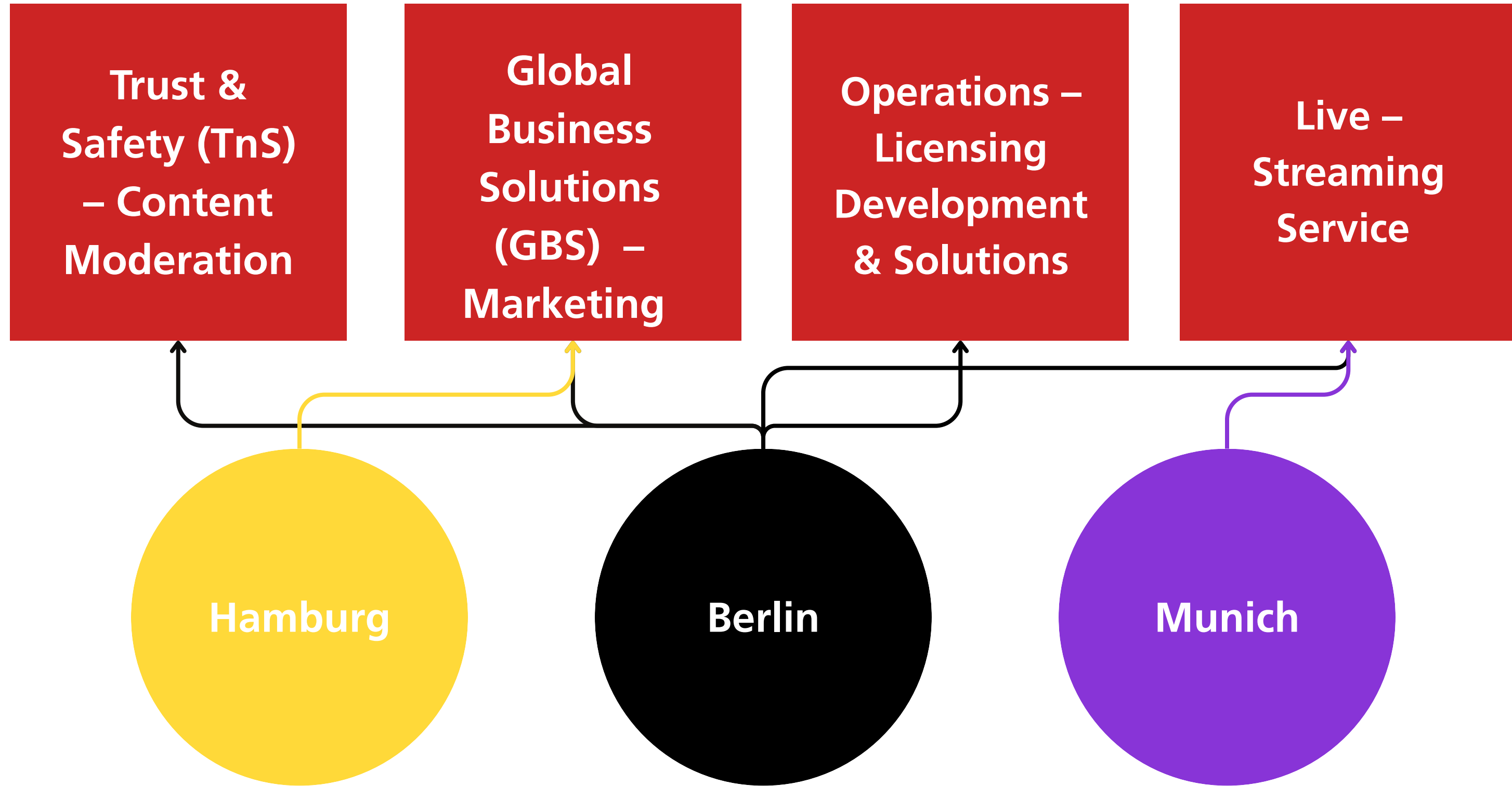
# Shop B (420 workers)



A detailed black and white line drawing illustration. It depicts a large brick wall on the left side, with several people climbing it. Some are at the top, some are in the middle, and some are at the bottom. In the center, a woman is shouting into a megaphone. To the right, a room is visible with a glowing lightbulb hanging from the ceiling. Inside the room, a group of people is gathered around a table, some looking at books or papers. The overall scene suggests a process of building, organizing, or spreading an idea.

**From Membership Funnel to CBA  
Campaign through Worker-to-  
Worker Organizing: The TikTok  
Campaign**

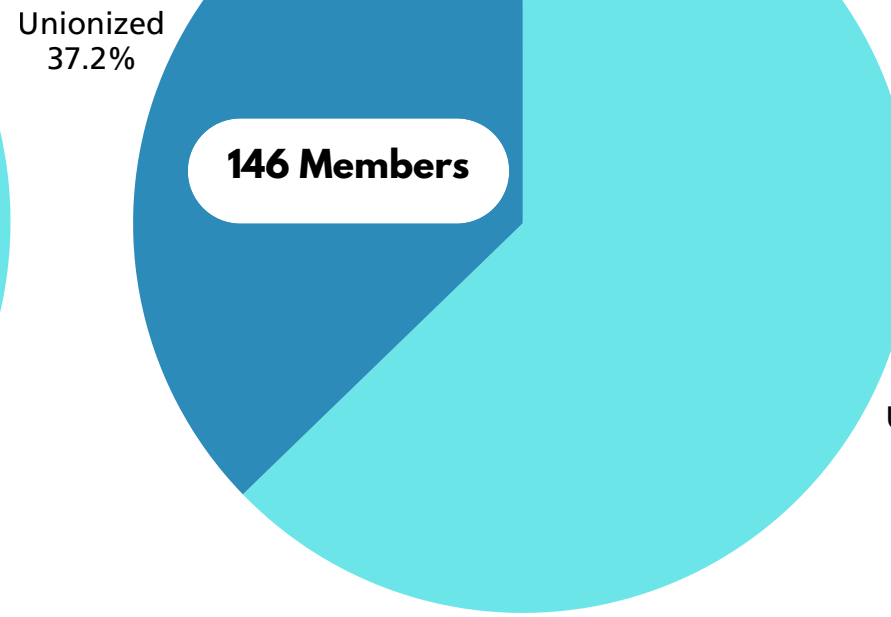
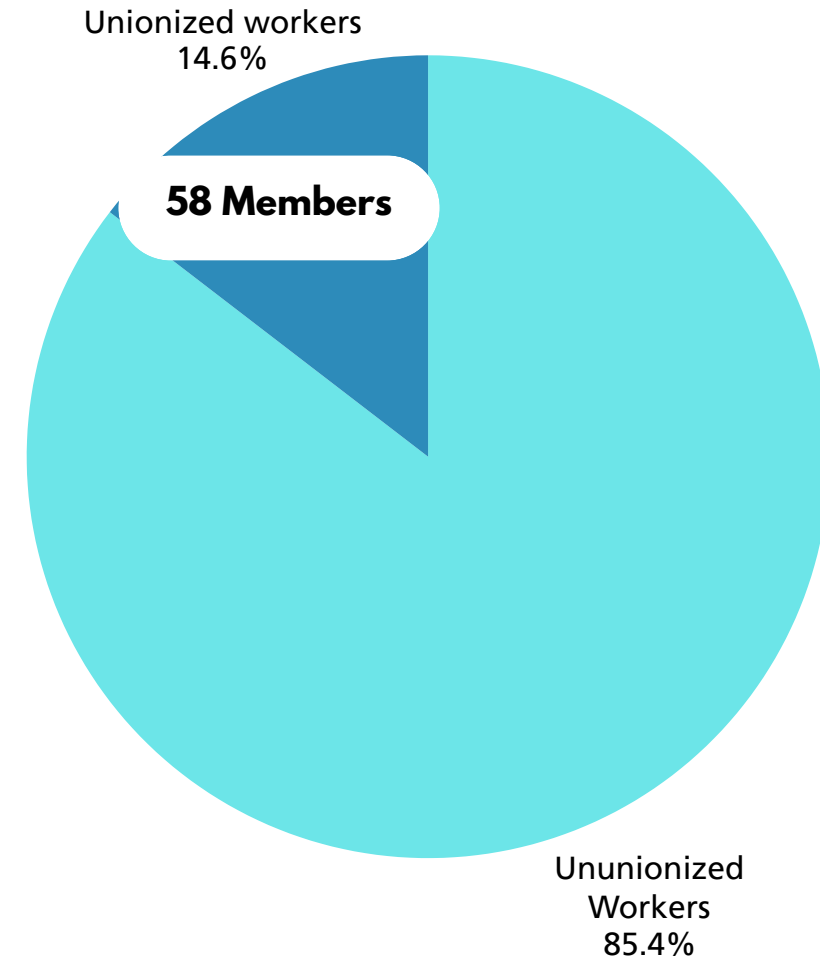
# Four Core Departments of TikTok Germany



**Three Offices**

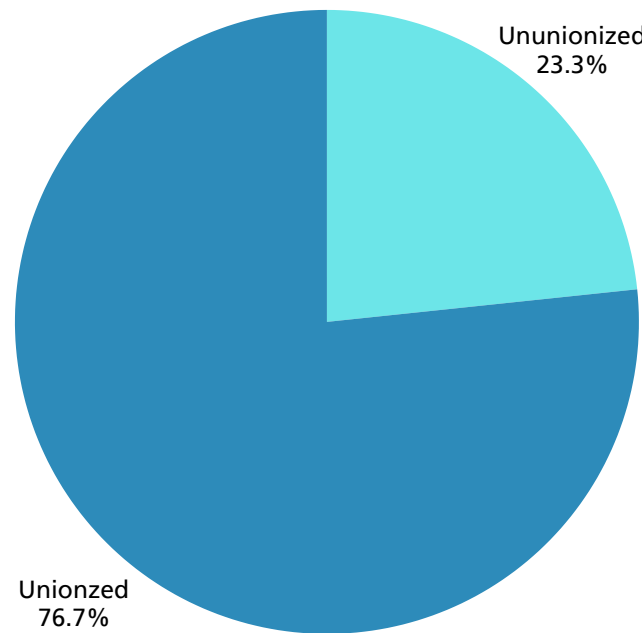
# TikTok Orgagrad in 10.2024

# TikTok Orgagrad in 10.2025

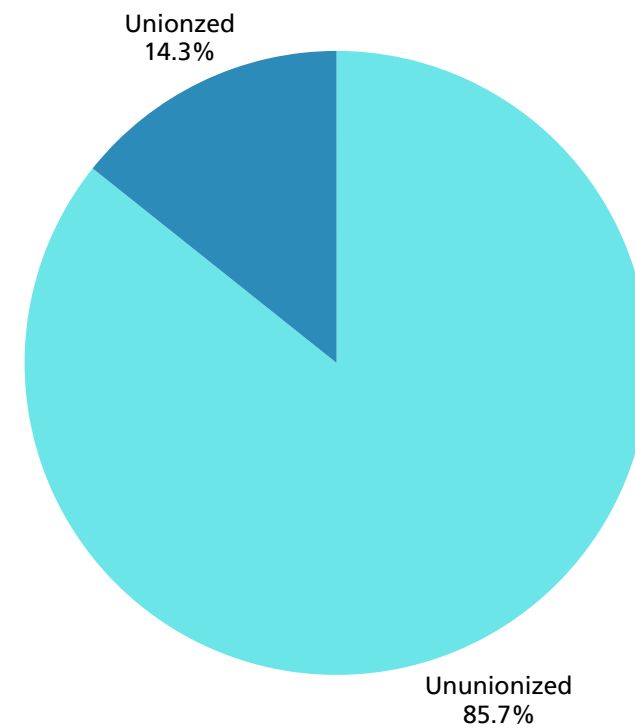


All Data Regards Berlin Office

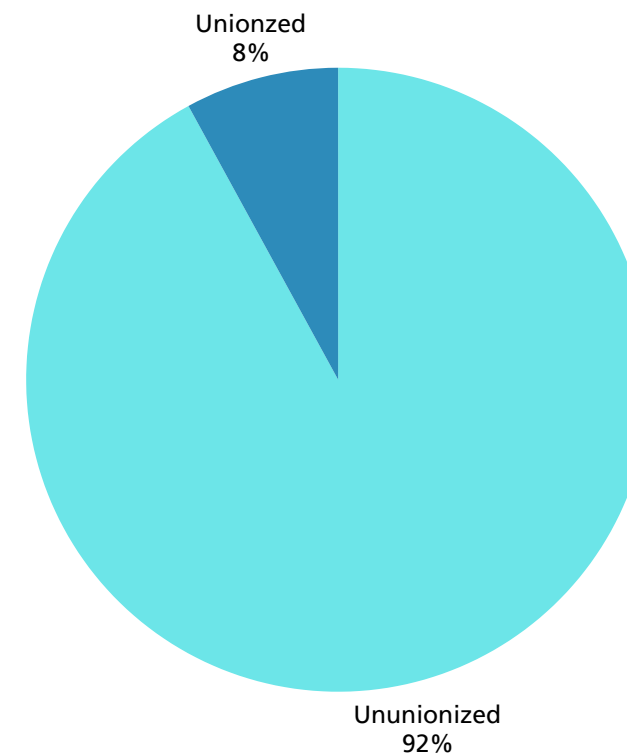
## TnS Union Density



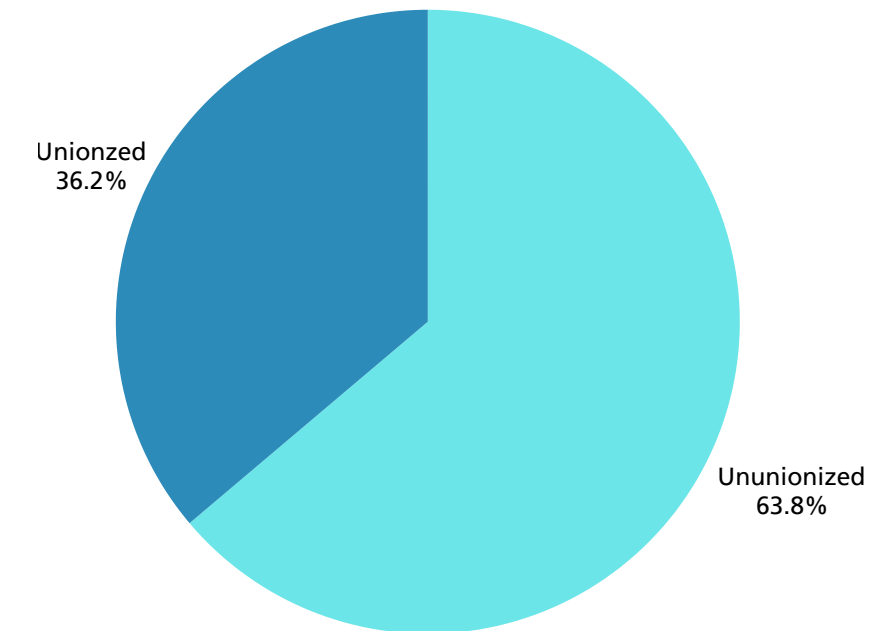
## Ops Union Density



## GBS Union Density

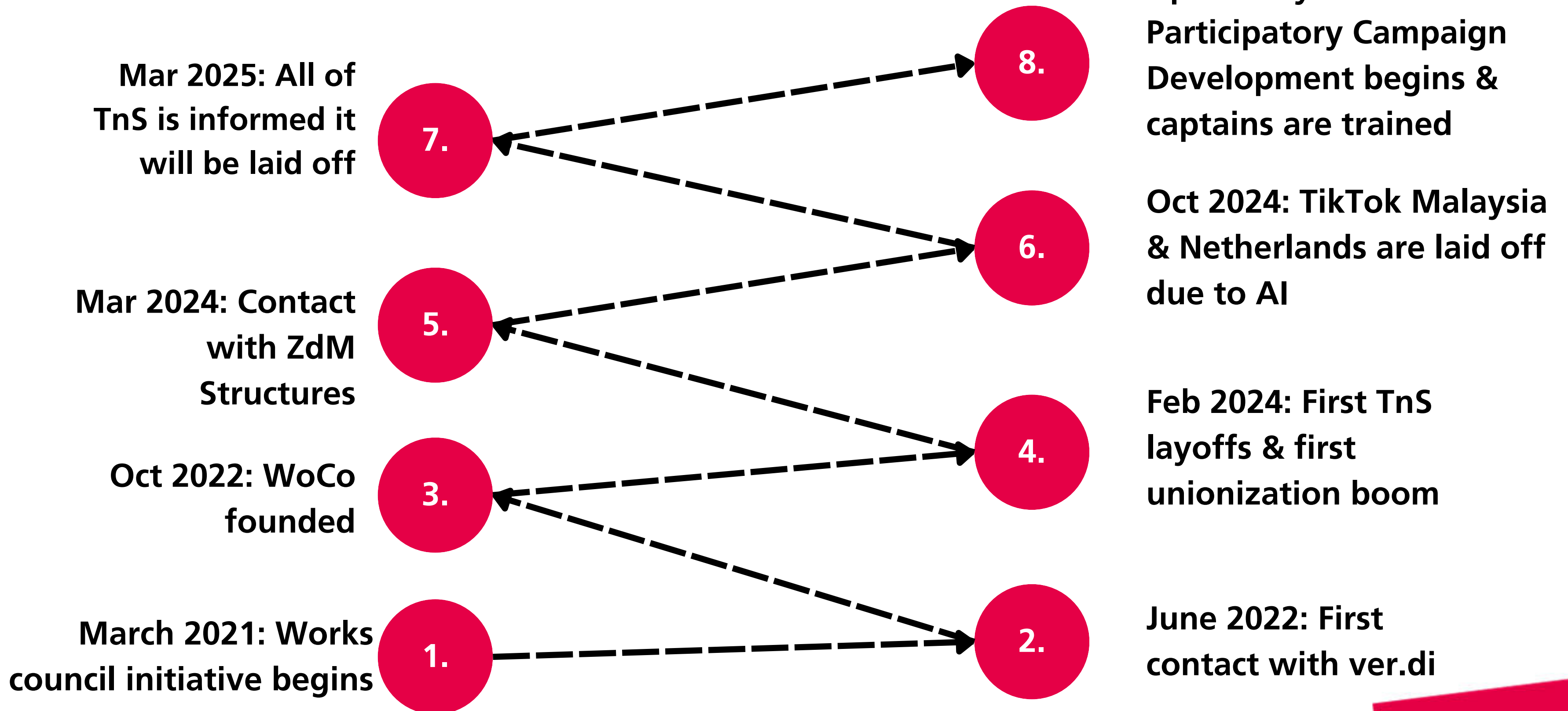


## Live Union Density



# Timeline of TikTok Organization

ver.di





Von links: TikTok Betriebsräte Andreas Hänisch und Sean Krusch

**“Our participation in the MMM had given us the confidence to react quickly. The opportunity to practice 1:1s so often is what made the difference. We could understand the moment and use it.” – Sean Krusch, TikTok Works Council Chair**

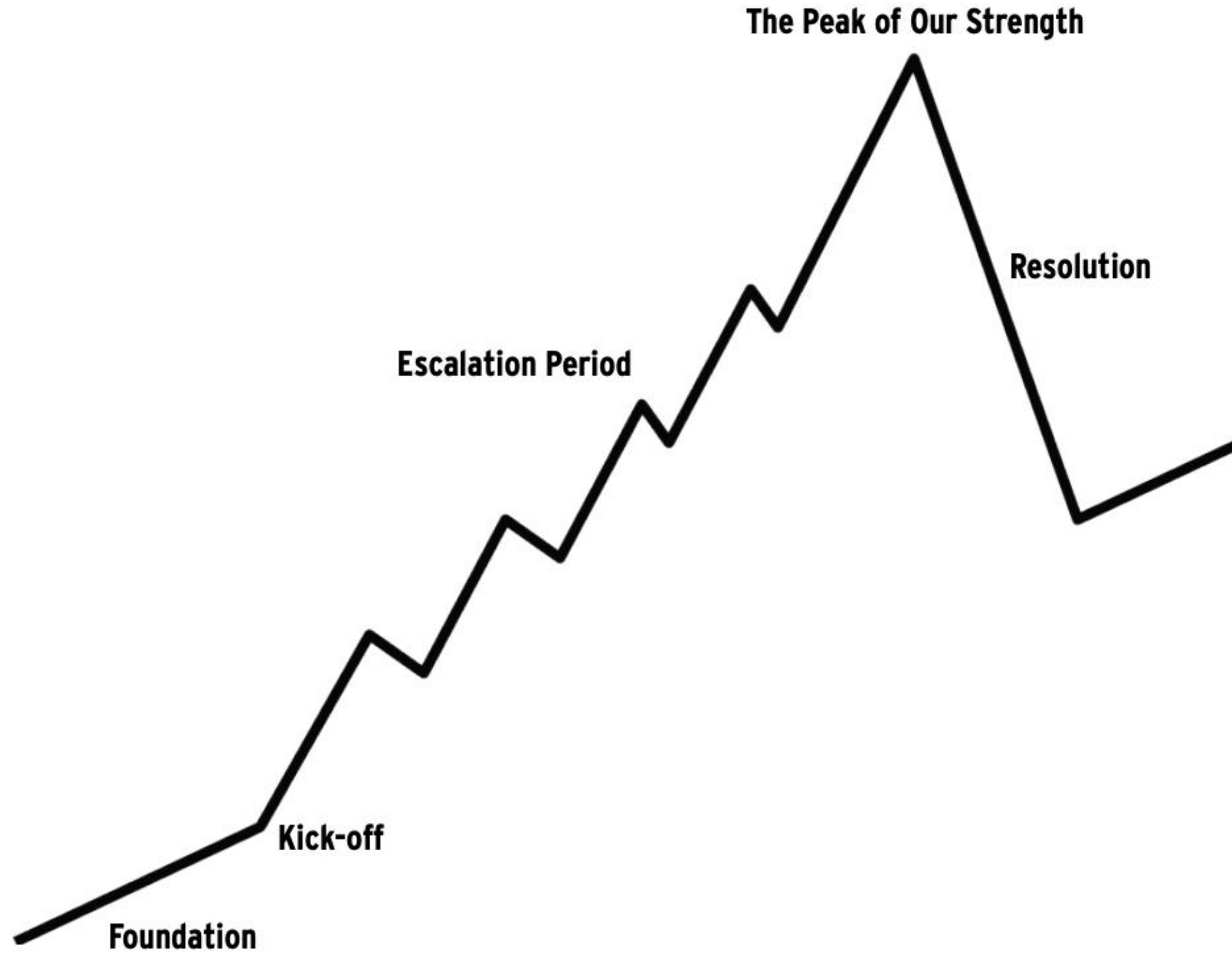
# Worker-to-Worker Campaign Planning & Captain Structure

ver.di

- From the beginning we set clear and realistic expectations: How do we build power? What are the risks?
- 3 day participatory campaign planning and one-on-one training with as many workers as possible after work and at TikTok offices
- Captains were trained to lead one-on-ones and given the responsibility to mobilize and build membership
- Captains met in weekly huddles and given assignments
- Captains conducted ~95% of one-on-ones (via telephone & in-person)
- Most experienced captains were trained to give onboardings and one-on-one trainings to new members
- It made a considerable difference that the organizer was also a migrant (and with community-organizing experiencing)

# CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

## Phases of a Campaign



Daniel

**Non-photo  
petition**

Daniel

**Changing  
Slack profile  
pictures**

Daniel

**Hijacking a  
townhall with  
shared  
backgrounds**

Daniel

**Simultaneousl  
y book desks**

Daniel

Daniel

**Public petition**

Daniel

**Sticker Day on  
Negotiation  
Day with  
Betriebsrat**

Daniel

**Media junket**

Daniel

Daniel

**Lunch meet  
and greet for  
union  
members**

Daniel

**Showing up to  
office when  
others are  
here  
(Wednesday)  
& using that  
for sticker day**

Daniel

**Coming to  
office on BR  
Assembly and  
introducing  
themselves**

Daniel

**Escalating  
amount of  
people  
coming to  
office.**

Daniel

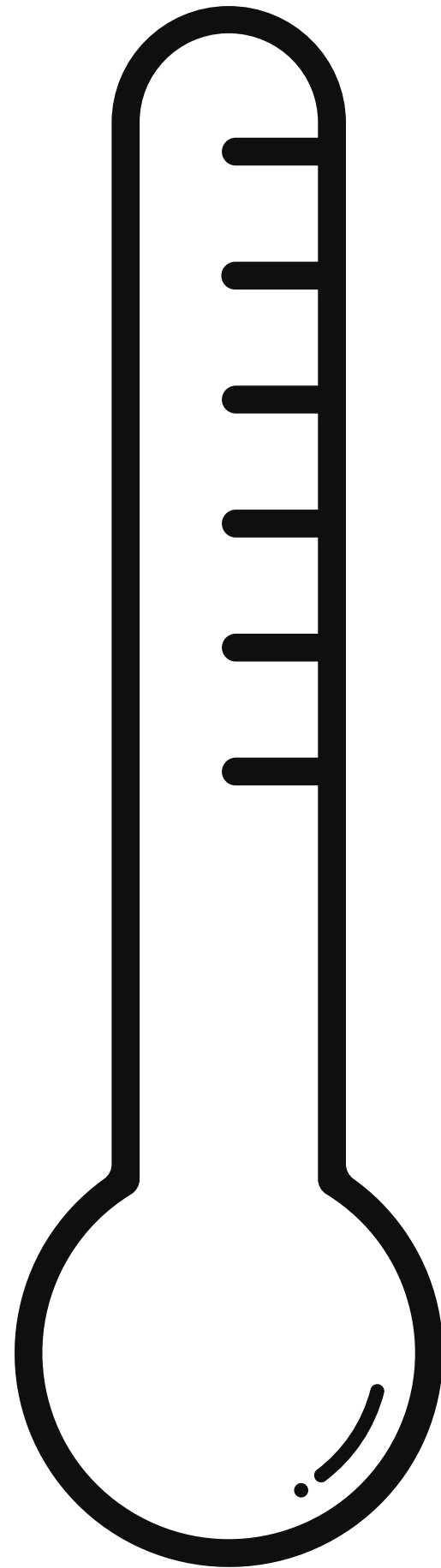
Daniel

**Strike**

Daniel

**sticker on a  
desk**

Daniel



**Showing up to office when others are here (Wednesday)**  
Daniel

**Escalating amount of people coming to office.**  
Daniel

**Simultaneously book desks**  
Daniel

**Lunch meet and greet for union members**  
Daniel

**sticker on a desk**

**Chan  
Slack  
pictu**  
Daniel

**Sticker Day on Negotiation Day with Betriebsrat**  
Daniel

**Everyone shows up to BR negotiation wearing same t-shirt and leave before meeting begins**

**Coming to office on BR Assembly about layoffs and introducing themselves**  
Daniel

**Non-photo, non public petition**

**Public, photo petition @ lunch with media**

**Strike**  
Daniel

# ESCALATIONSSTRATEGIE: PHASE I

Artikel  
& Social  
Media

Pressemit-  
teilung

**TBA Mittagessensaktion mit Presse**

**Goal: 80% TnS**  
TikTok workers have a lunch time rally and present to the press the outcome of the petition.

**Ziel: 65% TnS Beteiligung & 10 neue Mitglieder in GBS & Live Social Media Aktion mit Politiker\*innen**

TikTok workers attend politician event and ask that they support by signing the petition to Tiktok management and demanding support on behalf of tech workers.

**27. Juni TK Gründung**

Form bargaining committee and invite employer to commence negotiations with ver.di.

**26. June @14:00 WoCo Action**

**Ziel: Mehrheit in TnS & 10 neue Mitglieder in Live & GBS**  
At meeting between WoCo and management, all TnS workers are mobilized to march into meeting with management and present demands and present the names of people who will be fired. They will then go on Lark and share a video made previously at 14:00 with management and colleagues.

**10. JUNE @ 09:00 Lark Aktion**

**Ziel: Mehrheit in TnS**  
Low-risk, low-pressure action. This will be the first structure-test that will be visible to the employer. On the same day and at the same time, workers inside and outside the union are invited to change their profile picture on Lark and to put stickers on their desk for a day.

**4. JUNE @ Mittagessen Versammlung**

**Goal: Mehrheit der Ver.di Mitglieder**  
The first lunch is a test of existing coordination and organization (aka a "structure-test"). It has zero risk and does not build pressure, but tests our collective capacities to move at the same time. This allows us to test our weak points. **Begin collecting signatures for petition.**





AI after tagging a pride flag as extremist





**We trained  
your machines.  
Pay us  
what we deserve.**

#ByteDancersNotBystanders



15:10

40



rbb24 4 Std.



RBB24.DE

### TIKTOK-STREIK

**TikTok-Mitarbeitende protestieren in Berlin**

- Content-Moderation soll durch KI ersetzt werden
- Streikende fordern hohe Abfindung und längere Kündigungsfrist

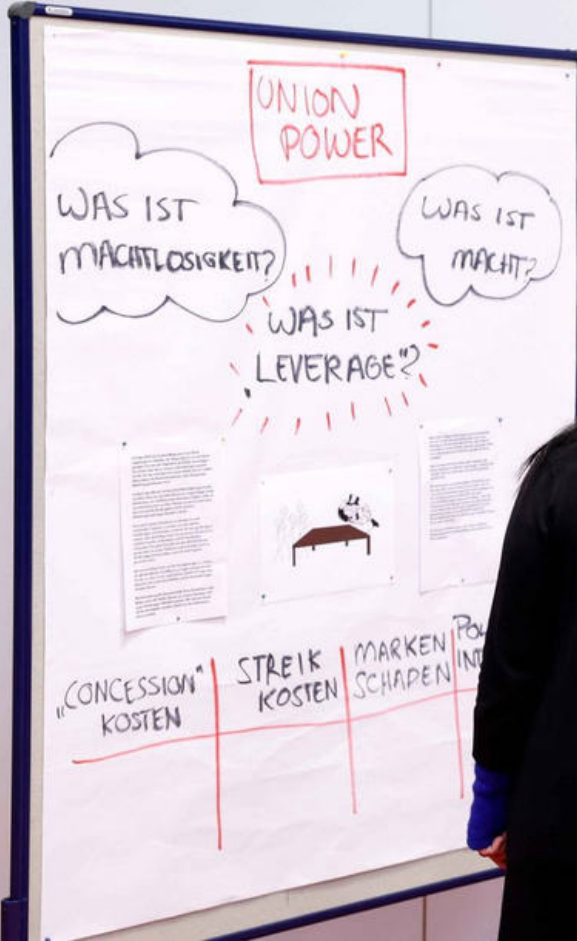
Bild: dpa / Bernd von Jutrczenka

Nachricht senden ...









HEY TIKTOK!  
HOW MUCH IS SAFETY WORTH?  
CAN THE COMMUNITY TRUST YOU



HEY TIKTOK  
WE ARE NOT DISPOSABLE  
PAY US, WHAT WE DESERVE



ver.di at  
TikTok



ver.di

# Is the TikTok Campaign Worker-to-Worker Organizing

- Did rank-and-file initiate unionization at TikTok?
- Was the campaign planning participatory?
- Did workers train other workers?



# What is necessary for worker-to-worker organizing to function?




- Strong focus on building rank-and-file capacities
- Strong communication and trust between rank-and-file and staffers
- Crystal clear expectation management

# Next Steps for the TikTok Campaign

ver.di

- Pivot towards a longer term political reform campaign addressing
  - Systematic abuse of outsourcing for purposes of union busting
  - Regulation of artificial intelligence
  - Reform around social media platforms
- Develop framework for international cooperation with sister unions for transnational organizing on shop floor and political level




# Next Steps for Worker-to-Worker Organizing

-  Develop a curriculum for a worker-to-worker, cross workplace rank-and-file coach structure
-  Develop an organizational framework to integrate coach structure into existing campaigns
-  Develop framework for international cooperation with sister unions for transnational organizing on shop floor and political level

# Next Steps for MATCH Coaches

- **Develop migrant members ability to organize a workplace to 30-40% density without broader resources**
- **To do that, we need to develop a division of rank-and-file migrant workers who are trained in a bootcamp and assigned workplaces to “coach”**

# MATCH Coach Tasks

-  **MATCH Coaches will either have the objective to organize their own workplace or that of others**
-  **Primary Objective: 1) Establish organizing committees; 2) Facilitate organizing committee meetings; 3) build recruitment drives; 4) Facilitate 1:1 trainings**
-  **Secondary Objectives: 1) Attend works assemblies & organize signup parties; 2) Facilitate MMM-Trainings; 3) organize quarterly socials; 4) co-develop Online-2-Offline material**

# February MATCH Assignments at Sprint Workplaces

**A**

- 1x Lead 1:1 Training for new members
- 1x facilitate organizing committee meetings

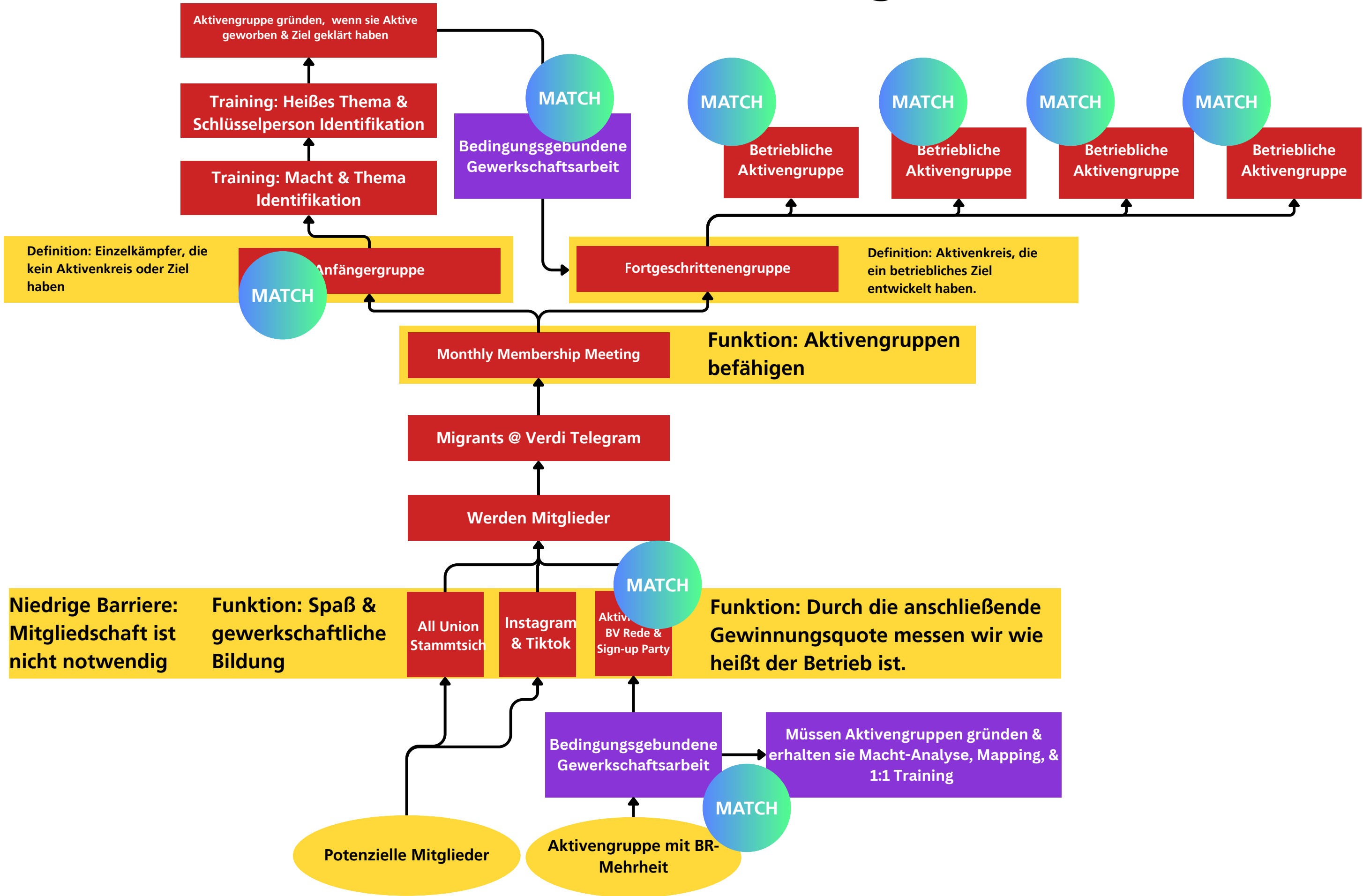
**B**

- 1x lead 1:1 Training for new captains
- 1x facilitate organizing committee meetings

**C**

- 1x lead 1:1 training for new members
- 1x facilitate 1:1 organizing committee meetings

# ZdM-Gewinnungstrichter



# Building Transnational Structures

ver.di

- **Additionally, the TikTok campaign has demonstrated that if unions want to expand, use, and win through their specialization in using the leverage of employer dependency on labor power, we will have to build transnational striking structures given the international division of labor.**



**Thanks for your time!**