

Chapter 6

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

Kurt Vandaele and Agnieszka Piasna

1. Introduction¹

One of the consequences of the global Covid-19 pandemic (henceforth: pandemic) has been a trichotomising of the workforce in Europe. One group of workers was furloughed from work via job retention schemes to mitigate the employment impact of the economic crisis (Müller et al. 2022). Another group continued their onsite jobs, especially exposing those workers to the pandemic – the epitome ‘essential’ has been attributed to them by the media. Where technically feasible, a third group was provided with remote work options protecting them during this unprecedented public health crisis (see Zwysen, this volume). Trade unions across Europe have widely supported those options (Brandl 2021). As far as workers are concerned, it looks like hybrid work arrangements – combining remote work and office work – are here to stay in the post-pandemic era (Eurofound 2022b). Unions might therefore want to enhance their efforts in organising remote workers, albeit that the future dynamics of remote work and its magnitude are largely unknown.

While the autonomous Framework Agreement on Telework of 2002, signed by the European social partners, aimed to regulate remote work (Larsen and Andersen 2007), trade unions were usually not entirely enthusiastic about it prior to the pandemic (Eurofound 2010). Remote work basically hampers the day-to-day union work of advocacy and representation, especially if collective agreements or other regulations on teleworking do not foresee compensatory provisions. Looking at member recruitment, then one of the reasons for unions’ reluctance is rooted in their prevailing focus on workplace-oriented organising strategies. Physical co-presence is crucial for installing and maintaining a social norm of union membership in workplaces, with large ones often entailing institutionalised workplace representation (Visser 2002). A scattered, remote workforce is largely detrimental to this: remote workers are evidently less exposed to unions in workplaces.

What kind of strategies could unions then develop for organising them? In tackling this research question, this *explorative* chapter is inspired by and draws 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.

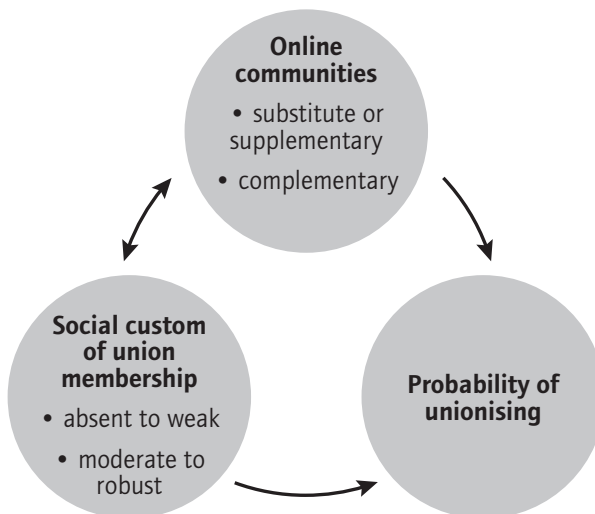
1. We are very grateful for the comments and remarks of Valerio De Stefano, Mark Friis Hau, Raoul Gebert and Silvia Rainone.

Burgeoning studies are highlighting that potential union members and activists can already be active in autonomous, grassroots online communities and networks outside (traditional) unions (Kougiannou and Mendonça 2021; Hau and Savage 2022; Maffie 2020; Pasquier et al. 2020; Walker 2021; Wood and Lehdonvirta 2021). Shared consciousness and collective identities, mutual aid or collective action all have the potential to be inchoate in such communities. Likewise, similar communities of remote workers might have already been active before the pandemic or might have emerged since then. It is not unreasonable to assume that expressing voice online may somehow compensate for the loss of workers' in-person interactions in the workplace.

Contributing to the literature on union revitalisation, this chapter's focus lies therefore on possible online work-based communities of remote workers in Europe during the unprecedented upsurge in remote work during the pandemic. Work-based online communities are conceived here as workers using online communications channels, such as social networking sites, to interact with each other regarding their employment terms and conditions. The objective of this chapter is to examine the possible supporting role that such communities might play in union organising strategies towards remote workers.

The main research question therefore concerns the extent to which workers who are (pre-)organised in online communities are more willing to unionise than workers who shy away from online discussion. Based on a quantitative approach, via an analysis of survey results from 14 European countries, the main argument is developed that work-based online communities of remote workers could be an entry point for unions seeking to recruit and organise them. The argument is developed in two steps.

Figure 1 The role of work-based online communities (in the remote work context)



Source: authors' elaboration.

First, focusing on the context, the chapter analyses how remote work has been developing across different workplace settings in terms of union presence before and during the pandemic. Second, it examines the extent to which the spread and the activity of online communities are associated with patterns of remote work and union presence. To understand the dynamics of such communities better, it also analyses what type of remote workers is more likely to engage online and what issues, such as changes in employment terms and conditions, might drive such engagement. In particular, it explores to what degree online communities might replace trade unions and to what extent online interactions and offline voice mechanisms supplement each other in the workplace.

Online communities may show either a supplementary or a complementary face, depending on the degree of union presence in the workplace – see Figure 1. Online communities might act as a substitute to unions or be *complementary* to them in cases where union presence is absent or weak. If the social custom of union membership is considered relatively robust, then communities might play a *supplementary* role to unions; that is, adding a ‘virtual workplace’ besides the physical one. In grasping the importance of the physical workplace, it is necessary to explain why this locus is crucial for the social custom of union membership and how remote work might undermine such a custom via spatial-temporal fissuring.

2. The workplace as the key locus for unionisation

Theoretical insights from the unionisation literature pinpoint why remote work is challenging for trade unions in their efforts to recruit and organise members. Unions traditionally face two hurdles in unionising workers and developing associational and organisational power (Disney 1990). The first hurdle relates to establishing a union presence in the workplace, which is a prerequisite for sustainable recruitment drives. Union recognition agreements with management or statutory union access via worker interest representation, such as union representatives or works councils, are of importance here (Hancké 1993; Moore et al. 2007), while collective bargaining at the industry level or higher tends to neutralise employer opposition (Cecchi and Visser 2005). It can be assumed that unions will prefer to overcome the first hurdle when it is set as low as possible: hence, member recruitment drives on ‘brownfield’ sites (i.e. companies or industries with a solid existing union presence) are less risky than on ‘greenfield’ ones (i.e. where union membership is absent or very low) (Heery and Adler 2004). Once unions are available via workplace representation, they need to tackle the second hurdle: union representatives and union members need to encourage and convince workers and colleagues to unionise. If the second hurdle is successfully overcome, this enables unions to strengthen their workplace embeddedness.

Various theories on unionisation underline that the decision to become or remain a union member is strongly embedded in the workplace context. Approaches rooted in social psychology put forward how union instrumentality is perceived first and foremost in the workplace (Clark 2009). Likewise, according to social mobilisation theory, grievances and feelings of social injustice are rooted in the employment relationship, which becomes

tangible at workplace level (Kelly 1998). Furthermore, applying the ‘experience good’ theory to union membership implies that the personal recommendations of others – most notably from workplace colleagues – are important in stimulating unionisation, in particular once one gains a working knowledge of the labour market (Gomez and Gunderson 2004; Vandaele 2018).² Finally, from a rational choice perspective, one way to reduce free-riding – that is, non-union members enjoying the public goods produced by unions – is peer pressure at work (Olson 1965). These insights have been further formally developed via the social custom theory of union membership suggesting a norm of union membership (henceforth: ‘union norm’).

Compliance with the union norm stems from reputation effects. Once established and upheld at a certain minimum level by trade union members, then non-compliance with it could result in reputational losses for non-union members, like the shaming of free-riders (Akerlof 1980; Visser 2002). In particular, ‘a substantial share of the variance in joining a union is located at the workplace whereby a union norm has been found self-sustainable in the Danish context if workplace union density ranges between 45 to 65 per cent...’ (Ibsen Lyhne et al. 2017: 510-511). Institutional support for union representation in the workplace is crucial: the higher the workplace union density, and thus the stronger the union norm, then the more likely workers are to join a union as its reputational benefits increase. As such, workplace representation enables not only the provision of support to existing members (Waddington 2014) but, as a proxy for the union norm, it is also a powerful predictor of the probability of new workers unionising (Checchi and Visser 2005; Toubøl and Strøby Jensen 2014).³ Although the norm is strongly contingent on place-specific relationships, like face-to-face organising and workplace representation at company level, other spatial levels can also be of importance. Institutional arrangements supporting union security at the industrial level could also interact with the union norm at the workplace and underpin it, just like participation and trust in civic associations and networks stimulating cooperative behaviour and solidarity do at societal level (Ebbinghaus et al. 2011).

3. Online communities overcoming spatio-temporal fissuring?

Union avoidance or union busting by management and employers have made it more difficult for trade unions to take the first hurdle of unionising (Gall and Dundon 2013) while fissured workplaces, among other factors, are undermining the union norm at the second. Workplace fissuring refers to companies (increasingly) no longer acting as the direct employer of all workers: instead, a core company outsources activities via subcontracting, or otherwise, to smaller businesses with workers having generally less favourable employment terms and conditions and being less unionised (Weil 2014). Fissured workplaces thus weaken the union norm as the intensity and frequency of contacts between workers become looser in upholding the reputation effects (Visser 2002), while more union coordination is needed for effective workplace representation.

2. Union-friendly social networks can also develop beyond the workplace, although family and friends seem especially important in the school-to-work transition.
3. This especially holds true in countries without union involvement in the administration or provision of unemployment benefits (‘Ghent system’) or other benefits such as welfare benefits for pensioners.

Equally, remote work might have a similar effect on the union norm via an amplified spatio-temporal fissuring of physical, centralised workplaces. Spatial fissuring entails that dispersed remote workers now work in different places – at the work premises, at home or elsewhere.⁴ Temporal fissuring implies that remote workers could also work according to their preferred work schedule, which might differ from that of colleagues, or they could potentially be working in different time zones. Moreover, remote work might also invite management and employers to fissure workplaces further by terminating existing (open-ended) contracts and engaging remote workers as freelancers. It can be expected that remote work makes the existing social ties between (unionised) workers weaker, and also between them and the institutions of workplace representation, both of which undermine the union norm. Notably, remote work might also hamper the installation of a union norm among new (young) workers in the workplace so that free-riding among them is more common. Likewise, spatial-temporal fissuring implies that remote workers are less likely to meet and interact in physical, shared ‘free spaces’ (corridor, kitchen, print room) within the company (Ranganathan and Das 2022) – a precondition for building trust and solidarity for collective action. A dispersed workforce due to remote work therefore requires additional union strategies for installing, maintaining or strengthening the union norm than solely workplace-based ones.

Remote work tends to challenge existing union norms and hampers the building of new ones. Simultaneously, however, remote work might foster new (bottom-up) initiatives by workers, such as online communication via social networking sites, to stay connected despite spatio-temporal fissuring. If their use extends beyond the coordination of work processes, online work-based communities might emerge that turn out to be supportive for upholding the norm in a complementary or supplementary way.

Research on unionism in the platform economy suggests that a geographic, city-wide approach to union organisation will become more important in addition to workplace-based unionism (Joyce et al. 2022). Likewise, new online communications and networking technologies fostering online communities might provide a similar function. Online communications and networking technologies like social media are increasingly empowering trade unions to engage and interact with their members and to mobilise them, and to connect with a broader audience (Carneiro and Costa; Hennebert et al. 2021; Wesley Hansen and Hau 2022; Wood 2020). Especially centring on the mobilisation of workers, research on low-unionised industries and on the platform economy has demonstrated how potential union members and activists are already active in autonomous or grassroots online communities and networks (Wesley Hansen and Hau 2022; Maffie 2020; Walker 2021). Such communities are sometimes seen as substituting trade unions, especially in the platform economy (Kalum Schou and Bucher 2022; Kougiannou and Mendonça 2021; Wood and Lehdonvirta 2021). Similar (bottom-up) processes beyond the workplace might also apply to remote workers. It remains an open question, however, whether informal communities are replacing formal unions.

4. Working at home paradoxically implies that the spatial separation between home and the place of paid work is no longer true.

4. Research design, data and union norm regimes

To test the promises of online communities for remote workers, the empirical analysis of this chapter uses data from the Internet and Platform Work Survey (IPWS) carried out by the European Trade Union Institute (see Piasna et al. 2022). This is a representative cross-national survey among a simple random sample of working age adults aged 18-65. The fieldwork was harmonised and coordinated by Ipsos, with interviews conducted via computer-assisted telephone interviewing.⁵ The analysis uses data pooled from two survey waves, carried out in Spring and Autumn 2021, and covering fourteen European countries including seven in central eastern Europe (CEE): Austria, Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Spain.⁶ Only currently employed wage- and salary-earners, either engaging in remote work or not, are included in the analysis which, in total, amounts to 22 866 respondents excluding the unemployed, inactive and self-employed. Employees who have never worked remotely are compared with those who declare they have worked from home or teleworked, which this chapter calls remote workers (41 per cent). Remote workers are further differentiated into those with a stable pattern in remote work not affected by the pandemic (5.6 per cent); those who increased their frequency of remote work due to the pandemic (11.6 per cent); and those who started remote work during it (23.8 per cent).

Building on the social custom theory of union membership, the empirical sections of this chapter look through the nuanced lens of union norm regimes. This enables a more bottom-up perspective and a more refined comparative approach instead of the simple dichotomy between non-unionised and unionised workers, or using company size as a proxy for workplace unionisation.

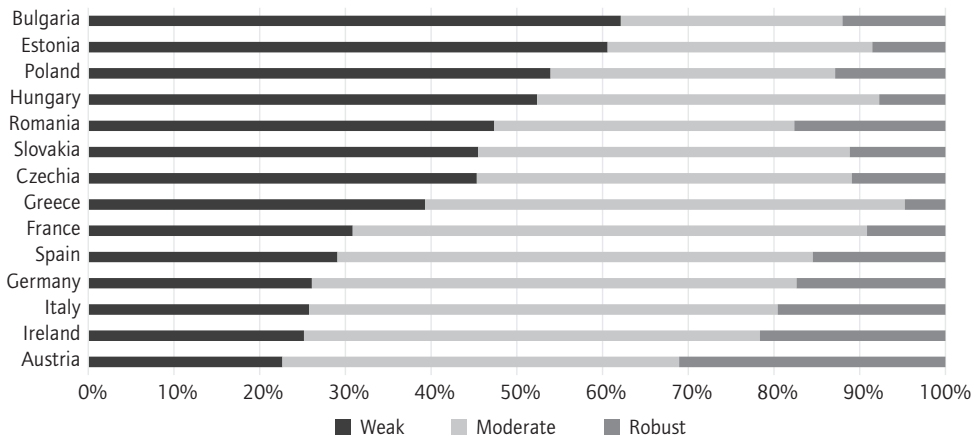
Three regimes are empirically discerned: a weak, a moderate and a robust union norm. This distinction is based on four criteria derived from the following survey questions: (1) being a member of a trade union (0=no; 1=yes); (2) pro-union attitudes expressed as a view that unions help to improve working conditions (0=no; 0.5=yes, somewhat; 1=yes, considerably); having many colleagues or friends in a union or similar organisation (0=no; 1=yes); and (4) presence of a union at the workplace (0=no; 1=yes). The last three indicators are added together to form an index ranging from 0 to 3, as they are all considered to increase the likelihood of unionising according to the social customs theory of union membership (see Visser 2002). If unions are present (and active) in the workplace, then the probability of unionisation is higher as they can mould the union norm. Equally, the more co-workers are unionised at the workplace, the greater this probability as they help to maintain the norm of unionisation via stronger reputation effects.

5. Post-stratification weights are used in the analysis. Further notes on research techniques are put in footnotes for interested readers.

6. High union density countries – those in Nordic Europe – are thus not covered.

In this chapter, a weak union norm is defined as not being a trade union member and scoring below 1 on the index; a robust one is defined as being unionised and scoring 1 or higher on the index; and a moderate one captures all the remaining respondents for whom union membership status is known. In this group, only a small minority (6.8 per cent) is unionised while their index scores lie mostly within the 1-2 range.⁷ Overall, 40.7 per cent of respondents can be considered working in non-unionised workplaces, i.e. with a weak union norm, while 44.8 per cent and 14.5 per cent have a moderate and robust norm, respectively.

Figure 2 Union norm regime in 14 European countries (%)



Note: Ordered by weak union norm.

Source: ETUI IPWS.

Figure 2 shows the variation in union norm regimes across the 14 countries considered. A regional divide becomes clear: a stronger norm – moderate or robust – applies rather to western European countries than to CEE countries where workplace representation is generally weaker or less widespread across industries and where collective bargaining at the industrial level is (much) more weakly developed, especially in the private sector (Waddington et al. 2023).⁸ This indicates that trade unions in CEE countries need, in many instances, to take the first hurdle of unionising via (riskier) greenfield organising campaigns. The rest of this chapter, however, adopts a more holistic approach instead of highlighting country differences or similarities, with union norm regimes as an analytical framework for helping, among others, to explain the propensity of remote workers to unionise.

7. As a robustness check a hierarchical cluster analysis was performed based on the four variables described above. This confirmed that the solution best describing the data consists of three groups and that union membership most distinctively defines the clusters.
8. Additionally, business structure in terms of company size and social capital at societal level might both play a role in understanding country differences in the union norm regime.

5. Diffusion in remote work before and during the pandemic

Before the possible strategies of trade unions towards organising remote workers via online communities can be identified, it is key to know first where those workers are employed and how the pandemic has influenced the prevalence of and change in remote work. This section therefore charts the patterns in remote work before and during the pandemic by union norm regime.

Prior to the pandemic, the survey results show that remote work was, in general, more likely to be present among workers where the union norm is considered weak or moderate. The percentage of remote work stands here at a similar level: 17.7 per cent and 18.4 per cent, respectively. The percentage of remote workers before the pandemic was (notably) lower in workplaces where the norm is robust – 12.4 per cent. Although remote work is not unknown in workplaces with a robust norm, it is relatively less common compared to settings with a weaker one.

To illustrate the patterns in remote work, Table 1 provides an overview of some occupational examples, sorted by prevailing union norm regime. The examples are taken from industrial and service sectors, both in public and private settings, as well as different skill levels in terms of their exposure to remote work before and during the pandemic.⁹ Where workers employed in workplaces with a robust union norm are concerned, then typical in-person women-dominated services, like healthcare, are marked by a relatively low share of remote work prior to the pandemic. This also holds true for clerks in public administration, whereas remote work is somewhat more common in education. Turning to a moderate union norm, then manual workers in male-dominated manufacturing are typically employed onsite, whereas professionals in finance, clerks in business services and technical experts and technicians are more exposed to remote work. Finally, the union norm is weak in retail and wholesale, as well as in ICT. The share of remote work among retail and wholesale workers is (obviously) smaller than among ICT workers who are working remotely to a greater extent.

This overview provides evidence that experience with telework or working from home before the pandemic was less common among workers where the union norm was robust. At the same time, the occupational examples make clear that remote work cross-cuts union norm regimes.

What, however, has altered in the pattern in remote work since the pandemic and the onset of lockdowns? Four patterns are considered: (1) having never worked remotely; (2) stability in remote work (i.e. a similar degree before and since the pandemic); (3) working remotely more often due to the pandemic; and (4) having started remote work due to the pandemic – see again Table 1. Two inferences on the diffusion of remote work during the pandemic can be made.

9. In doing so, eleven broad occupational groups were selected, encompassing 7 704 respondents (33.7 per cent of the sample), and defined through occupational class (ISCO) by economic sector (NACE). The selection is based on established classifications (e.g. Oesch and Piccitto 2019) and available sample sizes.

Table 1 Remote work before and during the pandemic (%), by union norm

Selected occupations	Union norm			Remote work before pandemic	Remote work during pandemic			
	Weak	Moderate	Robust		No remote	Stable	Increase	New
Teaching professionals in education	26.6	46.1	27.3	19.8	26.1	4.7	15.3	54.0
Health (associate) professionals in healthcare	30.3	47.9	21.8	14.7	69.5	7.5	7.2	15.9
Skilled clerks in public administration	31.3	40.2	28.5	12.3	44.5	4.8	7.5	43.3
Personal care and services in healthcare	32.5	46.6	20.9	10.5	76.1	3.5	7.0	13.4
(Associate) professionals in finance	32.9	51.4	15.7	28.9	26.3	6.4	22.5	44.8
Skilled clerks in business services	37.9	49.6	12.5	23.9	36.1	8.4	15.5	40.0
Skilled manual workers in manufacturing	39.7	44.4	15.9	4.7	87.7	3.0	1.7	7.7
Technical experts and technicians in professional, scientific and technical services	41.0	45.6	13.4	26.8	35.6	7.0	19.8	37.6
Low-skilled manual workers in manufacturing	41.5	45.4	13.1	3.1	88.2	2.4	0.8	8.6
Technical experts and technicians in ICT	47.2	42.6	10.3	36.2	28.6	5.9	30.3	35.2
Sales workers in retail and wholesale	54.8	35.1	10.1	9.8	72.2	4.4	5.4	18.1
All occupations	40.7	44.8	14.5	17.2	59.0	5.6	11.6	23.8

Note: Ordered by weak union norm.

Source: ETUI IPWS.

First, in general, the experience of remote work has not changed for almost two-thirds of workers during the pandemic – see Table 2. Either remote work has simply been impossible, or it has not (yet) entered their working lives; or the experience of remote work has otherwise been stable throughout the pandemic. The percentage of never having done remote work stands at 62.3 per cent, 55.1 per cent and 61.4 per cent of workers characterised correspondingly by a weak, moderate or robust union norm. Examples of occupational groups can be found in all regimes. Self-evidently, healthcare workers, marked by a robust union norm, have been far less confronted with remote work. This also holds true for most manufacturing workers with a moderate union norm and for sales workers in retail or wholesale with a weak one. Stability in remote work, with its frequency not affected by the pandemic, has been relatively less common. It

amounts to 6.0 per cent among employees with a weak union norm, 5.8 per cent for a moderate one and 3.8 per cent where it is considered robust.

Table 2 Remote work before and since the pandemic (%), by union norm

	Union norm			Overall
	Weak	Moderate	Robust	
Remote work before pandemic	17.7	18.4	12.4	17.2
Remote work since pandemic started				
No remote work	62.3	55.1	61.4	59.0
Stable	6.0	5.8	3.8	5.6
Increased due to pandemic	11.7	12.6	8.6	11.6
New: started due to pandemic	20.1	26.5	26.2	23.8

Source: ETUI IPWS (2021).

Second, changes in the exposure to remote work since the onset of the pandemic have differed across union norm regimes. Remote work has become even more widespread since the pandemic among workers with a weak union norm – though the growth has actually been steeper for workers with a moderate or robust one. A sudden increase in remote work has occurred for 11.7 per cent of workers with a weak union norm and it is new for 20.1 per cent of them. On balance, compared to workers with a moderate or robust norm, the change in remote work where the norm is weak is driven relatively more by an increase in instances of remote working than by its apparent novelty. A typical example is technical experts and technicians in ICT.

Furthermore, remote work has especially increased where the norm is moderate; that is, where exposure was already most prevalent prior to the pandemic. While 12.6 per cent of workers with a moderate norm report an upsurge during the pandemic, 26.5 per cent of them have started working remotely. This applies, for example, to workers in finance, in business services and in scientific, technical services.

Finally, where the norm is robust, a rise in remote work during the pandemic was the case for 8.6 per cent of workers while, in particular, 26.2 per cent report that this was novel for them. This typically holds true for teachers, being related to school closures, and clerks in public administration. So, while remote work was less common where the union norm was robust before the pandemic, this has clearly changed since then.

6. Remote work, online communities and their composition

The above mapping has revealed that the spread of remote work has occurred in workplaces with diverse union norm regimes prior and during the pandemic. This section explores if, and to what degree, online communities are associated with remote work patterns and union norm regimes.

As a proxy for measuring such communities, survey respondents were asked whether they discuss work-related issues online with other workers.¹⁰ It can be assumed that they are making use of already-existing (interactive) social networking sites, either internally or externally. It is unknown, however, if work-based communities are self-organised; that is, created and controlled by workers, or if they have been initiated and are supervised by trade unions or management, with the latter aiming to nurture an online company culture. As shown in Table 3, the proportion of workers discussing their employment terms and conditions with colleagues online can differ considerably by exposure to remote work and union norm regime.

Table 3 Share of workers discussing work-related issues online (%), by remote work pattern and union norm

Pattern in remote work	Trade union norm			Overall
	Weak	Moderate	Robust	
No remote work	27	36	37	32
Stable	34	35	52	37
Increased: due to pandemic	47	49	57	49
New: started due to pandemic	45	51	56	50
Overall	33	42	44	39

Source: ETUI IPWS.

Workers who have seen an increase in remote working, or who started it during the pandemic, are the ones most likely to be discussing employment terms and conditions with their colleagues online. The expansion of remote work appears to breed online communities. Equally important, regarding union norm, more workers are engaging online where this is considered stronger – the difference is only negligible between a moderate and a robust union norm in the case of no remote work.

Online communities are not only complementarily filling the gap between workers and non- or weakly unionised workplaces; they can also serve a more supplementary role in cases of (strongly) unionised ones.¹¹ In providing voice mechanisms, online

10. This is gauged by the question ‘Do you discuss online with other workers any issues related to your working conditions?’, with ‘no’ or ‘yes’ as answer categories. It is assumed that this question largely excludes organisational communications. The question does not distinguish between internal platforms like MS Teams or external social networking sites like Facebook.

11. It is unknown whether workplace representatives have set up or were involved in instigating those online communities. In other words, the social networking sites used might differ between online communities in a complementary and supplementary role.

communities amount to an extension of face-to-face interactions in physical workplaces. While remote work seems to have necessitated online interaction, the findings thus also provide indirect evidence that (informal) online forums can go hand-in-hand with formal, established workplace representation. Whether such interaction is fruitful, or not, is an empirical question, however.

Table 4 Share of workers discussing work-related issues online (%), by demographic characteristics and union norm

Characteristics	General participation	Participation by trade union norm		
		Weak	Moderate	Robust
Women	47.5	42.5	48.9	55.4
Men	48.6	45.6	48.7	57.0
Age 18-34	49.3	48.2	49.1	56.8
Age 35-44	49.6	45.7	51.8	52.9
Age 45-65	45.9	38.3	46.4	57.5
Migrant background	48.9	42.3	51.2	60.3
Non-migrant background	48.0	44.2	48.4	55.8

Source: ETUI IPWS.

Who is participating in these online communities? Table 4 gives an overview of some selected demographic characteristics of remote workers only; that is, those workers who have been teleworking or working from home at the time of the survey in 2021. Overall, men, younger workers and those with a migrant background are more likely to participate in online communities – although only slightly. The differences are much more striking across the three union norm regimes: the stronger the norm, the higher the online participation and this is so irrespective of demographic characteristics. For instance, remote workers with a migrant background are mostly active online in workplaces with a robust union norm and their increasing online participation as the norm strengthens is more visible compared to workers without a migrant background.

It is regarding age that the variation is particularly considerable, however. Young remote workers, aged 18-34, in workplaces with a weak union norm are especially active in online communities: while over 48 per cent of them engage in online discussions, this is the case for only 38 per cent of older workers aged 45-65. Yet it is among these older workers where the strongest impact of union norm on online participation can be found. In robust norm workplaces, older workers are even more likely than younger ones to engage in online communities. This age contrast is likely to reflect the difference between the complementary and supplementary role of online communities. Younger workers are more often employed in smaller companies without workplace representation (Vandaele 2018), while this is less the case for older workers who are typically employed in larger ones with representation. This age contrast might also entail that younger generations are using different social networking sites than their older counterparts. Younger workers probably tend to use online communities more in a complementary role whereas older workers are more likely to rely on internal platforms in a supplementary one.

All in all, these findings echo the recent literature on union organising that de-emphasises the centrality of the workplace from a workers' identity perspective. Heterogeneous or multiple identities – worker identities like gender, ethnicity, sexuality and disability – have become more salient in today's diverse societies calling for a 'whole worker-approach' to organising (Doellgast et al. 2021). Such a complex, intersectional approach on worker issues thus accentuates other identities than those solely rooted in the employment relationship (at the workplace). Put differently, online communities linked to a weak or moderate union norm tend in particular to house a promising membership base for trade unions; reaching out to this requires unions to re-orient their strategies towards a stronger inclusiveness of groups and generations that are, so far, under-represented within them (Greene and Kirton 2003).

7. Possible issues in online communities: adjustments in wages and working hours

Remote work has been associated, among others, with higher workload and longer working hours, social isolation and mental health issues, staff monitoring and surveillance, the blurring of professional and private lives and gender inequality (Atkinson 2022; Eurofound 2022a; Fan and Moen 2022; ILO 2021).¹² In addition, the reimbursement of adequate equipment and other costs, like electricity and heating (Felstead 2022), could be issues feeding the trade union agenda. This section examines what changes and issues arising in work and employment due to the pandemic have been linked to greater activity in online exchanges with co-workers. As a result, some proposals can be put forward as to those issues which do have the potential to stimulate online communities.

The survey considers two core issues – wages and salaries; and working hours – and respondents were asked whether these have decreased, stayed stable or increased due to the pandemic. Table 5 provides an overview of such adjustments according to the patterns in remote work.

Wages and salaries and working hours have, overall, been stable for over one-half of workers during the pandemic, with the least changes being found among non-remote workers. Adjustments in wages and salaries are less common than those in working hours.

12. See also Arabadjieva and Franklin, this volume.

Table 5 Change in wage/salary and working hours due to the pandemic (%), by remote work pattern

Pattern in remote work	Wage/salary			Working hours		
	Decrease	Stable	Increase	Decrease	Stable	Increase
No remote work	22.3	64.7	13.1	19.4	64.1	16.5
Stable	20.7	60.7	18.6	17.5	59.4	23.1
Increase	19.7	61.4	18.9	17.8	55.0	27.3
New	21.7	61.8	16.5	19.8	51.4	28.8
Overall	21.8	63.4	14.9	19.2	59.7	21.1

Source: ETUI IPWS.

Looking at the nature of the adjustments, these are slightly more associated with a decrease where wages and salaries are concerned and with an increase when it comes to working hours. Stability or a reduction in wages and salaries are rather linked to non-remote workers whereas wage increases are generally observed among workers who have seen stability or an increase in remote work. Concerning adjustments in working hours, more than one in four workers who noted an increase in remote work, or who started this arrangement during the pandemic, have been confronted with an increase in working hours. Non-remote workers have rather observed stability or even a decrease in working hours. Together with reductions in wages and salaries, this might indicate that some part of these workers was furloughed from work via job retention schemes.

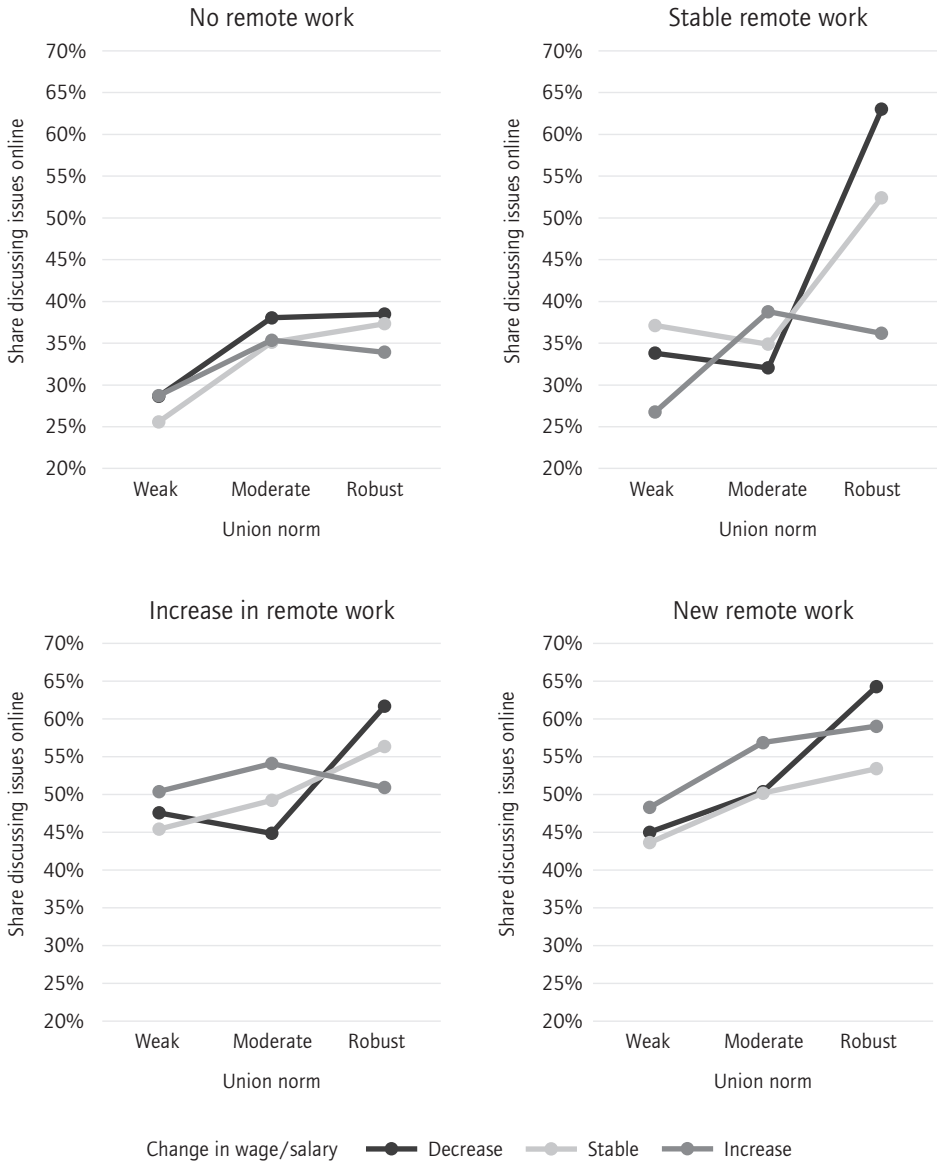
To what extent have adjustments in wages and salaries and in working hours been associated with more activity in online communities? Figures 3 and 4 shed light on this.¹³ Both figures depict the percentage of workers discussing working conditions online, by union norm regime and by adjustments to wages and salaries or working hours.¹⁴ The analysis is conducted for each of the four patterns identified in remote work.

As noted earlier in Table 3, remote workers are, in general, more likely to engage in online communities as are workers in workplaces with a robust union norm. Online engagement is particularly pronounced in situations of wage reductions – see Figure 3. Cuts in wages did not increase the online involvement of non-remote workers – perhaps they had other communications channels on which to rely to voice their grievances. Among remote workers, a robust union norm was seemingly a catalytic factor for engaging online when faced with wage cuts. When it comes to changes in working hours, workers who started working remotely during the pandemic were most likely to experience an extension of their working hours (Table 5). Increases in working hours are also associated with their visibly higher involvement in online communities, and this across all regimes – see Figure 4.

¹³. The survey provides no information on what was actually discussed online; this can only be *indirectly* extracted via making an association between adjustments and online activity.

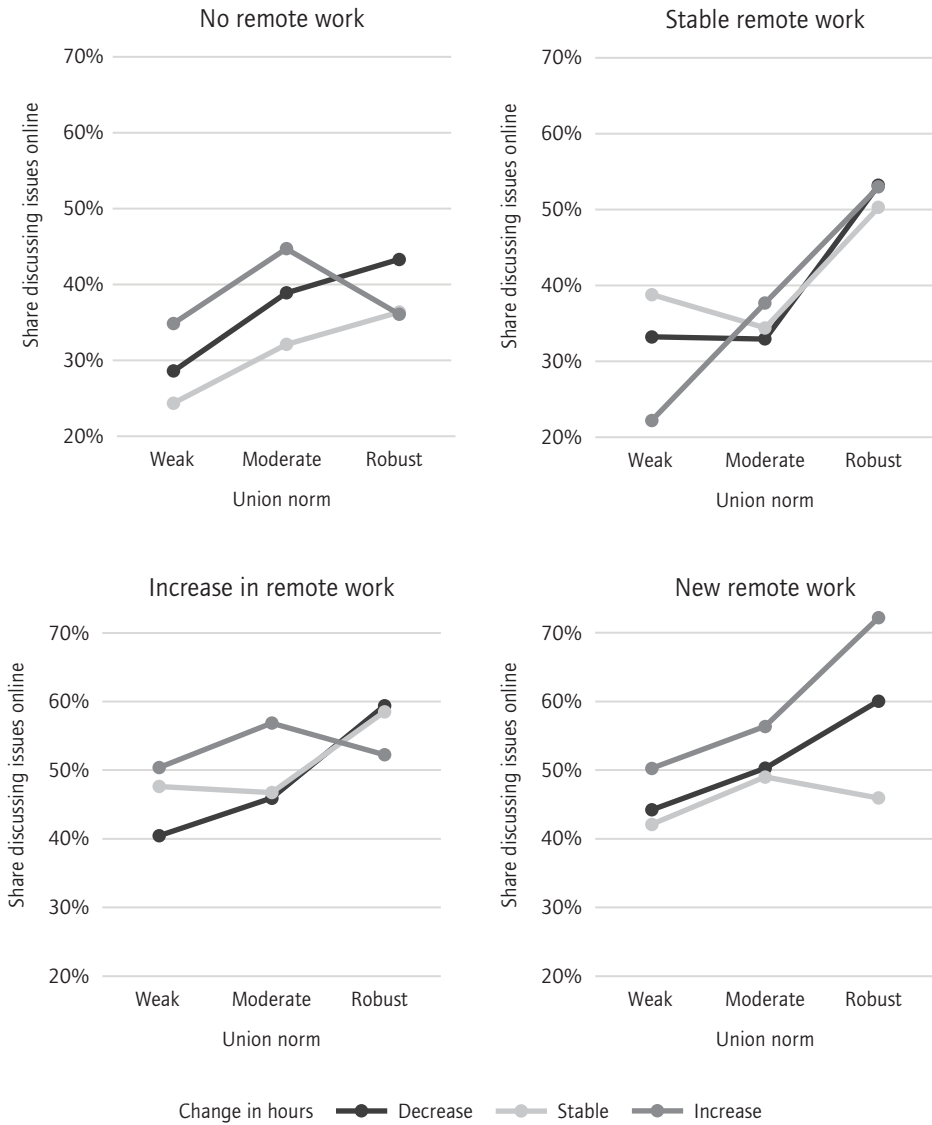
¹⁴. The size of those adjustments is unknown as this was not asked in the survey.

Figure 3 Discussing online work issues (%), by remote work pattern, union norm and change in wage/salary



Note: Vertical axes do not start at zero.
Source: ETUI IPWS.

Figure 4 Discussing online work issues (%), by remote work pattern, union norm and change in working hours



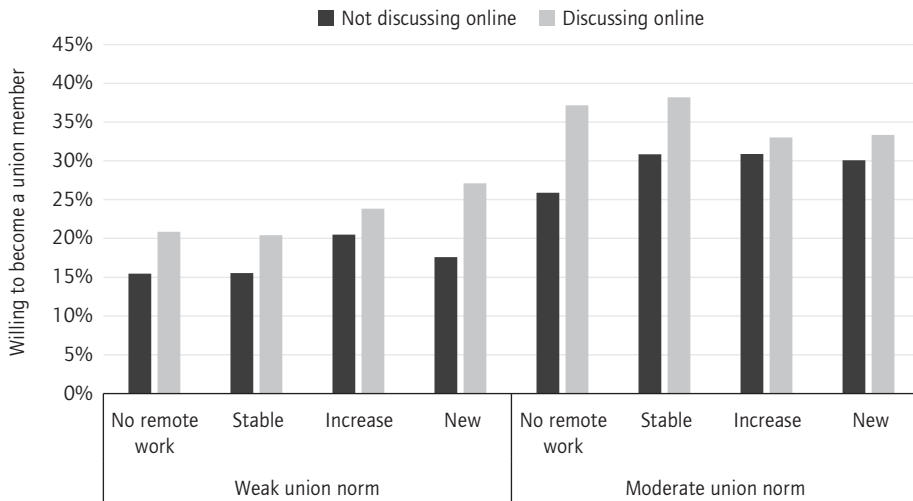
Note: Vertical axes do not start at zero.
 Source: ETUI IPWS.

8. Non-robust union norms, online communities and future unionisation

What does the participation of (remote) workers in online communities entail for union strategies? Do online communities of workers affect their probability of unionising where the union norm is weak or moderate?¹⁵ Following social custom theory, it is expected that this probability is generally higher where the union norm is stronger. In addition, we examine whether workers who are engaged in online communities show a stronger will to unionise.¹⁶ This analysis can be conducted for the four patterns in remote work.

Making a distinction between non-participation and active online engagement, Figure 5 shows the averages in the likelihood of joining a trade union, with outcomes ordered by union norm regimes and remote work patterns.

Figure 5 Online communities and the probability of unionisation, by union norm and remote work pattern



Note: The share of workers willing to become a union member in the near future is estimated through logistic regression, weighted with post-stratification weights, controlling for gender, age, country of birth (migrant or non-migrant), detailed occupational group (2-digit ISCO) and country of residence.

Source: ETUI IPWS.

15. As a reminder, among other variables, 'robust workplaces' are defined by respondents being unionised. Respondents who are union members where the union norm is moderate are obviously omitted from the analysis.

16. The latter is gauged by the question 'Would you be willing to become a trade union member in the near future?', with 'no' or 'yes' as the answer categories.

Three inferences can be drawn from Figure 5.

First, the marked differences between a weak union norm and a moderate one indicate why trade unions tend to prefer brownfield organising to greenfield sites. The results provide indirect evidence that reputation effects play a stronger role in workplaces with a moderate union norm, so that organising efforts might be relatively more fruitful compared to non-unionised workplaces.

Second, the probability of unionisation differs across the remote work patterns. In general, remote workers declare an intention to join a union in the future somewhat more often than non-remote workers. In particular, although this needs further analysis, it is apparent that workers who have seen an increase in remote work, or who have started such an arrangement as a result of the pandemic, are more likely to unionise than non-remote workers in workplaces characterised by a weak norm.

Last but not least, online communities do indeed seem to sow the seeds of unionisation. This holds true irrespective of remote work pattern and union norm regime. Compared to non-online participation, workers communicating about work-related issues within online communities have a higher probability of unionisation for each pattern of remote work (as shown in Figure 5). Equally, in comparison to workers who are not engaging online, their counterparts who are discussing employment terms and conditions with co-workers online are more likely to unionise no matter whether the union norm is considered weak or moderate. The gap is especially considerable for newly started remote workers in workplaces with a weak union norm, and for non-remote workers and workers facing stability in remote work in workplaces with a moderate one.

The data do not allow an indication of the possible ‘mechanisms’ between online, work-based communities and the likelihood of unionising. It can be expected, however, that worker-led ones provide a fertile ground for collectivism by fostering a sense of shared identities and unified interests. Overall, allowing for multiple identities and personalised action frames such as, for instance, individual stories, online communities might enable trade unions to build a union norm there via ‘connective action’ and to maintain it in a more de-centred, multi-directional and non-hierarchical way (Hau and Savage 2022; Pasquier et al. 2020; Wood 2020).

9. Conclusions

Virtually all trade unions are primarily focused on the workplace for recruiting and organising members. There is little doubt that this locus will continue to be of significance for them. It is at the workplace where they have the most control over the social norm of union membership. Remote work challenges this locus since it is likely to hamper workplace-based organising and the union norm. This chapter has not directly analysed whether remote work during the pandemic has weakened existing union norms, however, or whether it has made it more difficult to install these. Instead, its focus has been on the work-based online communities as potentially fertile ground for engaging and organising remote workers. Remote work in the pandemic context has

instituted and promoted new online channels to communicate and forge communities among workers. Such channels open new potential for unions in an era of fissuring workplaces. Put differently, in a Polanyian way, remote work has probably deteriorated the connection between workers, yet it has simultaneously offered new channels or ways to connect.

The chapter has several limitations. Based on a quantitative analysis of cross-sectional survey data, it could only be explorative in nature. Only associations have been identified: the analysis has neither established causalities nor mechanisms. For instance, while there is a clear association between online activity and the likelihood of unionisation, it could not be revealed precisely how this linkage works. It can only be assumed that online communities are spaces where collective consciousness and solidarities are fostered as prerequisites for unionisation (Maffie 2020; Walker 2021).

The findings are also presented at an aggregate level without accounting for contextual (historical) variation. Different approaches between trade unions towards organising, whether face-to-face or digital; (remote) workers' and unions' understanding of the affordance and constraints of social networking sites (Hennebert et al. 2021); the type of work affecting, for instance, internet experience; and country differences in terms of remote work arrangements – all of these might influence online engagement by individual workers.

Finally, the survey data do not allow us to examine online work-based communities themselves. The frequency of online participation is unknown as is its objectives, drivers, dynamics and consequences. Also, the nature of the work-related issues discussed are unknown, although discontent with wage cuts or an increase in working hours are likely to be one of the driving factors in online exchanges. The latter hints at a future research agenda: to what extent could online communities compensate for the impact of remote work on the day-to-day union work of advocacy and representation? Furthermore, differentiating between social networking sites has not been possible. Equally, the data do not make it possible to distinguish between worker- and management-controlled online communities. From a policy perspective, however, in cases of remote work or otherwise, statutorily mandated channels of online communications should be free from management monitoring and interference, just like unions' offline ability to use notice boards at the workplace.

Applying a nuanced analytical framework based on union norms, and analysing survey results from 14 European countries, this chapter makes three main empirical contributions.

First, regarding the context, (occupational) patterns in remote work before and during the pandemic have been mapped out, while accounting for the union norm. Workplaces with robust norms saw less remote work prior to the pandemic compared to places with weaker ones. Remote work has, however, expanded remarkably during the pandemic in such workplaces. Evidence from the German context (Behrens and Pekarek 2022) shows that such workplaces have been more successful in terms, for instance, of job and income security, skills development and reconciling work and family life during

the pandemic. Presumably, unions have been more strongly involved here in managing this massive shift, especially if collective agreements on teleworking had already been in place before the pandemic providing provisions on, for example, the right to disconnect.

Second, in general, online interactions between workers undeniably intensify with increased remote work and a stronger union norm. Remote workers are more prone to engage in work-based online communities in comparison to non-remote workers as the latter could be likely to rely on face-to-face interactions with their colleagues instead. Looking closer, the online involvement of workers who started remote work in the pandemic increases along with a strengthening in the union norm. Also, a greater involvement in online communities coincides with a robust norm among those who have worked remotely more often due to the pandemic. Online communities have often been portrayed as operating in anti-union contexts (Cohen and Richards 2015) or union-free environments, with communities being considered an alternative to unions for instance in the gig or platform economy (Kalum Schou and Bucher 2022; Wood and Lehdonvirta 2021). The empirical data presented here indirectly demonstrate that online communities could also go hand-in-hand with trade unions. The survey results provide support for the notion that active online contributions occur more in workplaces with stronger union norms, irrespective of the pattern in remote work. Importantly, pointing to the complementary face of online communities, younger workers are more likely to participate in communities in workplace settings with a weak union norm; and older workers in settings with a stronger one.

Third, activity in self-organised or other digital spaces of workers is associated with a stronger probability of unionisation. In accordance with social custom theory, this probability is larger where the union norm is stronger. This indirectly indicates that online communities are more than simply coping with remote work (see also Cohen and Richards 2015); they are connecting workers whether in remote work or not. This offers the opportunity for trade unions either to be ‘orchestrators’ (Hecksher and McCarthy 2014) within those communities, establishing links with (pre-organised) workers, or to act there as facilitators for worker participation (Hau and Savage 2022).

All of this entails that unions should step up their efforts towards digital organising, especially as online communities will have, in all probability, a relevance beyond remote work. Future research should thus explore how unions, as bureaucratic organisations, could reconcile with individual participation in horizontal online networks, especially if those are marked by a weak union norm. This should, in turn, explore the potential for a fusion between the traditional collective action of unions and the ‘connective action’ of network-like online communities (Wesley Hansen and Hau 2022).

Also, while there are some complexities regarding remote work patterns, it seems that the picture of remote work is not entirely bleak when it comes to unionisation. In addition, remote work due to the pandemic has brought both familiar and relatively new issues to the fore for union organising. Surveys naturally provide a snapshot and it is therefore unclear if online communities have solely served as an ephemeral coping mechanism during the pandemic or whether they may have a more lasting impact. Even so, the pandemic context might have made a ‘discursive opening’ possible in the

neoliberal mantra on macroeconomic policies, in particular in countries where effective institutions for social dialogue exist (Meardi and Tassinari 2022).

Whether or not the pandemic will be a historic turning point, it might be a catalyst for a 'new wave of labour activism' (Maffie 2022: 216). The current cost-of-living crisis, as a new, sudden macroeconomic shock, certainly adds to such activism. 'Essential workers' are often considered the (new) protagonists of such activism (McCallum 2022). Yet, while the use of this epitome by trade unions might be helpful in building and fostering solidarity among those workers, it might simultaneously exclude other workers such as those who have mainly been teleworking and who continue to prefer hybrid work arrangements. A dispersed workforce due to remote work or otherwise 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. This is not without its challenges, but it would be too pessimistic to conclude that remote workers are unorganisable.

References

- Akerlof G. (1980) A theory of social custom, of which unemployment may be one consequence, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 94 (4), 749–775. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1885667>
- Atkinson C.L. (2022) A review of telework in the COVID-19 pandemic: Lessons learned for work-life balance?, *COVID*, 2 (10), 1405–1416. <https://doi.org/10.3390/covid2100101>
- Behrens M. and Pekarek A. (2022) Delivering the goods? German industrial relations institutions during the COVID-19 crisis, *Industrial Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12319>
- Brandl B. (2021) The cooperation between business organizations, trade unions, and the state during the COVID-19 pandemic: A comparative analysis of the nature of the tripartite relationship, *Industrial Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12300>
- Carneiro B. and Costa H.A. (2022) Digital unionism as a renewal strategy? Social media use by trade union confederations, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 64 (1), 26–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185620979337>
- Checchi D. and Visser J. (2005) Pattern persistence in European trade union density A longitudinal analysis 1950–1996, *European Sociological Review*, 21 (1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jci001>
- Clark P. (2009) *Building more effective unions*, 2nd ed., Cornell University Press.
- Cohen N. and Richards J. (2015) 'I didn't feel like I was alone anymore': Evaluating self-organised employee coping practices conducted via Facebook, *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 30 (3), 222–236. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12051>
- Disney R. (1990) Explanations of the decline in trade union density in Britain: an appraisal, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 28 (2), 165–177. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.1990.tb00361.x>
- Doellgast V., Bidwell M. and Colvin A.J.S. (2021) New directions in employment relations theory: Understanding fragmentation, identity, and legitimacy, *ILR Review*, 74 (3), 555–579. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793921993445>

- Ebbinghaus B., Göbel C. and Koos S. (2011) Social capital, 'Ghent' and workplace contexts matter: Comparing union membership in Europe, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 17 (2), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959680111400894>
- Eurofound (2010) *Telework in the European Union*, Eurofound. https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef_files/docs/eiro/tn0910050s/tn0910050s.pdf
- Eurofound (2022a) *Working conditions in the time of COVID-19. Implications for the future*, Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2806/056613>
- Eurofound (2022b) *The rise in telework. Impact on working conditions and regulations*, Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2806/069206>
- Fan W. and Moen P. (2022) Working more, less or the same during COVID-19? A mixed method, intersectional analysis of remote workers, *Work and Occupations*, 49 (2), 143–186. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07308884211047208>
- Felstead A. (2022) *Remote working: A research overview*, Routledge.
- Gall G. and Dundon T. (2013) *Global anti-unionism: Nature, dynamics, trajectories and outcomes*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gomez R. and Gunderson M. (2004) The experience good model of trade union membership, in Wunnava P.V. (ed.) *The changing role of unions: New forms of representation*, Sharp, 92–112.
- Greene A.-M. and Kirton G. (2003) Possibilities for remote participation in trade unions: Mobilising women activists, *Industrial Relations Journal*, 34 (4), 319–333. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2338.00278>
- Hancké B. (1993) Trade union membership in Europe, 1960–1990: Rediscovering local unions, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 31 (4), 593–613. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.1993.tb00415.x>
- Hau M.F. and Savage O.G. (2022) Building coalitions on Facebook: 'Social media unionism' among Danish bike couriers, *New Technology, Work and Employment*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12261>
- Heckscher C. and McCarthy J. (2014) Transcient solidarities: Commitment and collective action in post-industrial societies, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 52 (4), 627–657. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12084>
- Heery E. and Adler L. (2004) Organizing the unorganized, in Kelly J. and Frege C. (eds.) *Varieties of unionism: Strategies for union revitalization in a globalizing economy*, Oxford University Press, 45–70. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199270149.001.0001>
- Hennebert M.-A., Pasquier V. and Lévesque C. (2021) What do unions do... with digital technologies? An affordance approach, *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 36 (2), 177–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12187>
- Ibsen Lyhne C., Toubøl J. and Jensen Sparwath D. (2017) Social customs and trade union membership: A multi-level analysis of workplace union density using micro-data, *European Sociological Review*, 33 (4), 504–517. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcx055>
- ILO (2021) *Teleworking arrangements during the COVID-19 crisis and beyond*, ILO. https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/how-the-ilo-works/multilateral-system/g20/reports/WCMS_791858/lang--en/index.htm
- Joyce S., Stuart M. and Forde C. (2022) Theorising labour unrest and trade unionism in the platform economy, *New Technology, Work and Employment*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12252>

- Kalum Schou P. and Bucher E. (2022) Divided we fall: The breakdown of gig worker solidarity in online communities, *New Technology, Work and Employment*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12260>
- Kelly J. (1998) *Rethinking industrial relations: Mobilisation, collectivism and long waves*, Routledge.
- Kougiannou N.K. and Mendonça P. (2021) Breaking the managerial silencing of worker voice in platform capitalism: The rise of a food courier network, *British Journal of Management*, 32 (3), 744–759. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.12505>
- Larsen T. and Andersen S.K. (2007) A new mode of European regulation? The implementation of the autonomous framework agreement on telework in five countries, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 13 (2), 181–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959680107078252>
- Maffie M.D. (2020) The role of digital communities in organizing gig workers, *Industrial Relations*, 59 (1), 123–149. <https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12251>
- Maffie M.D. (2022) The global ‘hot shop’: COVID-19 as a union organising catalyst, *Industrial Relations Journal*, 53 (3), 207–219. <https://doi.org/10.1111/irj.12367>
- McCallum J.K. (2022) *Essential: How the pandemic transformed the long fight for worker justice*, Basic Books.
- Meardi G. and Tassinari A. (2022) Crisis corporatism 2.0? The role of social dialogue in the pandemic crisis in Europe, *Transfer*, 28 (1), 83–100.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/10242589221089785>
- Moore S., Jefferys S. and Cours-Salies P. (2007) Why do Europe’s unions find it difficult to organise in small firms?, *Transfer*, 13 (1), 115–130.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/102425890701300110>
- Müller T., Schulten T. and Drahoukoupil J. (2022) Job retention schemes in Europe during the COVID-19 pandemic – different shapes and sizes and the role of collective bargaining, *Transfer*, 28 (2), 247–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10242589221089808>
- Oesch D. and Piccitto G. (2019) The polarization myth: Occupational upgrading in Germany, Spain, Sweden, and the UK, 1992-2015, *Work and Occupations*, 46 (4), 441–469.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888419860880>
- Olson M. Jr. (1965) *The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups*, Harvard University Press.
- Pasquier V., Daudigeos T. and Barros M. (2020) Towards a new flashmob unionism: The case of the Fight for 15 movement, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 58 (2), 336–363.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12507>
- Piasna A., Zwysen W. and Drahoukoupil J. (2022) The platform economy in Europe: Results from the second ETUI Internet and Platform Work Survey (IPWS), Working Paper 2022.05, ETUI.
<https://www.etui.org/publications/platform-economy-europe>
- Ranganathan A. and Das A. (2022) Speak up or stay silent: Impact of remote work on worker mobilization, Remote Work Conference (slides), Stanford University, 12-14 October 2022.
<https://www.remoteworkconference.org/>
- Toubøl J. and Strøby Jensen C. (2014) Why do people join trade unions? The impact of workplace union density on union recruitment, *Transfer*, 20 (1), 135–154.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258913516902>
- Vandaele K. (2018) How can trade unions connect with young workers?, in O’Reilly J., Leschke J., Ortlieb R., Seeleib-Kaiser M. and Villa P. (eds.) *Youth labor in transition: Inequalities, mobility, policies in Europe*, Oxford University Press, 660–688.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190864798.003.0022>

- Visser J. (2002) Why fewer workers join unions in Europe: A social custom explanation of membership trends, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 40 (3), 403–430. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8543.00241>
- Waddington J. (2014) Trade union membership retention in Europe: The challenge of difficult times, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 21 (3), 205–221. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959680114538708>
- Waddington J., Müller T. and Vandaele K. (eds.) (2023) *Trade unions in the European Union: Picking up the pieces from the neoliberal challenge*, Peter Lang. [Forthcoming]
- Walker M. (2021) Peer-to-peer online voice as emergent collective action, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 63 (5), 777–797. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00221856211031940>
- Weil D. (2014) *The fissured workplace: Why work became so bad for so many and what can be done to improve it*, Harvard University Press.
- Wesley Hansen N. and Hau M.F. (2022) Between settlement and mobilization: Political logics of intra-organizational union communication on social media, *Work, Employment and Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09500170221122537>
- Wood A.J. (2020) Beyond mobilisation at McDonald's: Towards networked organising, *Capital & Class*, 44 (4), 493–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309816820906354>
- Wood A.J. and Lehdonvirta V. (2021) Antagonism beyond employment: How the 'subordinated agency' of labour platforms generates conflict in the remote gig economy, *Socio-economic Review*, 19 (4), 1369–1396. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwab016>

All links were checked on 03.03.2023.