Strategies of European Workers' Organisations for Capacity Building

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1 Executive summary

In this final report, strategies for capacity building of European workers' organisations are contrasted with the manifold challenges of the societal and technological transformation: an ageing society with changing needs at the workplace and in care, rapidly changing technologies, more migration, a growing number of non-standard jobs, new risks for workers' health, international pressure on the right to strike or centralisation in collective bargaining are causing changes in the requirements of representing workers. A reduction in the numbers of members and trade union density in most European countries and ageing of the organisations make it necessary to look for new solutions: young people should once again unionise; alternative solution tools have to be tested and global problems countered with global organisations. In this report, five seminars from the European Centre for Workers' Questions (EZA) in the 2018/19 education year on the topics outlined above are documented, analysed and addressed; secondly, the results of the education process are embedded in an academic framework.

2 Process description

The academic processing and analysis of European strategies like "Europe 2020" produces interesting findings, for workers' organisations, too. Research covers topics such as the European employment objectives, problems like that of the increasing number of the so-called "working poor", the living conditions of young people and migrants in Europe, questions of inclusion and exclusion, the digital transformation, the European Union's general economic policy objectives, the European Pillar of Social Rights and, in particular, the challenges for trade unions in a changing world.

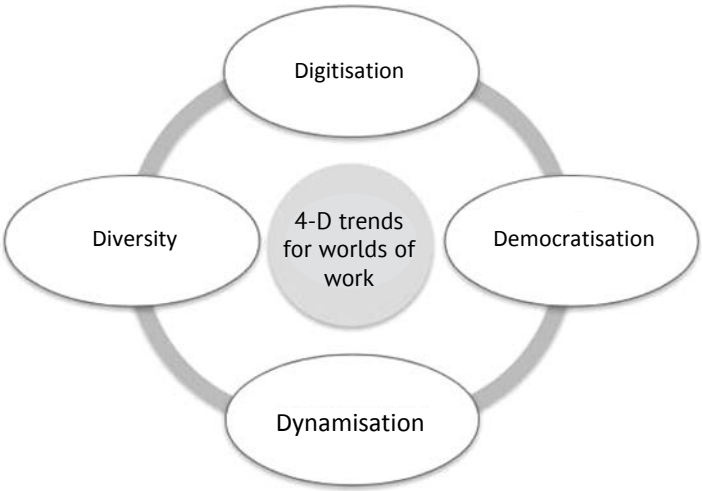
The aim of this report is now to interlink the academic findings of the theoretical IHS report *"Capacity building for social dialogue. Workers' organisations in a changing world"* (Schönpflug and Royc 2018) with the discussions and presentations from five EZA seminars. The Schönpflug and Royc report was presented as input in every EZA seminar in the shape of PowerPoint presentations and therefore guided parts of the discussion.

The structure of this report is divided into the following sections: challenges for trade unions of relevance to the current debate are discussed in the third chapter. The future of European workers' organisations in light of an ageing population, integrating young people and capacity building, as well as organisational forms of workers' organisations are worth particular mention here. The fourth part presents summarizes the feedback from the five visited EZA seminars as part of the social dialogue. Chapter 5 describes the problems and challenges to be overcome. The final chapter 6 formulates recommendations for action for workers' organisations.

3 The future of European workers' organisations in a changing world

The starting point for the theoretical report and the input in the seminars was a report by Liebhart and Oppelmayer (2017), in which a trend map was drawn up with four main categories or trend dimensions (4 Ds) for the world of work: 1. Digitisation; 2. Diversity; 3. Dynamisation and 4. Democratisation.

Figure 1: Four "D" trends for worlds of work



Source: Liebhart and Oppelmayer 2017

Digitisation is understood to be what was worked out by Kirchner and Angleitner as part of an EZA project (see Kirchner and Angleitner 2016), who state in this respect:

> *Digitisation entails huge societal and economic upheavals, yet it also opens up opportunities to redesign society and the economy. The use of digital technologies results in the loss of jobs, with sectors being affected to varying degrees, and occupations with a high proportion of standardised routine activities. At the same time, jobs will change and new ones will be created. This impacts on the skills required in the labour market and calls for a rethink in basic and further training. The pressure on the low-skilled will continue to increase; highly skilled people with specific ICT skills will continue to find good career opportunities. […] The workers' organisations face considerable challenges to react adequately to the new developments with the right strategies and measures.* (Kirchner and Angleitner 2017: 9)

Because of the structural significance of digital transformation, the phenomenon of changing working conditions caused by rapid, fundamental technological change remains an important core element for the strategy development of modern workers' organisations.

Diversity relates to intersectional[1] advantages and disadvantages in the current labour market. These primarily include population ageing with the changing needs and abilities of ageing workers, as well as the growing requirement for care and health services in society. The relatively dwindling number of young workers less and less unionised in practically every country and the rapidly changing working conditions also affecting this group (see "Dynamisation" below) is another important aspect. Differing allocations of roles in care, part-time and full-time work, family work of men and women, their unequal pay as

1 The concept of intersectionality attempts to capture the link between structural categories generating different forms of inequality. Forms of suppression and discrimination are not just added one after the other; instead they are observed in their interrelationships and interactions.

well as participation in trade unions is just as relevant as the specific integration of migrants into the labour markets and workers' organisations.

Dynamisation affects the organisation of working life which has undergone rapid change in recent decades. Dynamisation occurs in different dimensions; starting from the working hours and place of work becoming increasingly blurred through the design of jobs to the organisation and contractual definition of employment relationships. In particular, flexible working time models, stronger work-life blending, working in virtual teams and structures, the increase in atypical employment, the use of crowd work and increasingly agile and flexible organisational structures are to be seen as parts of this process of dynamisation (see Liebhart and Oppelmayer 2017: 12-18).

With **democratisation**, the primary focuses are not workers' opportunities of co-determination and participation through new flexible organisational forms and crowd financing, but the capacities and organisational forms of workers' organisations against the backdrop of social change. The aim is to scrutinise to what extent democratic societies change when strikes and collective bargaining become less frequent and instead alternative dispute resolutions, for instance, are used as new instruments. And how do the organisational forms of trade unions correlate with their democratic self-conception?

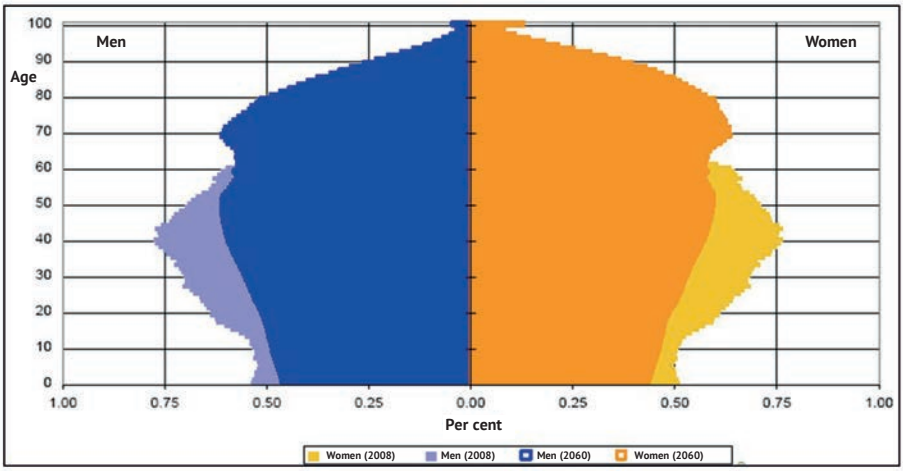
These four trend dimensions (4 Ds) form the discursive basis for the topics subsequently summarised in theory and discussed in the seminars:

3.1 The influence of an ageing population and increasingly diverse workforce for workers' organisations

Population ageing is one of the most serious problems for most countries in the industrialised world, not just in Europe, and so is singled out as the first topic.

Europe's population pyramid (see Figure 2) shows that in 2008 the majority of men and women were about 40 years old, whereas in 2060 the majority will be about 70 years old. The number of young people will decrease in general; the pyramid shape of a demographic distribution with many children as a broad base and a slender tip of fewer very old people will have totally inverted by 2090 if the current development will continue: a narrow base with relatively few young people and a broad tip with relatively many old people.

Figure 2: Europe's population pyramid



Source: Eurostat: Europop2008 convergence scenario

The following are particularly relevant problems arising, in our opinion, from an ageing population:

1) Increasing dependency ratios between different demographic groups.

2) The European governments speak of increasing pressure on public expenditure, especially in healthcare and pensions owing to this growing old-age dependency.

3) The employment rates of older people are very low in some EU member states.

4) There are major imbalances in geriatric care: increasing demand is countered by big gaps in supply, professional carers are frequently underpaid for their work, international care labour markets mean migration movements and international inequalities in supply due to care drain in countries of origin, such as the Philippines, which has differentiated effects for children and old people, men, women and families.

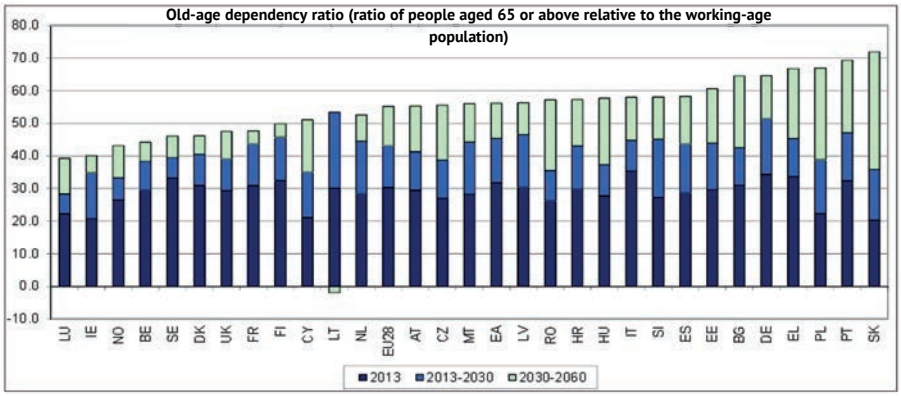
5) An increasingly rapid technological change and more demanding jobs in conjunction with a growing number of older workers call for strategies for the sustainable employment of older workers and suitably adapted working conditions.

6) There is hardly any public debate on intergenerational solidarity at present.

3.1.1 Rising dependency ratios

Figure 3 shows the dependency ratios of the population groups of 15- to 64-year-olds and of people aged 65 or above for the EU-28. In its latest Ageing Report, the European Commission's and the Council's Ageing Working Group of the Economic Policy Committee (EPC) forecasts that these dependency ratios will rise on average in Europe from 28% to 50% from 2013 to 2060. This means that instead of a ratio of 4:1 people of working age per person over 65 in 2013, the 2060 ratio will only be 2:1. Hence the working age population will drop by roughly 13% from 2013 to 2060. The country-specific differences will be considerable. The most unfavourable situation will be in ***Slovakia***, where it is expected that the dependency ratio will rise from a relatively low 20% in 2013 to over 70% in 2060. ***Portugal*** will also attain almost 70%. Although ***Italy,*** for example, already has relatively high dependency ratios in 2013, in 2060 the dependency will be "only" just 60%. The least affected are ***Luxembourg*** and large-family ***Ireland***, where the dependency ratios will rise by only 18 and 20 percentage points respectively.

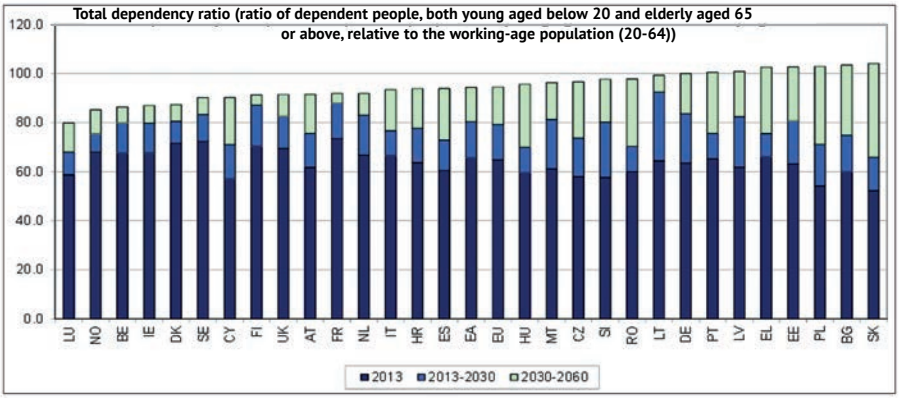
Figure 3: Old-age dependency ratios



Source: European Commission 2015

The changes are by far much larger when not only old-age dependency but also care responsibilities for children and young people up to the age of 20 are included in the calculation (see Figure 4). In this case the situation for the still worst affected ***Slovakia*** deteriorates over 100%, meaning that less than one person aged between 20 and 64 years is available per young or old person. Altogether the ratio for the EU-28 rises from 65% to 95%. The smallest increases are expected for ***Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, France*** and ***Sweden***, the biggest for ***Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland*** and ***Bulgaria***.

Figure 4: Total dependency ratios

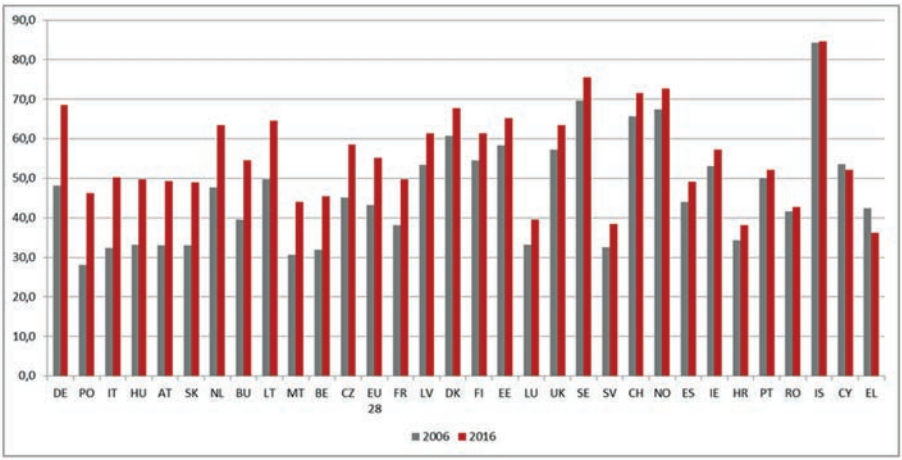


Source: European Commission 2015

3.1.2 Employment rates

Despite increasing dependency and rising age-related expenditure, the employment rates for those not yet of retirement age are very low in many European countries. In Figure 5, the grey bars show the employment rates for older people in 2006 and the red bars those in 2016. The data are in decreasing order by the biggest growths in these ten years.

Figure 5: Employment rates for people aged between 55 and 65 years (in %)

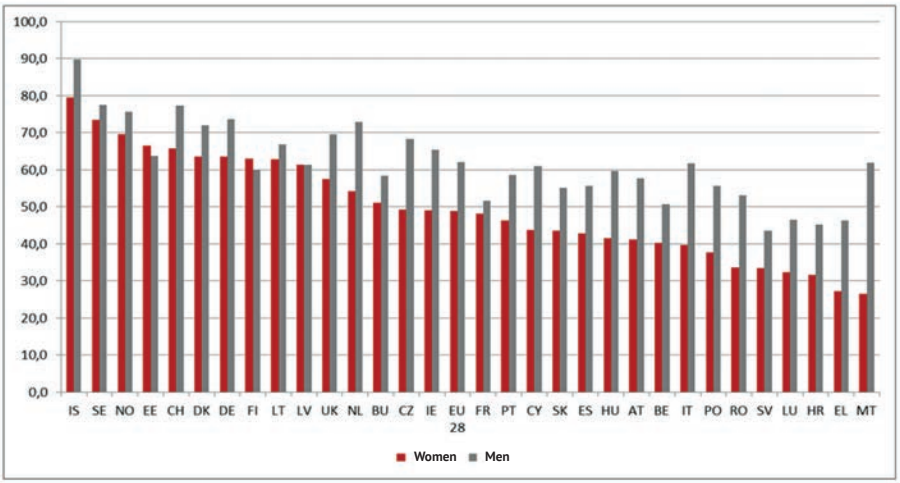


Source: Eurostat

On average, in the EU-28 the average employment rate for the group of people aged between 55 and 65 years was 55% (for all age groups together: 67%), meaning only just over half of the population between 55 and 65 years of age was (still) employed. However, in the ten years since 2006 there has been growth in every country (except Greece and Cyprus). The strongest increases were in ***Germany, Poland*** and ***Italy***, albeit the last two starting from a level far below that of Germany. Overall, there were huge differences in the countries in 2016: in ***Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden*** and ***Iceland*** the employment rate was about 70% or over; nine countries (among them ***Austria, France*** and ***Poland***) were below 50% and ***Croatia, Greece*** and ***Slovakia*** were below 40%.

Figure 6 compares the employment rates for men (grey bars) and women (red bars) aged 55 to 65 years in 2016.

Figure 6: Employment rates for men and women aged between 55 and 65 years (in %)



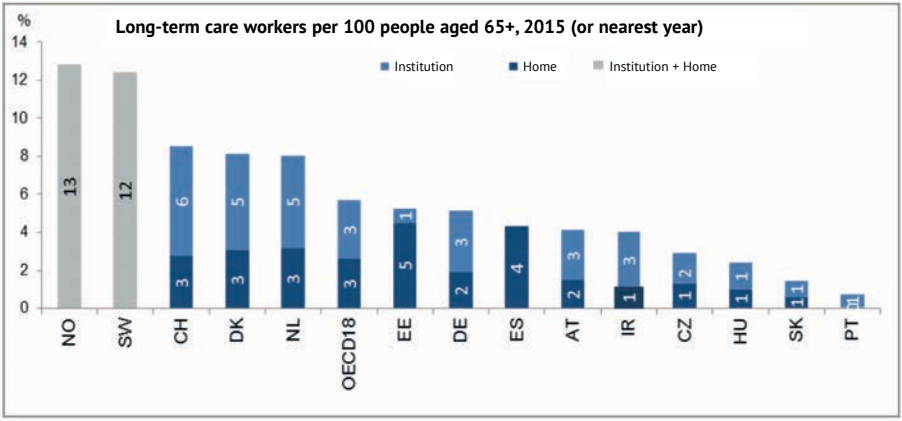
Source: Eurostat

Here, too, we see large differences between countries. In eleven countries, the employment rate of older women is roughly 40% or below (e.g. ***Hungary, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg***). On the other hand, it is more than 60% in ten countries (e.g. ***Denmark, Germany, Finland, Lithuania***). In ***Iceland, Norway*** and ***Sweden*** it is about 70% or over. The EU-28 average for women was 61% and hence 10 percentage points below the average for men (72%).

3.1.3 Geriatric care

In the context of an ageing population, trade unions also need to be concerned about the expected labour shortages in private and institutional care. Figure 7 shows the ratio of care workers to those needing care in some OECD countries.

Figure 7: Professional long-term care for people aged 65+ (2015)

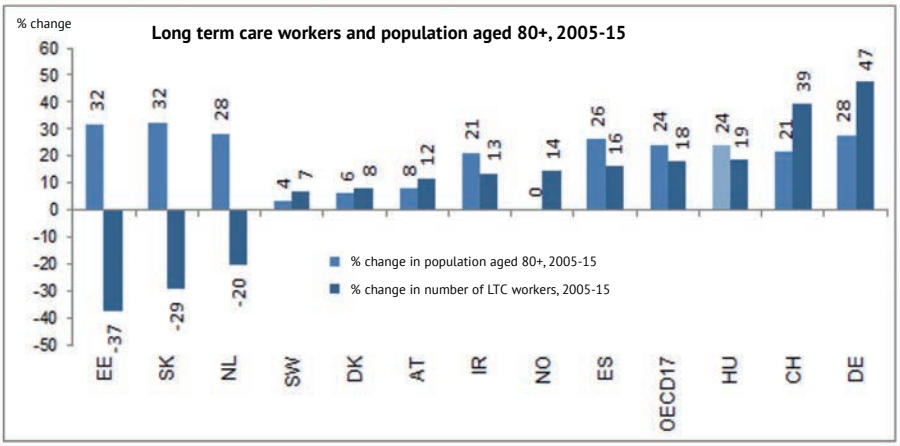


Source: OECD 2017. In Norway, Sweden and Spain, differences cannot be made between care workers in institutions and private households. These countries are not part of the OECD average shown in the figure, which in addition to the EU countries contains data for Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Korea, Israel and Canada.

In ***Norway***, thirteen care workers were available per 100 persons needing care in 2013, whereas in ***Portugal*** it was only 0.7 carers. On average for the twelve OECD countries (for which data are available), 90% of the care workers are female.

For the ten years studied prior to 2015, there was already a worrying development to be seen in the care of people aged 80+ (see Figure 8).

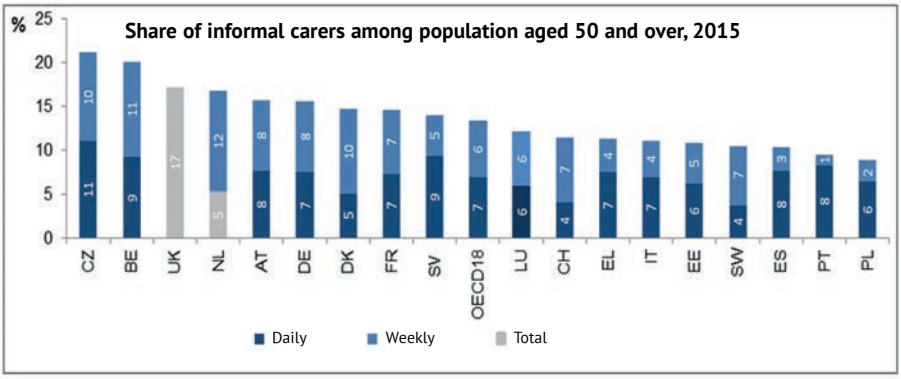
Figure 8: Professional long-term care for people aged 80+ (2005-2015)



Source: OECD 2017. In Norway, Sweden and Spain, differences cannot be made between care workers in institutions and private households. These countries are not part of the OECD average shown in the figure, which in addition to the EU countries contains data for Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Korea, Israel and Canada.

It is clear from Figure 8 that in 2005-2015 the number of care workers did not develop proportionally to the ageing population. In the OECD-17 average, the number of care workers rose less markedly than the increase in the population of people aged 80+. In ***Germany, Switzerland, Austria*** and ***Denmark***, the number of care workers went up more than the people aged 80+, and in ***Estonia, Slovakia*** and the ***Netherlands*** the number of care workers per person aged 80+ went down. (To what extent these developments correlate with the greater expectation of healthy years in old age cannot be discussed here in detail.) With regard to gender-specific living conditions, it is particularly interesting to analyse not only professional care but also the informal care provided in private households (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: Informal care provided by people aged 50+ (2015)



Source: OECD 2017

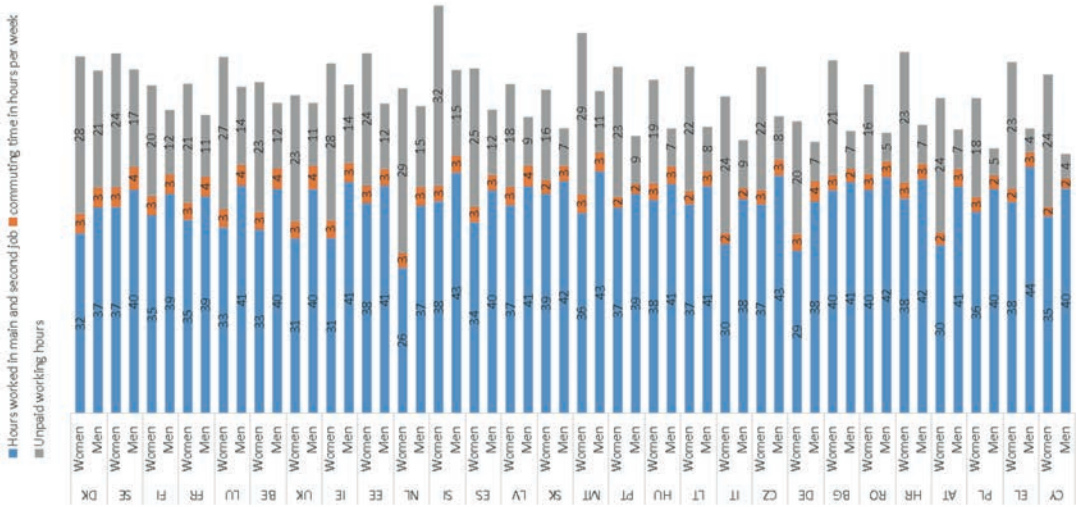
On average, 13% of the population aged 50 and over do informal care at least once a week. In the ***Czech Republic*** and ***Belgium***, it is about 20%; in ***Portugal*** and ***Poland*** it is less than 10%. However, on average 7% of the population in the OECD-18 countries provide daily informal care. The lowest shares of individuals providing daily care work are to found in ***Switzerland, Denmark*** and ***Sweden***, countries with a well-developed public care sector. In the OECD average, 60% of the daily informal care is done by women; in Poland and Portugal it is 70%. In Sweden more men provide care than women. Intensive private care is associated with a reduction in the employment of informal carers, a greater prevalence of poverty and increased mental illness, such as burnout or depression.

Unequal gender role models are still appreciable in care: 90% of professional care and 60% of informal care is done by women.

Figure 10 shows the number of paid and unpaid working hours done by gender in order of the biggest differences between the genders. In

every country, women work more hours in care than men, the differences being between 7 and 20 hours. The smallest differences are in the ***Scandinavian countries, France*** and ***Belgium***; the biggest in ***Cyprus, Greece, Portugal, Austria*** and ***Croatia***. The expected rise in care services in the informal sector is expected to increase these figures for both genders.

Figure 10: Paid and unpaid working hours by gender (2017)



Source: European Union (2017: 12)

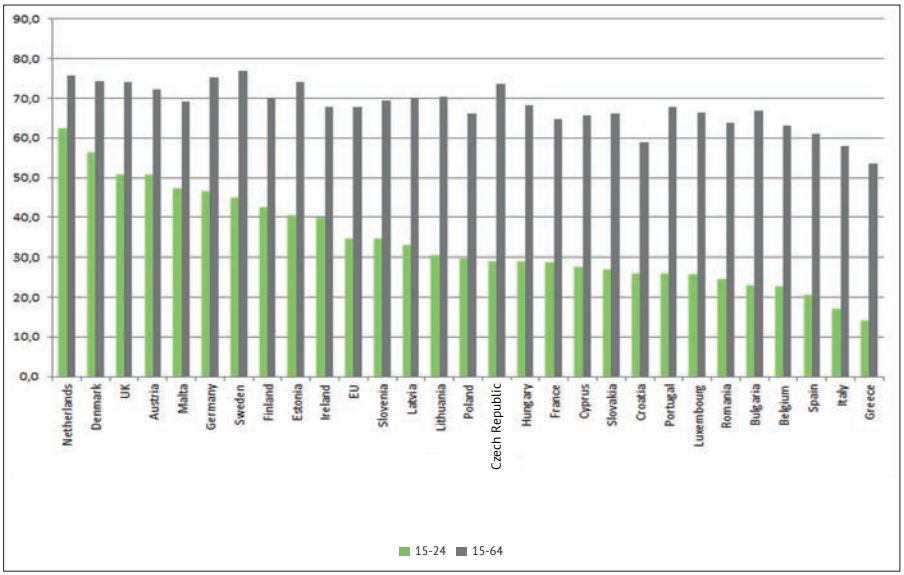
The better developed the professional care structures are, the smaller the share that has to be done in informal care. In the course of population ageing, lower numbers of children, greater labour mobility, higher participation rates of women and cultural upheavals will most likely cause a high risk of the provision of informal care as back-up for any shortage in public care institutions. Altogether, a large rise in professional long-term care is to be expected. In general, the supply

of care workers does not increase with demand. In spite of high demand, the care sector already features low wages and difficult working conditions, which is referred to in the feminist economy as a care paradox (see Folbre 1995). Although international labour migration is seen as a possible solution for the needs of European countries, what is known as the care drain causes supply gaps in the families of carers working abroad. In Austria, for instance, the care of dependent adults is done mainly by care workers living in the eastern peripheral areas of the EU, in particular eastern Slovakia, eastern Poland and eastern Bulgaria, who commute fortnightly into Austrian households (Bauer 2010). These services organised as 24-hour care are discussed globally in the international feminist economy with the specific example of Philippine care workers. The export strategy of care staff pursued by the Philippine government for decades is unique the world over: *"The Philippine state - acting as a labor broker - plays a critical role in producing, distributing, and regulating Filipinas as care workers across the globe."* (Rodriguez 2008: 794). As a rule, well-trained, proficient and friendly Philippine nurses and care workers work in rich countries in the public and private care sector. (Schönpflug and Eberhardt 2018: 379). There is generally hardly any trade union support for these workers, particularly those in 24-hour care.

3.2 Integrating young people into workers' organisations

In 2017, in Europe an average of 35% of young people (aged between 15 and 24 years) were employed, whereas it was 68% (15-64 years of age) in the total population. In the ***Netherlands, Denmark,*** the ***United Kingdom*** and ***Austria***, the employment rates were 50% or higher, in ***Greece, Italy*** and ***Spain*** they were 20% or lower (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Employment rates of young people compared to the total population

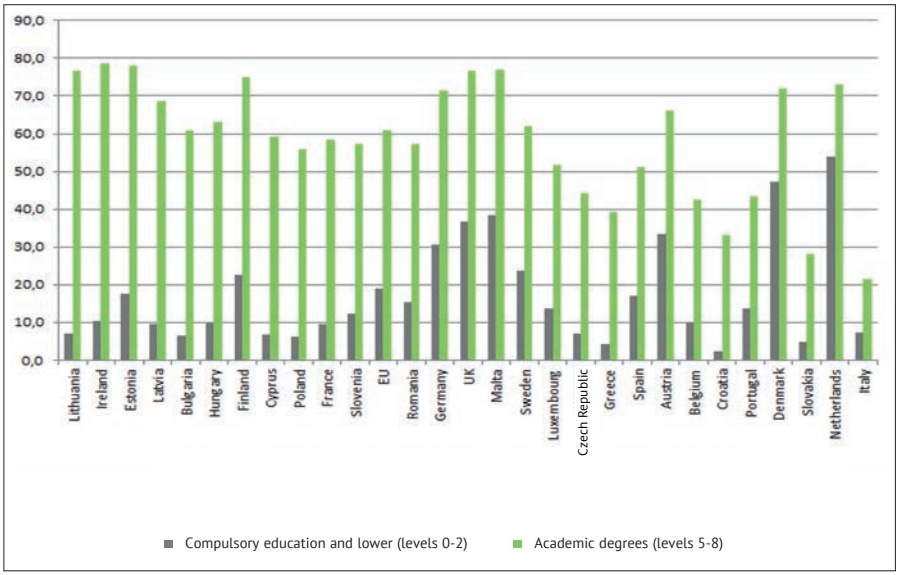


Source: Eurostat 2017

What is also interesting, though, is the variation between young people, it being evident that there are big differences between the employment of well and poorly educated young people.

Figure 12 shows the differences in order of size.

Figure 12: Employment rates of young people comparing educational attainment

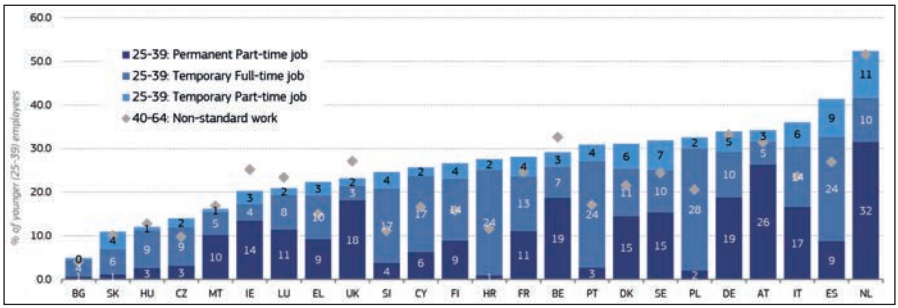


Source: Eurostat 2017

It is evident that the gap between the employment rate of university graduates and compulsory school leavers is biggest in ***Lithuania,*** ***Ireland*** and ***Estonia*** (in Lithuania it amounts to 70 percentage points). The smallest difference is in ***Sweden,*** the ***Netherlands*** and ***Italy***.

The employment conditions for young people have changed a great deal in recent years, as shown in Figure 13.

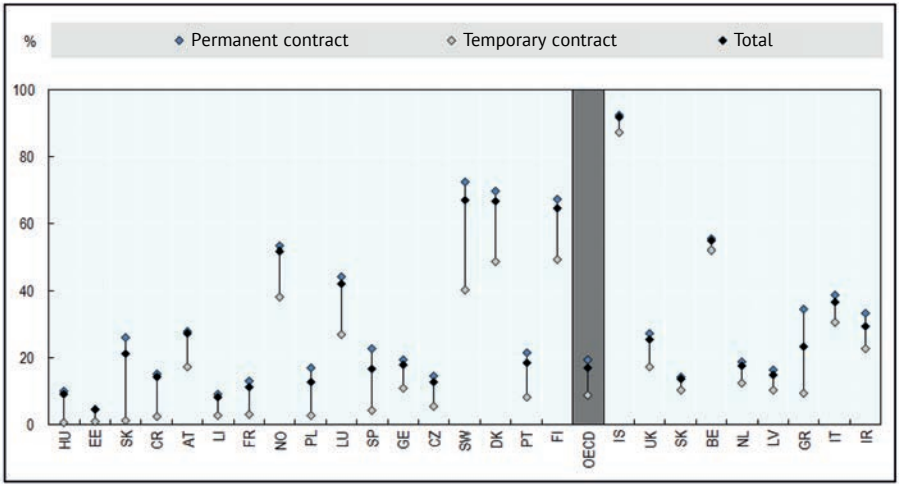
Figure 13: Employment conditions by age groups



Source: European Commission 2017

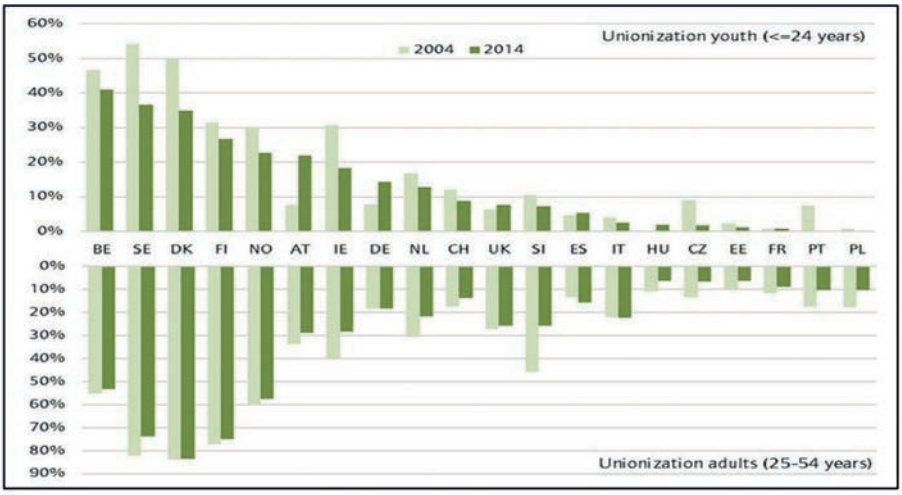
In every country except ***Hungary, Malta, Ireland*** and the ***United Kingdom***, the 25- to 39-year-olds often work in forms of employment that are non-standard: in the ***Netherlands***, 32% work in permanent part-time jobs, 10% in temporary full-time jobs and 11% in temporary part-time jobs, i.e. in total more than half of all young as well as older workers do not have permanent full-time jobs. Internationally, these distributions vary a great deal. Very large differences between the cohorts become evident in ***Poland, Portugal*** and ***Hungary***. What is relevant here is that the bulk of part-time work in many countries is not done voluntarily, that there are big gender differences and that the trade union membership level among part-time and temporary workers is lower than among those having a standard employment relationship Figure 14).

Figure 14: Employment contracts and trade union memberships



Source: OECD 2017

Figure 15: Unionisation rate by age (2004 and 2014)



Source: ETUI: Online[2]

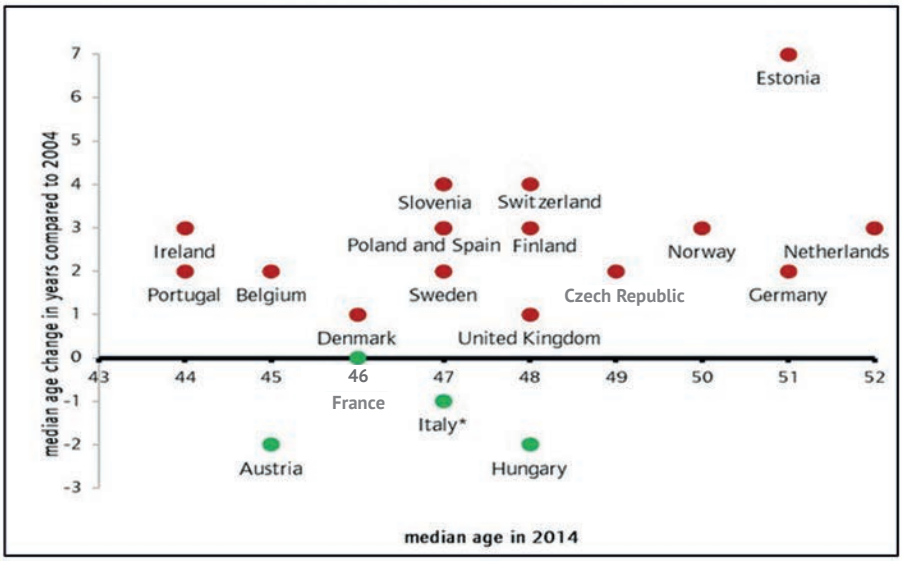
The unionisation rate among young people tends to be lower than among older workers (Figure 15). It is clear from the graph that although unionisation among young people follows the trend of older workers, it is consistently much lower. Secondly, there are large differences between countries. Reasons for these differences between the generations include the higher rate of atypical employment of young people, the employment in sectors in which trade unions are less represented, or because of the lack of information.

Trade unions are ageing in many countries. A further ETUI graph shows that the median age in 15 countries rose by up to seven years (in ***Estonia***) (red dots) between 2004 and 2014 and remained constant or went down in only four countries (green dots). On the horizontal

2 https://medium.com/@ETUI_org/trade-unions-and-young-workers-how-to-overcome-the-disconnect-40e7f058c2ab

axis, we see the median age in 2014 where, for instance, the ***Netherlands*** with a moderate increase of three years in the 10-year period show a high median age of 52 years. The most favourable is ***Austria*** with an average age of 45 years and a decrease in age of two years since 2004.

Figure 16: Median age of trade union members (2004 and 2014)

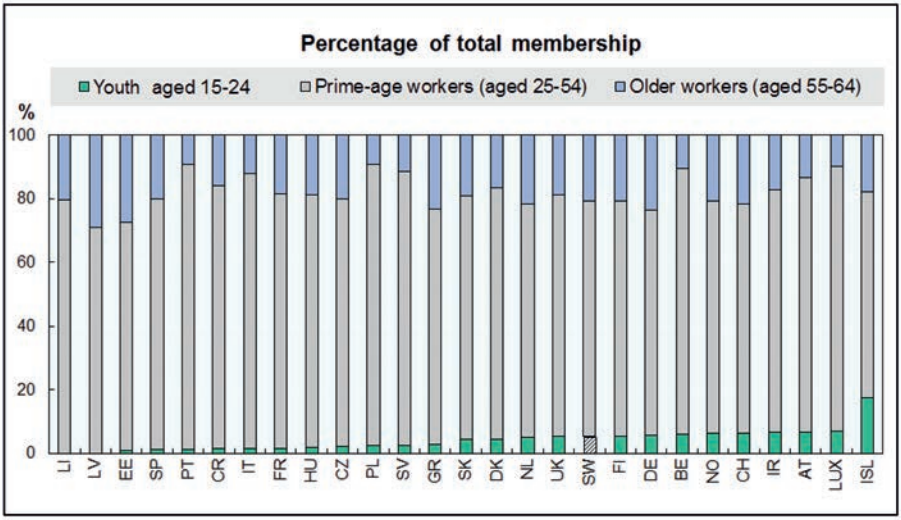


Source: ETUI: Online[3]

Figure 17 presents the composition of trade union members by age across different countries and in percentage of total membership for 2017.

3 https://medium.com/@ETUI_org/trade-unions-and-young-workers-how-to-overcome-the-disconnect-40e7f058c2ab

Figure 17: Trade union membership by age (2017)



Source: OECD 2017

Because of compulsory unionisation, ***Iceland*** has the highest number of young members.

Highly critical voices, like an EFBWW (European Federation of Building and Woodworkers) (2016) study, report that young people often have a poor image of trade unions. Trade unions would not reach young people in communication, partly because of outdated, bureaucratic or detached structures. A patriarchal and hierarchical organisation is also regarded by many as a deterrent; trade unions are felt to be assimilated and also often too expensive to join (EFBWW 2016: 4, our own translation and paraphrasing).

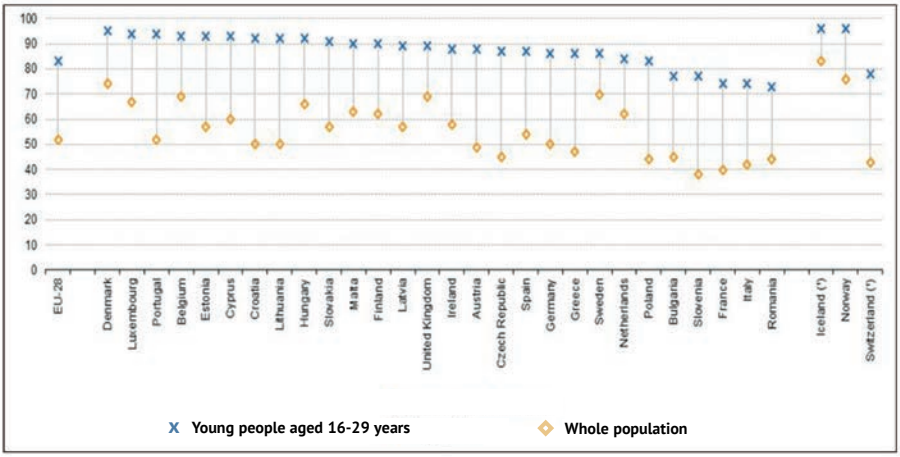
Young people use new media very differently from the way older people do: Facebook and Twitter, for example, are out among teenagers, who communicate increasingly with Snapchat and Instagram.

For instance, in ***Austria*** the use of digital media breaks down as follows: Generation Z (2010-1996) uses YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, Snapchat and Facebook; Millennials (1995-1977) chiefly YouTube, Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp. Generation X (1976-1965) is less often on YouTube, but uses Facebook and WhatsApp. Baby boomers (1964-1946) mainly use Facebook. In addition, 25-year-olds use professional networks like XING and Linkedln most often. Age therefore becomes the key for choice of digital media and reachability through these channels.[4]

Altogether, across the world in January 2018, two billion people use Facebook each month, 1.5 billion YouTube and 1.3 billion WhatsApp.

The use of digital media in people aged 16 to 29 years is much greater than that of the overall population, as Figure 18 shows:

Figure 18: Digital media use by age groups in the EU in 2017



Source: Eurostat isoc_ci_ac_i

4 http://www.artworx.at/social-media-in-oesterreich-2017/ (June 2018)

The use by young people aged 16 to 29 years is very high in every country, the biggest differences between the generations being found in ***Portugal, Croatia*** and ***Lithuania***. It is particularly import to note that there is a correlation between the use of social media and political participation. Where young people discuss politics in social media, electoral turnout is higher.

These topics are interesting for young workers:

1. Youth employment
2. Organising young workers
3. Lifelong learning
4. Social exclusion
5. Sustainable development
6. Globalisation and international solidarity
7. Population ageing
8. EU
9. Gender

(EFBWW 2016)

At present, climate change must certainly be included as one of the hottest topics here.

3.3 Capacity building of workers' organisations

Whether someone is organised in a workers' organisation depends on different factors:

Personal factors include age, employment contract, educational level, gender and marital status, political and social attitude, social capital and networks, professional position and class status. On the company level, the size of the firm plays a part, as does the ownership structure (private or public; multinational etc.). Institutional context factors include the Ghent System, political structures for wage bargaining and socioeconomic factors, like the unemployment rate, inflation, growth rates, welfare state etc.

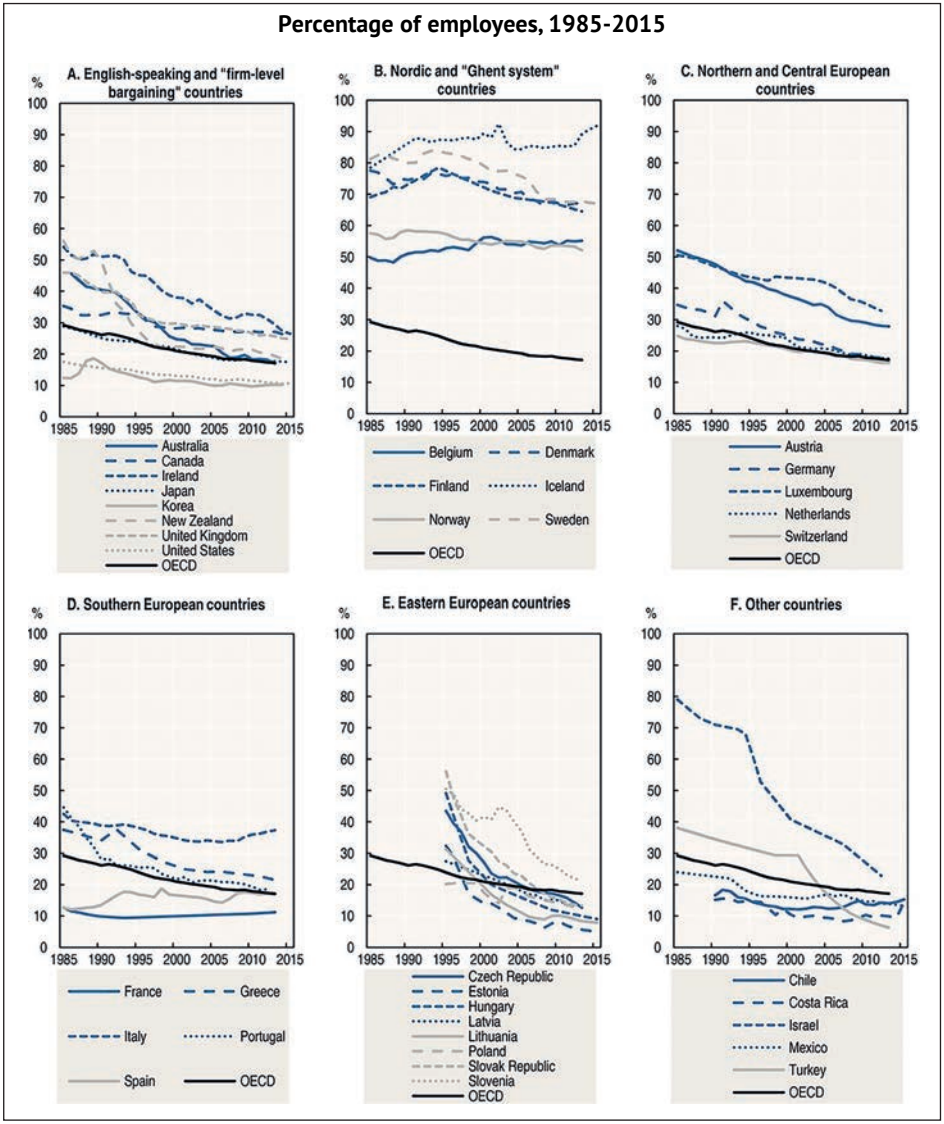
In recent decades, the strength of trade unions has decreased overall (see Figure 19), owing to technological change, neoliberal individualisation, globalisation, a shift in identity away from class consciousness to consumer consciousness, as well as a result of trade unions' strategic errors.

Different strategies can be used for revitalisation: organising members, restructuring, coalitions with other social movements, partnerships with employers and government, political activities in and with political parties, international or transnational networking. The structures of the trade unions, the strength of the opposition as well as the identity of the trade unions and their ideologies play a part in this. Well chosen strategies and a favourable context can help raise or stabilise the numbers of members, encourage the participation of members, strengthen internal governance as well as acquire economic clout and political influence (Ibsen and Taipa 2017).

Strong trade unions can use three key levers to co-shape working conditions:

- Strikes
- Collective bargaining
- Alternative dispute resolutions

Figure 19: Trade union density



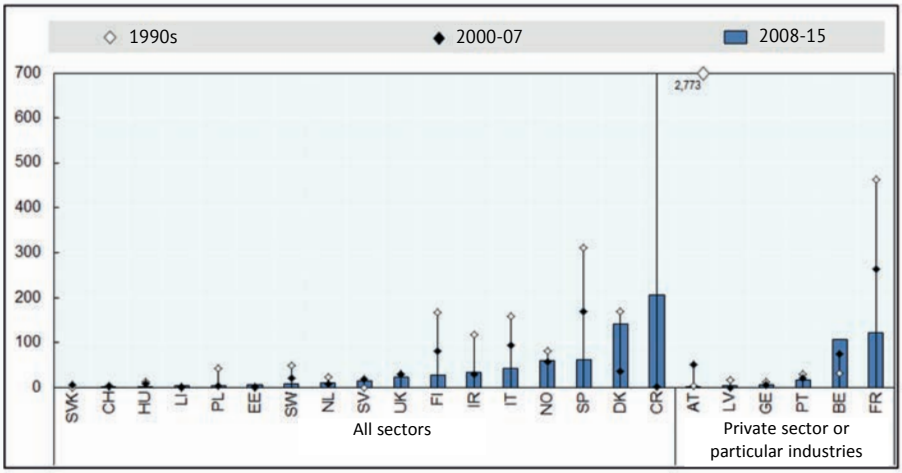
Source: OECD 2017: 134

3.3.1 Strikes

The right to strike is an international principle enshrined in the constitutions of at least ninety countries and is international customary law. The trade unions themselves and also collective bargaining, but the right to strike in particular, have been globally weakened in recent decades. The restrictions of individual countries (***Australia, Belgium, Canada, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Spain*** and ***Turkey***) on the right to strike transgress to some extent the ILO Convention 87 and decades of legislative practice. These restrictions are justified with the protection of public order, public safety and security, the threat of terrorism or national interests and economic crises. Sometimes individual categories of workers are excluded from the right to strike, sometimes excessive preconditions are demanded for a legal strike to be held. Laws are amended to suspend the right to strike or declare them unlawful; the public debate is influenced by opponents of the right to strike. The United Nations declare all this an infringement of workers' rights in terms of their freedom of assembly and association (United Nations 2016).

Figure 20 shows the number of strikes held in different countries. In every country except Belgium, there have been decreases since the 1990s.

Figure 20: Strikes since the 1990s

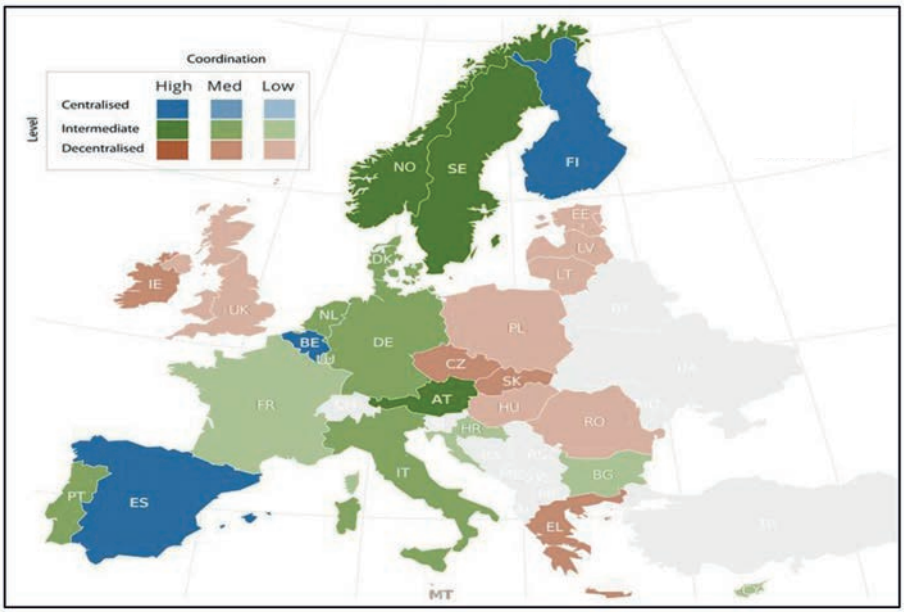


Source: OECD 2017

3.3.2 Collective bargaining

Collective bargaining is the key aspect determining the institutional strength of trade unions. It includes partnership arrangements and social dialogue. Figure 21 shows the different organisational forms of collective bargaining in Europe.

Figure 21: Collective bargaining in Europe

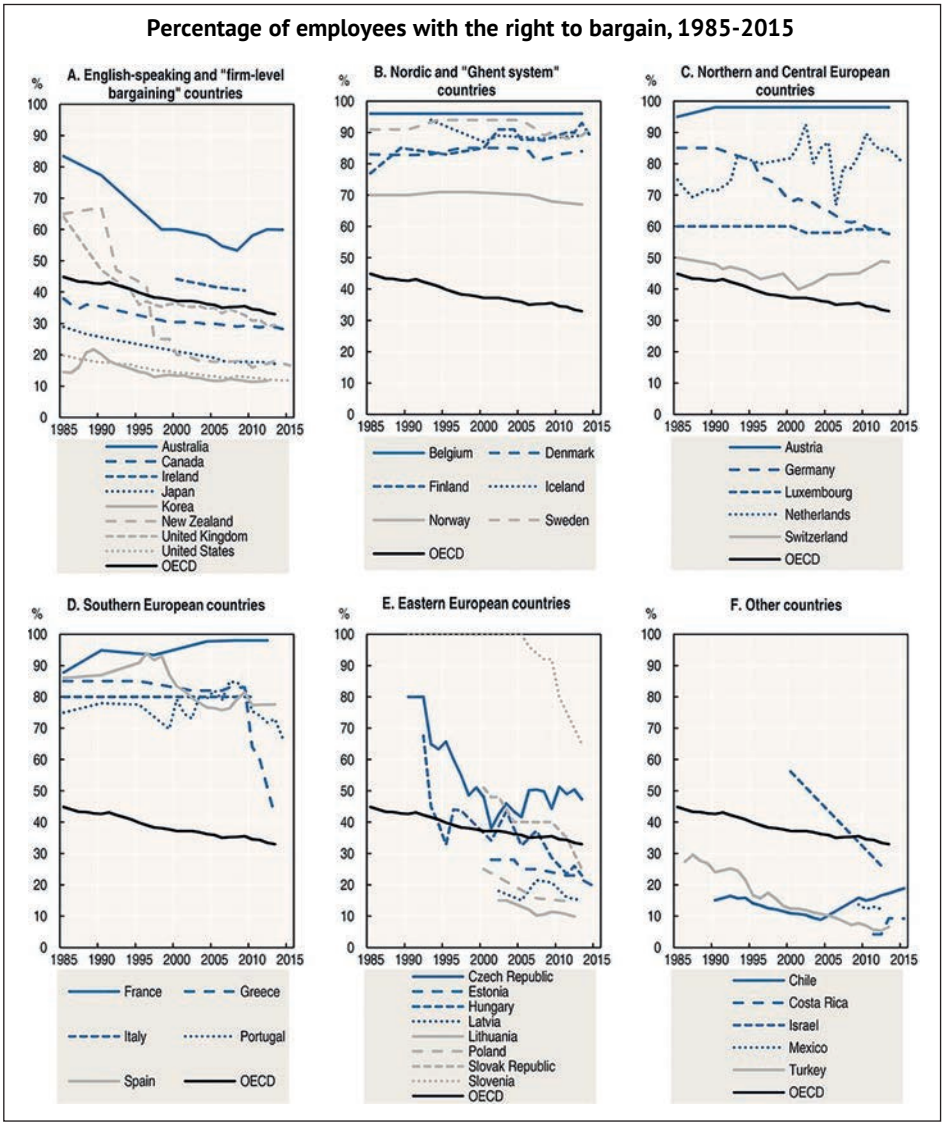


Source: Eurofound: online[5]

For instance, for ***Austria*** medium centralisation is identifiable through green colouring, as the bargaining is carried out for different industrial sectors. The dark green in turn reveals that higher co-ordination of the trade unions and social partners prevails than in ***Germany***, for instance.

5 http://www.mynewsdesk.com/uk/eurofound/pressreleases/purchasing-power-of-eu-workers-rising-despite-limited-collectivel-y-agreed- pay-increases-1007403

Figure 22: Collective bargaining in Europe



Source: OECD 2017: 138

The percentage of workers covered by collective agreements and the collective bargaining systems have changed enormously since the 1980s because of the technological change, changing organisational forms, globalisation, the decrease in the manufacturing industry in Europe and the expansion of flexible employment and the ageing population. Standard forms of employment guarantee equal pay for equal work and secure social benefits for workers. The more that non-standard and precarious employment increases, the rights and protective conditions laid down for standard employment created by means of collective bargaining are circumvented and weakened. There has been additional pressure on trade unions since the economic and financial crisis of 2008. The number of workers represented through collective bargaining has fallen since then, particularly in countries such as ***Romania*** (-63%) and ***Greece*** (-65%) (European Commission 2017: 151, see Figure 22). Combined with political reforms, in many countries these factors have resulted not only in a reduction in workers represented but at the same time in a decentralisation of collective bargaining, meaning an additional weakening of bargaining power (OECD 2017: 128).

3.3.3 Alternative dispute resolutions: still unknown territory for workers' organisations?

Alternative dispute resolutions (ADRs) are a relatively new instrument for resolving conflicts, including those in the social partnership. Compared to industrial action like strikes, major advantages of ADRs are savings in time and money for both sides. In Laeken 2001, the European Council emphasised that ADRs were a possibility of solving social conflicts. ADRs are described in the European Commission Green Paper on alternative dispute resolution in civil and commercial law (2002). Various studies that have appeared on this topic describe great diversity in the design of ADRs in different countries, as well as

how important the social partners are in this process; they also say that these ADRs possibly contribute to a transition from collective to individual power structures (see Ebisui et al. 2016).

A successful ADR system can be explained like this:

Figure 23: ADR system

Source: Ebisui 2017

The escalation of the conflict is symbolised by the move up to the top of the pyramid. Conflict prevention processes try to solve conflicts ahead of a strike. This is based on arrangements of a consensual nature, the participation of the social partners and the involvement of the government as a third partner.

Different disputes can be approached using ADRs: conflicts about rights already defined in acts or contracts where the question is what actually happened and whether this conforms to what is prescribed.

These types of disputes can be located on an individual or collective level. Conflicts about diverging interests are a second case: there is no "proper" solution and they have to be approached on a collective level.

There are various arrangements in ADRs:

Conciliation: In these cases, an independent third party/institution assists during negotiations; he/she/it acts as a moderator, manages information and actively proposes solutions before a conflict goes to court. This is practised in Cyprus, Ireland, Malta, Italy, Norway, Spain and the United Kingdom.

Mediation is when an independent body hears both sides and tries to find a solution. This produces a non-binding decision or recommendation, which is usually in writing (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, United Kingdom).

Arbitration: A third party (either a person, body or court) makes a binding decision that solves the conflict (Austria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom).

In Greece, Luxembourg and Estonia, the labour inspectorate or an ombudsperson can also undertake alternative dispute resolutions. In Austria, Denmark, Germany and Sweden, the social partners offer ADRs.

The ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE Declaration) is the only interna-

tional instrument that has been accepted by governments, employers' and workers' organisations for resolving conflicts in areas like employment, training, working and living conditions and employment relationships. The ILO can offer mediation and conciliation for multinationals. There are also increasingly frequent mediation and dispute resolution provisions as part of global framework agreements between multinationals and global trade union federations (Hadwiger 2017). The question arising for trade unions is whether more frequent application of ADRs can be a strategy that strengthens the trade unions institutionally or whether ADRs tend to act as a competition institution.

An optimistic view would be that ADRs can supplement collective bargaining well if individual ADR solutions not only achieve improvements for individual employees but also take the context and causes of an individual conflict into account with an attempt to solve them (Dickey 2003).

A more negative assessment would be to think that ADRs are sought to avoid or replace collective bargaining. It is particularly problematical when employers integrate conflict resolution solutions on an individualised basis in their corporate culture (e.g. in the framework of "Open Door Policies" intended to promote direct communication without representation by trade unions) or apply strategies from collective bargaining directly with employees not represented by trade unions.

3.4 Organisational forms

Organisational forms correlate closely with the possibilities for capacity building or trade union density. In research projects in recent decades, different approaches have been worked out to set up work-

ers' organisations. They can be organised along the organisation level versus the individual level and the orientation to input or outcome of the representation processes (Table 1). Another factor is the question whether, in the framework of new technologies and processes, besides falling numbers of members the merging of sectors could represent a useful strength or an obstacle. Whether trade unions should enter into (close) partnerships with other, e.g. local, organisations is likewise part of this question (Klindt 2017).

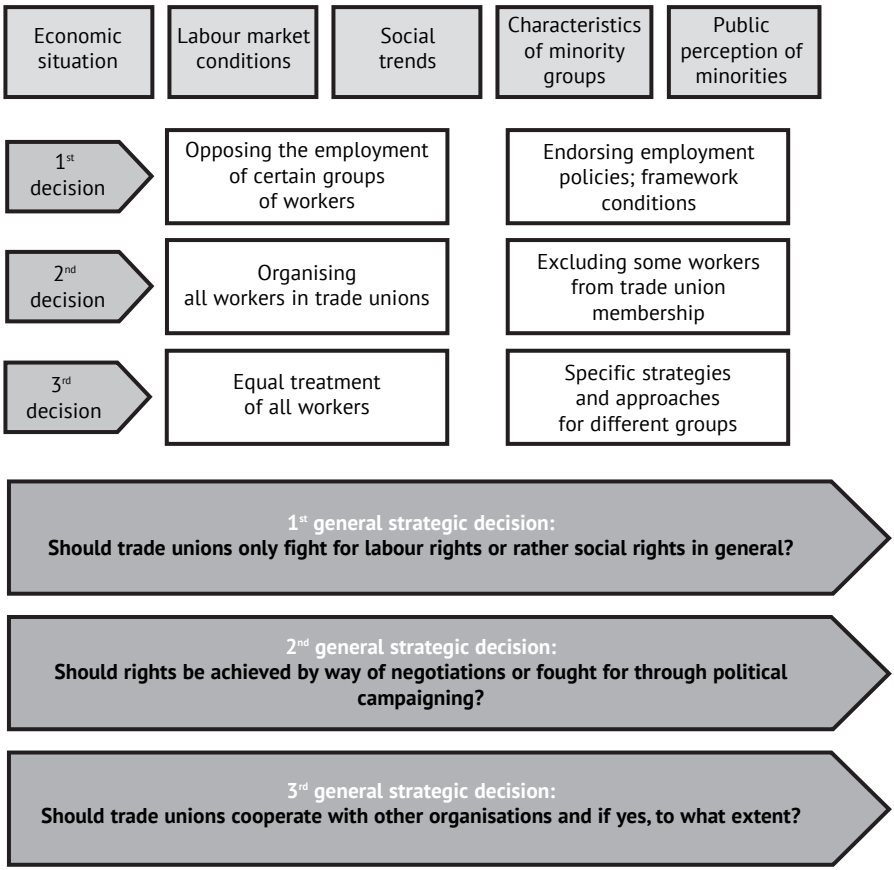
Table 1: Organisation strategies

		Focus	
		Input to representation	**Outcome of representation**
Level	**Individual**	Network-based: individual participation	Interest-based: individual benefits
	Organisational	Group-based: category representation	Activity-based: trade union effectiveness

Source: Eurofound 2010: 21

The question of the policy orientation, either to selective successes like improved collective agreements or to global justice, likewise belongs in this area; as well as changing organisation cultures and questions of inclusion or exclusion (see Figure 24).

Figure 24: Organisational strategies in a changing world



Source: IHS, based on Marino et al. 2015

4 Feedback and results from seminars in the context of the EZA educational programme

Between April 2018 and February 2019, EZA carried out five seminars in Hungary, Poland, Spain and Malta, all of them part of a seminar series in the context of the European social dialogue on "Strategies of European institutions – capacity building". The participants' feedback on the content of the presentations in the seminars is incorporated in the report volume. This chapter contains a cursory overview and the content is organised in accordance with the 4 "D" trends and the topics from chapter 3.

Table 2: Overview of the seminars carried out

Date	Venue	Topic	Organisation
23-25 April 2018	**Warsaw,** Poland	Diversification of the age structure – challenges for and expectations of the social partners	**Komisja Krajowa NSZZ "Solidarność"**
24-25 May 2018	**Balatonalmádi,** Hungary	Best practices in services for alternative dispute resolution	**MOSZ** (Munkástanácsok Országos Szövetsége)
3-4 December 2018	**Madrid,** Spain	The future of workers' organisations in a changing Europe: analysis and strategies for involving young people	**USO** – CCFAS (Unión Sindical Obrera – Centro Confederal de Formación y Acción Social)
6-7 December 2018	**St Julien,** Malta	From trade unions to industrial relations service providers: a new model	**UHM** (Union Ħaddiema Magħqudin)
6-7 February 2019	**Palma de Mallorca,** Spain	Capacity building for workers' organisations' – the future idea of workers' organisations in light of changing framework conditions	**Krifa** (Kristelig Fagbevægelse)

During the seminars, there were lively discussions of opportunities and challenges linked with the socio-economic and technological change. Speakers and participants exchanged their experiences and expertise, and considered measures and possible solutions for how the future challenges could be overcome. Whereas some topics and

issues were (quite) similar for every country, there were others that showed more regional relevance. Despite individual differences of opinion, the general agreement was that there was an urgent need for trade unions to come up with solutions for the challenges of a changing world for Europe and for individual European countries or regions.

In view of the large number of presentations, contributions and discussions during the seminars, listing every topic discussed and specific statements would go beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet there was a number of topics that occurred time and again in the discussions and were categorised for every country and by many participants as extremely relevant. They were summarised in the topic groups below – which of course cannot repeat every individual contribution. The aim is to present the key trains of thought of the seminars.

The main topics discussed in the five seminars are presented below.

4.1 **Major difficulties for young people in a changing world of work** (Diversity)

"Young people are dreaming of having a job not a job of their dreams..."
(Joaquín Pérez da Silva, USO Secretary-General in Madrid)

Precariousness and unemployment are the biggest problems of young people in many European countries. Unemployment rates are still unacceptably high despite all the progress. 3.5 million young people in the EU are out of work, especially in ***Greece, Spain*** and ***Italy***. The absurdity of the labour market situation is reflected in job advertisements. Extremely high demands on the one hand and offers of non-remunerated work or work for 200 euros a month for beginners on

the other hand are unethical, yet ***Spanish*** reality. Besides derisory wages, sexual harassment is a regular occurrence; employers exploit the situation ruthlessly. Trade unions are therefore indispensable for safeguarding the social rights of workers and the young. Because of the precarious jobs, it is harder and harder for young people to become organised in trade unions. Companies lack contact persons; works councils are often overburdened. Recognition is lacking, and youth groups or activities no longer seem well received. Young people and trainees should elect their own representatives, but in ***Germany*** they are often lacking. How important it is to set up structures for young workers is also shown by the fact that the ***Austrian*** government wanted to abolish youth consultative councils. A petition was finally able to prevent this. The problems are also structural, crowd-workers find it hard to get involved; part-time work that is a reality for many is often rejected by trade unions.

4.2 **Deficiencies in education and R&D result in brain drain and EU internal migration** (Diversity, Dynamisation)

Since 2008, the situation for scientists has become dramatically worse in ***Spain***: there are now 90,000 fewer employees in research; of them, specifically 37,000 young scientists are affected. 60% fewer patents have been applied for in the last ten years in Spain. In Spain it is practically impossible to obtain research funds: there is a big split between loans and grants. Both are unbelievably hard to obtain because of the bureaucratic requirements. Bureaucratic hurdles can also take up to two years before researchers are taken on, and hardly any administrators are recruited. Spain was already relatively poor in its research score prior to the crisis (it is currently 1.2% of GDP, the EU

target would be 3%.). Although Spain has latterly been 11th in scientific publications, it is only 38th in terms of scientific impact. That means a huge uncertainty for researchers, which is why many Spanish researchers emigrate. The level of researchers in Spain is similar to that of the 1980s. On the other hand, in Spain the number of school dropouts is particularly high, especially in Andalusia and on the Canary Islands, in part because of cultural tradition, in part because of unskilled work in tourism. Traditionally, Spain has a high level of youth unemployment. Whereas the average educational level of the EU population can be visualised as a "pot belly" (few with little education, many with medium education, few with university degrees), Spain has the lowest level of medium-level qualifications. That is why there is a great disparity and a huge gap between the social strata. The number of freelancers (crowd-workers, bogus self-employed…) is increasing.

In ***Bulgaria***, although there is gender equality at work and in childcare, everything depends on equally low wages for women and men. There may be a minimum wage on paper, but roughly a third of workers earn more in cash on the side (tax evasion). Jobs in the public sector are approximately on the minimum wage level. Twenty euros a month is the bonus for knowledge of four languages. International companies pay considerably more. In the private sector, four to five times the minimum wage can be earned with foreign language skills. There is a high level of economic growth and a low level of debt (23%). There are many opportunities, but an economic policy similar to that in rich EU countries is described as detrimental. Ethnic minorities in the border regions (Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania) are emigrating to Bulgaria, including for university education. The universities, though, are state-run; they are paid per student. Quality plays a minor part, which is why many leave the country to study. Altogether there has been a reduction in population of two million (from nine

million) in recent years. The media situation is a particular problem: disinformation is the rule, fake news is disseminated everywhere, especially in social media. Every political party in Bulgaria has links with the previous Communist regime. Older people are nostalgic; the young generation has European values. However, electoral turnout among young people is very low.

4.3 Employment problems for older and younger people (Diversity)

Although a study in New Zealand for SMEs establishes that older employees are perceived by 83% of the employers as more reliable, by 81% as more loyal, by 66% as more committed, and by 62% as more stable than younger employees, the study also reports that the elderly are more often perceived as not receptive to changes (by 60% of the employers); difficulties are expected in getting used to new technologies (by 55%), but only 40% believe in rigidity and 22% in less creativity than among young employees. In addition, older employees are regarded as having more leadership qualities, a stronger work ethic and loyalty, whereas younger employees tend to be perceived as enthusiastic with better IT skills. Only about 1% think that young employees have leadership potential or a strong work ethic (McGregor and Gray 2002).

Despite the thoroughly positive results in the perception of older workers in New Zealand, the situation in Europe is often different. In ***Romania***, the discrimination of older people in the labour market is common: 74% of Romanian employers think that people over the age of 50 years are treated unequally in working life. The National Employment Agency in Romania reported in 2015 that more than

50% of the unemployed were older than 50 years. Yet younger people are often not recruited either because experience is specified as a requirement (even when not necessary).

In the individual EU countries, the governments set different employment incentives for older and younger employees, e.g.:

- Barclays Bolder Apprenticeship (UK)
- Life course work centres (UK)
- ACTIVE 55+ (Andalusia, Spain)
- Pension bonuses for long-term unemployed (Poland)
- Progetto Ponti (Intergenerational Solidarity Pacts) (Italy) (Matt Flynn, Warsaw 2018)

Another thing to note is the different levels of health and the physical fitness of older employees. Whilst a third of older people would like to work, a third of people receiving a disability pension work. The stress level is highest in the middle of the professional career; the insecurity of employment is highest at the beginning and end of working life. The insecurity of employment can be as damaging for health as job loss. Important factors are the control of work, autonomy and the workload. This increases the chances of health for older employees.

4.4 **The health impact of social change** (Dynamisation)

The European Agency for Safety and Health at Work (OSHA) reports on health problems in the context of digitisation and dynamisation. The diffusion of new technologies is becoming faster and faster. To cope with the increasing pressure to perform, more and more workers, students and even schoolchildren are resorting to performance-

enhancing drugs (e.g. Ritalin or other nootropics). On the whole, the OSHA is observing a new boost in competitive behaviour (Garben (2017). Stress factors are also electromagnetic fields, as well as tracking devices at work controlled using Big Data. Stress is also created by the increased use of rating mechanisms for workers with customer contact. A positive change to report is, for instance, exoskeletons for heavy work (Annick Starren, OSHA).

4.5 Alternative dispute resolutions: opportunity or trap? (Democratisation)

In ***Hungary***, 28% of workers are not aware of trade unions. 20% do not know if there are trade unions at their place of work. Only 13% are unionised. 21% have collective agreements. Legal proceedings relating to labour law are decreasing rapidly: in 2005 there were 33.000; in 2014 just 14,000. Collective agreements are also on the decline. Every year there are only about 20 cases of ADRs relating to collective agreements. Workers have to pay for labour court proceedings themselves, especially if a court case is lost, which is deterring. That is why there were only 14,000 court cases and few arbitration proceedings. There is little research into ADRs: in the last 20 years only four doctoral theses were written on this subject. ADRs are not compulsory and are not connected with collective bargaining. The reason for this is that mediation is not well known or is misconceived. Altogether there is also emigration of mobile, well educated workers from Hungary. They are voting with their feet and off to Western Europe.

In ***Poland*** the primary emphasis is on court proceedings, although the courts increasingly refer the parties of a dispute to ADRs. In 2006 there were only 33 mediations, in 2017 already 1,751 (on the basis of

a court order). A particular problem is international disputes requiring cross-border mediation.

In ***Croatia*** a labour law has been in effect since 1996 prescribing the termination of labour proceedings within five days of the dispute being filed. A mediator is either elected or assigned, but in Croatia only 54% of all cases are successful (in Hungary the figure is 95%). In Croatia, sometimes wages are not paid for several years, meaning there are fewer chances of success. Yet there are hardly any strikes in Croatia.

Austria is a special case in the EU, as the Chamber of Labour, Chamber of Commerce and the trade unions as social partners can guarantee legal protection in court and thus the employees incur no costs. The Labour and Social Court is entrusted with contracts of employment under existing law. If the employment contract is terminated, lawsuits are almost always successful (wage back pay etc.).

Altogether the conclusion is ambivalent. On the one hand, the participants were pessimistic about ADRs: institutions with ADRs do not champion the trade union side to solve problems. The power situation is unbalanced, specifically since 2008. The numbers of members are falling, as is the number of strikes and collective bargaining. However, the number of ADRs and CSR awards increases every year. The latter contain hardly any details of employment contracts. The corporate responsibility of companies (code of ethics, CSR etc.) does not work, especially in the case of multinational companies. Just as the trade unions have become used to income differences and accepted them, CSR is also accepted. In this context, mediation and ADR are understood as neoliberal mechanisms when they are not held before flat hierarchies etc. Income, wages and conditions should play a greater part in collective bargaining (Fordism). On the other hand, it is seen

that ADRs can routinely help in concrete situations, but only to back up trade union demands. The suggestion is to consider internationalising these questions.

Co-operation with trade unions should be a component of CSR awards. Here the general public could also be informed, e.g. about distinguishing of the best colleagues; critical observations should also be made public. An award for good social dialogue should be given as part of collective agreements. In such a context it would make sense for the parties to consent to applying ADRs in the event of disagreements. The rise in ADRs would then be seen as positive.

4.6 Strengthening the relevance of trade unions (Democratisation)

Despite a decrease in members in the European trade unions accompanied by a weakening of the unions, especially as part of neoliberal austerity policies, ***Germany*** is actually the only country in which the coverage by collective agreements is decreasing (see Figure 25).

Figure 25: Trade union density

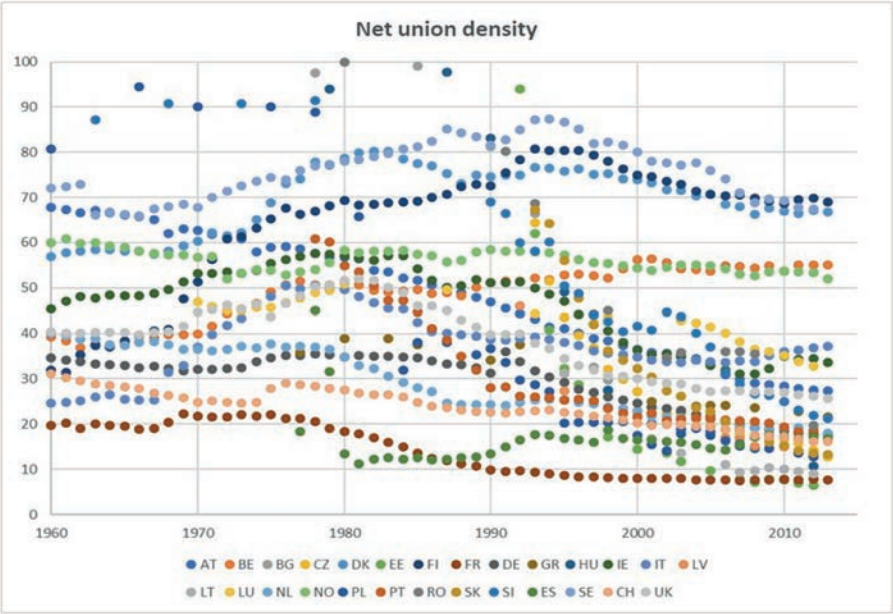
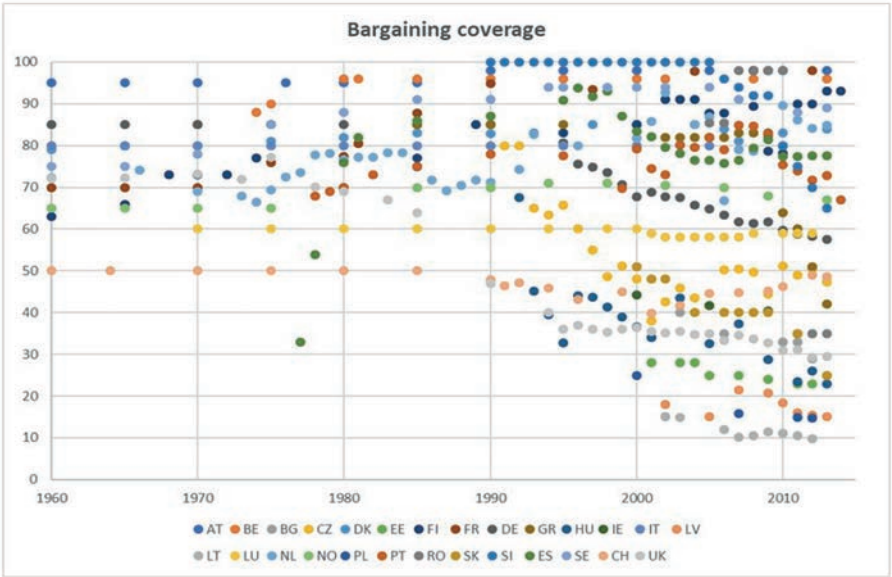


Figure 26: Coverage by collective bargaining



Source: Beer 2019, ICTWSS

Trade unions still have an important role to play in Europe. Decentrally organised and co-ordinated collective bargaining works best, according to the OECD. Examples of this are the ***Scandinavian countries***, the ***Netherlands*** and ***Austria***. They are also the best functioning countries when it comes to employment. Yet the number of members is critical: if only a minority is represented, at some time the question of legitimacy arises. In the long term, this can ultimately jeopardise the entire system.

One example is the Polder model in the ***Netherlands*** (Beer 2019). The social partnership is based on the solidarity that has been practised in the polder system for centuries. In the Netherlands, trade union density has dropped by approximately half since the 1970s. However, the traditionally poorly represented groups (women, migrants etc.) are growing in numbers. There have been no real wage increases since 1985 compared to the constant rises in productivity (CBS Statline). The wage share in GDP fell by 10% from 1970 to 2016. Standard employment contracts are decreasing (70% in the 1970s, now 35%). The Netherlands has the highest rate of part-time work in Europe; part-timers are very well organised in trade unions. Yet there has been a power shift from trade unions to employers or capital holders. Employers use collective bargaining mainly in their own interest. When employers enter into a collective agreement with a very small trade union, the agreement is valid for many workers owing to the system. That is why the trade unions are losing interest in collective bargaining as a strategy. The trade unions could withdraw from collective bargaining, but the government could step in as a third partner to conclude the bargaining. In this way the government could suspend the social partnership. The economic and social balance is jeopardised.

4.7 **Organisational forms** (Democratisation, Diversity)

This section looks at how trade unions have to organise themselves in future. What strategic decisions do they have to take in times of the digital transformation?

The "Las Kellys" movement of cleaning ladies in hotels began at the Melia Hotel Mallorca (where the EZA seminar was held). It is a very important and successful trade union movement in ***Spain***. The big difference from traditional trade union movements is that it is run by women. Usually trade unions in Spain are organised and led by men, including in sectors dominated by women. The "Kellys" (based on the Spanish words for "the girls who clean" (las que limpian)) were expecting no support from the established trade unions. They wanted primarily not only a collective agreement but also customers' and public authorities' attention to their working conditions. The cleaners won; there is a draft act before parliament for their demands. The most important trade union movements are collective movements. The three largest Spanish protest movements were organised not by the traditional trade unions but in a trade union manner. That is why it is not the labour movement or trade unions that are obsolete, but only the traditional trade unions.

The ***Polish*** Solidarność and the ***Bulgarian*** Podkrepa have developed into service-oriented organisations (Podkrepa 2019). On the one hand, this has advantages, such as the workers' organisations now taking on bridging functions in lifelong learning. On the other hand, there is the risk of employee committees replacing the trade unions.

4.8 **New technologies** (Digitisation)

There was a call from one of the seminars for trade unions to overcome the attitude that new technologies predominantly mean job losses. Although the WEF states that more than five million jobs will be lost worldwide, McKinsey reports 50% of jobs as liable to becoming automated and the OECD indicates that 9% of jobs in the OECD countries have an automation risk. What really happens is uncertain, and so the question to be asked is rather how many jobs can be created. What type of education and training will be needed? What is happening with the marginalised? State education and training policies also play a part in this. They have to be demanded by trade unions.

The technological revolution enables work at any time and anywhere. It is important to define how remote work can be organised and how the access to trade union, further training and security can be guaranteed. How can working hours be regulated? What about privacy, the sovereignty of personal data? Can workers be sacked because of remarks made via Twitter? Laws must regulate, but the problems must be settled in detail, in every sector. Protection can only be given via trade unions.

5 Description of the challenges

The challenges for workers' organisations relating to the 4 "Ds" are diverse:

Because of rising age dependency ratios, many European governments are speaking of increasing pressure on public spending, especially on healthcare and pensions, as well as in other social areas, such as education. The employment rates of older workers are very low in a number of EU member states. At the same time, there is an ongoing increasingly rapid technological change; employment contracts are changing, especially with digitisation. There is a dual crisis in old-age pensions and in the care sector: there is an evident crisis about available time and the distribution of financial resources. There are large imbalances in geriatric care; increasing demand faces considerable supply gaps. Professional care workers are frequently underpaid, international care work markets mean migration movements, international inequality in care owing to care drain in the countries of origin, such as the Philippines, and differentiated impact on children and old people, men, women and families. At the same time, there is hardly any public debate on intergenerational solidarity at present.

Specifically the involvement of young people in workers' organisations is low in many countries; the organisations are ageing. Trade unions have an unattractive image in part in the eyes of young workers, although these workers represent a particularly vulnerable group in many European labour markets.

Altogether the weakening of trade union capacities is one of the biggest challenges of our age. The erosion of the right to strike as an international law is a problem that also affects trade unions in the

OECD and in European countries (like Belgium, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Spain). Somewhat less alarming but equally serious is the erosion of collective bargaining. On the one hand relating to the number of people represented and on the other hand a decentralisation of collective bargaining, which means a weakening of bargaining power.

How trade unions ought to redesign their organisation in light of these problems is a complex issue that relates to both internal organisational circumstances, content and aims, questions of exclusion and inclusion, the involvement of new technologies, as well as the work organisation.

As regards alternative dispute resolutions, it has to be clarified whether a more frequent application of ADRs can be a strategy that strengthens trade unions institutionally or if ADRs tend to act as a competition institution.

The health hazards of the changing challenges for workers are a further problem that must not be neglected: so far there has been little consideration of the blurring of work and leisure, digital monitoring, risks through exposure to radiation or performance-enhancing drugs.

6 Recommendations for action for workers' organisations

The resultant fields of action and recommendations for action are outlined below.

6.1 Ageing population

Professional care is a rapidly growing sector with mainly female, migrant, student, unofficial or informal and/or part-time workers. The working conditions are tough; the wages and social protection low. However, traditionally most of these workers are not yet the core target group of trade unions.

In the framework of longer working lives and the increasingly rapid use of new technologies, the working conditions for a growing number of older workers must be reviewed and adapted.

Trade unions should not seek too hastily to put the interests of intergenerational austerity policy into action. It must not be a trade union interest for the retirement/pension age to be raised, not for women either. If the workers' shares in wealth were not sponged by capital owners, there would be no pension shortage. This is not a conflict between men and women or old and young. Trade unions must be clear about this and argument and act with this in mind. In spite of rising dependency ratios, they must not agree to governments attempting to dispense with their promises for the older generation. The promised living standard for pensioned workers (pensions, resources for good, affordable care) must be defended. Longer working lives cannot be in the interest of trade unions. For intergenera-

tional justice, trade unions should demand other savings or revenue concepts in the context of demographic change (especially in the framework of tax policy).

Strategies for cross-generational solidarity must be developed and promoted. Of the options stated, both the synergy and the life-cycle approach in particular are recommended: the emphasis should be on relative strengths and complementarities; opportunity for reciprocal learning and support should be sought and developed. Targeted structures for different age groups should also be developed.

On a European level, mention must be made of the *Framework Agreement on Active Ageing and an Intergenerational Approach*, which lists various measures in the field of active ageing and inter-generational justice: the adjustment of work processes and workplaces, the reallocation of duties; effective prevention strategies and risk assessments; voluntary health measures; knowledge creation processes in management; health and safety measures, training measures for all age groups; raising awareness (Juliane Bir, EGB, Warsaw 2018).

Slovakia will be particularly affected by population ageing, as described in chapter 3.1.1. That is why the National Programme for Active Ageing for 2014-2020 provides for the Committee for Senior Citizens being transformed into an advisory body for the government, principles for active ageing being laid down in the private and public sector, and companies being motivated to embody age management. Specific examples are additional healthcare, e.g. at Slovalco Inc. and a branch of Pfizer; work organisation which allows flexible working hours and telework, e.g. at Východoslovenská energetika Ltd.; lifelong learning and career paths for older workers and knowledge transfer (as implemented by Embraco Slovakia Ltd.). U.S. Steel Košice, s.r.o. is a good example of interacting with retired workers/pensioners who

remain in contact with the company through social events, a pensioners' club, a fitness studio for the elderly, food vouchers and annual volunteer days (NKOS Slovakia, Warsaw 2018).

Social dialogue can be useful for letting older workers speak about the work environment, reaching an agreement on demands and expectations, promoting an exchange of good practice in-house and between the organisations, as well as launching joint projects on research and innovations. Barriers are a certain superstition relating to age in terms of abilities or skills, limited career opportunities for older workers, no possibilities for adaptation with regard to staffing policy, the idea of a conspiracy (perceived and unconscious) against active ageing.

Generation gaps versus solidarity: the myth of the theory about a fixed number of jobs must be overcome. Older people must have career opportunities, and younger people must have a say at work. In the interrelations between older and younger people, there must be an upward transfer (e.g. pensions and geriatric care) as well as a downward transfer (e.g. financial support and looking after grandchildren). Knowledge transfer and transfer of skills can be organised through mentoring and/or cross-generational teams.

6.2 Integrating young people into workers' organisations

The number of trade union members among younger workers must be boosted in most countries (see next section).

One possibility would be the 4-P strategy of Bailey et al. (2010), who propose marketing trade unions as a more attractive **product**:

- **Product:** instead of "male, pale and stale", a diversity of people should be visible on every level: different age groups and genders, people of different origin with different appearance.

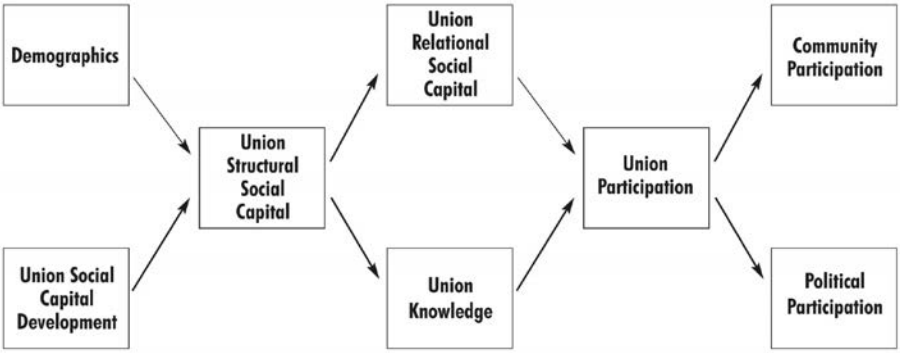
- **Place:** young people find well-designed, modern websites the most important place to make contact, whereas older people prefer personal contacts.

- **Price:** membership could be made less expensive for young people, e.g. with a free trial phase of individual services.

- **Promotion:** the promotion should emphasise new technologies, recruitment through peers (women or people of colour) is expected by many.

Memberships of trade unions could be advertised with arguments from sociology: the membership of a trade union should be valued as social capital as well as structural capital in that trade unions should be understood, marketed and experienced as a network with accessible contacts and a high level of integration. The relational capital should be seen in terms of a community with mutual trust, good standards and expectations. The cognitive capital is the part that can be identified as the development and understanding of a shared philosophy and common language. The strengthening of all three capitals visible to the outside and tangible inside the organisation could be an important strategy for strengthening and increasing the attractiveness not just for young people (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Trade union as social capital



Source: Brown Jonson and Jarley 2005

The European Federation of Building and Woodworkers (EFBWW) proposes the following concrete steps:

1. The earliest possible involvement of young people
2. Apprentice memberships or free memberships
3. Discount cards for young members
4. Development of specific services for young people that other organisations do not have yet
5. Advertising at places frequented by young people, including for the unemployed
6. Organisation of social events for networking
7. Peer-to-peer communication in personal contacts

8. Marketing campaigns

9. A support structure for young members with regard to, for instance, full-time youth representatives

10. Empowerment in organisations enabling greater involvement of young people in decision-making processes

11. Training courses and mentors for young members

12. Training for current leadership in communication with young people

13. Investment of time and resources in analysing the needs of young people

14. Active and passive suffrage for young members

15. Shop stewards for young members

16. Quotas for young members in every position

17. Space for needs and say

18. Incorporation of young people's issues in collective bargaining with employers

19. Investments in strategies for young people's problems (EFBWW 2016)

➜ **Voice and Vote are the key components of integrating young people.**

The *Instituto de la Juventud* ***Spain*** (INUVE) work programme focuses particularly on gender equality, measures to promote youth employment, the end of corruption and return measures for students who were abroad. Problems are primarily the traineeships and complex hurdles to entering the labour market in general. The trade unions must be able to reach globalised youth and be perceived as helpful. Feelings of belonging and citizenship can and must be strengthened or created in this way. Young trade unionists must be prepared and young people must be involved in the design of today's trade unions. Their predecessors must also be considered, though, as well as what was set up for younger generations. Union means being stronger together. EZA's work is regarded in Spain as extremely important for European youth. One vision is a Europe of mobile young workers: the hurdles are education and languages, otherwise countries with high youth unemployment (e.g. Spain) could easily exchange young people with countries with high labour demand (e.g. Germany).

USO demands of the EU proper, high-quality jobs for young people, including for the future, an end to austerity policies and a focus on European values, peace policy, social progress and environmental protection, an end to exclusion and social cutbacks. Europe must become a true progress project (see also: European Youth Strategy[6])!

Germany's IG Metall (metalworkers' union) reaches out to every young worker right from entry in the company. There are football matches and free burgers, which works quite well. Services could be coaching, cv screening, education and training checks, a large social media department.

6 https://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/youth-strategy_en

The following approaches to age diversity were developed in group discussions in Mallorca in 2019:

- Reach out to young people where they are
- Be innovative
- Be independent of politics
- Trade unions must support their young members in their daily work
- Trade unions must change dramatically to live up to the challenges of the future (from the emergency ward to the fitness centre)
- Trade unions must circulate more good news than bad news
- Trade unions must review the definition of dependent workers and employees
- Address members' needs better
- Young people do not want to be associated with trade unions. Trade unions should involve workers from the platform economy. Young people should promote trade unions for young people. Trade unions must already explain in schools or kindergartens what they are and do, and share their values
- European coordination: joint lobby, e.g. for international companies

- Change regulations to enable indebted trade unions to carry on being politically independent
- An app for young people as a communication channel
- Maintain pensioners' memberships, e.g. benefits in future pension
- Clear values, visions, very good leadership
- Trade unions must adapt to changes and lifelong learning
- Social dialogue: adapt skills for negotiating with owners, e.g. the banks, differences in owners' corporate culture
- Good media work, relevant information at the right time
- Improve image in the street, social media, traditional media
- Digital strategy through consultants
- Strengthened international co-operation
- Continue traditional services
- Special services
- International solidarity
- Instagram personalities as media ambassadors for young workers

6.3 Globalisation

What are the trade unions' visions in a globalised world? Many see the necessity of global positioning, as global challenges are increasing. There is a substantial gap between the places of decision-making (global) and the places of reaction (local), but the latter should also become global. Globalisation of the labour movement is therefore essential, as is creating world organisations. This must include the interpretation of the past as well as the use of future technologies. Migrants must be integrated, cohesion in the EU strengthened. Brexit is not a solution.

The following realities and ideas conflict with one another:

- Dislocation – global citizenship
- Burnout – flexibility and personal growth
- Education for the economy's demand – education as a value in itself
- Cheap flights and climate change – sustainable and fair future, global solidarity

Trade unions must develop strategies away from their traditional role. Governments try to circumvent trade unions. Trade unions must be aware of that, do their own research and reorient their activities.

6.4 Digitisation

Social networks and media are indispensable in the modern age, but the information available must not be incorrect. Fake news undermines every democratic process. Trade unions could offer training or information material to strengthen and train independent thinking.

Nor should governments put their workforce's health at risk for technological change. In co-operation with organisations like OSHA, for instance, trade unions could try to minimise risks through electromagnetic fields, tracking systems or stress through rating mechanisms.

In the collaborative economy it is evident that algorithms can be used by everyone. This means that not only companies can operate in a decentralised manner on platforms, but this can also be used in trade union work.

Youth organisations have already started having their own apps developed that can be very useful for their trade union members for specific problems.

6.5 ADRs

As part of questioning alternative dispute resolution mechanisms (ADRs) as a strategy to be increasingly used by trade unions, a service approach could make membership more attractive through visible and successful strategies relating to ADRs. Processes and institutions for solving conflicts can be co-designed, instruments used increasingly, new techniques (e.g. via telephone, one-stop shop consultations etc.) devised, and capacity strengthening offered for ADR institutions and at the workplace. In doing this, clear framework conditions and

rules as well as legal and documentation processes would have to be drawn up. On an institutional level, though, it is particularly important to close gaps in the international system of working conditions. There should be separate procedures for disputes in the context of existing rights and for interests as yet unclarified. There would have to be special attention to clear rules and two-tier strategies (in particular ADRs instead of collectively bargained solutions). Successful ADR procedures must put emphasis on prevention, be trustworthy, equipped with adequate resources, impartial, innovative, professional, simple and clear, voluntary and accessible and include a number of intervention options.

To establish ADRs alongside traditional trade union courses of action, it is necessary to reflect the power imbalance between workers' organisations and international corporations, to name them and level them successfully. In such a context, it would make sense for the parties to agree to apply ADRs in the event of disagreements. Then the rise of ADRs would be valued positively. Otherwise traditional means of action, such as strikes and collective bargaining, might become increasingly ineffective and be replaced by ADRs not supported by trade unions.

Co-operation with trade unions should be a component of CSR awards. The general public could also be informed about distinguishing of the best work colleagues, for instance; critical observations should also be made public. An award for good social dialogue should be given as part of collective agreements.

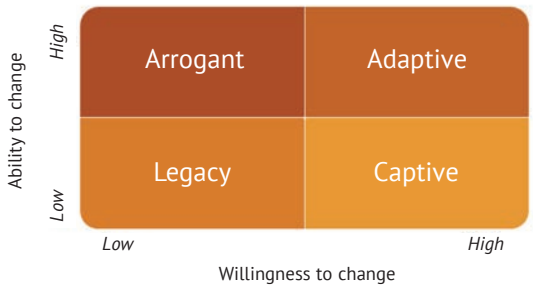
6.6 Union density, capacity building, organisational forms

There is substantial agreement that the collective representation of workers will still be very important in the 21st century. To enable trade unions to play their part as the representation of all workers, it is necessary for a brake to be put on loss in power due to falling numbers of members.

Two options explicitly stated in the seminars aim to revitalise trade unions based on elections instead of memberships (e.g. in ***France***: low numbers of members, but high electoral turnout among representatives). Every worker can directly elect stakeholders. As this could reduce the incentives for memberships, which would be accompanied by budget problems, instead obligatory contributions could be raised from those represented in collective bargaining (trade union tax).

On the organisational development level, for many trade unions rethinking the organisational culture is an important topic (see Figure 28):

Figure 28: How organisations cope with changes



Source: Zahra 2019

The aim of restructuring must be not only the willingness to change but also the ability to change. The diversity (in history, challenges, resilience) in Europe is a strength that trade unions should use in these processes.

Furthermore, workers' organisations should gather information relevant to people. Not only surveys could be held, but there should be feedback to service centres so it becomes clear which topics are at the top of the agenda (***Swedish*** strategy). There should be unambiguous reactions to survey results and popular topics.

In capacity building, it is also possible, for instance, to learn from the identity forging of other groups in the labour market. For example, platform workers (e.g. at *Amazon/Mechanical Turk*) working in isolation in their private homes are organised via the same platforms created for their purposes (e.g. *Turkopticon*). Through this networking they create identity as an organisation and occupational group despite global delocalisation and dispersion, allowing them to organise joint campaigns.

As the right to strike is under pressure internationally – including in the EU and OECD states – it should be clarified in detail what impact it has on strikes as a strategy per se if they become increasingly rare. Does this make strikes more influential? Or does it make them only riskier? Further analyses on this could be carried out internationally.

The reduced scope of collective bargaining and the tendency to decentralise collective bargaining are also important points which must remain a priority on the agenda of organisations.

6.7 Summary: recommendations for workers' organisations

Based on the different fields of action, the recommendations for action for workers' organisations are summarised below:

Table 3: Overview of recommendations for action

Topic	Recommendations for action
Ageing population	
Growing sector of professional care	• Intersectional involvement of female, migrant, student, unofficial or informal and/or part-time care workers in trade unions
Longer working lives, new technologies	• Adapt working conditions for older workers, strengthen basic and advanced training
Rising dependency ratios	• Defend promised living standards and demand fair tax and budget policies
Gap between old and young people	• Develop strategies for cross-generational solidarity
Integrating young people in workers' organisations	
Membership does not appear attractive	• Present trade unions as social capital and important network • Strengthen diversity (as topic and interpersonally) • Use social media to address wider clientele

	• Strengthen co-determination of young members • Highlight advantages of membership • Inexpensive memberships • Specific programmes for problems of young workers: jobs, education and training, European mobility…
Globalisation	
National orientation vs. international corporations	• Global education and training • Stronger international orientation of trade unions • International studies • European Works Council
National orientation vs. international topics	• Including topics like sustainability, migration, climate change • Independent international research
Digitisation	
Fake news	• Extend training courses and trade union education (recognising fake news); information and educational material
Health risks	• Cooperation arrangements, e.g. with OSHA, raising awareness, demand protective measures
New technologies	• Use of algorithms (platform organisation) in trade union work

	• Increased development of trade union apps (data protection)
ADRs	
Increased use of ADRs	• Possible increase of memberships through stronger service orientation • Close gaps in the international system of working conditions • Heed clear rules and avoid displacement effects
Possibility of displacement effects	• Reflect on imbalances of power in the context of ADRs; ADRs must not replace collective bargaining
Trade union density and capacity building	
Falling member numbers	• Use best practice models
Rigid structures	• Change in the organisational culture (e.g. integration of other population groups)
Divergence of trade unions and workers	• Better linkage to the needs of workers • Recognisable reactions to needs and survey results • Learn about identity forging of other groups (crowd-workers or NGOs)
Return to strikes, right to strike under pressure	• International organisation of workers, research, publications, assertiveness through membership (advertising)
Reduced scope of collective bargaining	• Priority to sectoral collective agreements

7 Lists

7.1 List of figures

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7.3 Bibliography

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7.4 List of abbreviations

ADR:	Alternative dispute resolution
CSR:	Corporate social responsibility
EC:	European Commission
EFBWW:	European Federation of Building and Woodworkers
EPC:	Economic Policy Committee
ETUC:	European Trade Union Confederation
EU:	European Union
EUROSTAT:	European Statistics
ICT:	Information and communication technology
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
INUVE:	Instituto de la Juventud
IT:	Information Technology
MNE:	ILO Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy
NEET:	Not in Education, Employment or Training
NGO:	Non-governmental organisation
OSHA:	European Agency for Safety and Health at Work
OECD:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PoC:	Persons of colour
SME:	Small and medium-sized enterprises
WEF:	World Economic Forum