Trade unions in the European Union

Picking up the pieces of the neoliberal challenge
Trade unions have repeatedly been challenged by neoliberal programmes implemented within Member States of the European Union (EU) and at the European level. The twenty-seven country chapters at the core of this book chart the features of the neoliberal challenge in the EU Member States and the measures implemented by unions in their attempts to adapt to changed circumstances since 2000. It is clear that union activity, either independently or in conjunction with allies, will be at the centre of revitalization campaigns if the pieces left from the neoliberal challenges are to be picked up and wielded into a coherent response.

This book offers a comprehensive comparative overview of the development, structure, and policies of national trade union movements in the EU. It presents an in-depth analysis of the challenges facing these organizations and their strategic and policy responses from 2000 to 2020.

Jeremy Waddington is Emeritus Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Manchester
Torsten Müller is Senior Researcher at the ETUI, Brussels
Kurt Vandaele is Senior Researcher at the ETUI, Brussels
Trade unions in the European Union

Picking up the pieces of the neoliberal challenge
This book offers a comprehensive comparative overview of the development, structure, and policies of trade unions in all the 27 Member States of the EU from 2000 to 2020. It presents an in-depth analysis of the neoliberal challenges facing these organizations and their strategic and policy responses.

This publication has been peer-reviewed.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photocopy, microfilm or any other means, without prior written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved.

The European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) is financially supported by the European Union.

© 2023 Jeremy Waddington, Torsten Müller and Kurt Vandaele
Published by Peter Lang Éditions scientifiques internationales - P.I.E. SA
1 avenue Maurice, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium
www.peterlang.com; info@peterlang.com

ISSN 1376-0955
ISBN 978-2-87574-634-4
ePDF 978-2-87574-635-1
ePub 978-2-87574-636-8
DOI 10.3726/b20254
D/2022/5678/60

Open Access: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution CC-BY 4.0 license. To view a copy of this license, visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

© Jeremy Waddington, Torsten Müller and Kurt Vandaele, 2023
Peter Lang Group AG
International Academic Publishers
Bern
Foreword

More than twenty years ago I edited a book entitled *Trade Unions in Europe* with Jeremy Waddington. That book identified the challenges facing trade unions as a result of the implementation of neoliberal policies within nation states and the European Union. This volume is a timely update on developments since the millennium. Based around twenty-seven country chapters the book highlights both the challenges posed by neoliberalism to trade unions and the wide range of policy responses implemented by unions to adapt to new circumstances. It demonstrates the dangers to European social models arising from neoliberal policies and identifies what needs to be done if this model is to be protected. I recommend the book to all those interested in ensuring that the unique features of Europe’s social models can be retained in a viable form.

Reiner Hoffmann
Former President of the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB)
## Contents

List of figures .............................................................................................................. 13  
List of tables ............................................................................................................... 19  
List of contributors ................................................................................................. 25  
Preface ....................................................................................................................... 33  

Chapter 1  Trade unions in the European Union: Identifying challenges .......................................................... 37  
Jeremy Waddington, Torsten Müller and Kurt Vandaele  

Chapter 2  Austria: Trade unions in a world of ‘contested stability’? ................................................................. 93  
Vera Glassner and Julia Hofmann  

Chapter 3  Belgium: Trade unions coping with workplace fissuring and opposing wage moderation in a tottering political system ............................................................... 131  
Kurt Vandaele  

Chapter 4  Bulgaria: Trade unions establishing legitimacy through institution-building and the usages of ‘Europe’ .................................................................................................. 183  
Slavina Spasova  

Chapter 5  Croatia: Trade unions able to retain influence despite loss of resources ............................................. 213  
Dragan Bagić and Jelena Ostojić  

Chapter 6  Cyprus: A divided society with trade unions on a slow retreat ......................................................... 243  
Gregoris Ioannou and Sertac Sonan
Chapter 7  Czechia: Trade unions escaping marginalization ... 281
  Monika Martišková and Adam Šumichrast

Chapter 8  Denmark: Trade unions still afloat at ebb tide ...... 323
  Herman Knudsen, Jens Lind and Bjarke Refslund

Chapter 9  Trade unions in Estonia: Less than meets the eye ... 359
  Epp Kallaste

Chapter 10  Finland: Trade unions struggling within a Ghent system ................................................................. 387
  Markku Sippola and Tapio Bergholm

Chapter 11  France: Fragmented trade unions, few members, but many voters and much social unrest ............... 421
  Udo Rehfeldt and Catherine Vincent

Chapter 12  Germany: Different worlds of trade unionism ....... 459
  Torsten Müller and Thorsten Schulten

Chapter 13  Greek trade unions during the period 2000–2020: Plus ça change? .................................................. 503
  Ioannis Katsaroumpas and Aristea Koukiadaki

Chapter 14  Hungary: After the end of illusions, trade unions on the brink of marginality ............................... 543
  Tibor T. Meszmann and Imre G. Szabó

Chapter 15  Ireland: Trade unions recovering after being tipped off balance by the Great Recession? ................. 585
  Vincenzo Maccarrone and Roland Erne

Chapter 16  Trade unions in Italy: Pluralism and resilience ...... 625
  Salvo Leonardi and Roberto Pedersini
Chapter 17  Latvia: Trade unions with the potential to escape marginalization .......................................................... 661
   Elza Ungure

Chapter 18  Lithuania: Trade unions still see light at the end of the tunnel ...................................................... 697
   Inga Blažienė

Chapter 19  Trade unions in Luxembourg: Residual institutional strength and declining mobilization capacity .......... 731
   Adrien Thomas

Chapter 20  Malta: Trade union resilience in a changing environment ................................................................. 763
   Manwel Debono and Luke Anthony Fiorini

Chapter 21  Trade unions in the Netherlands: Erosion of their power base in the stable Polder Model ...... 799
   Paul de Beer and Lisa Berntsen

Chapter 22  Poland: Trade unions developing after a decline .... 833
   Jan Czarzasty and Adam Mrozowicki

Chapter 23  Trade unions in Portugal: Between Marginalization and revitalization ........................................... 871
   Maria da Paz Campos Lima and Reinhard Naumann

Chapter 24  Trade unions in Romania: Walking the thin line between politics and the market ......................... 911
   Ștefan Guga and Aurora Trif

Chapter 25  Trade unions in Slovakia: From politics to bread-and-butter unionism ......................................... 945
   Marta Kahancová and Monika Uhlerová
Chapter 26  Slovenia: From strong trade union movement to uneven de-unionization ........................................... 979
   Miroslav Stanojević, Andreja Poje and Živa Broder

Chapter 27  Spain: Boundaries, roles and changes in trade unionism ............................................................... 1013
   Carlos J. Fernández Rodríguez, Rafael Ibáñez Rojo and Miguel Martínez Lucio

Chapter 28  Trade unions in Sweden: still high union density, but widening gaps by social category and national origin ................................................................. 1051
   Anders Kjellberg

Chapter 29  Conclusion: Trade Unions picking up the pieces from the neoliberal challenge ................................. 1093
   Jeremy Waddington, Torsten Müller and Kurt Vandaele

Appendix A1  Indicators relevant to trade unions in the European Union .......................................................... 1149
List of figures

Figure 1.1. Weighted average in the unemployment level in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ............................................. 50

Figure 1.2. Weighted average in the employment rate in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ............................................. 53

Figure 1.3. Weighted average in the share of women in employment in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ... 54

Figure 1.4. Weighted average of employment in industry and private sector services in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 .................................................................. 56

Figure 1.5. Weighted average in the share of employment that is part-time in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ........ 57

Figure 1.6. Weighted average in the share of temporary employment in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ... 59

Figure 1.7. Weighted average of annual change in real wages and labour productivity in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 .................................................................. 61

Figure 1.8. Weighted average in wage share in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ......................................................... 63

Figure 1.9. Income inequality in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ............................................................................. 65

Figure 1.10. Weighted average in collective bargaining coverage in EU Member States (%), 2000–2020 ....................... 67

Figure 1.11. Weighted average in net trade union density in EU Member States (%), 2000–2018 .............................. 75

Figure 1.12. Weighted average in days not worked due to industrial action in EU Member States, 2000–2020 .... 77

Figure 2.1. Days not worked and workers involved in industrial action, 2000–2019 ................................................................. 113

Figure 3.1. Regional differences in union identities ...................... 134

Figure 3.2. ABVV/FGTB and ACV/CSC affiliates and mergers, 2000–2020 ................................................................. 138
List of figures

Figure 3.3. Membership distribution by union type and Region (averages), 2000–2009 and 2010–2019 ......................... 140
Figure 3.4. Share of agents in the provision of unemployment insurance and reimbursement, 2000–2020 .................. 145
Figure 3.5. Union membership and density since 2000 and changes in membership (%), comparing 2001–2010 with 2011–2020 ......................................................... 148
Figure 3.6. Number of collective agreements at the company and industrial levels, 2000–2020 ............................... 155
Figure 3.7. Participation rate and the social election results for works councils, 2000–2020 ......................................... 157
Figure 3.8. Share of days not worked because of industrial action by industry or sector and their strike-proneness, 2007–2020 ......................................................... 161
Figure 3.9. Party standing in the Chamber of Representatives since 1999 ........................................................................ 165
Figure 4.1. Number of collective agreements at company level, 2000–2018 ................................................................. 199
Figure 5.1. Union density in Croatia, 1990–2018 ....................... 222
Figure 5.2. Overview of number of strikes and strike participants, 1990–2017 ................................................................. 228
Figure 7.1. Trade union membership and density, 1993–2018 ... 297
Figure 7.2. Trade union protest actions, 1988–2017 .................. 307
Figure 7.3. Trust in trade unions, 2001–2020 ............................... 310
Figure 9.1. Number of affiliates of EAKL and TALO and main independent trade unions in 2019 and their affiliation in 2003 ..................................................................... 363
Figure 9.2. Number of registered, dissolved and created trade unions in the non-profit associations and foundations register, 2009–2018 ......................................................... 365
Figure 9.3. Union members as a percentage of employees, 2000–2019 ........................................................................ 366
Figure 9.4. Trade union membership by type of establishment, 2019 ........................................................................ 367
Figure 9.5. Trade union membership by type of member, 2019 .... 369
Figure 9.6. Number of new collective agreements registered in the register of collective agreements, 2001–2019 ............ 373
Figure 9.7. Monthly national minimum gross wage and average gross wage (in euros), 2000–2021 ........................................ 375
Figure 10.1. Working days lost and number of conflicts, 1970–2019 ................................................................. 405
Figure 11.1. Evolution of French trade union organizations, 1947–2015 ................................................................. 426
Figure 11.2. Net unionization rates in France, 1949–2016 ....... 430
Figure 11.3. Number of days not worked due to industrial action per 1,000 employees in the private sector, 2005–2016 443
Figure 11.4. Number of days not worked due to industrial action in the state civil service, 1999–2018 ...................... 443
Figure 12.1. Proportion of female members in German unions (%), 2001 and 2020 .................................................. 470
Figure 12.2. IG Metall’s structure of expenditure (as % of total expenditure), 2018 .................................................... 475
Figure 12.3. Collective bargaining coverage (%), 1998–2020 ...... 478
Figure 12.4. Workers involved and days not worked due to industrial action per 1,000 employees, 2006–2021 ... 482
Figure 13.1. Trade union density, 2000–2016 ......................... 514
Figure 14.1. Development of confederation size and structure of cleavages in Hungary, 1990–2020 ......................... 549
Figure 14.2. Trade union density across industries and industry weight in total trade union membership, 2001 ............ 555
Figure 14.3. Trade union density across industries and industry weight in total trade union membership, 2015 ............ 556
Figure 14.4. Distribution and development of trade union income (HUF million), 2005–2018 ................................. 561
Figure 14.5. Strike activity in Hungary, 2000–2019 ................ 566
Figure 14.6. Public opinion concerning trade unions in Hungary, 2005–2019 ........................................................... 568
Figure 15.1. Net union density and membership, 1990–2020 .... 593
Figure 15.2. Union membership by gender, 2005–2020 ........... 595
Figure 15.3. Number of industrial disputes per year, 1985–2020 .. 607
Figure 15.4. Days not worked due to industrial action (per 1,000 employees) and number of workers involved (thousands), 2000–2019 .................................................. 609
List of figures

Figure 15.5. Public perception of trade unions in Ireland and the EU, 2006–2018 .......................................................... 612
Figure 18.1. Comparing trade union organizations in Lithuania, 2000 and 2020 ................................................................. 701
Figure 18.2. Revenues of Lithuanian trade unions, 2018–2020 ...... 710
Figure 18.3. Number of strikes and warning strikes, 2000–2019 ... 717
Figure 20.1. Positive public opinion on trade unions, 2005–2019 . 787
Figure 21.1. Structure of FNV ...................................................... 803
Figure 21.2. Evolution of real contractual wages and real earnings since 1970 ................................................................. 818
Figure 21.3. Evolution of real minimum wage, real lowest contractual wage and real average contractual wage since 1980 ................................................................. 819
Figure 21.4. Number of strikes, days not worked due to industrial action (per 1,000 employees) and workers involved, averages per decade ........................................ 821
Figure 22.1. The identity of Polish trade unionism ..................... 835
Figure 22.2. Trade union membership (in thousands), 1980–2018 . 845
Figure 22.3. Company-level trade union membership and density by industry (%), 2014 ................................................................. 848
Figure 22.4. Number of strikes, 1989–2019 ................................... 853
Figure 23.1. Coverage rates of valid agreements and of updated/new agreements, 2002–2018 ................................................................. 886
Figure 23.2. Workers participating in strikes and days not worked due to industrial action, 1986–2019 .......... 889
Figure 23.3. Number of strikes, 1986–2019 ................................... 889
Figure 23.4. Number of workers participating in strikes in the private and public sectors (thousands), 2012–2019 ...... 891
Figure 24.1. Union membership and density, 1993–2019 .......... 919
Figure 24.2. Employees and annual income for Confederation 1, 2006–2019 ................................................................. 925
Figure 24.3. Employees and annual income for Confederation 2, 2006–2019 ................................................................. 925
Figure 24.4. Number of collective labour disputes, 1992–2019 .... 930
Figure 24.5. Collective labour disputes by industry, 1994–2019 .... 931
Figure 25.1. KOZ SR membership and income from membership fees, 1990–2020 ................................................................. 958
Figure 26.1. Gender structure of union membership, 1991–2019 ... 991
Figure 26.2. Age structure of union membership, 1991–2019 ...... 992
Figure 26.3. Share of union members with elementary, secondary and university education levels, 1991–2019 ............... 993
Figure 27.1. Total membership and union density in Spain, 1980–2018 ................................................................. 1023
Figure 27.2. Trade union membership of CCOO and UGT (in thousands), 1981–2018 ...................................................... 1023
Figure 28.1. Mergers in Swedish unionism, 2000–2020 ............ 1058
Figure 28.2. Total membership per union confederation, comparing 2000 with 2020 ..................................................... 1062
Figure 28.3. Net union density for all employees, blue-collar and white-collar workers, 2000–2020 ............................... 1065
List of tables

Table 1.1. The principal level of bargaining since 1960 .................. 69
Table 2.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Austria ..... 95
Table 2.2. Membership of sectoral/industry trade unions, 2003–
2020 ......................................................................................... 98
Table 2.3. Trade union mergers in Austria since 2000 .................. 101
Table 2.4. Female union members and their share in total
membership, 2003–2019 ............................................................ 104
Table 3.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Belgium .. 132
Table 4.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Bulgaria ..... 184
Table 4.2. Trade union membership and density, 1989–2016 ....... 194
Table 4.3. Strikes and labour disputes, 2011–2019 ..................... 202
Table 5.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Croatia ...... 214
Table 5.2. Basic information about the three representative
confederations .......................................................................... 219
Table 5.3. Union density by type of employers and enterprise size
in the private sector, 2018 .......................................................... 223
Table 5.4. Union density of employee characteristics, 2018 ....... 224
Table 6.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Cyprus
(South) ...................................................................................... 245
Table 6.2. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Cyprus
(North) ...................................................................................... 246
Table 6.3. Main trade union organizations in Cyprus (South) ..... 249
Table 6.4. Main trade union organizations in Cyprus (North) ..... 263
Table 6.5. Comparing the two parts of the country .................... 274
Table 7.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Czechia ..... 283
Table 7.2. Trade union organizations in Czechia, 2020 ............ 287
Table 7.3. ČMKOS affiliates and their industrial coverage ......... 290
Table 7.4. Financial situation of ČMKOS (in euros),
2015–2019 ............................................................................... 301
Table 7.5. Content summary of collective agreements, 2019 ....... 303
Table 8.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Denmark .. 324
Table 8.2. Trade union membership: shares by confederation and independent unions ........................................... 328
Table 8.3. Largest twenty trade unions in Denmark, 2019 .......... 333
Table 8.4. Work stoppages in Denmark, 2000–2009 and 2010–2019 .............................................................................. 343
Table 9.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Estonia ..... 360
Table 10.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Finland 388
Table 10.2. Organizational structure and membership of the main confederations, 2020 .............................................. 393
Table 10.3. Gender composition of confederations, 2019 ............ 395
Table 10.4. Members represented by confederations, 2006, 2009 and 2019 ........................................................................ 396
Table 10.5. Income and expenditure (‘000 euros), TEHY, 2018 and 2019 ................................................................. 399
Table 11.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in France ...... 422
Table 11.2. Participation of women in trade union membership in 2005 and 2016–2018 and in different union confederation bodies ........................................... 433
Table 11.3. Results of workplace elections in the private sector and civil service, 2013–2016 .............................................. 436
Table 12.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Germany ........................................................................... 461
Table 12.2. Trade union structure and membership, 2001, 2010 and 2020 ................................................................. 464
Table 12.3. Union mergers since 1989 ........................................... 466
Table 12.4. Workers covered by a works council and a collective agreement in the private sector (%), 2000, 2010 and 2020 ................................................................. 480
Table 13.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Greece .. 504
Table 13.2. Changes in the membership of GSEE, 1989–2016 ..... 510
Table 13.3. Total GSEE income from 1 April 2007 to 31 December 2009 ................................................................. 517
Table 14.1. Principal characteristics of trade unions in Hungary ... 544
Table 14.2. The ten largest Hungarian trade unions, 2018 .......... 558
Table 14.3. Full-time staff and union income (confederations and some trade unions) ................................................... 559
Table 15.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Ireland .. 586
Table 15.2. Membership of ICTU and its largest affiliates, 2008 and 2018 ................................................................. 591
Table 15.3. Union finances of ICTU and its five largest affiliates, 2019 .............................................................................. 598
Table 16.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Italy ..... 626
Table 16.2. Union federations in 2021: date of establishment and mergers ........................................................................ 631
Table 16.3. Union membership of major confederations by industry and affiliated federations, 2019 ............................................ 640
Table 16.4. Membership by gender, nationality and age, 2019 ..... 642
Table 16.5. Distribution of membership fees: the case of CGIL .... 643
Table 17.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Latvia ... 662
Table 17.2. LBAS affiliates by type, 2002, 2010 and 2020 ............ 665
Table 17.3. LBAS incomes and expenditure 2000, 2011 and 2019 ......................................................................................... 672
Table 17.4. Collective agreements in LBAS affiliate and associate organizations (data for end of year), 2001 and 2006–2016 ....................................................................................... 677
Table 17.5. Collective agreements and coverage by collective agreements, 2010, 2014 and 2018 ............................................. 678
Table 18.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Lithuania ......................................................................................... 698
Table 18.2. Number of collective agreements and their supplements, 2018–2020 ................................................................. 714
Table 19.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Luxembourg ..................................................................................... 732
Table 19.2. Trade union confederations and independent unions in Luxembourg ............................................................... 736
Table 19.3. Elected staff representatives at the company level, 2008, 2013 and 2019 ................................................................. 744
Table 20.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Malta .... 765
Table 21.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in the Netherlands .............................................................................. 800
Table 21.2. Net union density rate by member categories, 2009 and 2018/2019 ................................................................. 808
Table 21.3. Monthly membership fees of FNV and CNV (in euros), 2020 ............................................................................. 816
Table 22.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Poland .. 834
Table 22.2. Union density, 1980–2019 ................................................ 843
Table 22.3. Single-employer collective agreements registered annually, 2004–2018 ........................................... 850
Table 22.4. Number of grievances and collective disputes registered by the NLI, 2010–2019 ....................... 854
Table 23.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Portugal ................................................................. 872
Table 23.2. Trade union density in the private sector, 2011–2018 ................................................................. 879
Table 23.3. Trade union density at industry level, 2010–2018 ...... 880
Table 23.4. General strikes in Portugal, 1988–2020 ..................... 890
Table 23.5. Mass demonstrations against austerity called by unions and social movements, 2011–2013 ............... 897
Table 24.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Romania ...................................................................... 913
Table 24.2. Trade union confederations in Romania, 2019–2020 ................................................................. 916
Table 24.3. Union membership by sector, 2019* ........................ 921
Table 24.4. Union membership in the public sector, 2019* ......... 922
Table 24.5. Union membership in manufacturing, 2019* ........... 922
Table 25.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Slovakia ........................................................................... 948
Table 25.2. KOZ SR membership structure by sectoral union federations, 2011–2019 ...................................... 954
Table 25.3. Membership fees as a proportion of overall income for KOZ SR affiliated unions, 2014–2020 .......... 959
Table 26.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Slovenia ........................................................................... 980
Table 26.2. Key trade union associations, main affiliates, and number of members, 2008 ........................................ 988
Table 26.3. Trade union density rates in Slovenia, 1991–2008 ...... 990
Table 27.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Spain .............................................................................. 1014
Table 27.2. Trade union elections in Spain, 1978–2019 ............... 1017
Table 27.3. Union density by industry, 2010 ............................... 1025
Table 28.1. Principal characteristics of trade unionism in Sweden .......................................................... 1052
Table 28.2. The twenty largest national unions by confederation, 31 December 2020 .................................................. 1060
Table 28.3. Public sector share of active members per union confederation, 2000–2020 ........................................ 1063
Table 28.4. Industry norm by bargaining round since 1998 ........ 1071
Table 29.1. Likely future developments using Visser’s categories ................................................................. 1129
Table A1.A. Total trade union membership in the EU Member States in thousands, averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ........................................ 1151
Table A1.B. Gross union density in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ............................................................ 1152
Table A1.C. Net trade union membership in the EU Member States in thousands, averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ........................................ 1154
Table A1.D. Net union density in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ............................................................ 1156
Table A1.E. Share of women in union membership in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ......................................... 1158
Table A1.F. Union density of private sector workers in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ......................................... 1160
Table A1.G. Union density of public sector workers in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 ......................................... 1162
Table A1.H. Collective bargaining coverage in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2019 .................................................. 1164
Table A1.I. Days not worked due to industrial action in the EU Member States, average 1990s and annual data, 2000–2020 ................................................................. 1166
Table A1.J. Unemployment rate in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2020 ................................................................. 1167
| Table A1.K. | Employment rate in the EU Member States (%), average (1992–1999) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1169 |
| Table A1.L. | Employment rate of women in the EU Member States (%), average (1993–1999) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1170 |
| Table A1.M. | Proportion of the workforce in industry in the EU Member States (%), 1999–2020 | 1171 |
| Table A1.N. | Proportion of the workforce in the private service sector in the EU Member States (%), 1999–2020 | 1172 |
| Table A1.O. | Proportion of part-time employment in the EU Member States (%), average (1993–1999) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1173 |
| Table A1.P. | Proportion of employees on temporary contracts in the EU Member States (%), average (1993–1999) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1175 |
| Table A1.Q. | Real wage growth in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1176 |
| Table A1.R. | Productivity growth in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1178 |
| Table A1.S. | Wage share in the EU Member States (%), averages (1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s) and annual data, 2000–2020 | 1179 |
List of contributors

Dragan Bagić is Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. He is one of the rare scholars in Croatia dealing with industrial relations issues. In addition to industrial relations, his research interests include political sociology, sociology of migration and social research methodology.

Tapio Bergholm was Visiting Fellow at the Industrial Relations Research Unit at the University of Warwick in 1990–1991. He completed his PhD in Finnish and Scandinavian History in 1997, and then a PhD in Sociology in 2015. He is docent at the University of Helsinki and the University of Eastern Finland. His research interests are the history of industrial relations, transport history and, at the moment, a biography of former President of Finland Mauno Koivisto.

Lisa Berntsen is researcher at the Scientific Bureau for the Dutch Trade Union Movement, De Burcht. She has a double PhD degree in Sociology and Economics and Business from the University of Groningen and the University of Jyväskylä. Her research interests are in the field of industrial relations and migration, with a special focus on trade union renewal and changing conditions and regulations regarding migrant work.

Inga Blažienė is Senior Researcher at the Labour Market Research Division of the Lithuanian Centre for Social Sciences in Vilnius. She holds a PhD in Economics from Gediminas Technical University, Vilnius. Inga was a visiting scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford University. Currently, she is a national correspondent for Lithuania in various EU networks, including the European Observatory of Working Life and European Centre of Expertise in the field of labour law, employment and labour market policies. Inga’s research focuses on employment and labour market policies, industrial relations and working conditions.

Živa (née Filej) Broder has been employed at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Science, in the Centre for Public Opinion
Research as an expert administrative worker and researcher since 1999. She is a member of the Slovenian national team on ESS, EVS, WVS, ISSP and is a national representative for WAPOR. She has a Masters degree in Sociology.

Jan Czarzasty PhD (2010, SGH) is an economist and assistant professor at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Economic Sociology, SGH Warsaw School of Economics, Poland. Chief expert in the field of labour relations and social dialogue at the Institute of Public Affairs (ISP) in Warsaw. His main areas of academic interest include economic sociology, industrial relations and social dialogue studies, comparative studies of modern capitalism. He has authored/co-authored over 50 articles and book chapters. He supervises the SGH unit in the research team working at the NCN-funded project COV-WORK (www.covwork.uni.wroc.pl) on Poles’ life strategies and socio-economic consciousness in the context of the (post)pandemic crisis.

Paul de Beer is Henri Polak Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). He is scientific director of the Scientific Bureau for the Dutch Trade Union Movement, De Burcht, and is affiliated with the interdisciplinary labour research institute AIAS-HSI at the UvA. He holds a PhD in economics at the University of Amsterdam. Formerly, he worked as a researcher at the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) and at the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR). His research interests include industrial relations, labour market evolution and policy, social policy, solidarity, and the value of work.

Manwel Debono is Associate Professor at the University of Malta and a former director of its Centre for Labour Studies. He has been involved in numerous national and European research projects dealing with industrial relations and working conditions. He is also a veteran contributor to the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions and the European Employment Policy Observatory.

Roland Erne is Professor of European Integration and Employment Relations at UCD’s College of Business and PI of the ERC Project ‘Labour Politics and the EU’s new Economic Governance Regime’ at the UCD Geary Institute for Public Policy.
Carlos J. Fernández Rodríguez is Associate Professor in Sociology at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain. His research interests are sociology of consumption and organizations, and industrial relations.

Luke Anthony Fiorini is Director of the Centre for Labour Studies (CLS), University of Malta. He is also a resident academic at the same Centre. He has written several peer-reviewed papers, presented at international conferences and also contributes towards the CLS’s Eurofound commitments. Dr Fiorini represents Malta on the Worker Participation Network of the European Trade Union Institute.

Vera Glassner is a sociologist at the Vienna Chamber of Labour and a lecturer at the University of Vienna. Her research focus is on gender inequalities in working life and labour relations.

Julia Hofmann works as a researcher at the Vienna Chamber of Labour and is a lecturer in sociology at the University of Vienna. Her research focus is social inequality, the sociology of work and labour relations.

Rafael Ibáñez Rojo is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain. His research interests are the sociology of work and consumption, and industrial relations.

Gregoris Ioannou is a sociologist and a Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow. He is also an external Expert for Eurofound on ‘Working Conditions and Sustainable Work’ and for the European Commission. His research focuses on labour relations and trade unionism, class conflicts and contentious politics. Aspects of his work have been published as books, articles in international peer-reviewed journals, chapters in collective academic volumes, reports and commentaries. His latest research monograph, entitled Employment, Trade Unionism and Class: The Labour Market in Southern Europe since the Crisis, was published by Routledge in 2021.

Marta Kahancová, PhD, is Founder and Managing Director of the Central European Labour Studies Institute (CELSI) in Bratislava, Slovakia. Her research interests include the sociology of organizations and work; in particular, she studies industrial relations, trade unions, working conditions, and atypical and undeclared forms of work. She also serves as a labour market expert for the European Commission (European Centre
of Expertise in the field of labour law, employment and labour market policies) and the European Labour Authority (European Platform for Tackling Undeclared Work). Her publications have appeared in international peer-reviewed journals on industrial relations, sociology and human resource management. She completed her PhD under the supervision of Professor Jelle Visser at the University of Amsterdam in 2007.

**Epp Kallaste**, PhD, is Director and Senior Researcher at the Estonian Centre for Applied Research CentAR. Her main areas of expertise are labour relations, labour market, social protection and education.

**Ioannis Katsaroumpas** is a Lecturer in Employment Law at the University of Sussex. His research focuses on international, comparative and European labour law.

**Anders Kjellberg** is Professor of Sociology at Lund University, Sweden. His research deals with the Swedish model of industrial relations in a historical and internationally comparative perspective. Among the studied dimensions are self-regulation versus state regulation, union density and coverage of collective agreements.

**Herman Knudsen** is professor emeritus at Aalborg University. He has been active researching industrial relations and working life since the 1970s, notably with studies of industrial conflict, trade unions, workers’ participation and European Works Councils.

**Aristea Koukiadaki** is Professor of Labour Law and Industrial Relations in the Department of Law and member of the Work and Equalities Institute at the University of Manchester. Her research expertise is in comparative labour law and industrial relations, EU labour law and social policy and socio-legal research. Her most recent work is on enforcement of EU labour law, labour dispute resolution and precarious work.

**Salvo Leonardi** is Senior Researcher at the Fondazione Di Vittorio, where he is in charge of industrial relations. A member of numerous international research networks and a project manager, he is author of many publications, including articles in academic journals, and chapters in collective volumes on labour law and industrial relations.
Jens Lind is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Aalborg University, Denmark. His main interests and research areas are in industrial relations, focusing on labour market policy, collective bargaining, trade unions and unemployment.

Vincenzo Maccarrone is a researcher in industrial relations, political economy and sociology of work. He is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Fellow at the Scuola Normale Superiore, with a project on global governance of labour.

Miguel Martínez Lucio is Professor at the University of Manchester and is involved in its Work and Equalities Institute. He researches and publishes on the changing nature of worker representation, union renewal, the state, and social issues within labour relations.

Monika Martišková is a researcher at the Central European Labour Studies Institute (CELSI) in Bratislava, Slovakia, and is a PhD candidate at the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development at Charles University in Prague, Czechia. She is interested in labour market institutions and collective bargaining in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries.

Tibor T. Meszmann is a researcher at the Central European Labour Studies Institute, Bratislava, member of the Public Sociology Working Group ‘Helyzet’, Budapest, and member of the editorial board of LeftEast.

Adam Mrozowicki, PhD (2009, CESO KU Leuven, Belgium), is Associate Professor at the Institute of Sociology, University of Wrocław, Poland. His academic interests lie in the sociology of work, economic sociology, comparative employment relations, precarity, critical social realism and biographical methods.

Torsten Müller is Senior Researcher at the European Trade Union Institute in Brussels, where he is responsible for the area of wages, collective bargaining and trade unions in Europe.

Reinhard Naumann is an independent researcher and consultant in industrial relations and employment policies. He is Portuguese correspondent of the European Centre of Expertise in the field of labour law,
employment and labour market policies (ECE) and of the European Observatory of Working Life (EURWORK). From 1996 until 2021 he has been Director of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung office in Portugal.

Jelena Ostojić is a teaching assistant at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. Her research interests focus on the sociology of labour and industrial relations.

Maria da Paz Campos Lima, PhD (Sociology), is an integrated researcher at the Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), DINÂMIA’CET–IUL. She was an EIRO correspondent (2006–2014) and has been a correspondent of the European Observatory of Working Life (EurWORK) since 2014. She has participated in European comparative research projects on labour market reforms, social dialogue and collective bargaining. Her research interests include comparative industrial relations, collective bargaining, tripartite concertation, trade unionism and social movements.

Roberto Pedersini is Professor of Economic Sociology and Head of the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy. He has long and extensive experience in the field of employment and industrial relations. His main current research interests concern labour market regulation and policies and industrial and employment relations.

Andreja Poje is a macroeconomist and researcher. She was an executive secretary for economics of the Association of Free Trade Unions of Slovenia (ZSSS) for nine years. She holds a Master’s degree and is a PhD candidate at the University of Ljubljana, with research centred on labour economics, wages, income inequalities, gender pay gaps, collective bargaining and public finances.

Bjarke Refslund is Associate Professor in Sociology at Aalborg University, specializing in industrial relations and working life studies. He has a PhD degree in Political Science from Aalborg University. His main research areas include industrial relations, labour migration and labour market sociology.
**Udo Rehfeldt** is a political scientist and associated researcher at the IRES (France). He is the French correspondent of the ETUI network on Worker Participation in Europe and has taught comparative industrial relations at the University of Paris-X-Nanterre. His research fields are comparative and transnational industrial relations.

**Thorsten Schulten** is Head of the Collective Agreements Archive of the Institute of Economic and Social Research (WSI) within the Hans Böckler Stiftung, Düsseldorf. He also teaches political science as an Honorary Professor at the University of Tübingen.

**Sertac Sonan** is an Associate Professor at the Political Science and International Relations Department of Cyprus International University. He is the Director of Centre for Cyprus and Mediterranean Studies at the same university. His research interests include political clientelism, corruption, Cyprus conflict, and Turkish Cypriot politics and economy.

**Slavina Spasova** is Senior Researcher at the European Social Observatory and a Research associate at Université Libre de Bruxelles (CEVIPOL; ULB). She holds a PhD in political science (ULB) which explored the Europeanization of the Bulgarian trade unions. Her research agenda focuses on various social policy issues, and in particular on social protection.

**Miroslav Stanojević** is a retired Professor of Industrial Relations. He was a Head of the Organizations and Human Resources Research Centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. He is involved in projects and networks dealing with comparative employment relations, focused mainly on the central and eastern European countries.

**Adam Šumichrast** is a doctoral candidate at the Institute of History, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno specializing in comparative labour and social history. He is also a junior researcher at the Central European Labour Studies Institute. He is also interested in research into industrial unrest and collective action in present-day Slovakia and Czechia.
**Imre G. Szabó** is a postdoctoral research fellow in the ERC Project ‘Labour Politics and the EU’s new Economic Governance Regime’ at the UCD Geary Institute for Public Policy and School of Business.

**Adrien Thomas**, PhD, is a Research Scientist in the Labour Market Department at the Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER). His research focuses on trade unions in a comparative perspective, employment relations and the social dimensions of sustainable development.

**Aurora Trif** is an Associate Professor in International Employment Relations and Human Resource Management at Dublin City University Business School, Dublin City University, Ireland. Her research interests include comparative employment relations in Eastern Europe, precarious work, trade union innovation, work conflict, workplace partnership, and compassion at work. She has published widely in international scholarly journals.

**Monika Uhlerová**, PhD., is Vice-President of the Confederation of Trade Unions in the Slovak Republic (KOZ SR) (since 2016). She is also Vice-President of the Economic and Social Council of the Slovak Republic. Her research interests include institutionalized social dialogue and the role of trade unions in transforming labour markets.

**Kurt Vandaele** is Senior Researcher at the European Trade Union Institute in Brussels. His research interests include workers’ resistance and their collective action repertoire, trade union revitalization, the platform economy and the political economy of Belgium and the Netherlands.

**Catherine Vincent** is a sociologist and senior researcher at IRES (Noisy-le-grand, France). Her current research interests focus on collective bargaining, employee workplace representation and HRM in the private and the public sector. She recently authored the French chapter of the ETUI book on collective bargaining in Europe.

**Jeremy Waddington** is Emeritus Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Manchester. During much of the period of preparation of this volume he was also Project Coordinator at the European Trade Union Institute.