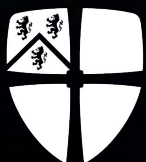


INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE CONFERENCE

IREC 2023

DURHAM UNIVERSITY BUSINESS SCHOOL

18TH-20TH SEPTEMBER 2023



Durham
University
Business School



Welcome to Durham University Business School

On behalf of all our colleagues here at Durham University Business School, I would like to welcome you to the **2023 Industrial Relations in Europe Conference**. We are delighted to be hosting this prestigious conference here in Durham and hope that you will be able to enjoy and make the most of your stay in this beautiful, historic city.

Industrial relations continues to be a key issue for study and analysis within our School, and increasingly our colleagues draw out the links between IR and the important challenges we face today such as workforce poverty; the turbulent economic environment; and the climate crisis. This conference draws together an impressive range of international contributors to discuss these important issues in what will be an engaging, inspiring and critical environment for discussion and learning.

I am sure you will join me in thanking our local organisers, Bernd Brandl and Barbara Bechter, for their excellent work in putting the conference together. I wish you all the best for a stimulating few days.

Professor Catherine Cassell

Executive Dean, Durham University Business School



Driving directions from Radisson Blu Hotel

1. Start on **Framwelgate Waterside** 400m
2. Turn left onto **Milburngate** 130m
3. Turn right onto **Crossgate** 400m
4. Turn left onto **Margery Lane** 300m
5. Continue on **Quarry Heads Lane** 200m
6. Turn right onto **Quarry Heads Lane** 400m
7. At roundabout take 2nd exit onto **Potters Bank** 60m
8. Exit roundabout onto **Potters Bank** 200m
9. Turn left onto **Elvet Hill Road** 400m
10. Turn right onto **Mill Hill Lane** 400m
11. Continue on unnamed road 190m
12. Turn left onto unnamed road 40m
13. Arrive at the **Business School**

Plenary Speakers



Richard Hyman

Richard Hyman is Emeritus Professor of Industrial Relations at the London School of Economics and Founding Editor of the European Journal of Industrial Relations. Richard also founded and coordinates the annual Industrial Relations in Europe Conference (IREC).



Valeria Pulignano

Valeria Pulignano is Professor in Sociology at the Centre for Sociological Research (CESO) - KU Leuven. She has published extensively on topics related to the sociology of work, comparative European industrial (employment) relations, labour markets and inequality, working conditions, job quality and workers' voice.



Jane Parker

Jane Parker Professor (Employment Relations and HRM) at the School of Management, Massey University in New Zealand, and is a senior researcher at the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) in Brussels.



Chris Forde

Chris Forde is Professor of Employment Studies in the Work and Employment Relations Department, and Co-Director of the Centre for Employment Relations Innovation and Change at the University of Leeds.



Christine Aumayr-Pintar

Christine Aumayr-Pintar is a senior research manager in the Working Life unit at Eurofound. Her current research topics include minimum wages, collectively agreed wages and gender pay transparency. She also manages the EU Policy Watch database.

Registration

Please go to the registration desk when you first arrive at Durham University Business School (DUBS) to collect your conference badge and pack.

The registration desk is located at the main entrance of the DUBS building which is located at Mill Hill Lane, DH1 3LB, Durham.

Opening hours: Conference registration

Monday	18.9.2023	9:00–17:00 – refreshments available in the Lounge from 9:00
Tuesday	19.9.2023	9:00–17:00 – refreshments available in Fusion from 8:30
Wednesday	20.9.2023	9:00–11:00 – refreshments available in Fusion from 8:30

Coffee breaks and lunch

During session breaks, refreshments will be served free of charge to participants wearing conference badges.

Lunch will be available in the spaces indicated at DUBS and is included in the conference fee.

WIFI CONNECTION

Visitors and non-academic guests should use '**TheCloud@Durham**' to connect to the wireless service when visiting Durham University.

About "TheCloud"

'TheCloud' is a free public access wireless service with thousands of hotspots and millions of registered users, it provides simple, fast and reliable wireless Internet access. 'TheCloud' service is available for Android, iOS, Windows and Mac devices.

Get Connected

To connect to 'TheCloud@Durham' simply follow the steps below:

1. Switch on your smartphone, tablet or other Wi-Fi device and check that Wi-Fi is enabled.
2. Select 'TheCloud@Durham' from the available network list
3. Open your Internet browser - 'TheCloud' landing page below will appear. Click 'Get Online'. If the web page does not appear refresh the page or [click here](#).
4. You will then see the service selection screen. Select 'The Cloud Wi-Fi'.
5. Once this is done you can either login with an existing 'TheCloud' account, or click on the 'Create Account' button to register for a free account.
6. Once you have logged in or registered you will be able to access the Internet using 'TheCloud@Durham'.

Instructions for presenters

1. All presentations are allocated a certain timeslot.

In each timeslot either three or four presentations are allocated.
Our recommendation is:

Three paper session: 20min presentation + 10min for questions and discussion
Four paper session: 15min presentation + 8min for questions and discussion

Please prepare your presentation accordingly. Exceeding your time limit may have knock-on effects, and risks affecting other presenters and sessions.

2. Please prepare your presentation in PowerPoint or PDF-format.
3. We kindly ask you not to bring your own laptop, but to bring your presentation on a USB-key, as a *computer will be available in each room*. Even though it is not recommended, it is possible to connect your own laptop.
4. To avoid delays, presentations can be uploaded before the start of the session in the room where your session will take place. We kindly ask you to be in the room 5-10 mins before the start of your session.



Image courtesy of Durham University

Programme Overview

Time	Day 1 (18/09/2023)	Day 2 (19/09/2023)	Day 3 (20/09/2023)
09:00-10:30	Registration/coffee - Lounge	Parallel Sessions 3	Parallel Sessions 6
10:30-11:00	Opening Session – Room 403 Dr. <i>Barbara Bechter</i> (Organizer of IREC 2023) Professor <i>Bernd Brandl</i> (Organizer of IREC 2023) Professor <i>Olga Epitropaki</i> (Deputy Executive Dean for Research) Professor <i>Andrew Parker</i> (Head of Department for Management and Marketing)	Coffee break	Coffee break
11:00-12:00	Plenary 1: Professor <i>Chris Forde</i> (University of Leeds, UK) Chair: Professor <i>Guglielmo Meardi</i> (Scuola Normale Superiore)	Plenary 2: Professor <i>Valeria Pulignano</i> (KU Leuven, Belgium) Chair: Dr. <i>Barbara Bechter</i> (Durham University, UK)	Plenary 4: Dr. <i>Christine Aumayr-Pintar</i> (Eurofound, Dublin) Chair: Professor <i>Paul Marginson</i> (Warwick University, UK)
12:00-13:00	Lunch Break	Lunch Break	Lunch Break
13:00-14:30	Parallel Sessions 1	Parallel Sessions 4	Parallel Sessions 7
14:30-15:00	Coffee break	Coffee break	Coffee break
15:00-16:30	Parallel Sessions 2	Parallel Sessions 5	Plenary 5: Professor <i>Richard Hyman</i> (London School of Economics and Political Sciences, UK) Chair: Professor <i>Bernd Brandl</i> (Durham University, UK) Closing Sessions – Room 403
16:30-17:30	Welcome Drinks – Oriental Museum, Durham 17:00-19:30 more details to follow. Welcome address by: Professor <i>Catherine Cassell</i> (Executive Dean; Faculty of Business, Durham University Business School)	Plenary 3: Professor <i>Jane Parker</i> (ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand) Chair: Professor <i>Bengt Larsson</i> (Linnaeus University, Sweden) Conference dinner 18:00-20:30 Fusion Restaurant Business School	

Schedule for Plenary and Parallel Sessions Day

1 (18/09/2023)

Room 10.30-11.00	MHL 403 Welcome and Opening Session
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Room 11.00-12.00	MHL 403 Plenary Session 1
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Migration in post-Brexit UK: examining employer strategies and assessing their consequences for workers.

Speaker: Professor Chris Forde (University of Leeds, UK)

Chair: Professor Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Parallel Session 1 13.00 - 14.30

Room: Session: Chair:	MHL 403 From crisis to crisis (and back again)? Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
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Title: Corporatism and the new crises – health, climate and migration

Authors: Christian Lyhne Ibsen and **Mikkel Mailand**

Affiliation: FAOS, University of Copenhagen

Title: Facing the interlinked crisis: workers' resistance and interest representation in the post-Covid Poland

Authors: **Adam Mrozowicki** and Jan Czarzasty

Affiliation: University of Wroclaw

Title: Wage Recovery after the Great Recession: By sector, firm size, or gender?

Authors: **Katrin Olafsdottir**

Affiliation: Reykjavik University



Image courtesy of Durham University

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Health and safety regulations and the role of industrial relations
Chair:	Manuela Galetto (Warwick Business School)
Title:	Complements or substitutes? Legislation vs collective bargaining for health and safety
Authors:	Barbara Bechter , Manuela Galetto, Sabrina Weber, Bengt Larsson, Linda Hiltunen, Inga Blaziene, Ramune Guobaite, Dominik Owczarek, Jan Czarzasty, Maciej Pańków
Affiliation:	Durham University Business School
Title:	Decoupling in multilevel industrial relations systems: Health and safety communications from European to local level (and back)
Authors:	Bengt Larsson , Hiltunen L., Bechter B., Blaziene I., Galetto M., Guobaite R., Owczarek D., Pankow, M and Weber, S.
Affiliation:	Linnaeus University
Title:	Does collective voice sicken organisations or make them healthier? Management-defined sickness absence problems, routinised joint regulation and industrial action in 28 European countries
Authors:	Guy Vernon and Michail Veliziotis
Affiliation:	Southampton Business School, University of Southampton
Title:	Occupational health and safety challenges in in the platform economy – a comparative analysis of app-based food delivery and domestic cleaning in Denmark and Norway
Authors:	Stine Rasmussen , Randi Larsen, Johanne Stenseth Huseby and Kristin Jesnes
Affiliation:	Aalborg University
Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Health and safety regulations and the role of industrial relations
Chair:	Manuela Galetto (Warwick Business School)

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	New and old forms of trade union organization and mobilization
Chair:	Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick
Title:	Stepping Stones to Organize: Employment Trajectories and Union-Joining Behaviour in Sweden
Authors:	Jesper Prytz
Affiliation:	Department of Sociology and Work Science, University of Gothenburg
Title:	Crowdfunding for labor union activism: Young Britons' views and preferences
Authors:	Piotr Zientara , Joanna Adamska-Mieruszevska and Oskar Bech
Affiliation:	University of Gdansk
Title:	Beyond Creative Destruction: Explaining Declining Union Membership in the Post-Industrial Age
Authors:	Henri Haapanala , Zachary Parolin and Ive Marx
Affiliation:	University of Antwerp

Room: MHL 224
Session: **The socio-political context for work and labour**
Chair: **Alex Lehr**

Title: The Politics of Equality: The Evolving Nature of Equality Agendas at Work in the UK and Europe in a Context of Political Uncertainty – a Bibliographic Scoping Exercise

Authors: **Holly Smith** (WEI), Stefania Marino (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester), Caitlin Schmid (King's College London), Miguel Martinez Lucio (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester) and Heather Connolly (Grenoble Ecole de Management)

Affiliation: WEI

Title: Co-operative regeneration: Building islands of socialism in a sea of capitalism

Authors: **Reece Garcia**

Affiliation: Manchester Metropolitan University

Title: Understanding the Present Dynamic of Social Labour Relations

Authors: **Joern Janssen**

Affiliation: IG BAU

Title: Who will pay for the turbulent 20s?

Authors: **Kevin Albertson**

Affiliation: MMU Business School



Image courtesy of Durham University

Parallel Sessions 2: 15:00-16:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Meet the Editors: Q&A with Editors of Journals in International Industrial Relations
Chair:	Richard Hyman (London School of Economics)
Speakers:	<p>Aristea Koukiadaki (University of Manchester School of Law) Managing Editor of the "International Labour Review" at the International Labour Organisation</p> <p>Miguel Martinez Lucio (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester) Editor of "New Technology, Work and Employment"</p> <p>Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy) Editor of "European Journal of Industrial Relations"</p> <p>Jane Parker (ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand) Editor of "Labour & Industry: A journal of the social and economic relations of work"</p>
Room:	MHL 405
Session:	Artificial Intelligence (AI) & Digital Futures of Work, Employment, and IR (special session by Greg Bamber and Wilson Wong)
Chair:	Greg Bamber and Wilson Wong
Title:	Digitalization in retail – towards a more divided workforce?
Authors:	Kristin Alsos, Kristine Nergaard and Sissel Trygstad
Affiliation:	Fafo, Oslo
Title:	Employers' Digital Practices at Work: Survey of 2,000 managers in UK organisations
Authors:	Mark Stuart
Affiliation:	University of Leeds
Title:	The Platform Economy as a turning point in Industrial Relations
Authors:	Isabel da Costa
Affiliation:	CNRS, IDHES, ENS Paris-Saclay
Title:	Lobbying and the influence of business associations in the digital agenda
Authors:	Lisa Sezer
Affiliation:	University of Leicester
Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Meet the Editors: Q&A with Editors of Journals in International Industrial Relations
Chair:	Richard Hyman (London School of Economics)
Room:	MHL 240
Session:	Eurofound special session: "Pilot project on minimum wages and representativeness studies"
Chair:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound)
Speakers:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound), Christian Welz (Eurofound) and Victoria Cojocariu (Eurofound)

Room: MHL 453
Session: **Work and industrial relations in the care/health sector**
Chair: **Agnes Akkerman**

Title: Is care an answer? The case of non-unionised workers in Polish service companies

Authors: **Olga Gitkiewicz**

Affiliation: University of Wroclaw

Title: The Limits of Collective Organization. A case study of the German long-term care system

Authors: **Saara Inkinen** and Wolfgang Schroeder

Affiliation: University of Kassel

Title: Health and Safety of hospitals and care sector workers: The role of workplace-level representation structures

Authors: **Manuela Galetto**, Barbara Bechter, Sabrina Weber, Bengt Larsson, Linda Hiltunen, Inga Blaziene, Ramune Guobaite, Dominik Owczarek, Jan Czarzasty, Maciej Pańków



Image courtesy of Durham University

Day 2 (19/09/2023)
Parallel Sessions 3: 09:00-10:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Transnational work and migration
Chair:	Adam Mrozowicki
Title:	Mobile workers and trade union transnational solidarity – the case of posted workers
Authors:	Ilana Nussbaum Bitran and Irene Dingeldey
Affiliation:	University of Bremen
Title:	Transnational labour supermobility in a multinational company: The Fincantieri/Vard case
Authors:	Guglielmo Meardi
Affiliation:	Scuola Normale Superiore
Title:	Integration of ethnic minorities into managerial positions: Lessons from Arabs in Israel
Authors:	Ilan Shdema and Moshe Sharabi
Affiliation:	Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Eilat The Max Stern Yezreel Valley College
Title:	Structural Determinants of Transnational Solidarity: Pan-European Socioeconomic Protests since 1997
Authors:	Roland Erne (University College Dublin) and Jörg Nowak (University of Brasilia)
Affiliation:	

Room:	MHL 454
Session:	Trade unions in different sectors and professions
Chair:	Guy Vernon
Title:	What Unions want from Industry 4.0. A study in the British aerospace industry
Authors:	Wilko Artale
Affiliation:	University of Glasgow
Title:	Trade Unions, a regulating body in the road transport sector in Yaounde, Cameroon.
Authors:	Tata Donita Nshani
Affiliation:	University of Liege
Title:	Occupational status and trade union engagement
Authors:	Ylva Ulfsdotter Eriksson and Mai Lundemark
Affiliation:	Linnaeus University, Sweden

Room: MHL 452
Session: The quality of work and labour
Chair: Martí López-Andreu

Title: Entrepreneurial or precair? Career trajectories in the cultural and creative industries

Authors: Wike Been

Affiliation: University of Groningen

Title: Income security for self-employed during the pandemic: a role for crisis corporatism in developing and adjusting measures for the self-employed in Scandinavia?

Authors: Jørgen Svalund

Affiliation: Fafo

Title: Assessing experiences of meaningful work in the contemporary service economy

Authors: Nadja Doerflinger and Valeria Pulignano

Affiliation: Federal Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Germany

Room: MHL 403
Plenary Session 2: 11:00-12:00

Unpaid Labour and Inequality in Precarious Work. Theorizing Adaptations in Employment Relations Research

Speaker: **Professor Valeria Pulignano (KU Leuven, Belgium)**

Chair: **Dr. Barbara Bechter (Durham University, UK)**



Parallel Sessions 4 13.00 – 14.30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Eurofound Policy Watch: Cushioning impact of inflation for citizens & workers and role of collective bargaining
Chair:	Maria Sedlakova and Maria Cantero (Eurofound)
Speakers:	Pavlos Kalosinatos (CY), Oscar Molina (ES), Nils Brandsma (SE), Thomas de Winter (NL), Nora Krokavay (HU)

Room:	MHL 427
Session:	Strikes in the twenty-first century: Revisiting old theories, exploring new research avenues (I)
Chair:	Agnes Akkerman (University of Amsterdam, AIAS), Bernd Brandl (Durham University), Alex Lehr (Radboud University), and Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Claps don't pay the bills
Authors:	Douglas Martin
Affiliation:	University of Central Lancashire
Title:	Reflecting on the impact of industrial action in NHS England – the case of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy (CSP)
Authors:	Andy Hodder
Affiliation:	University of Birmingham
Title:	The teritarisation of strikes in a well-organised labour market - cracks in the balance of power model
Authors:	Kristine Nergaard and Kristin Alsos
Affiliation:	Fafo, Oslo

Room:	MHL 452
Session:	Book presentation: "Revisiting worker representation on boards: the forgotten EU countries in codetermination studies"
Chair:	Sara Lafuente (ETUI and ULB) (ed)
Speakers:	Aline Hoffmann (ETUI), Stan de Spiegelaere (University Ghent and UniEuropa)
Discussants:	Inger Marie Hagen (Oslo Metropolitan University), and Lionel Fulton (Labour Research Department)

Room:	MHL 223
Session:	Labour Relations at Workplace level and employers' preferences
Chair:	Ylva Ulfssdotter Eriksson
Title:	Differentiated factory regimes: Transformations of labour and workplace politics in the Italian shipbuilding industry
Authors:	Francesco Iannuzzi, Nicola Quondamatteo and Devi Sacchetto
Affiliation:	Scuola Normale Superiore (Florence)
Title:	Shops stewards at company floor – a precondition for individual influence?
Authors:	Inger Marie Hagen and Elin Moen Dahl
Affiliation:	Work research institute, Oslo Metropolitan University
Title:	Employers' preferences for hiring solo self-employed workers
Authors:	Lian Kösters
Affiliation:	Statistics Netherlands and University of Amsterdam

Parallel Sessions 5 15.00-16.30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Trans-nationalisation of employment relations
Chair:	Aline Hoffmann
Title:	The quiet trans-nationalisation of board-level employee representation in national law and practice: moving away from a Euro-democratic project?
Authors:	Sara Lafuente
Affiliation:	European Trade Union Institute
Title:	Transnational BLERs - representation at company boards
Authors:	Inger Marie Hagen (AFI) and Elin Svarstad (Fafo)
Affiliation:	AFI/OsloMet
Title:	Visible and Invisible Hands in the Transnational Wage Setting in Europe
Authors:	Aarron Atkinson-Toal
Affiliation:	Durham University Business School

Room:	MHL 452
Session:	Industrial relations and the platform economy (I)
Chair:	Raquel Rego
Title:	Public Institutions and Industrial Relations in the Platform Economy: A Comparative Approach
Authors:	Franco Tomassoni (CoLABOR), Ana Alves da Silva (CoLABOR), Tiago Santos Pereira (CoLABOR), Ignacio Ruiz (University of Barcelona), Szymon Pilch (University of Wrocław), Mattia Frapporti (University of Bologna)
Affiliation:	CoLABOR
Title:	Factors influencing forms of organisation among platform workers: beyond the labour process
Authors:	Branko Bembič and Tinca Lukan
Affiliation:	Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana
Title:	The ongoing platformization: industrial relations in-the-making in Poland and Portugal
Authors:	Adam Mrozowicki, Ana Alves da Silva, Olga Gitkiewicz, Tiago Santos Pereira, Szymon Pilch and Franco Tomassoni
Affiliation:	University of Wrocław
Title:	Norwegian labour market exposure to language modeling AI and the mitigating role of trade unions
Authors:	Johan Røed Steen & Elin Svarstad
Affiliation:	Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research

Room:	MHL 223
Session:	The role of the political and institutional context for trade unions
Chair:	Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Right-Wing Unionism in Israel and its Potential Implications
Authors:	Gadi Nissim
Affiliation:	Ruppin Academic Center
Title:	Are Trade Unions Stronger, when Left is in Power?
Authors:	Lefteris Kretsos
Affiliation:	Brunel University London
Title:	Workers' freedom of speech as individual voice in the public sphere
Authors:	Anne Mette Ødegård
Affiliation:	Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research
Room:	MHL 223
Session:	The role of the political and institutional context for trade unions
Chair:	Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)

Room: 403	Room: MHL 403
Plenary Session 3: 16:30-17:30	
	Workplace and civic democracy in a transitioning Europe: the key to agentic industrial relations
Speaker:	Professor Jane Parker (ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand)
Chair:	Professor Bengt Larsson (Linnaeus University, Sweden)



Image courtesy of Durham University

Day 3 (20/09/2023)
Parallel Sessions 6: 09:00-10:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	The complex relationship between collective bargaining and wages and prices
Chair:	Paul Marginson
Title:	The Effect of Centrally Bargained Wages on Firm Growth
Authors:	Emil Bustos
Affiliation:	Research Institute of Industrial Economics
Title:	Return to inflation: is collective wage bargaining adapted?
Authors:	Oscar Molina Roma and Ricardo Rodriguez
Affiliation:	Autonomous University of Barcelona
Title:	The interplay of collective wage bargaining and statutory minimum wages in realizing adequate wage floors across European sectors
Authors:	Janna Besamusca , Martin Guzi and Kea Tjzens
Affiliation:	Utrecht University
Title:	Avoiding wage spirals in time of high inflation - Coordinated wage bargaining in Norway
Authors:	Kristin Alsos
Affiliation:	Fafo, Oslo

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Strikes in the twenty-first century: Revisiting old theories, exploring new research avenues
Chair:	Agnes Akkerman (University of Amsterdam, AIAS), Bernd Brandl (Durham University), Alex Lehr (Radboud University), and Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Do Strikes Work? Analytical dimensions and empirical challenges for analyzing of the success of contemporary collective labour conflict
Authors:	Alex Lehr
Affiliation:	Radboud University
Title:	Social support and willingness to strike
Authors:	Denise Vesper
Affiliation:	Saarland University - Work and Organizational Psychology
Title:	New forms of strikes: an analysis of worker collective actions in the Italian logistic sector
Authors:	Margherita Sabrina Perra , Katia Pilati, Marcello Pedaci and Andrea Signoretti
Affiliation:	Department of Political and Social Sciences - University of Cagliari - Italy

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	New perspectives on changing social dialogue actors and institutions
Chair:	Mikkel Mailand
Title:	Beyond structures and determinism in understanding social dialogue: reframing political risks and changing political relations within social dialogue across time in contemporary Spain
Authors:	Martí López-Andreu and Miguel Martinez Lucio
Affiliation:	Newcastle University Business School and Work and Equalities Institute, University of Manchester
Title:	Asymmetric mobilisation and the defeat of wage-earner funds in Sweden, 1975-1991
Authors:	Neil Warner
Affiliation:	London School of Economics
Title:	Concerts of employers: confederations as organizations and 'social partners'
Authors:	João Loureiro
Affiliation:	University Institute of Lisbon

Room:	MHL 224
Session:	Climate change and the environment
Chair:	Nadja Doerflinger
Title:	From industrial action to a just transition: Comparing French and UK union approaches to climate change
Authors:	Christina Purcell
Affiliation:	Manchester Metropolitan University
Title:	The growing role of labour actors as environmental regulators – the case of Global Framework Agreements addressing environmental issues
Authors:	Coralie Guedes
Affiliation:	University of Westminster
Title:	Just transition or just greenwashing? Biodiversity in Denmark and sustainable forestry in Sweden
Authors:	Linda Clarke
Affiliation:	University of Westminster

Room:	MHL 224
Session:	Plenary Session 11.00 – 12.00
Chair:	Trends in national social dialogue in responding to external shocks or crises: Background paper https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/other/2023/trends-in-national-social-dialogue-in-responding-to-external-shocks-or-crises-background-paper
Speaker:	Dr. Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound, Dublin)
Chair:	Professor Paul Marginson (Warwick University, UK)

Parallel Sessions 7...13.00-14.30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	European and international trade unionism
Chair:	Miguel Martinez Lucio
Title:	The Problems of International Trade Union Democracy: Reflections on the Visentini Affair
Authors:	Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick and Richard Hyman
Affiliation:	Birkbeck and LSE
Title:	Turning points in the EU's support of trade union rights: the case of Romania
Authors:	Aurora Trif and Ovidiu Goran
Affiliation:	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Title:	Sowing the seeds of unionisation? Exploring remote work and work-based online communities in Europe during the Covid-19 pandemic
Authors:	Kurt Vandaele and Agnieszka Piasna
Affiliation:	ETUI Brussels

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Industrial relations and the platform economy (II)
Chair:	Manuela Galetto
Title:	Assessing the potential of alternative platform models in the domestic work sector in India and South Africa
Authors:	Neha Vyas
Affiliation:	Newcastle University
Title:	Strategies for Surveying Platform Workers: Lessons from a Belgian Case Study
Authors:	Jessie Gevaert , Doms J., Vandevenne, E. and Van Aerden, K.
Affiliation:	Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Title:	Making the most out of difference. The transnational representation of platform workers in the European Union
Authors:	Francesco Bagnardi and Annalisa Murgia
Affiliation:	University of Milan
Title:	A Typology of Content Creative Platforms: An Empirical Study of the UK, The US and China
Authors:	Yin Liang
Affiliation:	Durham University Business School

Room:	MHL 452
Session:	The role, context and effects of collective bargaining
Chair:	Gadi Nissim
Title:	What explains innovation in a conservative collective bargaining setting?
Authors:	Raquel Rego
Affiliation:	Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa
Title:	The Trade Union's capacity to conclude collective labour agreements on adult learning and education (ALE) in Belgium's traditional coordinated market economy
Authors:	Christa Van Oostende
Affiliation:	Universiteit Antwerpen
Title:	Impacts of decentralised collective bargaining for labour relations in Europe
Authors:	Frank Tros
Affiliation:	AIAS-HSI, University of Amsterdam
Title:	Flexible work arrangements in collective bargaining agreements: Evidence from Spain and the Netherlands
Authors:	Carla Brega
Affiliation:	Utrecht University

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	New and old forms of trade union organization and mobilization
Chair:	Kristine Nergaard
Title:	Trade Unions in Canada post COVID-19: Winning Workers Hearts and Minds
Authors:	Bernard King
Affiliation:	Ontario Public Service Employees Union
Title:	Engaging
Authors:	Valentina Paolucci and William K. Roche
Affiliation:	University of Maynooth
Title:	(De)mobilizing IT specialists in the Business Process Outsourcing industry in Poland. Barriers, challenges, and opportunities
Authors:	Szymon Pilch
Affiliation:	University of Wroclaw

Room:	MHL 427
Session:	Eurofound Expert Meeting
Chair:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar
Title:	Interaction of minimum wages with collective bargaining
Authors:	Damian Grimshaw, Pablo Sanz and Oscar Molina
Affiliation:	Eurofound, Dublin

CLOSING SESSION

Schedule for Plenary and Parallel Sessions

Detailed Programme

Day 1 (18/09/2023)

Room: 403 Plenary Session 1: 11:00-12:00 Title: Migration in post-Brexit UK: examining employer strategies and assessing their consequences for workers. Speaker: Professor Chris Forde (Centre for Employment Relations Innovation and Change, Leeds University Business School, UK) Chair: Professor Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore)	
Abstract:	<p>The post-Brexit environment has seen significant changes in migration, amidst a new migration regulatory regime which has ended free movement of workers from within the EU. Alongside this, the COVID pandemic since has impacted upon migration, preventing migration during 2020 and 2021, and resulting in unprecedented shortages of workers in some sectors. The effects of these changes and shocks remain varied and underexplored.</p> <p>This presentation will look at employer strategies towards migrant labour in the post-Brexit environment. Using literature within migration studies, HRM, employment relations and the sociology of work, it will begin by situating and explore the actions and strategies of employers within broader frameworks of regulation and migration governance, recognising the interactions between employers and other actors in the employment relationship. Drawing on concepts of 'migration infrastructure' and old and new actors in employment relations, the presentation argues for the need for a multi-level, multi-actor approach to provide a nuanced understanding of the complex ways that employer strategies and migration are related.</p> <p>The presentation will provide new empirical insight on employer strategies around migration, drawing on findings from the ongoing ESRC Labour Mobility in Transition project at Leeds University Business School. The presentation will present findings from a new nationally representative employer survey, completed in Spring 2023, covering 4 sectors which have historically been heavily reliant on migrant labour: hospitality, food and drink processing, warehousing and social care. How have employers in these sectors responded to the post-Brexit, post-COVID environment, and to what extent have employers shifted away from EU workers towards other groups of workers, and with what effects?</p> <p>The survey gathered responses from 1,280 employers and covers their use – and changing use – of workers on different contract forms, and from the UK, EU and outside the EU. It looks in detail at their HR strategies, their responses to labour shortages, and their perceptions towards the new migration regime in the UK.</p> <p>The survey shows that many employers have shifted away from EU workers, towards UK workers, and those outside the EU, although responses vary across sectors. Change has accelerated since COVID-19 in particular. Labour shortages are acute for many employers. Reasons for these are low number of applicants for roles, low wages and perceived poor quality jobs in these sectors. The most common response (and the response seen as the most successful) has been to raise pay, although pay remains benchmarked around the NMW in all 4 sectors. Other common strategies include turning to employment agencies (although this has not been seen by many employers as a successful strategy), improving conditions of work (progression, training opportunities, flexible work), and moving away from EU workers towards other workers. Despite the rhetoric within government White Papers, there is very little evidence of employers using automation as a means of reducing reliance on workers in the long term. Challenges associated with dealing with labour shortages also reflect longer-term dynamics and conditions in each sector.</p> <p>The presentation goes on to assess the consequences of these employer strategies for workers, and considers the current policy environment around migration in the UK.</p> <p>The presentation is based on joint work with colleagues on the Limits project, Gabriella Alberti, Ioulia Bessa, Zyama Ciupijus, Jo Cutter, Marketa Dolezalova, Eleanora Morganti and Gary Graham.</p>

Parallel Sessions 1...13:00 – 14:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	From crisis to crisis (and back again)?
Chair:	Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Corporatism and the new crises – health, climate and migration
Authors:	Christian Lyhne Ibsen and Mikkel Mailand
Affiliation:	FAOS, University of Copenhagen
Abstract	<p>This paper aims to theoretically discuss and empirically illustrate the role of corporatism in societies facing multiple concurrent crises. The Covid-19 pandemic is the most recent in a chain of crises facing European countries in the new millennium. Other crises relate to climate changes and migration and social coherence.</p> <p>These crises pose different challenges. However, compared to the economic, social and labour market issues most commonly the subjects for corporatist agreements, they all include other types of resources to be exchanged, a different set of actors besides the government and the social partners and in some cases also longer time horizons.</p> <p>Some previous corporatism studies view economic crises as an obstacle for corporatist relations (e.g. Culpepper and Regan 2014), while others see them as a driver (e.g. Katzenstein 1985; Compston 2001). Studies of the responses to the Covid-19 pandemic (Meardi and Tassinari 2022; Ebbinghaus and Weishaupt 2022) indicate that also non-economic crisis might drive corporatist arrangements, although country variations are important.</p> <p>To understand variation of corporatism in non-economic crises we theorize and compare corporatism across three issues using Denmark as an illustrative example. We focus especially on how the new crises frame the strategic choices of the government and social partners and what relevant resources – power resources as well as resources for exchange – these actors are in position of</p>
Title:	Facing the interlinked crisis: workers' resistance and interest representation in the post-Covid Poland
Authors:	Adam Mrozowicki and Jan Czarzasty
Affiliation:	University of Wroclaw
Abstract	<p>The outbreak of Covid-19 led to deterioration in quality of jobs of essential workers in many dimensions, including significant workload, growing psychological tensions at work and disruption of work-life balance. Accumulation of such factors negatively impacting working environment could possibly lead to increase in individual and collective forms of worker resistance. Our paper asks how the pandemic and subsequent post-2020 crises, including the cost-of-living crisis and the migration crisis, have translated into new forms of workplace unrest and workers' orientations toward unions. The empirical analysis employs both quantitative and qualitative original data collected in the NCN COV-WORK project. The quantitative analysis refers to the results of two surveys (2021 and 2023), from which the questions about participation in trade unions and opinions about their activities in Poland are analysed. The qualitative part is based on thematic analysis of 15 focus interviews and 63 narrative interviews with essential workers in the education, health care, social assistance and logistics industries. The analysis leads to mixed results. On the one hand, we can observe considerable continuity in workers' orientations towards unions, including indifference and rather isolated support of collective protests. On the other hand, workplace tensions in course of multiple crises seem to have increased: some are reflected in union-organising, others in "exit" strategies and misbehaviour at work. However, the "taming" of the experience of crises and individual-family forms of coping are still dominant.</p>

Title:	Wage Recovery after the Great Recession: By sector, firm size, or gender?
Authors:	Katrin Olafsdottir
Affiliation:	Reykjavik University
Abstract:	<p>This paper examines how wages recover in an economy after a deep recession, where nominal wage cuts were common. Not much is known about the path to wage recovery. Does it depend on the state of the economy? The economic sector, the size of the organization, or does it depend on employee gender? This paper examines the determinants of wages through recession and into recovery, from 2008 to 2013, using panel data. The wage level in Iceland fell during the Great Recession as a majority of employees experienced a cut in nominal wages. By 2013 the average nominal wage level had almost fully recovered, while only two-thirds of employees had reached their previous wage level, indicating that wage changes were not uniform across the economy.</p> <p>Macroeconomic variables such as GDP growth, unemployment, or inflation did not explain the wage recovery. Varying productivity growth across sectors over the years did not either. The wage development showed that the initial wage level explained the magnitude of the wage change, with lower wages leading to a higher wage increase. This result was in line data showing falling wage inequality in the aftermath of the recession. There is a strong gender effect, as women received lower wage increases and the wage increases were lower the higher increases were lower the higher the share of women in the workplace. In addition, women generally had a lower wage level than men. Furthermore, employees holding managerial positions received higher wage increases than others.</p>

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Health and safety regulations and the role of industrial relations
Chair:	Manuela Galetto (Warwick Business School)
Title:	Complements or substitutes? Legislation vs. collective bargaining for health and safety
Authors:	Barbara Bechter , Manuela Galetto, Sabrina Weber, Bengt Larsson, Linda Hiltunen, Inga Blaziene, Ramune Guobaite, Dominik Owczarek, Jan Czarzasty, Maciej Pańków
Affiliation:	Durham University Business School
Abstract:	<p>This paper investigates whether collective agreements are better rule-making systems to protect the health and safety (H&S) of workers than legislation. The state regulates H&S directly by imposing standards and prohibiting activity not conforming to such standards. However, H&S rules may have to change over time to meet new challenges. To produce tailored rules, it may be appropriate to regulate H&S through a mixture of institutions. To compare the efficiency of different institutions in protecting H&S at work we draw on regulatory theory and the transaction cost approach. Measures for improved efficiency are access to information at the company and workplace level, the ability to deal with agency and collective action problems, and the ability to produce tailored standards. The analysis is based on secondary data about industrial relations institutions and actors, complemented by primary data collected in interviews for two sectors and six countries. The analysis demonstrates that collective agreements are effective means to complement H&S rules and that rules do not substitute for governance. The governance of regulations differs between countries and within countries between sectors.</p> <p>Acknowledgment: The research for this paper was financially supported by the European Commission, DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. Project VS/2021/0234.</p>

Title: **Decoupling in multilevel industrial relations systems: Health and safety communications from European to local level (and back)**

Authors: **Bengt Larsson**, Hiltunen L., Bechter B., Blaziene I., Galetto M., Guobaite R., Owczarek D., Pankow, M and Weber, S.

Affiliation: Linnaeus University

Abstract: European industrial relations are strongly articulated in a multilevel structure connecting local, sectoral, national, and European organisational levels and dialogue between trade unions and employers. An important aspect of the functioning of such multilevel governance and dialogue systems is the communicative articulation between levels. This study sets out to explore to what extent communication concerning health and safety issues takes place in the sectors of hospitals/healthcare and social assistance/elderly care. We focus in particular on aspects of disarticulation between levels – or rather, impediments in the communicative flow in the existing articulated system – here conceptualized as instances of decoupling. Empirically the study is based on interviews with trade union officials and representatives for employer associations placed at the sectoral and/or national level in six countries (IT, DE, LT, UK, PL, SE). That is, the point of departure for the analysis is the experiences of the actors at the mid-levels in this multilevel system. Thematically, the study explores to what extent information and influence from lower levels are received and used at higher levels, and to what extent decisions/regulations and support/guidance/tools from higher levels are received and implemented and/or used at lower levels. Through this country comparative case study-analysis, based on a selection of country context that aims to maximise variation of industrial relations regimes, we thus aim to capture both recurrent and more country specific problems created through the decoupling of communication on H & S in these two sectors – against the background of institutional divergencies between national contexts.

Title: **Does collective voice sicken organisations or make them healthier? Management-defined sickness absence problems, routinised joint regulation and industrial action in 28 European countries**

Authors: **Guy Vernon** and Michail Veliziotis

Affiliation: Southampton Business School, University of Southampton

Abstract: Theoretical predictions of the effect of collective voice on sickness absence are contradictory, and the limited extant evidence, which focuses on routinised joint regulation specifically, mixed. The present paper deploys European Company Survey (ECS) 2019 data for around 20,000 establishments in 28 countries to examine the implications of both routinised joint regulation and of industrial action for management perceptions of an organisational sickness absence problem.

Extant literature suggests that collective voice may limit, substitute for, or displace sickness absence, either by allowing an institutionalised solution to employee discontentment, or an alternative expression of conflict (e.g., Godard, 2011). There is some evidence that routinised joint regulation plays such a role (e.g., Sjöberg, 2017). However, some empirical findings (e.g., Veliziotis, 2011) suggest that routinised joint regulation may instead encourage sickness absence, perhaps by limiting presenteeism.

The present analysis examines the implications of collective bargaining coverage, the level of bargaining to which establishments are subject, and the presence of local employee representation, for sickness absence. It also examines the implications of industrial action. Given the relatively small

proportion of establishments experiencing such industrial action, attention is also given to indicators of local collective discontentment, or propensity for industrial action.

The analysis allows for country effects to capture country-level differences related to differing legislative frameworks, carefully controls for other established and plausible influences on sickness absence beyond collective voice and seeks to allow for selection effects which might distort the findings on the implications of collective voice for sickness absence problems.

References:

- Godard, J. (2011) 'What has happened to strikes?', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 49(2), pp. 282-305.
- Sjöberg, O. (2017) 'Employee collective voice and short-term sickness absence in Europe', *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 23(2), pp. 151-168.
- Veliziotis, M. (2010). Unionization and Sickness Absence from Work in the UK. ISER Working Paper No. 2010-15, ISER, University of Essex.

Title:

Occupational health and safety challenges in in the platform economy - a comparative analysis of app-based food delivery and domestic cleaning in Denmark and Norway

Authors:

Stine Rasmussen, Randi Larsen, Johanne Stenseth Huseby and Kristin Jesnes

Affiliation:

Aalborg University

Abstract:

Although the digital transformation offers new opportunities, it also offers new challenges in the world of work. For instance, digitization has led to the rise of so-called platform companies, where work - unlike before - is organized through digital platforms (e.g. through an app), and where the employment relationship is often more atypical and uncertain (e.g. freelancer or self-employed). In the Nordic research challenges to the working environment and the occupational health and safety in this type of work is under-examined.

In this paper, we present the results from a comparative research project in Denmark and Norway on the connection between technology, new forms of employment and the working environment. In both countries, we have carried out case studies within two areas of the labour markets, where platform work has grown and been consolidated. More specifically, we have investigated app-based food delivery (male-dominated) and cleaning in private homes (female-dominated). Through interviews with platform companies, platform workers, social partners and authorities, we have investigated the occupational health and safety risks associated with this type of work. Our analysis shows numerous working environment challenges affecting platform workers. Most pronounced in both areas is an experience of working under time pressure and thus having a stressful job. Another point is the platforms' control over the platform workers, and workers' lack of control and increased uncertainty. However, our analysis also shows that in platform companies having signed a collective agreement, the working environment challenges seem a little less pronounced, suggesting that the Nordic labour markets tame the negative impacts of platform work and particularly algorithmic management.

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	New and old forms of trade union organization and mobilization
Chair:	Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick
Title:	Stepping Stones to Organize: Employment Trajectories and Union-Joining Behaviour in Sweden
Authors:	Jesper Prytz
Affiliation:	Department of Sociology and Work Science, University of Gothenburg
Abstract:	<p>Following the Great Financial Crisis of 2007-2008, the Swedish model of industrial relations has undergone institutional changes and structural shifts, resulting in a decline in Swedish union density, particularly among young, foreign-born, and temporary employees in blue-collar jobs. This has led to a shift within the union movement, with white-collar unions bringing together more than 50% of total membership and increasingly becoming a force to be reckoned with in negotiations with employers. The decrease in union membership also occurred simultaneously with changes to the Swedish Employment Protection Act, which has led to an increase in non-standard employment, making union recruitment and retention strategies increasingly important. Furthermore, previous research suggests that the window of joining a union is most significant up to 30 years of age, while managing member outflows could be important in sectors with a high entry rate of union members even when nonstandard employment is high.</p> <p>This article explores how employment sequences influence union-joining or union-leaving behaviour and investigates the under-researched dynamics of how labour market transitions relate to union membership. The author uses the Swedish Labor Force Survey and the Longitudinal Integrated Database for Health Insurance and Labor Market Studies to perform sequence analysis and analyse episodes related to labour market attachment. This approach leads to main clusters of trajectories of moving from e.g. peripheral to core labour market positions in Sweden. Further analyses are then performed using these sequence clusters as the main independent variables to investigate their effects on union-joining and union-leaving behaviour.</p>
Title:	Crowdfunding for labor union activism: Young Britons' views and preferences
Authors:	Piotr Zientara , Joanna Adamska-Mieruszezwska and Oskar Bech
Affiliation:	University of Gdansk
Abstract:	<p>Crowdfunding has emerged as a significant element of modern finance, whereby financing is obtained from a large number of supporters who contribute relatively small amounts.</p> <p>Crowdfunding has been successfully used to fund projects related to labour union activism, notably in France. At the same time, it is argued that young people, who grew up in the social media era, may prefer grassroots and less formal forms of engagement in collective action rather than traditional union membership. The paper, based on three controlled experiments, aims to (1) determine whether young Britons view crowdfunding as an effective tool for supporting union-related activism; (2) establish whether the initiator of the crowdfunding campaign, i.e., a labour union or grassroots organization, enhances the perceived legitimacy and effectiveness of a proposed project seeking funding; (3) examine whether these effects are consistent depending on the project type, such as a publicity campaign or a fund for supporting workers who were fired for organizing. The findings suggest that young Britons consider crowdfunding to be an effective means of supporting union-related activism and find such campaigns appealing, regardless of who initiates them. Nevertheless, the research showed that campaigns started by labour unions were viewed as more legitimate and impactful than those</p>

initiated by grassroots organizations. As a result, this perception affected their willingness to contribute financially to the campaign. These effects are robust across different types of initiated projects, which suggest that crowdfunding can be a useful tool for supporting union-related activism, especially when initiated by a labour union.

Title: **Beyond Creative Destruction: Explaining Declining Union Membership in the Post-Industrial Age**

Authors: **Henri Haapanala**, Zachary Parolin and Ive Marx

Affiliation: University of Antwerp

Abstract: Trade unions are key progressive forces fighting for better wages and working conditions throughout the economy. It is therefore hardly a surprise that labour's share of output and economic prosperity has declined so much during the persistent, decades-long trend of declining trade union membership. However, despite the very real consequences of declining union membership, the causes of this phenomenon are not fully understood. After the seminal contribution of Ebbinghaus and Visser (1999), union membership has continued to decline, in parallel with structural forces such as deindustrialisation and labour-displacing automation reshaping the labour market. The picture of a representative union member has changed substantively, from a blue-collar industrial worker to a white-collar, middle-income professional (Kjellberg 2013, Pontusson 2013). That is to say, the trend of declining union membership conceals another trend of changing composition among unionised workers.

In this paper, we revisit the question of the causes of union decline in advanced democracies in the post-industrial epoch. We specifically focus on the role of routine-biased technological change, automation and deindustrialisation in driving union decline vis-à-vis alternative explanations put forward by sociological and political-economic theories. While labour displacing technologies such as industrial robots have undoubtedly contributed to the declining employment shares in the industry sector, our findings suggest that the impact of these technologies on union membership at large is much smaller. We find that no one theory is sufficient to explain union decline in its entirety, while pointing towards several contributory factors. Specifically, we find that social customs such as workplace union density, country specific collective bargaining institutions and individual political preferences are more important explanatory factors for the decline in union membership. For instance, individuals expressing an affiliation with far-left or centre-left parties are the most likely to be union members. Hence the decline in union membership appears connected to the broader decline in social democracy.

We test our hypotheses with a variety of statistical methods, combining micro-level and macrolevel data from various sources. The backbone of our analysis is the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), an international social sciences dataset covering 28 advanced democracies from 1993 to 2019. We supplement this with occupation-level data on routine task intensity (RTI) and country-level data on exposure to industrial robots, collective bargaining, and political-economic institutions from the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS), International Federation of Robotics (IFR), OECD, and the Comparative Political Data Set (CPDS). Using fixed and random-effects regression models, we test the effects of routine-biased technological change, political and social preferences, demographic characteristics and country-specific labour market institutions on outcomes such as trade union membership at the individual and country levels, and individual attitudes towards collective bargaining.

Our results point towards higher probabilities of unionisation for non-routine workers. In line with other research following the social customs theory of union membership, we find that the predictive power of individual characteristics has not declined at the same rate as unionisation.

This suggests that the main causes of union decline are found in the institutions of collective bargaining and features of the workplace affecting the difficulty and expected returns of unionisation.

Room:	MHL 224
Session:	The socio-political context for work and labour
Chair:	Alex Lehr
Title:	The Politics of Equality: The Evolving Nature of Equality Agendas at Work in the UK and Europe in a Context of Political Uncertainty – a Bibliographic Scoping Exercise
Authors:	Holly Smith (WEI) , Stefania Marino (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester), Caitlin Schmid (King's College London), Miguel Martinez Lucio (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester) and Heather Connolly (Grenoble Ecole de Management)
Affiliation:	WEI
Abstract:	<p>Research on equality at work exists within and across multiple disciplines and continues to be strongly embedded in nationally specific research cultures and traditions (Frege, 2005). This article will construct an overview and intellectual map of the dynamic and changing nature of the debate on equality at work by providing a bibliometric analysis (Casey and McMillan, 2008) of the scholarly debate on this topic.</p> <p>The paper will review the recurrence and usage of key terms related to equality within international and national academic journals, with the aim of determining and analysing the changing and contested nature of the debate and what ideas, intellectual bases, and trends predominate across country and time during the period under observation (1970s – present). Additionally, while attempts have been made to define and classify diversity, equality, and inclusion as etymologically different anti-discriminatory approaches (Oswick and Noon, 2014), this paper seeks to provide conceptual clarity within and across nationally embedded linguistic and sociocultural understandings of key terms and practices.</p> <p>The provision of an intellectual map of the discourse related to equality at work will permit observations of convergences and divergences across nations, time, and disciplinary affiliations. The paper will present preliminary findings and reflections on the evolution of theories and paradigms, and support further analysis to identify if or how external forces and specific sociohistorical events have shaped the trajectory of the debate.</p> <p>References</p> <p>Casey, D. and McMillan, G., 2008. Identifying the “Invisible Colleges” of the British Journal of Industrial Relations: A Bibliometric and Social Network Approach. <i>Industrial and Labor Relationship Review</i>, 62(1), pp.126-132.</p> <p>Frege, C.M., 2005. Varieties of Industrial Relations Research: Take-over, Convergence or Divergence?. <i>British Journal of Industrial Relations</i>, 43(2), pp.179-207.</p> <p>Oswick, C. and Noon, M., 2014. Discourses of diversity, equality and inclusion: trenchant formulations or transient fashions?. <i>British Journal of Management</i>, 25(1), pp.23-39.</p>
Title:	Co-operative regeneration: Building islands of socialism in a sea of capitalism
Authors:	Reece Garcia
Affiliation:	Manchester Metropolitan University
Abstract:	That worker co-operatives inevitably fail commercially or renege on their democratic governance when operating within free-market neoliberalism, the so-called degeneration thesis, has dominated the literature. While the potential for ‘regeneration’ has gained some traction, there remains few in-depth examinations of real-world examples where this is taking place on a large scale. Participant observation of co-operatives within a Brazilian social movement reveals three regenerative practices are crucial to this process:

1) Democratic structures centred on collectives with shared responsibilities, daily assemblies, and a comprehensive job rotation system;
2) A political education for all members and time afforded for activism within the wider movement, which provides an 'ideological anchor' for sustained co-operativism; and 3) Continuous critical self-reflection, particularly in terms of what the goals of co-operatives should be and how success is determined.

As co-operatives both in Europe and further afield provide an avenue to fairer and more participatory labour relations, this represents a timely contribution to alternative modes of work.

Title: **Understanding the Present Dynamic of Social Labour Relations**

Authors: **Joern Janssen**

Affiliation: IG BAU

Abstract: If social labour relations are determinant agents in the evolution of humanity, how do we understand their present dynamic? Evolution can only be perceived over a space of time, that is in the past. Also, as the categories and terms for understanding the present have been formed according to experience and its reflection in the past, they tend to misinterpret present experience. For both reasons, we depend on the study of history to understand the present dynamic of social change.

This misunderstanding varies according to the section of time taken into consideration. Different aspects come to the fore against the horizons of the stone and bronze age, antiquity, feudalism, capitalism, industrialisation and high technology, each determined by subjective labour relations in permanent, overlapping, non-linear, discontinuous processes of transformation and disrupted by crises. If "Europe is currently facing a number of different crises" (conference program), the respective processes need to be evaluated according to their specific dynamic. This paper will focus on two of them, first, the pandemics decimating labour power by the Bubonic Plague in the 14th century and present Coronavirus Pandemic, both originating in China, and, secondly, the labour-property division determining the dynamic of evolution in this span of history.

It ought to be noted that these coincident evolutions will not be identified with cycles implying any form of repetitive periodicity.

Title: **Who will pay for the turbulent 20s?**

Authors: **Kevin Albertson**

Affiliation: MMU Business School

Abstract: The global economy has been living beyond its means for a long time. Any (economic) "growth" we have experienced over the last four decades has not come from increased prosperity, but by borrowing against the future. We have run up large ecological and financial debt, and now the days of cheap oil and gas are arguably over. To some extent these effects have been both exacerbated and disguised by Covid and the war in Ukraine. However, seen in the longer historical context, it is clear that the days of material abundance are well and truly over.

With limited means to resist, it is likely the working class will bear the brunt of this change in economic paradigm from growth to a-growth (at best) or de-growth (at worst). As we have seen in economic unrest up and down the UK, workers seek, through solidarity, the means to resist this permanent erosion in their standard of living. It is likely the current unrest represents only the first skirmishes in industrial relations conflicts which will make those of the 1970s seem like a trial run.

In this presentation, we set out the current industrial unrest in a past and future historic context. We present alternative policies to the disenfranchisement of the working class and suggest a decline in growth does not necessarily mean an end to improving human wellbeing: in the situation we find ourselves, the former is a necessary condition for the latter.

Parallel Sessions 2: 15:00-16:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Meet the Editors: Q&A with Editors of Journals in International Industrial Relations
Chair:	Richard Hyman (London School of Economics)
Speakers:	<p>Aristea Koukiadaki (University of Manchester School of Law) Managing Editor of the "International Labour Review" at the International Labour Organisation</p> <p>Miguel Martinez Lucio (Alliance Manchester Business School, The University of Manchester) Editor of "New Technology, Work and Employment"</p> <p>Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy) Editor of "European Journal of Industrial Relations"</p> <p>Jane Parker (ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand) Editor of "Labour & Industry: A journal of the social and economic relations of work"</p>

Room:	MHL 405
Session:	Artificial Intelligence (AI) & Digital Futures of Work, Employment, and IR (special session by Greg Bamber and Wilson Wong)
Chair:	Greg Bamber and Wilson Wong
Title:	Digitalization in retail – towards a more divided workforce?
Authors:	Kristin Alsos, Kristine Nergaard and Sissel Trygstad
Affiliation:	Fafo, Oslo
Abstract:	<p>In this paper we discuss how digitalization and the introduction of new technology unfolds in a labour-intensive sector characterized by few requirements for formal qualifications and high turnover. We use retail as a case, and ask whether digitalization has led to a more pronounced division of work into good and bad jobs. This is studied in Norway, a labour marked usually labelled as an inclusive one (Gallie 2007). With a comparative high wage level for low skilled jobs, sectors such as retail will be interested to implement new technology to automate work.</p> <p>Retail is an important sector when it comes to providing entry jobs for persons with low formal education, eg. young people. Further, it is argued that the focus on "learning-by-doing" enable employees without higher education to have successful careers. Shop managers are often young and recruited internally, from the "shop-floor" so to speak.</p> <p>Digitalization could change this. On the one hand, low-skilled jobs could be in danger of being replaced by technology, like self-service tills. On the other hand, digitalization can also lead to a more dualized workforce, where a distinction between low-skilled and high-skilled jobs become more pronounced. Thus, this could affect the possibility to switch between different tasks and affect the job quality and advancement in the job organization for low-skilled workers.</p> <p>The aim of this paper is to get a better understanding of how digitalization affects work and organization of work in groceries in Norway. The following questions will be discussed.</p> <p>What kind of digital tools are in use, and how has this affected the need for skills?</p> <p>Do we see signs of job destruction, job change, job shift and / or job creating? (Degryse 2016; Pedersen et al. 2018).</p>

Can we observe a dualization in the work organisation, where the jobs are divided into insider and outsider jobs? Or is the trade still a sector where managers are recruited from the shop floor?

The paper is based on qualitative interviews with managers and shop stewards in Norwegian grocery stores, and a survey among shop stewards conducted in retail in 2022.

Title: **Employers' Digital Practices at Work: Survey of 2,000 managers in UK organisations**

Authors: **Mark Stuart**

Affiliation: University of Leeds

Abstract: Not available at publication

Title: The Platform Economy as a turning point in Industrial Relations

Authors: **Isabel da Costa**

Affiliation: CNRS, IDHES, ENS Paris-Saclay

Abstract: The Platform Economy (PE) has brought about new, often precarious, forms of work which are increasingly replacing traditional employment relations, posing organizational, social, and legal challenges to previously established industrial relations (IR) arrangements. The increase in telework due to the pandemic led to a further development of various types of platform work which is still lacking clear rules and regulations in most countries.

Contributing to the on-going debate about the impact of digital technologies on the world of work and employment, I propose to consider the PE as a turning point in IR. I'll show how the evolution of the PE challenges collective bargaining actors and institutions by comparing developments in the United States and the European Union regarding the legal status and the right to organize of platform workers.

In the US and the EU platform work generally refers to forms of employment relations characterized by non-permanent contracts with few or no benefits, most often considering employees as self-employed entrepreneurs or "independent contractors". Even though not all platform workers are underpaid drivers or food delivery riders, controlled through app-based companies, most lack the rights and protections, job benefits, pay guarantees, and right to organize, attached to the "employee" status but which do not apply to independent contractors. Therefore, the PE employment model not only challenges the organization of work, and the supervision of workers through algorithms, it also more broadly challenges welfare systems arrangements, and I will conclude with questions for further research on the connections between this turning point in IR and the welfare state.

Title:	Lobbying and the influence of business associations in the digital agenda
Authors:	Lisa Sezer
Affiliation:	University of Leicester
Abstract:	<p>Recent employment relations research has indicated that employers have increased their efforts at political representation – national employers’ organizations across Europe have become more ‘mixed’, increasingly acting as ‘political’ in addition to ‘industrial relations actors’; new trade bodies have emerged focused on product rather than labour market interests; and there is increased lobbying at the European level on both labour market and public policy. However, detailed analyses of lobbying in the employment relations literature are scant. In this new project, we propose to investigate the capital’s political representation. We argue that it is important to analyse both the interacting product and labour market spheres because virtually all business associations are active across these spheres; and because the organizational structures and strategies in one market can facilitate or hinder the other market. We focus our study on the telecommunications industry – a major, strongly liberalized service industry where the rules of competition and infrastructure investments are strongly shaped by government policies, including European directives.</p> <p>In this pilot study, we will investigate first, how business is organized across BAs and what their policy preferences are, and second, how they lobby in policy-making and with what success. We focus on digital skills and infrastructure policy-making across four national contexts – Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and the UK, based on our previous study on the Nordic countries. We will conduct a mixed-methods design of documentary analysis as a first step, which is then to be complemented by elite interviews.</p>

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	Eurofound special session: "Pilot project on minimum wages and representativeness studies"
Chair:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound)
Speakers:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound), Christian Welz (Eurofound) and Victoria Cojocariu (Eurofound)

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Work and industrial relations in the care/health sector
Chair:	Agnes Akkerman
Title:	Is care an answer? The case of non-unionised workers in Polish service companies
Authors:	Olga Gitkiewicz
Affiliation:	University of Wroclaw
Abstract:	<p>Drawing on the framework of care derived from feminist approach (Phillips 2007, Held 2006, Ruddick 1998, Tronto 1993) this paper explores the use of care as an analytical framework to examine the dynamics of the Polish labour market, specifically focusing on unorganized service firms. Despite historically low unemployment rates, the Polish labour market exhibits segmentation, wage inequality, gender pay gap, and working-class economic downward mobility. With low union density, many workers face daily stressors such as overwork, workplace violence, fatigue, and discrimination. Notably, non-unionized workers who are vulnerable to multiple risks (Mrozowski, Czarzasty 2020; Kubisa, Ostrowski 2014; Pollert, Charlwood 2008).</p>

This paper addresses two main questions: whether and how non-unionized male and female workers practice care-based activities? Secondly, the study explores a specific configuration of practices, namely the combination of care practices and practices of resistance. The findings of the empirical study reveal that care can have subversive potential, i.e., it can be used to challenge prevailing workplace norms and hierarchies. For non-unionized workers, care practices offer an alternative way of organizing work and labour relations, fostering bonding and solidarity independently of formal union structures.

Based on biographical interviews conducted with service workers, I attempt to develop and empirically ground the category of care, which is often reduced to care work (Lightman, Kevins 2021, Rothier 2016) and less often to describing wider relationships in the workplace.

Title: **The Limits of Collective Organization. A case study of the German long-term care system**

Authors: **Saara Inkinen** and Wolfgang Schroeder

Affiliation: University of Kassel

Abstract: Germany is widely considered a stronghold of collective bargaining. But while this label may fit the processing industry, it is much less accurate in describing the care work sector, where only a minority of employees are bound by a collective agreement. The absence of a strong social partnership in the latter is unfortunate, seeing how collective agreements could help improve worker welfare in this critical area of the welfare state, thereby increasing both the quality and attractiveness of professional care work. Against this backdrop, the article examines the current organization of labour relations and the limits of collective bargaining autonomy in the long-term care sector in Germany. Combining original survey data with in-depth qualitative interviews, we argue that the weakness of collective bargaining reflects insufficient self-organization on the part of the social partners. While trade unions lack the resources to effectively represent worker interests, the employers' associations have the means but not the will to engage in collective bargaining. The result is a system of "defective interest mediation" that cannot easily be substituted by the political interventions of recent years.

Title: **Health and Safety of hospitals and care sector workers: The role of workplace-level representation structures**

Authors: **Manuela Galetto**, Barbara Bechter, Sabrina Weber, Bengt Larsson, Linda Hiltunen, Inga Blaziene, Ramune Guobaite, Dominik Owczarek, Jan Czarzasty, Maciej Pańków

Abstract: The pandemic shone a spotlight on the health and safety (H&S) dimension of workplaces in the care and healthcare sectors and, more in general, on the centrality of these sectors in society.

This paper is based on a 6-country comparative research (Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, UK, Italy) about workers' health and safety in the healthcare and social care sectors. We explore potential links between industrial relations traditions and workplace level representation structures for health and safety of workers within organisations. Through semi-structures interviews with relevant social partners of the two sectors in the six countries and at the European level, we set out to investigate whether countries with union-linked workplace health and safety representation are able to provide better health and safety protection at work compared to countries with non-union employee health and safety governance structures.

While most interviewees from across the countries of the research agreed that the national-level regulatory infrastructure on H&S is solid and far reaching – and particularly so when law is combined with workplace-level agency on implementation – they had different experiences on the extent to which workplace mechanisms of governance of H&S in these sectors are effective. Several factors contribute to limiting the effectiveness of the combination between existing law and workplace level institutions. Early findings suggest that the most prominent factors are the fragmentation in the representation of both workers and employers' interests and the degree of resourcing accorded to the two sectors by relevant authorities/governments. There are both countries and sectors differences which we link to the hollowing out of employment institutions at national level, but also, more in general, to a crisis of care and to what Nancy Fraser refers to as 'the contradictions of capital and care'.

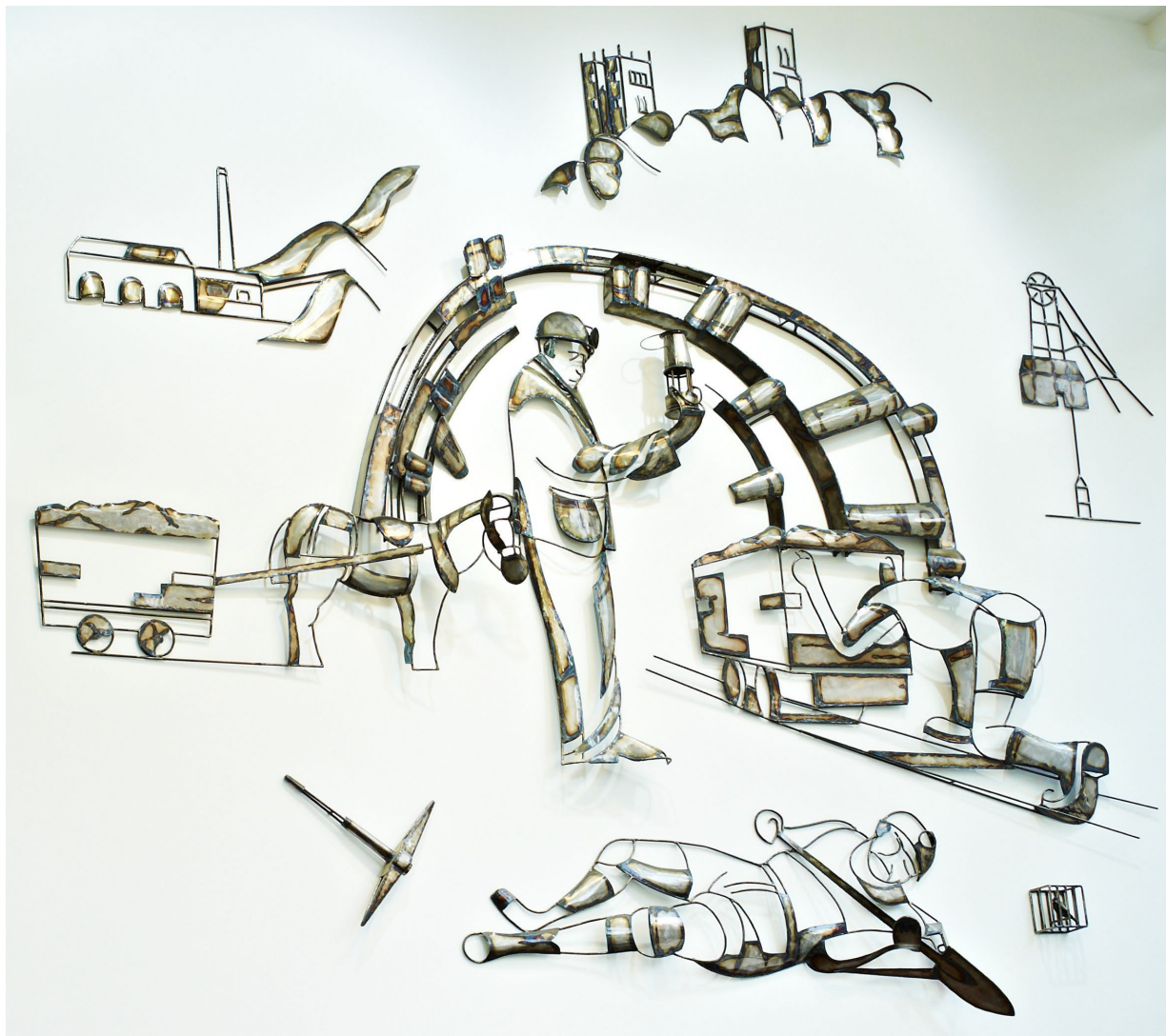


Image courtesy of Durham University

Day 2 (19/09/2023)

Parallel Sessions 3: 09.00-10.30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Transnational work and migration
Chair:	Adam Mrozowicki
Title:	Mobile workers and trade union transnational solidarity – the case of posted workers
Authors:	Ilana Nussbaum Bitran and Irene Dingeldey
Affiliation:	University of Bremen
Abstract:	<p>The movement of posted workers – employees who are sent by their employers to carry out services in a different EU Member State on a temporary basis– is regulated by the recently revised Posted Workers Directive (2018). Under the solidarity idea of “equal pay for equal work at the same workplace”, the Directive intended to better the working conditions of these mobile workers. Given the globalized European labour market and the often-exploitative working conditions of posted workers, transnational solidarity is needed to tackle the problems they confront. Although being some of these mobile workers members of trade unions in their countries of origin, they usually do not belong to the unions in the countries where they work. Lack of knowledge of the host country language, short periods of time in each working place, long working hours and living isolated from the host country society actually reduce the possibility they may join a union. As non-union members they remain without representation and protection in the sphere of work. This article asks how work conditions of posted workers can be improved through (transnational) acts of solidarity. Using document analysis and expert interviews with trade unions and employers’ organisations at the EU level, first, we explore the positioning of relevant actors concerning the subject. Following the ideas of bonding and bridging developed by Morgan & Pulignano (2020), second, we analyse how transnational acts of solidarity emerged in the EU conducted by transnational as well as national trade unions.</p>
Title:	Transnational labour supermobility in a multinational company: The Fincantieri/Vard case
Authors:	Guglielmo Meardi
Affiliation:	Scuola Normale Superiore
Abstract:	<p>Labour mobility, posting of workers, and intra-corporate transfers of employees are sensitive social and policy issues in the European labour market, but at the macro level they may appear as manageable because affecting relatively small minorities of workers. The paper examined them in the extreme critical case of the ‘global workplaces’ of the Italian shipbuilding Fincantieri group, which in 2013 took over the Norwegian shipbuilding multinational Vard and is now one of the largest producers of ships in the world, with yards in Italy, Norway, Romania as well as in Vietnam, USA, Brazil. Given the weight of geographically-tied capital, Fincantieri has engaged in so-called ‘reverse relocation’, by moving workers rather than sites, leading to a situation where up to 80% of production workers are non-nationals. Through a multi-sited case study covering the European yards, the paper looks at how the different regimes of labour mobility for EU and non-EU workers interact with ethnic hierarchies and labour segmentation, and at the challenges they raise for social regulations and collective organisation at local and transnational level.</p>

Title: **Integration of ethnic minorities into managerial positions: Lessons from Arabs in Israel**

Authors: **Ilan Shdema** and Moshe Sharabi

Affiliation: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Eilat The Max Stern Yezreel Valley College

Integration of minority groups into recipient labour markets, is typically limited to low status occupations. The current study focuses on integration into managerial positions of Arabs in Israel. This case is marked by an active national conflict in addition to ethnic and racial differences typical to other minority groups. Within this context, the study tracks a unique population - graduates of leading Arab schools (marked by the highest educational attainments nationally), hence reducing substantial barriers for integration - level of education and socio-economic background.

The study relies on a survey held among 200 graduates aged about 30 to answer the following questions: how successful they were in getting managerial positions; in which managerial positions they integrated (public vs. private sectors; within or outside the Arab localities); what characteristics are associated with integrating into these positions and do they play a substantial role in industrial relations.

Core findings reveal that about 20% of the population studied, hold managerial positions compared to about 3.5% among the Arab general population and nearly 9% among Jews. Most of them work as junior managers, yet some have got to senior positions and a substantial number have even become business owners. Their demographics, bridging social capital and human capital explain their integration patterns and account for about 50% of the variability. These findings are discussed in the context of integration of marginalized population into preferable occupations and their role in industrial relations.

Title: **Structural Determinants of Transnational Solidarity: Pan-European Socioeconomic Protests since 1997**

Authors: **Roland Erne (University College Dublin)** and Jörg Nowak (University of Brasilia)

Affiliation:

Abstract: This paper is based on a new database of 355 transnational socioeconomic protest events in Europe we found in a comprehensive, multinational, and multilingual set of labour-related newsletters, websites, and media outlets from 1997 to 2020. We discovered that the number of pan-European protests doubled from 62 (1997-2002) to 121 (2015-2020). This is surprising as European unions seemed to be retreating everywhere. The database also enabled us to reassess the two central structural explanations for transnational union action advanced by existing qualitative comparative analyses (QCA) and case study research. Our figures suggest that exposure to horizontal competitive economic pressures in the ever-more integrated EU marketplace cannot alone explain the rise in pan-European protests since 1997. Rather, our figures indicate that vertical political integrations by supranational EU authorities play a more central role in driving transnational labour-related protest actions than is usually acknowledged in the European industrial relations literature.

Room:	MHL 454
Session:	Trade unions in different sectors and professions
Chair:	Guy Vernon
Title:	What Unions want from Industry 4.0. A study in the British aerospace industry
Authors:	Wilko Artale
Affiliation:	University of Glasgow
	<p>The paper investigates how trade union representatives of one large British aerospace manufacturing firm (pseudonym: AirCo) perceive Industry 4.0 (I4.0) related innovations and what responses developed within national-wide union policies. Recent research shows that the extent to which unions can shape I4.0 depends on the interplay between institutional and agential factors (Gasparri and Tassinari, 2020), according to how each union generates its own strategical ideas given the specific social context in which are embedded (Garneau et al., 2023). Despite the weakness of institutional bargaining rights, British unions attempted to have an influence by negotiating 'new technology agreements' during 1970-1980s, achieving nonetheless quite limited results (Manwaring, 1981). In the context of the aerospace industry, British unions hold a seat within the national tripartite body but, at the same time, they are not in the steering of the more technical bodies where the pace and direction of I4.0 is being shaped (Doellgast and Wagner, 2022).</p> <p>The research draws on semi-structured interviews with shop stewards at AirCo, sectoral union leaders, and external engineering experts; supplemented with an analysis of national union and industry reports. Research findings reveal that national union officers consider I4.0 as an inevitable evolution that must be embraced to remain competitive in the global market. Furthermore, it is strongly supported that I4.0-driven productivity gains represent the best way to improve employee work-life balance. Against this backdrop, shop stewards at AirCo did not present I4.0 as a win-win solution, but nonetheless did not manage to exercise any significant influence either over new technology adoption or deployment.</p>
Title:	Trade Unions, a regulating body in the road transport sector in Yaounde, Cameroon.
Authors:	Tata Donita Nshani
Affiliation:	University of Liege
Abstract:	<p>In Cameroon, trade unions are considered partners with the state in assisting the state to organize the informal transport sector. This seems to be at odds with dominant understandings of the unions, which are expected to be radical. This is because, often, government measures since the adoption of neoliberalism always seem to work against the interest of workers, weaken unions through legal bans on strikes, labor retrenchment of union members, casualization, and subcontracting, and the proliferation of trade unions, which tend to undermine workers' solidarity.</p> <p>This study aims to explore the role of the taxi driver's trade unions in Yaounde in the regulation of work in the transport sector with focus on the services that union offer to the government and its members, how this role shapes the relationship between the union and its members – and the way union members feel about this role.</p> <p>The Paper aims to contribute to recent literature focused on understanding the changing roles of trade unions, their relationship with the state, their members, and, how they are coping in the wake of neoliberal economic reforms that have swept the African continent since the 1990s. It draws upon my ongoing ethnographic fieldwork in Yaounde Cameroon among taxi drivers since 2019.</p> <p>Keywords: trade unions, regulations, informal sector.</p>

Title: Occupational status and trade union engagement

Authors: Ylva Ulfssdotter Eriksson and Mai Lundemark

Affiliation: Linnaeus University, Sweden

Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between occupational prestige and trade union engagement. The prestige, or status, of an occupation, can, in the light of traditional industrial relation matters, be seen as a superficial and insignificant issue and not especially essential for a trade union to engage in. Still, Swedish trade unions often proclaim the importance of increasing the status of the occupation they represent – not seldom in media and debates. In addition, in a recent survey, 68 per cent of a random sample of Swedes, reported that they think it is important that trade unions get involved in increasing the status of their occupation. Also, occupational status (or prestige) may not be seen as something shallow, as it concerns the symbolic and social valuation attached to work. Such evaluations refer to both the kind of work in an occupation and the situation in which it is conducted, and status is highly related to wages, skills, influence, and other important working conditions commonly negotiated by unions.

This paper aims to explore attitudes on trade union engagement in status-increasing activities of occupations. The analysis focuses on the 68% who think the union should get involved in matters of status: Who are they? What characterizes their occupations in terms of conditions and status positions? The quantitative analyses draw on a survey study (1600 randomly selected respondents in Sweden) with various questions concerning a variety of conditions in the respondent's occupation and trade union membership, as well as register-based background data like gender, age, income, sector, etc.

Preliminary findings indicate that there is a positive correlation between TU status engagement and those who work in occupations useful for society, but a negative correlation between those whose occupations are characterized by high wages and career opportunities. Moreover, members of the blue-collar union LO are more positive than members from the higher-white-collar union Saco.

Room: MHL 452

Session: The quality of work and labour

Chair: Martí López-Andreu

Title: Entrepreneurial or precair? Career trajectories in the cultural and creative industries

Authors: Wike Been

Affiliation: University of Groningen

Abstract: The cultural and creative industries are often considered as a model for the labor market of the future due to the intrinsic motivation of workers, their entrepreneurial spirit, and the flexible and project based nature of work. However, these characteristics also make work in the sector precarious, resulting in low incomes, job insecurity, pervasive inequalities, and limited collective regulation. Currently, it is unclear how this situation evolves over the course of workers' careers and where regulation is most needed. To address this gap, the career trajectories of all individuals working in the sector in January 2010 are analyzed for the following ten years, examining their labor market position and income using register data from the Netherlands. Multichannel sequence analysis is employed to identify the types of careers that exist in the sector, and multinomial regression analysis is used to determine who ends up in each type of career and whether collective labor agreements provide any advantages.

Preliminary results indicate that over half of the workers have left the sector after ten years, indicating a high outflow. However, not all careers are precarious, as permanent contracts are also common, with men typically holding the highest-paid positions and women in medium-income jobs. Self-employment careers, on the other hand, are characterized by income fluctuations, but this group is at the same time most likely to stay in the sector. Switching between labor market positions is common, which highlights the need for a unified regulation of both employment and self-employment under a single umbrella.

Title: **Income security for self-employed during the pandemic: a role for crisis corporatism in developing and adjusting measures for the self-employed in Scandinavia?**

Authors: **Jørgen Svalund**

Affiliation: Fafo

Abstract: The Covid-19 pandemic and its detrimental consequences for employees in industries hard hit by lockdowns and contamination measures reminded us that not all work provide access to systems of social protection. In later years, the increasing share of gig jobs, solo self-employed and other types of non-standard work have been in focus because of the lack of income security and social protection schemes (Moore & Newsome 2018, Spasova et al. 2021).

The Scandinavian countries are known for their ability to adjust measures and policies swiftly to changes in shifts in the international demand, by making decisions in tight collaboration between governments and the social partners (Katzenstein 1985). Self-employed are outsiders in the context of the generous welfare state and social protection and are primarily not covered by collective agreements in the Scandinavian countries. In this comparative paper we investigate which, and why, changes were made to the income security of these workers in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden during the pandemic. Understanding the development of the income security systems for this group, is particularly interesting in these countries whereby self-employed workers are not typically members of employer organisations and trade unions federations. Hence, we ask what role, if any, the social partners played in the changes that were made?

The paper is based on a comparative qualitative approach. We have interviewed key informants from the state and the social partners,

The article contributes empirically by exploring the role of social partners in developing unemployment benefit specific measures for self-employed in Scandinavia during the pandemic, and theoretically by building on theories of path-dependence and institutional change.

Title: **Assessing experiences of meaningful work in the contemporary service economy**

Authors: **Nadja Doerflinger** and Valeria Pulignano

Affiliation: Federal Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Germany

Abstract: A recent conceptualisation of meaningful work suggests integrating various objective and subjective dimensions to assess experiences of meaningful work (Laaser & Karlsson 2022). We argue that this integration also requires equally looking at the economic (exchange) and the social (inter-personal) relationships characterising service work. Hence, we propose to not only focus at the asset being exchanged, but also at the social interactions between workers and customers (or similar groups) inherent to service transactions. These social interactions enable and shape the economic exchange, and often come along with experiences of meaningful work.

The article is based on qualitative empirical evidence from different service-based occupations (i.e., elderly care, business consulting, graphical design)

collected in Germany between 2020 and 2022. The findings illustrate that the interactional context is a source of meaning for many workers, who experience (monetary and non-monetary) recognition, appreciation or other evaluations in their social relationships with customers or patients. At the same time, these social relationships enable economic exchanges generating value for organisations. To enhance valorisation, organisation may create supporting narratives which can translate into sources of meaning for workers, too. Meaning is also associated with regulatory structures and the prestige of particular occupations. While the former affect monetary aspects, the latter points to the nonmonetary characteristics of meaning. Overall, meaning is a multidimensional concept consisting of both monetary and non-monetary dimensions that are dynamically shaped at different level

Room: 403

Plenary Session 2: 11:00-12:00

Title **Unpaid Labour and Inequality in Precarious Work. Theorizing Adaptations in Employment Relations Research**

Speaker: **Professor Valeria Pulignano (KU Leuven, Belgium)**

Chair: **Dr. Barbara Bechter (Durham University, UK)**

Debates on precarious work often revolve around the aspects of paid employment arrangements. Within the realm of employment and labour relations research, scholars use the term 'wage theft' to describe unpaid labour in paid employment, viewing it as a crucial element of precarious work. However, there remains a need to delve deeper into the connection between unpaid labour and precarious work and to explore how the job market is influenced by this issue. This exploration is vital in understanding the inequalities inherent in precarious work. While it is true that unpaid labour in paid employment can contribute to precarious work, it is not a one-size-fits-all situation, as its impact varies based on individuals' access to resources. Those with higher resources, including those who can rely on social reproductive and gendered (unpaid) labour, may be more capable of affording to engage in unpaid work. As a result, precarious work may not automatically affect everyone in the same way. In my ongoing research, I am aiming to shed light on the role of unpaid labour in various sectors and work areas across diverse European countries, which are often associated with precarious conditions. This research seeks to address the issue of inequality in precarious work, where inequality is understood as stemming from class-based distinctions based on income, gender, prestige, and race. Moreover, the research underscores the importance of welfare and collective bargaining institutions as factors that can help mitigate inequality for individuals engaged in unpaid labour and facing precarious work situations. These institutions play a critical role in providing support and protection for those vulnerable to precarious conditions in the labour market.

Room: **MHL 403**

Session: **Eurofound Policy Watch: Cushioning impact of inflation for citizens & workers and role of collective bargaining**

Chair: **Maria Sedlakova and Maria Cantero (Eurofound)**

Speakers: **Pavlos Kalosinatos (Cyprus), Oscar Molina (Spain), Nils Brandsma (Sweden), Thomas de Winter (Netherlands), Nora Krokovay (Hungary)**

Room:	MHL 427
Session:	Strikes in the twenty-first century: Revisiting old theories, exploring new research avenues (I)
Chair:	Agnes Akkerman (University of Amsterdam, AIAS), Bernd Brandl (Durham University), Alex Lehr (Radboud University), and Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Claps don't pay the bills
Authors:	Douglas Martin
Affiliation:	University of Central Lancashire
Abstract:	<p>One of the features of the industrial relations landscape within the UK in the last 13 years has been the increased use of industrial action in sectors historically reluctant to engage in this form of activity. Recent strike and other forms of industrial action have been a prevalent feature of the health sector. Trade unions, such as the British Medical Association (BMA), have traditionally eschewed industrial action and have historically operated as a professional association for doctors and medical students. Increasingly the BMA in similar fashion to other unions in the health sector has shown greater militancy in pursuing its objectives on behalf of its members in relation to pay and conditions.</p> <p>Beginning with opposition to the NHS reforms of the 2010s, through the period of the Covid restrictions and now with increased inflation eroding doctors' living standards, the threat and use of industrial action has featured prominently in the tactics of the BMA to secure its ends.</p> <p>This chapter will provide a historical overview of the issues that have led to the current round of strike action and which at the time of writing is likely to escalate beyond junior doctors with consultants now are being balloted for industrial action.</p> <p>Using mobilisation theory as a framework, the chapter will evaluate the concept in the context of the recent industrial unrest within the health sector. Kelly's (1998) conceptualisation emphasised the importance of leadership in both mobilising the workforce and in challenging counterarguments. What is in some ways distinctive about the current dispute is the way in which the government has tried to counteract the BMA's mobilisation of its workforce post Covid. Attempts by the government to promote its austerity agenda as a reason for limiting pay rises is on the back of the government's approach during the Covid emergency where it sought to align itself to the health service's central role in combatting the effects of the pandemic. There is a paradox between, on the one hand, endorsing the valuable role which doctors played during the Covid pandemic and, on the other hand, countering the claims of the health unions for better pay and conditions. The chapter will explore what measures the BMA has used to mobilise junior doctors to undertake industrial action in the face of management's paradoxical approach to the medical profession.</p> <p>In addition to an overview of the period from 2010 to the present, the chapter will explore the material issued by the BMA through its website, including its video material and information put into the public domain through, for example, its press releases and other similar forms of information.</p> <p>The chapter will explore several key facets of mobilisation theory over an extended period. The chapter will also evaluate to what extent the BMA succeeded in mobilising its members in face of government opposition to improvements in pay and conditions when faced with counterarguments particularly in the post-Covid period. The chapter evaluate mobilisation theory in a professional trade union, previously reluctant to take strike action.</p>

Title: Reflecting on the impact of industrial action in NHS England – the case of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy (CSP)

Authors: Andy Hodder

Affiliation: University of Birmingham

Abstract: Since the summer of 2022, there has been an increase in industrial action across the UK in general, and the National Health Service (NHS) in particular. There has been limited analysis of healthcare strikes in recent years, and those that have been published have tended to examine the impact of strikes by doctors, nurses and ambulance workers. This paper examines the impact of the two days of strike action called by the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy (CSP) in 2023 in NHS England. Data are drawn from NHS England, and from the CSP. The implications of these strikes are considered before the areas for further research are outlined.

Title: The teritarisation of strikes in a well-organised labour market - cracks in the balance of power model

Authors: Kristine Nergaard and Kristin Alsos

Affiliation: Fafo, Oslo

Abstract: In many countries, the number of working days lost to strikes has decreased over the last decades. One explanation is the weakening of unions in today's labour market (Bordogna & Cella 2002; Vandaele 2016). Another observation is a shift to more strikes towards, what Bordogna and Cella (2002) call the "teritarisation of conflict", where strikes take place in the public and/or private services sector. This shift has changed the rationale of strikes in the meaning the strategies available for unions, employer organizations and the state (ibid). Service sector strikes will often be characterized by different types of strategies than the more traditional strikes in the manufacturing sector, as much damage can be done by involving only a few workers, and the conflicting parties will have to take the interests of third parties into consideration. While Norway still sees more traditional strikes where the aim is to inflict injury on the opposing parties, an increasing number of conflicts take place in the service sector, where the damage is felt by the citizens. This makes the fight for winning the public opinion more important. Bargaining parties in the service sector have developed new strategies in order to get their way. This covers use of selective strikes, denying exceptions and various means for winning the public. One option, is to escalate the conflict to a level where the government interferes and stops the conflict with compulsory arbitration in order to protect the life and health of citizens. Further, strikes in public services do less damage on the employers as they rather save than lose money during the conflict. This is increasingly the situation for the workers as well, as some trade unions give out quite generous strike benefits. In the private service sector, the more traditional effects of conflicts are still seen, in combination with the effect for citizens, and here employers make use of lockout in order to put the strike to an end. This makes the rationale of strikes different in public funded and private funded service sector. In this chapter we aim to investigate whether the traditional rationale and power balance between the parties (strike vs. lockout) as traditionally seen in the manufacturing industry, can be found in strikes in the public and private service sector. What strategies are used by the bargaining parties, and what aims do they fulfil – to damage the other party, to call for the public to put pressure on the other party to give in, or to put pressure on the government to interfere? Have strikes the last 20 years, and the strategies of the conflicting parties and the state, challenged the balance of power between the parties?

Norway has had a relatively stable strike activity over the last three decades and is today among the highest third of European countries with regards to working days lost per 1000 employees (Nergaard, 2022). Almost all strikes occur in relation to renegotiation of multi-employer collective agreements. The tools available for the unions are limited. Go-slow, restrictions on overtime use, strikes for only a day etc., are not legal. Thus, strikes follow the same pattern as the game-changing clashes between manual workers and their employers 100 years ago. Norway can therefore be seen as a good case to study whether and how bargaining parties alter their strategies when industrial disputes move from manufacturing to services.

Method

The chapter will be based on a desk study covering some of the strikes in the public and private service sector since 2000s, as well as interviews with the bargaining parties.

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Room:	MHL 452
Session:	Book presentation: "Revisiting worker representation on boards: the forgotten EU countries in codetermination studies"
Chair:	Sara Lafuente (ETUI and ULB) (ed)
<i>Speakers:</i>	Aline Hoffmann (ETUI), Stan de Spiegelaere (University Ghent and UniEuropa)
<i>Discussants:</i>	Inger Marie Hagen (Oslo Metropolitan University), and Lionel Fulton (Labour Research Department)

Room:	MHL 223
Session:	Labour Relations at Workplace level and employers' preferences
Chair:	Ylva Ulfsdotter Eriksson
<i>Title:</i>	Differentiated factory regimes: Transformations of labour and workplace politics in the Italian shipbuilding industry
<i>Authors:</i>	Francesco Iannuzzi, Nicola Quondamatteo and Devi Sacchetto
<i>Affiliation:</i>	Scuola Normale Superiore (Florence)
<i>Abstract:</i>	This article discusses the preliminary results of an ongoing research study focusing on labour process transformations in the shipbuilding industry and how these affect the composition and management of the workforce, labour regimes and workers' voices. The research is based on empirical evidence from the case of Fincantieri, an Italian state-owned company and one of the world's leading shipbuilders, collected through interviews with workers, trade unions and managers in shipyards Marghera (Venice) and Montalcini (Gorizia).

For years, Fincantieri has been pursuing an organisational rationalisation through the outsourcing and construction of complex sub-contracting chains. These changes are framed in medium- to long-term transformations of labour processes that result in greater standardisation and acceleration of certain activities (especially the construction of hulls). In Fincantieri, as elsewhere, organisational changes based on decentralisation and outsourcing lead to a strong segmentation of employees' working and contractual conditions and weaken the power of workers and trade unions.

Most of the literature on outsourcing and corporate reorganisation strategies focuses on the impacts of these processes on the employment regimes of the outsourced and peripheral workforce, often neglecting the implications of outsourcing on factory regimes, and on the dynamics of control, consent and cooperation of a highly segmented workforce, both on an ethnic and contractual basis.

In Fincantieri, one of the most important transformations stimulated by corporate restructuring is the change in the technical composition of direct workers. While the number of direct workers is steadily decreasing, the distribution among the different jobs sees a significant increase in technical employees, who control the production process. In contrast, the number of blue-collar workers decreases rapidly.

Thus, technical white-collar workers have turned into supervisors of indirect labourers. Different wage, protection, and social reproduction regimes apply simultaneously to the different groups that make up the workforce of the de facto construction sites and with them, different ways of managing the workforce. In addition, the internal change in the technical composition of direct employees and the outsourcing of a large part of blue-collar work to subcontractors were identified by experts as the main causes of the erosion of power and the qualitative transformation of union representation.

Starting from this framework, our research purpose is to investigate how the workforce management system is reorganised and, secondly, what reactions of consent, adaptation or resistance - on the part of the workers involved - are provoked by this peculiar organisation of work and workplace politics (the so-called 'Fincantieri model'). Our results indicate how the workforce management strategies in the Italian shipyards are based on the internal and simultaneous overlapping of different factory regimes (hegemonic, despotic and hegemonic despotism) that have led to new forms of hierarchy and stratification, ultimately hindering solidarity processes.

Title: **Shops stewards at company floor – a precondition for individual influence?**
Authors: Inger Marie Hagen and **Elin Moen Dahl**
Affiliation: Work research institute, Oslo Metropolitan University

Abstract: The distinction between individual and representative influence is well established among labour market researchers. Representative influence is linked to trade unions and shop stewards while individual influence often is seen as a question of individual power resources and organization of work. Historically the relation between the two forms of influence has been highly controversial as trade unions have pictured individual influence as an alternative or threat to representative influence while others have emphasized that trade unions are an obstacle to individual autonomy.

An alternative point of view is to picture both individual and representative influence as an important part of workplace democracy and focus on how the two forms of participation depend on and reinforce each other. If individual influence is to be perceived as a democratic issue, we need to distinguish between influence as right and influence as responsibility given to the individual by the management. The employee being the subordinate part in the power relation between management and employee imply that the individual employee needs the support of shops stewards at the workplace when individual influence encounter managerial prerogative.

The paper investigates the relationship between trade unions at the company floor and individual influence. A high degree of individual influence is one of the characteristics of the Norwegian labor market and a single channel system of representative participation at company floor the other. A certain mix of legislation and collective agreements aim to i) ensure that employees have influence over their own working day, get to use their skills and experience autonomy in work performance and ii) ensure that shop stewards participate in the important decisions. Both legislation and agreements are important tools for the shop stewards in order to ensure individual influence.

However, previous research has failed to identify a connection between collective agreements and/or shop stewards in the workplace and the level of individual influence (Falkum et al. 2009, Trygstad et al. 2021). If any effect is detected – trade union presence and collective agreements have a negative effect.

In this paper, data from the Participation Index 2020 is used to examine the possible connection between representative and individual influence. The index is based on a survey sent to a representative sample of Norwegian employees (N=3575). The analysis shows, like previous research, that neither the presence of a collective agreement or shop stewards lead to increased individual influence among the employees, quite the opposite. Presence is thus of little importance.

Most studies of the effect of trade unions focus on presence: Are trade union represented at company floor? Is the company covered by a collective agreement or trade union density at the workplace? In other words: Trade union reps are treated as a dummy-variable (present or not present).

In the paper we aim to take this one step further and include the role and influence of the shop stewards in the analyses. The role of the trade unions is perceived through the eyes of the employees. How does the employees perceive the shop stewards' effort and role? Do shop stewards influence the important decisions in the company?

Preliminary results indicate that powerful shop stewards are able to increase the level of individual influence.

Title: **Employers' preferences for hiring solo self-employed workers**
Authors: **Lian Kösters**
Affiliation: Statistics Netherlands and University of Amsterdam

Abstract: The share of solo self-employed workers in the Netherlands is increasing and is among the largest in the EU. It is often hypothesized that Dutch employers nowadays tend to hire solo self-employed workers for work that used to be done by employees. However, still little is known about employers' preferences with respect to different types of employment constructions. In this study we investigate employers' preferences by means of a vignette study among about 1000 business owners and HR-managers. Respondents were given two sets of five fictitious candidates for two possible vacancies in their organization and were asked to rank these candidates in order of their preference. The vacancies varied with regard to the type of tasks to be performed and the time needed to train new hires. The candidates varied, among other things, in the type of contract on which they would come to work. The results were analyzed using a rank-ordered logit analysis.

The results show that employers prefer regular employees over solo self-employed workers. Moreover employers seem to put a higher weight on the work experience of candidates than on the type of contract. A solo self-employed worker with 10 years of work experience is preferred over a regular employee without any work experience. This result suggests that, although employers have a preference for regular employees, they are prepared to offer a solo self-employment construction to attract workers with a lot of work experience.

Parallel Sessions 5: 15:00-16:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	Trans-nationalisation of employment relations
Chair:	Aline Hoffmann
Title:	The quiet trans-nationalisation of board-level employee representation in national law and practice: moving away from a Euro-democratic project?
Authors:	Sara Lafuente
Affiliation:	European Trade Union Institute
Abstract:	<p>Board-level employee representation (BLER) rights are far from harmonised at the level of the European Union (EU). Yet, beyond some limited cases of Europeanisation taking root in EU secondary law (i.e., the European Company Directive and other EU corporate law instruments), experiences of trans-nationalisation based on national law and practice have found their way in multinational groups (MNCs) operating in the European Economic Area. This paper examines the diversity of such institutional routes available and applied independently of any EU legislation. Only in five Member States (i.e. Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and France) has the national law and/or practice considered the transnational dimension of MNCs in the scope and composition of group BLER.</p> <p>Drawing on country case studies and interdisciplinary qualitative methods, based on secondary data analysis (i.e. previous literature, law, case law, corporate information and EWC agreements) and the analysis of a dozen expert control interviews conducted between 2016 and 2022 with trade union advisors and representatives as internal informants, the paper identifies different bottom-up practices of trans-nationalisation, ranging from co-optation to more elaborated institutional conundrums, and the factors which promote or hinder them. It also evaluates them, pointing at different legal, political and practical implications for national systems of employee representation and for the development of European industrial relations in more technocratic than democratic ways. The paper calls for pan-European coordinated solutions on representation rights, both in legislation and trade union strategy and practice, highlighting some recommendations also for research.</p>
Title:	Transnational BLERs - representation at company boards
Authors:	Inger Marie Hagen (AFI) and Elin Svarstad (Fafo)
Affiliation:	AFI/OsloMet
Abstract:	<p>Board level employee representation (BLER) is well established in a number of European countries. In some countries, the arrangement is anchored in company law, while in others the provisions are found in either labour law or in collective agreements. The different arrangements have however one important feature in common: the arrangements are part of national law and thus – the right to representation is given to employees working in the country in question only. Employees in foreign-based subsidiaries have no right to representation at group board level ('konsern') even if national legislation might provide for representation in the subsidiary in the country at hand. However, three countries make up the exception to this rule: France, Denmark and Norway.</p> <p>In Germany and Sweden, the legal situation might be interpreted as permitting transnational representation if the trade unions comply and in both countries examples of transnational representation exist. Several EU-directives (DIR</p>

2001/86/EC Societas Europa, DIR 2003/72/EC European Cooperative Society and DIR 2005/56/EC Cross board mergers) may also have relevance.

This paper look at transnational arrangement with a Nordic perspective. So far 29 groups have been identified, 24 in Norway, 2 in Denmark and 3 in Sweden. Three key questions are addressed.

First, why transnational representation established? There is no mandatory provision on representation in neither country and thus, the workers need to organize a demand for representation. The next step is to transform the arrangement into a transnational arrangement. Did the employees, the management, the shareholder elected board members or the trade union take the initiative?

Secondly, how were the representatives elected? All three countries are characterized by a 'single channel system', e.g. at company level the trade union representatives (from the local branch of the national trade unions) represent the employees in relation to the management. Nevertheless, BLER election methods varies. E.g., when to elect a Swedish representative from the Swedish subsidiary to the board of a Norwegian group – does Swedish (appointed by the trade union) or Norwegian rules (elected by all employees in company) apply?

Thirdly, how do the representatives evaluate the arrangement and especially the role of their foreign colleagues? If – and how – do the representatives cooperate and what is the role of the trade union (if present in company)?

The data is mainly qualitative (interviews with BLERs in different groups) supplemented by information from the official business register in Norway. By using the register, we might identify companies that have ended their transnational representation and investigate why this happened-

The paper argues that in order to understand the role of BLERs at different level, the analysis need to include both an industrial relation framework as well as insight from corporate governance.

Title: **Visible and Invisible Hands in the Transnational Wage Setting in Europe**

Authors: **Aarron Atkinson-Toal**

Affiliation: Durham University Business School

Abstract: This paper addresses the question how in Europe a common transnational strategy among industrial relations actors and cooperation between actors can evolve over time and what the consequences are. More specifically, if a common transnational strategy and cooperation is beneficial not only for industrial relations actors themselves, but also for the economy and society, is a common strategy evolving by itself on basis of existing formal and informal institutional channels of interactions over time or do we need new institutions, rules and incentives from 'outside'? And if new institutions and rules are needed which of them are politically feasible and realistic? In other words are the mutual benefits sufficient so that national actors can pull themselves towards a common strategy or, in the case of Europe, do national actors need to be pushed by European 'authorities'? In any way a common strategy among national actors is a question of transnational coordination between actors which only works under certain conditions. Using the findings of previous case studies and a research project, the prerequisites and conditions for transnational coordination between actors are identified and integrated in a micro theoretical model of action and interaction. With this approach, different formal and informal institutional channels of interactions are analysed in order to explain how a European 'system' of industrial relations can be established and maintained over time and what the role of transnational regulatory bodies such as the EU can (and should) be.

Room: MHL 452

Session: Industrial relations and the platform economy (I)

Chair: Raquel Rego

Title: Public Institutions and Industrial Relations in the Platform Economy: A Comparative Approach

Authors: Franco Tomassoni (CoLABOR), Ana Alves da Silva (CoLABOR), Tiago Santos Pereira (CoLABOR), Ignacio Ruiz (University of Barcelona), Szymon Pilch (University of Wrocław), Mattia Frapporti (University of Bologna)

Affiliation: CoLABOR

Abstract: In this communication we will present preliminary results from a project analysing the impacts of large platforms on the economy of European societies and, more specifically, from comparative work analyzing the effects of labor platformization on industrial relations. The way platforms reorganize the labor relations and labor process cannot be separated from consequences on the ways workers get organized in unions, deal with enterprises and bargain for their contracts and working conditions. Moreover, considering platforms as actors acting in a larger way than the single workplace, we propose an approach that extends the analysis of industrial relations to all local stakeholders.

Through an overview of the main features of central platform firms in Italy, Poland, Portugal and Spain, and the way these deploy and organize labour, we map the state of art of labour relations in platform economy around Europe. We consider that such mapping includes not only the policies of unions and employer associations but also those of public institutions engaged with the attempt to trigger a more inclusive approach towards corporate governance.

Grey literature and other secondary data, at the national level, will be collected on industrial relations and labour conflicts in platform economy, considering sectoral and infrastructural platforms, to develop comparative analysis and frame an analytical approach and to identify exemplary cases and pending challenges.

Title: Factors influencing forms of organisation among platform workers: beyond the labour process

Authors: Branko Bembič and Tinca Lukan

Affiliation: Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

Abstract: Why do food delivery couriers build working class organisations and social media influencers do not? Platform workers are usually considered unlikely candidates for building union organisations due to their legal, technological, organisational, spatial and social fragmentation. Contrary to expectations, efforts for organising platform workers have grown rapidly, with European capitals one after another witnessing impressive protest actions and strikes of food delivery couriers. A number of researchers have argued that the drive for mobilisation and organisation among platform workers sprung from the contradictions of the labour process. However, focusing on these successful cases carries the risk of missing other important factors that influence the emergence of working-class solidarity and eventual unionisation of platform workers. This paper compares food delivery couriers and social media influencers as they face many similarities not only in regard to forms of management control, such as algorithmic management, engagement on self-employment basis, integration of customer ratings, but also obstacles for working class solidarity, for instance spatial dispersion and mutual

competition. However, they diverge widely in forms of interest organisations they establish. Based on interviews with platform workers, participant observation and document analysis this paper looks at the social context beyond the labour process to identify the factors accounting for this divergence. We argue that understanding social mobility trajectories and aspirations is of no less importance than differences in forms of managerial control when explaining the divergence between forms of organisations the two groups of platform workers establish.

Title: **The ongoing platformization: industrial relations in-the-making in Poland and Portugal**

Authors: Adam Mrozowicki, Ana Alves da Silva, Olga Gitkiewicz, Tiago Santos Pereira, **Szymon Pilch** and Franco Tomassoni

Affiliation: University of Wroclaw

Abstract: Critical studies on platforms have recentered the debate on work and labour-related issues in advanced capitalist societies, yet underplaying the power of labour as a counteracting force in platform economy. Although existing studies suggest that the expansion of the platform business model represents a challenge for traditional industrial relations for a number of reasons, a growing number of platform workers collectives and organised actions is being observed in various geographies. In this paper, we adopt the power resources approach to study the reshaping of industrial relations within the ongoing platformisation process from a labour-centred perspective. To understand such new labour relations and the in-the-making forms of workers' action and representation in the platform economy, we explore the cases of Poland and Portugal. While the former represents a statist variety of Central and Eastern European "patchwork capitalism", the latter illustrates a South European model in which the sectoral collective bargaining is still dominant. The analysis is based on trade union strategic documents on platform work supplemented by other secondary data sources. In both countries trade unions have not yet developed strategic positions towards platform work and tend to focus on relatively narrow segments of location-based platforms (in particular: passenger transportation, food delivery and logistics centres). The ways of framing solutions to platform workers' problems reproduce path-dependent logics, with Portuguese unions placing greater emphasis on collective bargaining and the Polish ones on EU level regulation.

Title: **Norwegian labour market exposure to language modeling AI and the mitigating role of trade unions**

Authors: **Johan Røed Steen** & Elin Svarstad

Affiliation: Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research

Abstract: Recent progress in AI language modelling have raised questions about its effect on occupations, industries and geographies exposed. We evaluate the literature on the relationship between digital technologies, skill demand and wages and discuss whether AI language models such as ChatGPT are fundamentally changing this relationship.

We then leverage the methodology and Language Modelling AI Occupational Exposure scores developed by Felten et al (2023) using US O*NET data covering 774 occupations and adapt this procedure to Norwegian data. We use matched employer-employee registry data comprising all Norwegian workplaces and working individuals in the period 2010-2022 to assess the potential overall impact on the occupational structure in Norway. We contrast the predictions on AI exposure to how occupational structural changes so far have indicated substitution of routine-intensive and low-wage

occupations (Kostøl & Svarstad 2023). Further, we evaluate the possible role of unions in mitigating AI's impact.

We find that the highly educated Norwegian workforce is highly exposed to language modelling AI and show that the relationship between occupational wage and exposure to AI differs from the pattern found when measuring exposure to technological change using job routine content (Autor et al. 2003) or computerization risk (Frey & Osborne 2017). We expect that trade unions are stronger among professions most exposed to language modelling AI, as union density in Norway is higher among the highly paid and highly educated population.

Room: MHL 223

Session: The role of the political and institutional context for trade unions

Chair: Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)

Title: Right-Wing Unionism in Israel and its Potential Implications

Authors: Gadi Nissim

Affiliation: Ruppin Academic Center

Abstract: The lecture examines a new development in Israel's organized labour field and its potential implications. The Israeli hegemonic bloc contains secular and ultraorthodox groups that endorse market ideology, individualism, and also religious authoritarianism. All of them are antagonists to organized labour. No wonder, then, that since January 2023 the coalition has ignited legislative attempts that dramatically limit, if not break, trade unionism and the entire collective bargaining system.

So far, the labour movement has successfully joined forces to block these attempts. Delving into the resistance reveals that besides the traditional forces - the General Histadrut and the more radical leftist unions - it also includes forces that are a part of the right-wing political machine: the Nationalist Histadrut (an organization affiliated with the Likud and had been considered to be marginal), and new labour organizations of ultraorthodox workers.

These groups function as a counterforce against the anti-union influential forces within the right-wing ruling parties. Their strategy is declaring their commitment to a capitalist economy and private enterprise, to avoid strikes, and in the case of ultraorthodox - to obey the rabbis and the Bible's economic rules. At the same time, they remind the right-wing leaders that the right-wing control is not dependent upon the capitalist elites only, but also on the mass electorate of the hard-working people who see the Likud as the people's party. Moreover, these groups also endorse collective action and policies that aim for the public's good instead the benefits of individual capitalists.

The rise of right-wing unionism has a variety of implications. Firstly, it suggests that although hegemonic right-wing regimes will probably endorse the neoliberal policy and continue to restrict trade unions, they will also have to seriously consider the grievances of the lay workers. Secondly, it suggests the labour movement may continue to diversify, attracting new forces from the entire political map. Nevertheless, the question of whether this variety of trade unions will cooperate to create a united front, or whether they break into uncoordinated pieces, stays open.

The research is based on qualitative methodology, using interviews, observations, document analysis, and website analysis.

Title: **Are Trade Unions Stronger, when Left is in Power?**

Authors: **Lefteris Kretsos**

Affiliation: Brunel University London

Abstract: The period since 2010 marks a critical point in modern Greek history. A prolonged economic and social crisis has prompted a neoliberal shift in regulatory paradigm. This shift was driven by successive bail out agreements between the Greek government and the Troika (European Commission, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund) (Koukiadaki & Kretsos, 2012; Markantonatou, 2013). Such agreements provoked high industrial action and social tension that resulted in turn in drastic political change (Douzinas, 2017). The broader anti-austerity sentiment in the 2015 general elections gave the power to the Coalition of Radical Left party (Syriza). As a consequence, a government of the left was in power for the first time in a country, where left-wing voices used to be repressed for decades since the end of the civil war (Mouzelis & Pagoulatos, 2002).

This development posed new challenges not only for Syriza itself, who was committed to social justice and the reversal of austerity, but also for trade unions and its powerful social democratic fraction that used to be actively engaged in lobbying the government to get power and secure more funding resources (Korpi, 2006; Pencavel, 1995). The current paper aims to examine the intersections between political change and trade unions renewal by using the example of the governance of Syriza (2015-19). The implications of the analysis are far-reaching, as its context-aware analytical approach contributes to scholarship focusing on the challenges of trade unions in the course of a changing political and economic environment.

Title: **Workers' freedom of speech as individual voice in the public sphere**

Authors: **Anne Mette Ødegård**

Affiliation: Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research

Abstract: Research covers a variety of voice mechanisms: collective and individual, formal and informal, direct and indirect, union and non-union and combinations thereof (Gomez, Bryson, & Willman 2010). Indirect voice through e.g., shop stewards have received attention in research. The same goes for employees' opportunities to influence their own work situation. Less focus has been directed towards workers freedom of speech as individual voice directed to a wider audience in the public sphere.

Regardless of form, workers' voice can be used to benefit the organization, but it can also be a means through which employees challenge managerial behaviour, either individually or collectively (Wilkinson 2018). Using voice may create tension between two democratic principles: the property right, as a basis for employers' right to manage, and freedom of speech.

In this paper we study opportunities and barriers for workers' individual voice. We also aim to identify and explain similarities and differences in the workers freedom of speech between countries belonging to different employment regimes and with different legal framework. The paper is based on a cross national and cross sectoral survey among workers and managers in Denmark, UK, Ireland, and Norway.

The notion of free speech is however also related to loyalty to the company or organisation. Loyalty might outweigh the workers' need to speak publicly about conditions at the workplace.

Room: 403

Plenary Session 3: 16:30-17:30

Workplace and civic democracy in a transitioning Europe: the key to agentic industrial relations

Speaker: Professor Jane Parker (ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand)

Chair: Professor Bengt Larsson (Linnaeus University, Sweden)

Ongoing and new challenges facing Europe have led to the current watershed in its history, with dramatic implications for the nature and dynamics of its economies and societies – a key theme of this year's conference (IREC, 2023). These challenges are anchored to green, economic, geopolitical, and technological transitions whose interaction has driven a re-evaluation of and changes to the role of industrial relations systems. Since 2020, moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated all nations' struggles to address the impacts and turning points wrought by these transitions.

This speech overviews the meaning of these transitions for that most central element and founding value of industrial relations - workplace democracy, conceived here as worker participation at EU through local levels. It draws on and updates empirical evidence and analysis presented in a chapter of 2023 issue of the European Trade Union Institute's *Benchmarking Working Europe* (Parker, 2023), proposing that another cross-roads reached in Europe - a 'democracy deficit' in workplaces and beyond - requires greater worker agency in league with an ambitious social agenda to effectively navigate the far-reaching and dynamic impacts of the transitions.

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Day 3 (20/09/2023)

Parallel Sessions 6: 09:00-10:30

Room:	MHL 403
Session:	The complex relationship between collective bargaining and wages and prices
Chair:	Paul Marginson
Title:	The Effect of Centrally Bargained Wages on Firm Growth
Authors:	Emil Bustos
Affiliation:	Research Institute of Industrial Economics
Abstract:	I study how firms adapt to exogenous changes in labour costs induced by collective bargaining agreements. I use data on collective bargaining agreements in Sweden and study the impact of the nationwide bargaining that took place in 2004. I make a difference-in-differences analysis and compare firms in the same industry that have a different initial skill composition of their workers and thus face different bargained wage increases. Higher centralized wage increases cause the average firm to increase average wages (1.3%) and to grow faster (2.7%) both in terms of employment and sales, while profitability decreases. Firms increase both investments and substitute low-skilled for high-skilled labour. Moreover, the effects are more pronounced for firms with more labour market power and easier access to external finance. This suggests that the results are affected by labour market power, and the ease of input factor substitution.
Title:	Return to inflation: is collective wage bargaining adapted?
Authors:	Oscar Molina Roma and Ricardo Rodriguez
Affiliation:	Autonomous University of Barcelona
Abstract:	After a long period of price stability, inflation has made a remarkable comeback in the EU. Following the aftermath of the COVID-19 crisis, the energy crisis spurred by the war in Ukraine and the subsequent disruption in international supply-chain have driven up the price of commodities and goods. While nominal wages picked up in 2021 and 2022, real wage growth has remained below inflation, impacting mainly in low-income groups. While EU institutions forecast that inflation will slowly decline until 2025, collective bargaining rounds have hardly been able to adapt to inflation rises. Most collective agreements were already signed before the rapid increase in prices in 2022 and trade union demands for compensation and pay increase in collectively agreed wages put pressure on some sectors. Updating minimum wages (in line with the Directive on adequate minimum wages) plays a key role to protect the purchasing power of low wages. With real wages not keeping up with inflation rates, tensions may resurface in social dialogue and collective bargaining during the coming years.
Title:	The interplay of collective wage bargaining and statutory minimum wages in realizing adequate wage floors across European sectors
Authors:	Janna Besamusca , Martin Guzi and Kea Tijdens
Affiliation:	Utrecht University
Abstract:	Evidence shows that statutory minimum wages and collective bargaining can reinforce each other, but can also crowding each other out, depending on institutional configurations. This paper aims to enhance our understanding of sectoral differences in the complex complementarities between these two wage-fixing instruments, which have attracted renewed policy attention following the adoption of the EU minimum wage directive. Interrogating sector-level differences is key to understanding these complementarities because it enables us to study the impact of collective bargaining in contexts that refer to the same statutory minimum but differ in collective bargaining coverage.

Using linked cross-sectional microdata on minimum wage rates, collective bargaining coverage and earned wages, we study the extent to which collective wage bargaining promotes higher wages for workers in the bottom half of the earnings distribution in 16 sectors and 17 EU countries. Preliminary findings indicate that both single-employer and multi-employer agreements on wages increase the probability that employees are paid in excess of 110% of the minimum wage. The impact of collective bargaining on the probability of earning over 110% of the minimum wage varied between .5 percentage-points in mining and 9 percentage-points in the construction sector. Analyses exploring the impact of different institutional configurations and complementarities between collective bargaining and minimum wages indicate that the positive impact of collective bargaining was replicated in sectors with high and low collective bargaining coverage. Collective bargaining continued to have a (slightly reduced) positive impact on wages in countries where minimum wages were set closer to the median wage.

Title: **Avoiding wage spirals in time of high inflation - Coordinated wage bargaining in Norway**

Authors: **Kristin Alsos**

Affiliation: **Fafo, Oslo**

Abstract: The Nordic model with stable macro-economic management, strong social parties and coordinated wage formation as well as a comprehensive welfare state, has proved viable through crisis (Andersen et al. 2014; Dølvik et al. 2015). In Norway wage bargaining take place one a year and the parties at central level stress the importance of a common understanding of the macro-economic situation, including expected inflation rate. As the Norwegian bargaining parties prepared for a more normal wage settlement in 2022, following the economic strain of the pandemic, disruption of supply chains and the war in Ukraine fueled inflation. Still, the 2022 wage settlement showed the strength of the coordinated wage setting model; The economic framework from the bargaining within the export-oriented manufacturing industry (front-running industries) was copied by other bargaining areas, even though inflation had increased further as these bargaining rounds took place. However, by the end of the year it was clear that the wage increases in 2022 ended far below the price increase (CPI). Furthermore, inflation made the Central Bank of Norway to increase the base rate, adding to further challenges for enterprises and citizens.

Entering into the 2023 mid-term wage settlement, trade unions made it clear that there was time to improve purchasing power for the workers. As inflation in 2023 still has been high, this bounded for high wage increases. For the first time in a since the WW II, the peak organizations LO and NHO could not come to an agreement, and more than 20,000 members went on strike. Five days later the parties settled at 5.2% wage increase.

In this paper we will look into the strategies of the bargaining parties in the 2023 settlement. How did trade unions balance the pressure from their members for wage increases that match price increases and at the same time prevent to feed inflation further and jeopardizing jobs in the internationally exposed manufacturing industry? How did employers manage to restrain wage increases where there is shortage of labour? Will the pressure make coordination harder and lead to wage increases that in turn feed inflation further, or will the model once more prove its viability?

The paper will be based on qualitative interviews with bargaining parties and desk research.

Room:	MHL 453
Session:	Strikes in the twenty-first century: Revisiting old theories, exploring new research avenues
Chair:	Agnes Akkerman (University of Amsterdam, AIAS), Bernd Brandl (Durham University), Alex Lehr (Radboud University), and Kurt Vandaele (ETUI, Brussels)
Title:	Do Strikes Work? Analytical dimensions and empirical challenges for analyzing of the success of contemporary collective labour conflict
Authors:	Alex Lehr
Affiliation:	Radboud University
Abstract:	<p>Do strikes actually work? This question often arises in societal debates on collective labour conflict. From a scientific perspective, I argue that this simple question is surprisingly difficult to answer, and increasingly so in light of contemporary features of labour markets and society at large. Indeed, the question is unanswerable without first clarifying the answers to three follow-up questions: a) For what? b) For whom? c) Under which conditions? That is to say, one can only understand the success (or failure) of strikes when it is first understood which specific outcomes, actors and contexts are considered. The first part of this chapter therefore systematically reviews and expands upon the analytical dimensions of the success of collective labour conflict in the 21st century. First, it shows what specific outcomes may be affected strikes, which include much more than just the obvious, i.e., wages and working conditions. Rather, strikes can have an impact on a wide array of issues, ranging from e.g., workplace social cohesion and identities, to trade union power, to economic externalities such as inflationary pressures. Second, it shows how these specific outcomes may be related the specific actors involved and their assumed preferences, goals and motivations. Here too, the relevant analytical distinctions extend well beyond the obvious – the workers and their employers; but rather need to further distinguish between divisions within these categories (e.g., differences between workers with permanent and flexible contracts, younger and older workers, small and large firms, export versus domestically oriented firms etc.), as well as be expanded to those actors that are not directly involved in the conflict but are exposed to its externalities (e.g., workers in other firms and sectors, government, the public at large). Third, a scientifically grounded answer to the question whether strikes “work” will always need to be qualified by the perhaps clichéd but nevertheless apt standard response of the social scientist: “It depends...”. Therefore, the article reviews the potential conditionalities that exist related to e.g., the social, economic and institutional contexts in which strikes take place.</p> <p>Given that the answers to these three questions are known, the chapter then discusses some of the main challenges associated with providing empirical answers to the question whether strikes are successful. Here, I make two distinctions within the types of answers that may be provided. First, one can differentiate between, on the one hand, observed differences between stated objectives before strike action and actual outcomes afterwards, and on the other hand the differences between the latent true differences between objectives and achievements. I argue that this distinction is important because in the context of collective labour conflict, there may be substantial differences between the former and the latter due to the considerable incentives for the actors involved to strategically misrepresent their true preferences and evaluations. Second, I distinguish between answers in terms of directly observable differences in outcomes and answers in terms of (fundamentally not directly observable) counterfactuals. The former implies a comparison of observable differences in outcomes between pre- and post-strike outcomes or between situations where strikes occurred with situations where they did not. The latter implies the much more difficult task providing empirical insights into the difference between the observed outcomes in situations where strikes occurred (respectively did not occur) and what the outcomes would have been in the same situations would the strike not have occurred (respectively would have occurred). I provide a brief and non-technical overview of the main potential sources of bias plaguing</p>

this latter task, and review the benefits and limitations of traditional and more recently developed research designs in overcoming these biases.

Title: **Social support and willingness to strike**

Authors: **Denise Vesper**

Affiliation: Saarland University - Work and Organizational Psychology

Abstract: Strikes are a powerful weapon for unions and workers in collective bargaining. They have a long history in industrial relations around the world. However, strikes are only effective if enough workers take part. An important question for both unions and employers is therefore how different factors affect workers' willingness to strike. One factor that appears to be crucial is the perceived support of others in the decision to strike. In two studies, we examined the influence of perceived social support from colleagues and family members on workers' willingness to strike. Study 1 was conducted in the Netherlands with 723 employees and Study 2 in Germany with 132 employees. In both studies, perceived support from colleagues was a significant predictor of willingness to strike. However, colleague support became insignificant when family support was included in the regression analyses. Perceived family support was a significant positive predictor of willingness to strike in both studies. Our data suggest that the decision to strike is influenced more by family members than by colleagues. This suggests that workers may be aware that family members are also affected by the decision to strike and should therefore also have a say in the decision. Surprisingly, colleagues do not seem to be as important, although previous research has shown that there are fears about the working climate after a strike. Future research should consider possible reasons for our findings. Unions are also encouraged to reach out to family members of potential strikers to ensure their support.

Title: **New forms of strikes: an analysis of worker collective actions in the Italian logistic sector**

Authors: **Margherita Sabrina Perra**, Katia Pilati, Marcello Pedaci and Andrea Signoretti

Affiliation: Department of Political and Social Sciences - University of Cagliari - Italy

Abstract: Across Europe, working conditions have widely deteriorated in the past decade. Studies on industrial relations and the anti-austerity protests, including those by workers or on work-related issues have shown that during the Great Recession the European protest arena has, in fact, witnessed the enhancement of collective actions.

Sociological theories on labour have widely emphasized employee resistance and struggle against domination and exploitation. These studies showed that both established trade unions and new forms of grassroots unionism have gained a relevant role within such protests and conflicts. These actions have been also undertaken in collaboration with non-profit organizations, social movements, and other associations active outside the workplaces. Furthermore, strikes remain a major form of protest in the industrial relation field. For this reason, the main aim of the article is to examine the features of strikes in Italy. Our contribution is twofold. First, we use an original data set of workers' collective actions, built through protest event analysis (PEA) by examining worker protests during the wave of labour contention that occurred in Italy between 2008 and 2018 (N=9910). Secondly, we concentrate on strikes in the Italian logistics sector. Within Italy, we focus on the Bologna area which registered a high number of worker protests in this sector according to our dataset. In Bologna, we selected two types of organizations (one belonging to established federated trade unions and one to the new grassroots trade unions) largely mobilizing and representing workers in the logistic sector and selected seven firms. In each organization, we carried out deep – interviews (N=39) with union officials, workplace delegates, and active members.

Room: MHL 240

Session: New perspectives on changing social dialogue actors and institutions

Chair: Mikkel Mailand

Title: Beyond structures and determinism in understanding social dialogue: reframing political risks and changing political relations within social dialogue across time in contemporary Spain

Authors: Martí López-Andreu and Miguel Martínez Lucio

Affiliation: Newcastle University Business School and Work and Equalities Institute, University of Manchester

Abstract: The relationships between unions and both governments and the state more broadly have been widely analysed. The most influential contributions have provided an understanding of the different patterns of union-government relationships existing in different countries (Schmitter, 1974; Crouch, 1993; Hall and Soskice, 2011; Amable, 2003). The concept of 'corporatism' and its different sub-types as a way of highlighting the representation and participation (and integration) of social groups in policy making, guided many of the contributions. On the other hand, in the sphere of industrial relations, several scholars have emphasised the decline and/or transformation of corporatist practices from the 1980s with the development of liberalisation and marketisation trends (Thelen, 2014; Baccaro and Howell, 2017).

However, in this debate, many of these accounts have tended to focus their analysis on the formal characteristics of social dialogue (e.g., coverage of national agreements or collective bargaining, and the formal characteristics of industrial relations institutions). Conversely, this paper takes an approach that emphasizes the processes of change, instability, and risk-related decisions in order to understand state-labour relations. By doing so, it highlights the importance of how the context and dynamics of political exchange change over time, independently of the form of the institutional arrangement. This implies the development of an historical approach highlighting dimensions that are not normally considered by traditional institutionalist analysis in order to provide an account of the relationships of Spanish unions with the state and especially government from the view of key trade union leaders. Taking our cue from Streeck (2009) and Baccaro and Howell (2017), we engage with the critique of the institutional fetishism of many accounts that focus on the formal characteristics of industrial relations institutions and that do not pay enough attention to the processes and outcomes occurring inside and around specific institutional processes. However, there is a need to understand the specific and changing contexts in which unions make 'strategic' decisions that could be seen as presenting or leading to various political risks to the labour movement, and how they have been framed in the specific contexts in which they were taken.

Following this discussion, and using interviews with key Spanish union leaders, this paper contributes to the literature on the relationships between trade unions and the state by analysing the dimensions of elite state-government relations and the specific set of interactions across different periods and at different state levels. Our analysis reveals that, following a period characterised by nation and political system building with the formal objectives of 'modernisation' and 'Europeanisation', the neoliberal practices adopted very early on (from the mid-1980s onwards) by the centre-left and, later, by centre-right governments led to the prioritisation of the 'least-worse option' approach by unions in their state level deliberations.

However, the political cost to the unions has been high. The 2008 recession and subsequently the mass protests of the 15M and 'Indignados' movement revealed a growing separation between trade unions and social protest movements (Las Heras and Ribera-Almandoz, 2017). The paper emphasizes the importance of understanding - irrespective of one's views or evaluations - the processes that take place in specific institutional settings and it highlights the importance of the changing relationships between unions, the governments, and the different state levels - and the way they were legitimated and justified within institutional frameworks.

It comments on how the changing and diminished space for social dialogue is affected by changing relationships in which unions engage in strategic agreements and search for new spaces and patterns of relationships at some levels to compensate for weaknesses in others. This processual understanding of corporatist practices highlights that institutionalisation is not a single event but an ongoing process even in what could be seen to be unevenly institutionalised contexts: and, therefore, that traditional institutionalist analysis focused on the formal characteristics of industrial relations patterns should be complemented by an analysis of the changing dynamics of the relationship between labour organisations, the government, and the state broadly speaking – and their specific narratives and justifications – in the context of increased liberalisation across time and across different levels of the state.

Further, we emphasize the role that informal relations across actors play in a context of weak institutionalism in maintaining the formal spaces of negotiation should be an important focus of any analysis.

Title: **Asymmetric mobilisation and the defeat of wage-earner funds in Sweden, 1975-1991**

Authors: **Neil Warner**

Affiliation: London School of Economics

Abstract: During the 1970s, 'wage-earner funds' emerged in a number of West European countries as a novel response to the problem of high profits associated with wage restraint in coordinated industrial relations systems. Despite support from a significant number of trade union confederations, these funds were never implemented in their originally conceived form, and never established themselves successfully in any country. This paper seeks to explain this by focussing on the most ambitious and successful case of a wage-earner funds proposal, in Sweden in the 1970s and 1980s.

In their original form, as outlined in the Meidner report for the blue-collar trade union confederation (LO) in 1975, 20% of the profits of large Swedish companies would have been transferred each year to funds owned by trade unions through the issuance of new shares. Central elements of this proposal were progressively watered down in agreements between the LO and Social Democratic Party in subsequent years. A highly watered-down alternative form of wage-earner funds was introduced in 1984 but abolished by a new centre-right government after 1991.

In general, explanations for the failure of the wage-earner funds proposal have focussed either on the unprecedented mobilisation against it by owners of capital or on the opposition of the Social Democratic Party leadership. This paper argues that while both of these factors played a significant role in moments of the struggle over the wage-earner funds, they did so in combination with another more neglected factor: the failure to mobilise support from the majority of trade union members, both in the LO and the white-collar TCO. In contrast to successful social-democratic reforms in Sweden, such as the expansion of the welfare state and industrial democracy legislation, wage-earner funds had an asymmetric mobilising power that favoured capital. This weakness of support for the funds proposal was connected to a common perception of its 'abstract' and 'technical' nature, which can in turn be connected with its distance from the everyday priorities of most workers. It is suggested the study of policy struggles requires more attention to the role of resonance with everyday experiences in the mobilisation of different social groups, and to the structuring of those experiences by their economic position.

Title: **Concerts of employers: confederations as organizations and 'social partners'**

Authors: **João Loureiro**

Affiliation: University Institute of Lisbon

Abstract: The collective action of employers is often deemed as irrelevant and the interests they pursue taken as structurally determined. But systematic empirical knowledge is arguably missing from these deductions, particularly with regard to national employer confederations.

As organizations, these actors can be formally characterized on the basis of their domains of representation, the inter- and intra-associational relations they establish, the resources they manage to extract and the outputs in which these are applied. One of such outputs is their presence as 'social partners' in institutions of so-called social concertation, whereby tripartite negotiations with governments and unions take place. Unions and employer organizations can thus have varying degrees of influence in shaping policy-making, from the early stages of designing public policies up to their implementation, often through state-delegated authority.

Our argument interconnects these two analytical lenses: the organizational features of an employer confederation help us understanding the interests they represent as 'social partners'; and the political exchange in which they enter with both unions and State shape much of the inner workings of the employers' associative landscape.

Accounting for the specificities of the semi-peripheral Portuguese case, that also offers singularities within the European scene, we present evidence for this argument by focusing on the two main national employer confederations (CIP and CCP)

Room: MHL 224

Session: Climate change and the environment

Chair: Nadja Doerflinger

Title: From industrial action to a just transition: Comparing French and UK union approaches to climate change

Authors: Christina Purcell

Affiliation: Manchester Metropolitan University

Abstract: A changing climate will have profound implications for the world of work (Parsons & Natarajan, 2021), as foreshadowed in recent events such as the plight of construction workers, agricultural workers and delivery riders during record temperatures in the summer of 2022. The spring of 2023 has seen record temperatures in countries as far apart as Madrid and Bangladesh, provided a glimpse of the impact of sustained heat on the capacity of workers to work. Whilst the trade union movement has in often been at the forefront of struggles challenging the damaging effects of industrial production on the environments in which workers work and live (Sellers, 1994; Silverman, 2004), there has been an inevitable tension between the dependency of workers on capitalist forms of extraction for production, and the need to protect our natural environment (Houleland et al., 2021). This tension, encapsulated in the jobs versus environment dichotomy, has given way to an acknowledgement that we are dependent first and foremost on the natural environment which sustains us, and that jobs are at risk from a warming planet. Extending trade union activity to encompass issues around climate change is not without challenges, particularly at times where there are other significant issues that national unions are compelled to mobilise around. This research examines the scope for connecting contemporary industrial action to the struggle for a just transition through comparative documentary analysis of a range of written sources produced by trade unions in France and the UK during key mobilisations.

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Title: **The growing role of labour actors as environmental regulators – the case of Global Framework Agreements addressing environmental issues**

Authors: **Coralie Guedes**

Affiliation: University of Westminster

Abstracts: The urgency of the climate crisis and the increasing prevalence of environmental issues in policy and law-making is associated with the growing role of labour actors in processes of environmental regulation at various scales. Such a shift is influenced and reflected in many practical changes relevant for industrial relations (IR), including the introduction of environmental provisions in Global Framework Agreements (GFAs).

The study relies on the creation and analysis of a database of a sub-set of GFAs containing environmental provisions (EGFAs). The database includes quantitative information about EGFAs, such as the signatories, year and country of signature, sector, etc.; and qualitative data in the form of an extensive account of the environmental provisions, as well as relevant provisions relating to implementation and monitoring.

It is argued that EGFAs can be understood as regulatory processes at a transnational scale, implying that analysis should go beyond content and consider the agreements' context, in particular processes of environmental regulation involving IR actors at various scales.

This paper highlights the variety of practices involved in the negotiation and implementation of EGFAs and identifies a set of recurring connections to other regulatory processes involving IR actors at international, national and organisational scales. These connections encompass in particular environmental policy and law-making, including labour's own strategies in relation to the environmental agenda, as well as corporate social responsibility.

Title: **Just transition or just greenwashing? Biodiversity in Denmark and sustainable forestry in Sweden**

Authors: **Linda Clarke**

Affiliation: University of Westminster

Abstract: The aim is to identify contradictions and synergies between unions' visions of just transition at global, European, and national levels and their realisation in practice, with the examples of 'biodiversity' in the beet sugar industry in Denmark and 'sustainable' forestry in Sweden. At company level in both sectors transition strategies are led by employers with social and environmental justice narrowly defined through corporate social responsibility policies and limited evidence of biodiversity or sustainability. Formally represented through social dialogue structures at national and European levels, Danish and Swedish unions appear to have little involvement at local level. The transition process itself is characterised by technical environmental measures, within a regulatory framework in conformity with European Union policy, despite attempts by global and European sectoral labour unions to integrate action to combat climate change with traditional social concerns with employment and working conditions. The conclusion drawn is that, though a dynamic, multi-scalar perspective regards union agency as embedded in interwoven spatial scales, particular power relations and institutional logics remain prevalent. The vision of just transition represents an abstraction of a particular set of social relations, in particular the European social partnership model, excluding, for instance, migrants and failing to address environmental concerns. To shift from technical to social measures, from top-down to bottom-up interventions and from corporate social responsibility policies to those both transformative of social relations and successfully moving to a green economy, just transition needs to be defined as a political project extending beyond the interests of union members.

Room: 403

Plenary Session 4: 11:00-12:00

Trends in national social dialogue in responding to external shocks or crises: Background paper

<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/other/2023/trends-in-national-social-dialogue-in-responding-to-external-shocks-or-crises-background-paper>

Speaker: Dr. Christine Aumayr-Pintar (Eurofound, Dublin)

Chair: Professor Paul Marginson (Warwick University, UK)

The speech will be based on the above Eurofound paper, in which we mapped the social dialogue and changing involvement of social partners in policy making over time since the financial and economic crisis. The focus is on peak level social dialogue in particular, and three sub-periods are distinguished: the financial and economic crisis between 2008 and 2012; the subsequent recovery and consolidation phase between 2013 and early 2020; the recent series of new crises, starting in 2020 with the COVID-19 pandemic up to today's combined challenges of inflation, the 'cost of living crisis' and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Contents are based on a review of Eurofound publications over time, as well as most recently the newly created EUPolicyWatch database. There is a tentative suggestion that social partner involvement in policy making may have increased over the course of time – at least in relation to the core topics of social partners' domain, and – surprisingly (?) in some countries that did not have a strong tradition of social dialogue. To what extent this claim can be made based on the available data and information, the depth or quality of the social dialogue and to what extent an EU focus on the importance of social dialogue has been causal are open questions to be addressed in further research.

Parallel Sessions 7: 13:00-14:30

Room: MHL 403

Session: European and international trade unionism

Chair: Miguel Martinez Lucio

Title: The Problems of International Trade Union Democracy: Reflections on the Visentini Affair

Authors: **Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick** and **Richard Hyman**

Affiliation: Birkbeck and LSE

Abstract: While there are many studies of trade union democracy, the focus of analysis is almost exclusively on the national (or sub-national) level, with the premise that union members are individual workers. But international unions (like many national confederations indeed) do not have individual workers as members: they are organisations of organisations. What does this imply for our understanding of union democracy? In 2020 we published an article '(How) Can International Trade Union Organisations Be Democratic?', *Transfer* 26(3), which examined the distinctive understandings and limitations of trade union democracy at international level, and noted problems which had become apparent within both the ETUC and the ITUC.

Recent events have confirmed the extent of the dangers to internal union democracy at the international level. Luca Visentini was elected general secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) in 2015, and re-elected in 2019. In November 2022, he moved seamlessly to the post of general secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), leaving the ETUC prematurely. A fortnight later Visentini, along with several political figures, was held by the Belgian police for questioning over alleged financial corruption involving Qatar. The ITUC then suspended him for office for three months, pending a special investigation; following its report in March 2023 he was dismissed.

The Visentini affair provides an occasion to revisit some of our analysis. Beyond the headlines, we are concerned by what this series of events reveals about the constitutional and political failings of the structures and functions of international unionism. We end by exploring the ways in which the global union movement can revive its original democratic promise.

Title: **Turning points in the EU's support of trade union rights: the case of Romania**

Authors: Aurora Trif and **Ovidiu Goran**

Affiliation: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Is the European Union (EU) supporting or undermining trade union rights in its member states? Despite the EU rhetoric that it supports workers' collective rights, developments in Romania suggest that its role can vary greatly from undermining to supporting unions' fundamental rights. Drawing on qualitative data (ongoing interviews with representatives of trade unions and employers at the national and company levels), this paper examines to what extent the EU has affected fundamental unions' rights in Romania since joining the EU in 2007. It demonstrates that the EU can play a crucial role in supporting as well as undermining unions' legal rights through its instruments, particularly via financial incentives. Apart from confirming that the EU has contributed to undermining unions rights in countries which required international financial assistance from Troika during the 2008 crisis, this study shows how the introduction of the European Pillar of Social Rights in 2017, including the adoption of the Recovery and Resilience National Plans, contributed to a considerable strengthening of statutory union rights to organise, bargain and strike in Romania in 2022. Preliminary empirical evidence suggests that the new legal provisions have been used by some unions and employers to improve bi-lateral consultation and negotiations. Still, it is too early to judge whether this improvement of statutory support for union rights represents a turning point in terms of union revitalization in Romania. Nevertheless, the recent developments in Romania illustrate how EU instruments could be used to strengthen workers' collective rights in other EU countries.

Title: **Sowing the seeds of unionisation? Exploring remote work and work-based online communities in Europe during the Covid-19 pandemic**

Authors: **Kurt Vandaele** and Agnieszka Piasna

Affiliation: ETUI Brussels

Abstract: A recent shift towards a new paradigm normalizing remote work (including through hybrid arrangements) in many ways reflects a more general tendency towards workplace fissuring and labour market flexibility and fragmentation. It can accelerate the spread of a 'platform work' model for hiring labour, and a use of algorithms to monitor and remotely manage dispersed and precarious workforces. Workers, trade unions and regulators thus need to be aware of the risks associated with the unregulated and exponential proliferation of remote work practices.

In particular, trade unions might need to enhance their efforts for organising remote workers. One of the barriers for recruitment is rooted in their prevailing focus on workplace-oriented organising strategies, with physical co-presence crucial for installing and maintaining a social norm of union membership. What kind of strategies then could unions develop for organising a scattered remote workforce?

For tackling this research question and contributing to the literature on union revitalisation, this paper focuses on work-based online communities as fertile grounds for engaging and organising remote workers. Drawing on recent research on online communities in low-unionised industries and the gig or platform economy, with the latter similarly comprising a dispersed, isolated workforce, the main argument is developed that work-based online

communities of remote workers could be an entry point for unions to recruit and organise them.

The analysis uses a large-scale micro-level data from the ETUI Internet and Platform Work Survey, carried out in 2021 across 14 European countries, and representative of their working age populations (in total 36,140 respondents). Applying a nuanced analytical theoretical framework based on social norms of trade union membership, this paper makes the following empirical contributions: First, it demonstrates that despite deteriorating the (physical) connection between the workers, remote work is linked to more engagement in online communities. Secondly, the activity and engagement of workers in digital spaces is associated with a stronger probability to unionise. This indicates that online communities are more than simply a way of coping with remote work; they can play a supplementary role to trade unions, adding a 'virtual workplace' besides a physical one, thus opening new potential channels for unions in an era of fissuring workplaces. A dispersed workforce due to remote work calls for a diversification of union strategies adapting to occupational, work-based online communities and prevailing union norms for complementing or supplementing traditional workplace-based unionism.

Room: MHL 453

Session: Industrial relations and the platform economy (II)

Chair: Manuela Galetto

Title: Assessing the potential of alternative platform models in the domestic work sector in India and South Africa

Authors: Neha Vyas

Affiliation: Newcastle University

Abstract: Platforms like Deliveroo, Uber, Fiverr, etc. have helped in generating employment opportunities, especially, in developing economies. However, these platforms have increased precarious forms of employment instead of promoting decent work for all workers. There has been sufficient research that highlights the myth of flexibility propagated by the platforms, the exploitation of workers, misclassification of workers, lack of adequate social protection, unsafe working conditions, unfair redressal mechanisms, discrimination, and so on. The shortcomings of the platform business model (henceforth, PBM) have given rise to the debate on introducing alternate platform models. Platform cooperatives (henceforth, PC) are one such alternative that has the potential of providing conducive working conditions to workers. The aim of this paper is to look at the PC model as a viable alternative to PBM in the domestic work sector in India and South Africa. PCs will certainly give agency to domestic workers like data ownership and democratic control. It is, however, important to make sure that the exploitative tendencies of PBMs do not seep into the PC model. The topic of PCs is quite recent and under-researched at least from legal and policy perspectives. This paper will attempt to fill this gap by putting forth regulatory strategies to strengthen the protection given to domestic workers under digital PCs. This will include an analysis of the effective form of corporate identity for such coops, using smart contracts for fair terms and conditions, social protection policy, and tax incentives/subsidies to level the playing field with PBMs.

Title: Strategies for Surveying Platform Workers: Lessons from a Belgian Case Study

Authors: Jessie Gevaert, Doms J., Vandevenne, E. and Van Aerden, K.

Affiliation: Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Abstract: The platform economy provides tremendous opportunities for research into far-flung flexibility and precariousness of employment relations (Drahokoupil & Fabo, 2016), but many researchers struggle with finding the best way to collect data on the experiences of platform workers themselves. As a textbook example of a hard-to-survey population (i.e., they are hard to sample, hard to

identify, hard to contact, hard to get to cooperate, and/or hard to interview), this paper will evaluate strategies for recruiting platform workers for the completion of an internet, cross-sectional survey. Specifically, the paper will make use of the experiences from a case study of an online questionnaire designed to investigate the work and employment conditions, health and well-being, social protection, income, and career prospects of workers in the platform economy in Belgium. After one year of data collection, this questionnaire has yielded 480 questionnaires that are valid for data analyses (i.e., after data cleaning) by using a variety of different recruitment methods. Comparing this sample to other data collection efforts within the platform economy (COLLEEM, and ETUI Internet and Platform Work Survey) shows that this non-probability sampling strategy results in similarly composed samples. This case study has shown that surveying platform workers is quite a laborious and costly process. Specifically, our experiences have illustrated that a stratified sampling approach is necessary to be able to capture a heterogeneous group of platform workers. Furthermore, retaining good contacts with platform companies themselves, has proven to be beneficial for the recruitment of their workers for a survey.

Title: **Making the most out of difference. The transnational representation of platform workers in the European Union**

Authors: **Francesco Bagnardi** and Annalisa Murgia

Affiliation: University of Milan

Abstract: The literature on transnational trade unions in Europe generally highlights their main weaknesses: internal cleavages, over-institutionalization, and structural dependency on 'borrowed resources' from national members, which have made the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) a marginal actor in EU policymaking processes. In this context, the rise of the platform economy has further undermined European labour movement but has also triggered a process of revitalisation. The European Commission's proposal for a Directive on improving working conditions in platform work opened a window of opportunity for European unions to establish provisions against bogus self-employment and to push for a decommodification agenda based on algorithm's transparency and consultation rights.

Drawing on documentary analysis and twenty semi-structured interviews with representatives of EU organizations, we investigated how the different interests and relationships between the multiple actors involved resulted in the current draft of the Directive. We found that ETUC, while drawing on its traditional 'Social Europe' frame and institutional channels to lobby for workers' rights, has at the same time developed unusual relationships with both the confederation of cooperatives and workers' grassroots movements. While the former pushed for platforms regulation through a 'level playing field' frame, which held great appeal for conservative members of the European Parliament, the latter instead articulated a radical frame against the general uberisation of labour by seeking to consolidate alliances among left-wing forces. In the light of our findings, we argue that this articulation of different frames of lobbying and repertoires of contention underpins the revitalisation of workers' representation.

Title: **A Typology of Content Creative Platforms: An Empirical Study of the UK, The US and China**

Authors: **Yin Liang**

Affiliation: Durham University Business School

Abstract: Recent technological innovations, together with economic and societal changes, have laid the foundations for the gig economy which not only generated new jobs but also created new types of jobs. Working in the gig economy and for platforms is becoming more widely accepted and recognised, with digital labour platforms becoming an increasingly important ground for the work of the future. It is thus becoming increasingly critical to

develop a fine-grained understanding of the ecology of digital platforms. In particular here, we are concerned with content creative platforms. Despite the rapid proliferation of content creative platforms and the paradigm shift in business models of the creative industries, our understanding is confined to a subset of these platforms (e.g. Instagram, YouTube, etc.).

In this article, we designed a two-stage study to explore content creative platforms. First, the article adapts Porter's (2004) 5P model to the context of content creative platforms, using data from 143 platforms in the UK, the US and China, in order to build a typology of content creative platforms. Doing so, we identify four types of platforms. The article then uses quantitative data from survey aimed at content creators to provide an in-depth picture of the characteristics of content creators in each platform category, thus identifying different perspectives on content creation-related work. Combining the four categories of content creative platforms developed in the first stage of the study and the characteristics of creators within each category in the second stage, this article highlights differences in terms of usage and perception; certain platforms and creators tend to perceive content creation as a leisurely pursuit, while on some platforms, creators engage in unconscious emotional labour alongside their recreational activities. In contrast, certain platforms and creators consider content creation as a creative work with a monetary incentive, whereas on other platforms, creators view it as task-oriented gig work.

This article contributes to research on the future of work, particularly gig economy and content creative platforms, in the following two aspects. First, by producing a typology of content creative platforms, this study develops a broader theoretical connection between content creative platforms. Second, by portraying the characteristics of creators across different categories of platforms, the study proposes a multifaceted perspective on the content creation work of different platform categories. This establishes a solid foundation for future research on the work and employment related aspects of content creative platforms.

Room: MHL 452

Session: The role, context and effects of collective bargaining

Chair: Gadi Nissim

Title: What explains innovation in a conservative collective bargaining setting?

Authors: **Raquel Rego**

Affiliation: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa

Abstract: The literature shows that collective bargaining has a positive impact on wages, thus contributing to social justice. In addition, it shows that, during the financial crisis, neoliberal policies undermined collective bargaining in particular in Southern European Countries, leading to a sharp drop in negotiations and contributing to workers' impoverishment. Although non-wage issues are also negotiated, they seem to be neglected by research. Based on a survey addressed to all Portuguese trade unions and employers associations, in 2021, we contribute to explain innovative behavior in collective bargaining, helping to identify the best 'nutrients' for a positive change and a resilient collective bargaining in a fragmented labor relations system. A Principal Component Analysis organizes the diversity organizations' performance to which members' proximity is associated, and a Logistic Regression indicates that organizations oriented toward services' provision are less likely to negotiate progressive issues, covering outsiders.

Keywords
Collective bargaining, non-wage issues, organizational performance, gender equal pay, young, Portugal

Title: **The Trade Union's capacity to conclude collective labour agreements on adult learning and education (ALE) in Belgium's traditional coordinated market economy**

Authors: **Christa Van Oostende**

Affiliation: Universiteit Antwerpen

Abstract: Scholars and policy-makers have been warning for the risk of creating a dual society between 'those who know' and 'those who don't know' (Boeren, 2009; Desjardins & Ioannidou, 2020). This research explores how trade unions contribute to adult learning participation and skill building in Belgium by means of social dialogue, collective bargaining and their extended advisory role regarding training plans. Schoyen et al. (2022) refer to the 2015 refugee, covid-19 and climate crises to emphasise the importance of qualified personnel in several areas and the need for a revised approach to the eco-social-growth trilemma (Sabato & Mandelli, 2018). Skills mismatches are the main illness of the labour market. Employers, employees, trade unions and the state experience pressures with regard to their separate interests. Participating to ALE in the new Information Society is an unequal challenge for all (Boeren, 2017; Eynon & Malmberg, 2021; IñiguezBerrozpe & Boeren, 2020). The EU urges social partners to put equal access to lifelong learning higher on the collective bargaining agenda (CEC, 2021). Social partners need to integrate new ambitions and strategies beyond the traditional labour-capital interest conflict, and the state should manage expected social imbalances of the shift to a green and digital economy (Galgóczi, 2020). Prioritising investment in ALE in collective bargaining over monetary negotiations can be a game-changer but requires other capacities from trade unions than today. Based on interviews with trade unions this research further informs theory on the trade union's perceived capacity to diversify their efforts in favour of ALE participation.

Title: **Impacts of decentralised collective bargaining for labour relations in Europe**

Authors: **Frank Tros**

Affiliation: AIAS-HSI, University of Amsterdam

Abstract: Since the 1980s, collective bargaining institutions and practises have been decentralised in European countries. The main initiators are employers which aim for greater flexibility and deregulation in trade union involvements and labour regulations. In the 2010s, governments in Southern European countries installed new legislation to (further) stimulate company-level bargaining with trade unions and sometimes with alternative employee representation. Based on recent research findings, this paper will disentangle different types, backgrounds, trade union involvements and impacts of decentralisation in collective bargaining in different industrial relations regimes in Europe (see project: <https://aias-hsi.uva.nl/en/projects-a-z/codebar/codebar.html>). Besides analyses on variations in institutional changes in collective bargaining, around 30 company case studies provide several lessons for - structural, institutional and organisational - beneficial factors and barriers on trade union participation and influence in decentralised bargaining in France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Sweden. This paper discusses the theoretical implications of the project's empirical findings and the challenges for trade unions and other stakeholders in responding to further decentralisation and/or initiating re-centralisation. An important finding is that variations in decentralisation can be less explained by national IR-regimes: trade unions' organisational power resources (sometimes compensating low institutional power), actors' strategies and large sectoral varieties play an important role in the impact of decentralisation on labour relations. Dependent on the type decentralisation, decentralisation processes in collective bargaining can go hand in hand, or are at odds with, recent European policies on increasing collective bargaining coverage and enhancing social partners' capacity to engage in collective bargaining.

Title:	Flexible work arrangements in collective bargaining agreements: Evidence from Spain and the Netherlands
Authors:	Carla Brega
Affiliation:	Utrecht University
Abstract:	<p>Collective labour agreements are an understudied yet key aspect of flexible work policies. They can introduce flexible work arrangements (i.e., telework, flexible hours, change in work-status from fulltime to part-time and flexibility in returning from leave), helping employees in reconciling paid work with care and private life. Most comparative research has focused on how company-level provisions complement national-level flexible work arrangements, but little is known about the extent to which collective agreements can complement or even compensate access, and how this collective provision varies across sectors. Their role is also often disregarded when providing evidence of gender and class inequalities in access to flexible work arrangements, with research mainly based on individual level data. We attempt to fill these gaps by examining whether the opportunity structures for including flexible work arrangements in collective agreements varies between countries in relation to their collective bargaining systems, and across sectors in relation to the workforce composition. We provide a cross-sectoral exploration in Spain and the Netherlands using data from WageIndicator (2022), analysing the clauses of 209 collective agreements. We find that collective bargaining systems drive cross-national differences, mainly in relation to the coordination between sector and firm-level bargaining units. Across sectors, the share of female workers appears to be less relevant than the share of highly skilled workers for making a difference in collectively bargained flexibility. Altogether, the combination of feminization and skill level of employees appears to be key in shaping collectively bargained flexible work arrangements, particularly when supported by high union density.</p>

Room:	MHL 240
Session:	New and old forms of trade union organization and mobilization
Chair:	Kristine Nergaard
Title:	Trade Unions in Canada post COVID-19: Winning Workers Hearts and Minds
Authors:	Bernard King
Affiliation:	Ontario Public Service Employees Union
Abstract:	<p>The COVID-19 pandemic placed inordinate pressure on public sector trade unions in Ontario to maintain the confidence of workers. The recession that followed the lifting of COVID mandates only challenged these unions further. This paper will explore the historical context that has given rise to the struggles public sector union face in Ontario to continue to win workers' hearts and minds, and the innovative steps unions are taking to revitalize their membership.</p> <p>Considering the seminal work of Jane McAlevey and other progressive labour thinkers who argue for a rigorous process of member organizing and mobilization, this paper will reference the significant wins achieved in 2023 by education workers in Los Angeles, the work done by the Ontario School Board Council of Unions (OSBCU) in 2022 to resist government-imposed wage restraint, and the dismantling systemic racism project at OPSEU/SEFPO that prepares workers for contract negotiations. This paper will explore what these examples offer as a path forward for trade unions in Ontario, and will consider the impact a change in direction will have on industrial relations in Canada.</p>

Title: **Engaging Activists and Members Through Decentralised Collective Bargaining: The Strategies of Irish Unions**

Authors: **Valentina Paolucci** and William K. Roche

Affiliation: University of Maynooth

Abstract: This paper examines the recent efforts of trade unions in Ireland to 'reengage' activists and members and promote revitalization under decentralized collective bargaining, following the ending of a twenty-two-year period of tripartite social partnership and centralized pay bargaining. It adopts a combined qualitative and quantitative research approach based on four company case studies, in four different sectors of economic activity: pharmaceuticals, retailing, financial services, and food and drink industry, where trade unions are recognized, and collective bargaining occurs. The case studies show that trade union leaders have no nostalgia for the social partnership era. Decentralized bargaining has become Irish unions' preferred model of pay determination and they currently disavow returning to national-level centralized bargaining. In their view, social partnership weakened unions in firms and workplaces by marginalizing collective bargaining. Whereas firm-level bargaining is seen to have revitalized unions by strengthening organizational capacity, by involving skilled activists in organizing and negotiating, and by reconnecting with members. Specifically, union leaders' enthusiasm for workplace bargaining revolves around three outcomes. First, it reinvigorates unions by sustaining and increasing union organization at the workplace. Second, it supports local bargaining arrangements that facilitate measurable benefits for workers, while highlighting the effectiveness of unions in representing their members' interests. Third, workplace arrangements increase union influence over management decision-making both directly, via firm-level collective bargaining and, indirectly, by creating incentives for open, ongoing, dialogue and information exchange.

Title: **(De)mobilizing IT specialists in the Business Process Outsourcing industry in Poland. Barriers, challenges, and opportunities**

Authors: **Szymon Pilch**

Affiliation: University of Wroclaw

Abstract: The paper aims at analyzing the structural, cultural, economic and biographical barriers and determinants of IT professionals' mobilization in the BPO industry in Poland. I use the concepts of biographical (Lutz 2000) and digital (Ticona 2022) resources. Furthermore, I employ workers power resources approach, using marketplace, associational, institutional and societal power resources (Schmalz et al. 2018; Silver 2003; Wright 2000). In order to research marketplace power of workers, I use the concept of cultural, economic and social capitals (Bourdieu 1986). Based on interviews with IT specialists, unionists, representatives of companies' HR departments and regional labor offices, I examine what is the role of the marketplace, associational, institutional and societal power resources for mobilizing of IT specialists? Also, what is the significance of workers' resources and capitals configuration as well as orientations towards work and life for mobilizing? I argue that mobilizing, firstly, depends on a high marketplace power of IT professionals resulting from their privileged structural position combined with good job quality in the industry. Secondly, it is conditioned by the very low bottom-up cases of organizing in companies, the rather low interest of trade unions in the top-down workers organizing in the BPO industry, the lack of sectoral and workplace collective agreements, and the stronger position of employers compared to workers. Thirdly, it is related to the flexibilization of employment manifested by the possibility to choose non-standard contracts (B2B, civil-law) influenced by the managerial discourse on market rationalism. Finally, (de)mobilizing is linked with the workers' individualistic orientations in work and life.

Room:	MHL 427
Session:	Eurofound Expert Meeting
Chair:	Christine Aumayr-Pintar
Title:	Interaction of minimum wages with collective bargaining
Authors:	Damian Grimshaw, Pablo Sanz and Oscar Molina
Affiliation:	Eurofound, Dublin

Room:	MHL 403
Plenary Session 5: 15:00-16:30	
The Futures of Industrial Relations in an Age of Precarity	
Speaker:	Professor Richard Hyman (London School of Economics and Political Sciences, UK)
Chair:	Professor Bernd Brandl (Durham University, UK)
<p>There is a broad consensus, backed up by empirical research, that work and employment have become increasingly precarious. The concept of precarity, originally distinctively French, has for some time been absorbed into the English-language industrial relations literature. The political implications, perhaps most starkly discussed by Standing in his presentation of the 'precariat' as a 'new dangerous class', are contested.</p> <p>In my presentation I will stress that wage labour has almost always and everywhere been precarious; what became known as the 'normal' employment relationship was an exceptional, geographically bounded and historically contingent creation, built on specific preconditions which no longer apply.</p> <p>I will look critically at Standing's arguments, and those of writers like Gorz, Castel and Beck who previously developed analyses with significant parallels but also differences. In conclusion I will reiterate the thesis that interests are not (only) objectively given but are socially constructed. Whether the 'precariat' can be engaged within a broader progressive movement, can develop internal coherence which may permit a distinctive common project, or fragments in to an intensified 'war with itself', is as much (or more) a question of practice rather than theory. Whether trade unions – organisations for which constructing solidarities has always been a goal, never fully accomplished – can play a progressive role in this evolution cannot be determined a priori.</p>	

Closing Session

List of participants - IREC 2023:

Esther Abe	Fortress Educational Consult	London
Joanna Adamska-Mieruszevska	University of Gdansk	Gdansk
Agnes Akkerman	University of Amsterdam	Amsterdam
Kevin Albertson	Manchester Metropolitan University	Manchester
Kristin Alsos	Fafo	Oslo
Kayode Kingsley Arogundade	Arogundade	Ekiti State University
Wilko Artale	University of Glasgow	Glasgow
Aarron Atkinson-Toal	Durham University Business School	Durham
Christine Aumayr Pintar	Eurofound	Dublin
Francesco Bagnardi	University of Milan	Locorotondo
Greg Bamber	Monash University	Melbourne
Barbara Bechter	Durham University Business School	Durham
Wike Been	University of Groningen	Groningen
Branko Bembič	Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana	Ljubljana
Janna Besamusca	Utrecht University	Amsterdam
Bernd Brandl	Durham University Business School	Durham
Nils Brandsma	Oxford Research	Stockholm
Carla Brega	Utrecht University	Utrecht
Emil Bustos	Research Institute of Industrial Economics	Stockholm
Linda Clarke	University of Westminster	London
Victoria Cojocariu	Eurofound	Dublin
Isabel da Costa	Paris-Saclay University	Paris
Stan De Spiegelaere	Universiteit Gent - UNI Europa	Laken
Thomas de Winter	Panteia	
Nadja Doerflinger	Federal Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Germany	Dortmund
Tata Donita Nshani	University of liege	Liege
Roland Erne	UCD School of Business	Dublin
Chris Forde	University of Leeds	Leeds
Lionel Fulton	Labour Research Department	London
Manuela Galetto	University of Warwick, Warwick Business School	Coventry
Reece Garcia	Manchester Metropolitan University	Manchester
Jessie Gevaert	Vrije Universiteit Brussel	Brussel
Olga Gitkiewicz	University of Wroclaw	Wroclaw

Ovidiu Goran	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam	Amsterdam
Damian Grimshaw	King's College London	London
Coralie Guedes	University of Westminster	London
Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick	Birkbeck, University of London	London
Henri Haapanala	University of Antwerp	Antwerp
Inger Marie Hagen	AFI/OsloMet	Oslo
Andy Hodder	University of Birmingham	Birmingham
Aline Hoffmann	ETUI	Brussels
Johanne Stenseth Huseby	Fafo	Oslo
Richard Hyman	London School of Economics and Political Sciences	London
Saara Inkinen	University of Kassel	Kassel
Joern Janssen	IG BAU	London
Pavlos Kalosinatos	Cyprus Labour Institute	
Bernard King	Ontario Public Service Employees Union	Toronto
Lian Kösters	Statistics Netherlands and University of Amsterdam	Heerlen
Aristea Koukiadaki	International Labour Organisation	Geneva
Lefteris Kretsos	Brunel University London	London
Nóra Krokavay	Kopint-Tárki	Budapest
Sara Lafuente	European Trade Union Institute	Schaerbeek
Bengt Larsson	Linnaeus University	Växjö
Alex Lehr	Radboud University	Nijmegen
Kexin Li	Durham University Business School	Durham
Zehua Li	Durham University Business School	Durham
Yin Liang	Durham University Business School	Durham
Martí Lopez-Andreu	Newcastle University Business School	Newcastle upon Tyne
João Loureiro	University Institute of Lisbon	Lisboa
Mikkel Mailand	FAOS, Uni. of Copenhagen	Copenhagen
Paul Marginson	Warwick Business School, United Kingdom	Coventry
Stefania Marino	University of Manchester	Manchester
Douglas Martin	University of Central Lancashire	Preston
Miguel Martinez Lucio	University of Manchester	Manchester
Jo McBride	Durham University Business School	Durham
Guglielmo Meardi	Scuola Normale Superiore	Pisa
Elin Moen Dahl	Work research institute, Oslo Metropolitan University	Oslo
Oscar Molina Romo	Autonomous University of Barcelona	Barcelona

Adam Mrozowicki	Affiliation University of Wroclaw	Wroclaw
Kristine Nergaard	Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research	Oslo
Gadi Nissim	Ruppin Academic Center	Ramat Gan
Ilana Nussbaum Bitran	University of Bremen	Bremen
Anne Mette Odegard	Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research	Oslo
Katrin Olafsdottir	Reykjavik University	Reykjavik
Valentina.Paolucci	University of Maynooth	Maynooth
Jane Parker	ETUI, Brussels and Massey Business School, New Zealand	Brussels
Margherita Sabrina Perra	Dept of Political and Social Sciences - University of Cagliari - Italy	Cagliari
Agnieszka Piasna	ETUI (European Trade Union Institute)	Brussels
Szymon Pilch	University of Wroclaw	Wroclaw
Jesper Prytz	Department of Sociology and Work Science, University of Gothenburg	Göteborg
Valeria Pulignano	KU Leuven	KU Leuven
Christina Purcell	Manchester Metropolitan University	Manchester
Nicola Quondamatteo	Scuola Normale Superiore (Florence)	Florence
Stine Rasmussen	Aalborg University	Aalborg
Raquel Rego	Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa	Lisboa
Vicente Royuela	University of Barcelona	Barcelona
Pablo Sanz	Notus Barcelona	Barcelona
Maria Sedlakova	Eurofound	Dublin
Lisa Sezer	University of Leicester	Leicester
Ilan Shdema	Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Eilat The Max Stern Yezreel Valley College	Eilat
Holly Smith	WEI	Manchester
Wendy Smits	Statistics Netherlands/Maastricht University	Heerlen
Johan Røed Steen	Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research & University of Gothenburg	Oslo
Mark Stuart	Leeds University Business School	Leeds
Jørgen Svalund	Fafo	Oslo
Franco Tomassoni	Colabor	Lisbon
Frank Tros	AIAS-HSI, University of Amsterdam	Amsterdam
Sissel Trygstad	Fafo, Institute for Labour and social research	Oslo
Ylva Ulfsdotter Eriksson	Linnaeus University, Sweden	Växjö
Carlos Vacas	Eurofound	Dublin
Christa Van Oostende	Universiteit Antwerpen	Lede

Kurt Vandaele	ETUI	Brussels
Guy Vernon	Southampton Business School, University of Southampton	Southampton
Denise Vesper	Saarland University - Work and Organizational Psychology	Saarbruecken
Sandra Vogel	IW	Koeln
Neha Vyas	Newcastle University	Newcastle
Sijing Wang	Durham University	Durham
Neil Warner	London School of Economics	London
Kilian Weil	Hertie School: The University of Governance	Berlin
Christian Welz	Eurofound	Dublin
Adrian Wilkinson	Griffith university	Brisbane
Wilson Wong	CIPD	London
Yao Xiao	Durham University Business School	Durham
Yuanyi Xu	Durham University Business School	Durham
Yingchao Zhang	Durham University Business School	Durham
Piotr Zientara	University of Gdansk	Gdansk
Rosalind Porter	Durham University Business School	Durham