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Challenges Facing Trade Unions in the Modern Society:

“THE CURRENT EXODUS”

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Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences

Bachelor of Business Administration

International Business & Logistics

Thesis

31 October 2015

Author(s) Title	Grace Ndiritu Challenges Facing Trade Unions in the Modern Society "The Current Exodus"
Number of Pages Date	39 pages + 1 appendix
Degree	Bachelor of Business Administration
Degree Programme	International Business & Logistics
Instructor(s)	Daryl Chapman, Lecturer
<p>Abstract:</p> <p>It's not a secret that trade unions have been experiencing insurmountable challenges related to globalisation. Although the levels of impact differ greatly, the challenges faced by trade unions in Nordic and Western European countries show similarities; high unemployment rates, economic crisis, diverse workforce, escalated immigration, among others. Studies show that trade unions are trying to combat these challenges by adopting organising model elements which involves social unionism movement. Unfortunately, this has not been adopted by all unions.</p> <p>This study looks at the general challenges faced by trade unions due to globalisation and mainly focus on immigration due to the broadened subject of globalisation and trade unions. Another reason is because of the current increasing asylum seekers in EU countries, particularly in the Nordic and Western European countries. Majority of the latter becomes part of the workforce, after sometime of been registered in the country of destination and are categorised under immigrant workers. Hence, the relationship between trade unions and immigrant workers, and how it can be improved is examined. An extensive secondary research is carried out, to gather information from varying sources about the subject matter.</p> <p>The findings show that many trade unions are open to have fruitful relationships with immigrant workers and are organising and forming alliances with different immigrant orientated organisations. The success will entirely depend on trade unions' initiatives.</p>	
Keywords	Trade Unions, Workers, Immigrant Workers, Globalisation, Immigration

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## **Acronyms & Abbreviations**

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
BIS	Department of Business Innovation and Skills
CO	Certification Officer
DGB	“Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund” (German Labour Federation)
EC	European Commission
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
ETUI	European Trade Union Institute
EU	European Union
Eurostat	European Statistical System
GUFs	Global Union Federations
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Union
IG Metall	“Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall” (Industrial Union of Metalworkers)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JFC	Justice for Cleaners
LC	London Citizen
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Non-government organization
NLRA	National Labor Relations Act
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SEIU	Services Employees International Union
SIPTU	Service Industrial Professional and Technical Union
TELCO	The East London Communities Organisation
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
ICT	Information and Technology

Interchanging Words: ‘Workers’ & ‘Employees’; ‘Management’ & ‘Employer’; ‘Trade Unions & ‘Labour Unions’; ‘Government’ & ‘State’, ‘migrant workers’ & ‘labour migrants

## **1 Introduction**

To many, trade unionism may sound outdated, irrelevant and maybe a subject that would be told in a history class. On the contrary, the academic literature related to trade unions have significantly increased in economics, political and social related studies. It is a fact that individualism plays a significant role in the modern society. Moreover, the society today is calling for innovations in start-ups and entrepreneurship, which are more related to self-employment. But, we must be ignorant to assume that unionism is irrelevant, putting into realistic that almost seven out of ten working people we know, work in a firm, company or in an organisation. In addition, we cannot assume that we'll all venture into our own business in future.

In an employer-employee relationship, generally, the former have more resources and power in bargaining that leaves the latter in a vulnerable situation. Researchers have found out that employees feel motivated, when they are able to raise their grievances without fear of being picked upon, intimidated or fired. Motivation comes with great performance that yields high productivity at workplaces. We must also, agree that it is easier for management to address issues concerning employees with selected representatives on behalf of employees rather than trying to solve the problems with each one of them.

In the modern world, people form groups "unionise" in Facebook, Twitter and other social media, to share ideas and information with a certain group of people. Sense of belonging is a natural human feeling. As Abraham Maslow describes it in the 'hierarchy of needs' "Humans need to feel a sense of belonging regardless of whether these groups are large or small or are formed with family, friends or at workplaces.

Many researchers find globalisation as a leading factor to trade unions' challenges. Traditionally, they dealt with issues related to labour rights on a national level, now this is just part of it; escalated immigration, high unemployment rates, diverse workforce, inequalities, economic crisis, are all calling for trade unions to step up on their game and start re-strategizing in global terms.

To combat the negative impact of globalisation, varying strategies have been suggested by different authors. However, not so much has been written about the recent increased immigration of asylum seekers in Nordic and Western European countries, perhaps because this is still ongoing. After registration, majority of the asylum seekers joins the workforce in the country of destination and become part of immigrant workers. That's why this study will try to identify suggested strategies related to immigration that can help trade unions to find a common ground with immigrant workers.

In the first section, we will briefly discuss the history of trade unions, just to give the reader an idea of how it all started. Challenges facing trade unions in the modern society are also discussed in this section. Mainly, the challenges discussed here are related to globalisation. Due to the fact that the story of globalisation and trade unions is broad, this study limits the research topic to recent immigration in Nordic and Western European countries, hence emphasising on the situation of immigrant workers and trade unions in the mentioned countries.

The second section, basically, gives a summary of the literature review section. Also the research question "the issue of immigrant workers and challenges they pose to trade unions", is identified and how it will be addressed is explained. Different methods that is research design, data collection and analysis that are to be used to conduct this research are elaborated in the third section. The reasons why they suit this type of study are also explained.

Data extracted from different sources is analysed in fourth section; relationship between trade unions and immigrant workers, cases showing different strategies used and suggested ideas and strategies identified to enhance healthy unification are all discussed in this section.

The study concludes by explaining the findings of the analysed data and the reasons why it's important to continue with this research. Also recommendations on how to improve the relationship between trade unions and immigrant workers are given.



## 2 Literature Review

The first part of this section, starts by discussing the historical perspective of trade unions, this discussion enlightens the reader on how the trade unions began. Therefore, the history of the British Trade Union Movement is unfolded as unions emerged here first. Also, in this part both German Trade Unions and American Labour Movement are discussed briefly, as this gives us the ability to compare and contrast, hence, get a deeper understanding about unions' experiences; for example, the effects of deindustrialization.

The second part reveals some of the major challenges that trade unions are experiencing in the modern society. Since, different trade unions encounter varying challenges in different parts of the world, this study only focuses on some of the general problems that trade unions face due to globalisation, with reference to Europe. A further critical analyses are done on the current movement of refugees to Nordic and Western European countries.

### 2.1 British Trade Union Movement

The trade unions began first in Europe in the sixteenth century, starting from craft guilds and later to mutual aid societies. Reid, (2010: 3) argues that, the craftsmen found in assembly sectors such as engineering & shipbuilding, joined hands to protect their interests, enforce apprenticeship rules and discuss politics matters and other challenging matters. Since then, the unionism has stayed in Europe with a significant progressive. Different unions have as well been formed all over the world. Unions became stronger after World War II, it was a 'golden age' of trade unionism<sup>1</sup> in Europe.

Phelan (2007: 146), explains, that political leaders joined hands with the unions in the effort to secure a sustained economic growth. It was an integrated trade union movement. Phelan further states that governments regulated wage bargaining through income policies and related economic measures. The new national health systems,

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<sup>1</sup> Trade Unionism: principles and theory of labour unions

improved social wage, unemployment insurance and housing schemes stood as a proof for the trade unionism power.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas in America, Unionisation began in the 19th century. Wheeler (2002: 509) argues that shoemakers, printers and other skilled tradesmen were the first trade unionist. Meanwhile, the unions increased when construction of factories with huge production were invented, for example, "the Textile Mills of New England, began to hire young girls from the farm" (Yates 2009: 36). According to Storch (2013: 4) workers were paid low wages<sup>3</sup> and working conditions were not good. In addition, people willing to work for low wages were flopping from rural areas and from Europe. Workers joined hands to protect their interests. Storch further argues that people were determined to build union movement that would offer them; power, relevance and protection (2013: 6). However, Yates states that this was met by obstacles due to great depressions (2009:36).

With the industrial revolution in Britain, the labour unions became powerful. They demanded better wages and working conditions for workers, employers fulfilled these wishes in fear of stoppage of production and in those days, skilled labour was scarce. Many authors claim that there was a high growth of labour unions in Britain, due to the large-expansion of industries in fields like coal mines, cotton factories and iron and steel mills. Initially, trade unions negotiated wages, hours and working conditions for workers; coal miners, shoe makers, rail workers, etc. In the twentieth century, unions progressively expanded to printing, transportation, engineering and construction industries. Being favoured by the legislation of the Labour Government, the unions expanded rapidly. Hyman (2001: 67) argues that despite the brutal resistance by employers the British trade unionism was firmly embedded within the law and had a high recognition from employers with an attached concept of "free collective bargaining". The long-term relationship between the unions and the labour party, led to a 'social contract' between the Labour Government and TUC from 1975 to 1978. McSmith, (2011: 7), states that the unions drew up industrial law and developed economic policy.

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<sup>2</sup> However, some felt this as mythical rather than real because many workers, especially ethnic minorities and women remained outside the union fold (Hyman, 2001)

<sup>3</sup> Low wage: Defined by OECD as earning less than two-thirds of the average earnings of the employees of an economy.

Same as Britain, the other side of Atlantic experienced rapid development in industries, which gave a breakthrough to labour unions. Yates (2009:53) further states that NLRA was formed by the Federal Government under President Franklin Roosevelt. Laws under NLRA permitted workers to form unions without employers' interferences and obliged them to bargain collectively with unions. Labour unions were recognised, the unionism spirit spread all over the country. Labour unions were seen as essential for building the economy and social welfare. Through labour support, Franklin D. Roosevelt was re-elected four times in the office. "Newly forming unions benefited, from the state willingness to advocate into the relationship between workers and employers" (Storch 2013: 69). Meanwhile, unions were unable to chase a broader social democratic programme due to the limitations of the Taft-Hartley Act<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, it has been "one of the key drivers of the decade-long decline in union density and power" (Yeselson cited in Milkman 2014:4)

The AFL and CIO joined hands in 1955 to protect worker's interest. The two federations fought for; increase in minimum wage, extensive health insurance provision, pension reforms and legislation for unions to continue bargaining collectively for employees. The AFL-CIO also tried to oppose the NAFTA among other international trade agreements, as this was seen as a threat to better wages. Skrabec (2013: 179) question, "has international trade made goods affordable that we can have a better lifestyle even if we are unemployed? Clearly indicates a threat from international trades. American unions feared, NAFTA would lead to high losses of domestic jobs, saw it a symbol of destroying unionism and employer power to shift work. As Yates (2009: 125) contends, it is ironical to see workers voting in large numbers for the president who in return, push away unions, favours the rich and drives down the wages.

According to Fraser, by 1979, trade unions in Britain, bargained for 5 million and had achieved the highest penetration of 55.4% membership (1999: 235). Phelan, (2007: 146) states that employers were not obliged to bargain with unions and collective agreements were not legally reinforced. Under collective bargaining<sup>5</sup>, Kang (2012: 116) states that minimum wage was set and government adopted these measures. Phelan

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<sup>4</sup> Taft-Hartley Act: 1947 Act that restricts labour unions activities and power

<sup>5</sup> Collective Bargaining: a series of promises by the employer to abide by agreed upon rules with the unions. Covering a period of certain years.

(2007: 148) further argues that the modern industrial relation structure was shaped by the trade unions. In other countries as Kang (2012: 116) elaborates, collective bargaining were legalised by creating rights to unionize and strike, then the courts had a role to interpret the nature and restrictions of these rights. However, this was not the case in Britain, Hyman (2001:69) affirms that the courts were denied control of created legal immunities defining industrial relations.

### 2.1.1 British Trade Union Challenges

To cope up with diversified and fluctuating markets, Hyman argues that the British industries relied heavily on the versatility of labour force (2001: 71). Initially, British industries were based on small-scale. With industrial expansion, technology innovation proved difficult to cope up with; new machineries were expensive and unreliable. To raise the slow economic growth in the 70s, the Labour Government made an agreement with the unions: as Kang (2012: 117) contends, a continuation of offering workers' welfare benefits and full employment in return the unions would reduce the wages by 5 percent. However, the economy deteriorated in the late 70s and the Government was forced to borrow an emergency loan from the IMF. The miners' strike defeat 1984-85 caused more damage to the British trade union movement. Since then, "the unions have suffered the highest decline of membership in Europe" (Darlington 2014: 69). Schnabel (cited in Phelan 2014:14) states, the union density dropped 23.2 percent between 1980 and 2010. The labour party was eventually defeated and the conservative party came to power.

Kang (2012: 119) further argues that, Conservative Party also known as 'Thatcherism'<sup>6</sup>, limited union powers under the new policies. Standing on a 'monetarist' platform, the Conservatives didn't stand for; consulting trade unions over wages, nor expanding the welfare state, as McSmith (2011: 20); contends. In order to promote growth, the party believed in privatisation of assets and lowering labour costs, while in US, as Luce explains, Reagan broke the Air Traffic Controller' Union in the famous PATCO strike (2014: 25-26). According to Phelan (2014: 11), this period was characterised by low levels of trade union density, weak mechanism of social dialogue and a high degree of

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<sup>6</sup> Thatcherism: belief in free markets and small state, rather than planning and regulating business & business life (online) at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-22079683>

employer prerogative in the workplace. Compared to the new foreign owned companies, like electronic industries, Fraser (1999: 184) affirms that, steel, vehicle industries and shipbuilding were doing fairly badly. On the same page, Fraser further explains that nuclear energy programs which were major competitors to coal industries led to mine closures as the Government supported more these programs.

In Kang's opinion the new Labour Party in the office in 1997, also secluded itself from trade union issues (2012: 113). The party urged on modernisation of policy, flexibility and growth. Also, training and skills development were promoted and employment rights under employers and employee partnerships were created to promote job security. The success of the distance allowed the Labour government to fashion, Britain as a low wage country, deregulated economy so as to attract foreign investment, serve as a hand maid to employers' effort to decentralize collective bargaining, de-recognize trade unions and introduce flexible, individual labour contracts.

Today, British unions (combining the whole UK) are progressively improving. According to statistics bulletin released in 2014 by BIS, around 6.4 million employees belonged to trade unions with the majority identified from the Northern regions of England as illustrated in figure 1 below.

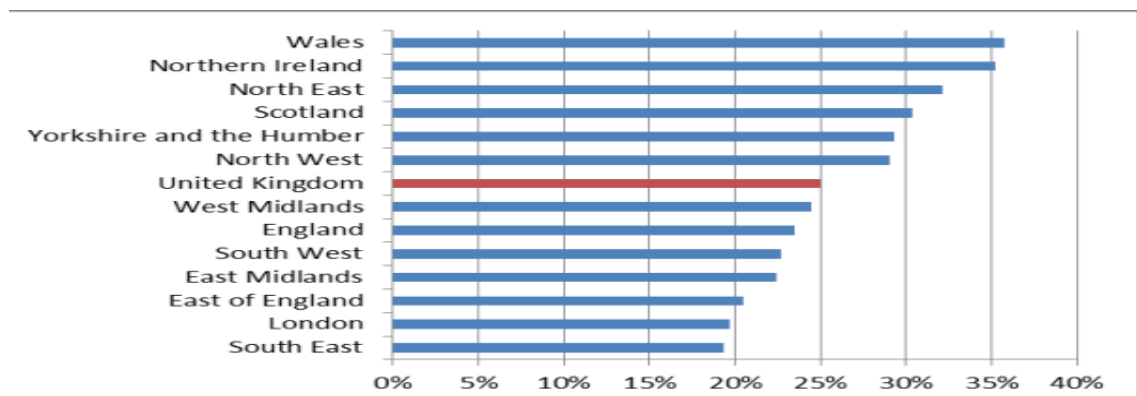


Figure 1 - Trade union density by nation & region, UK employees 2014.

Source: Labour Force Survey, Office of National Statistics cited in Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2015. Statistical Bulletin

Even though there's been a significant decline of membership of over 13 million from 1979 to 2014 as shown in figure 2 below. New leaders have been appointed and new

strategies are being implemented for example, restricting the trade unions to become a transparent union and educating people about trade unions.

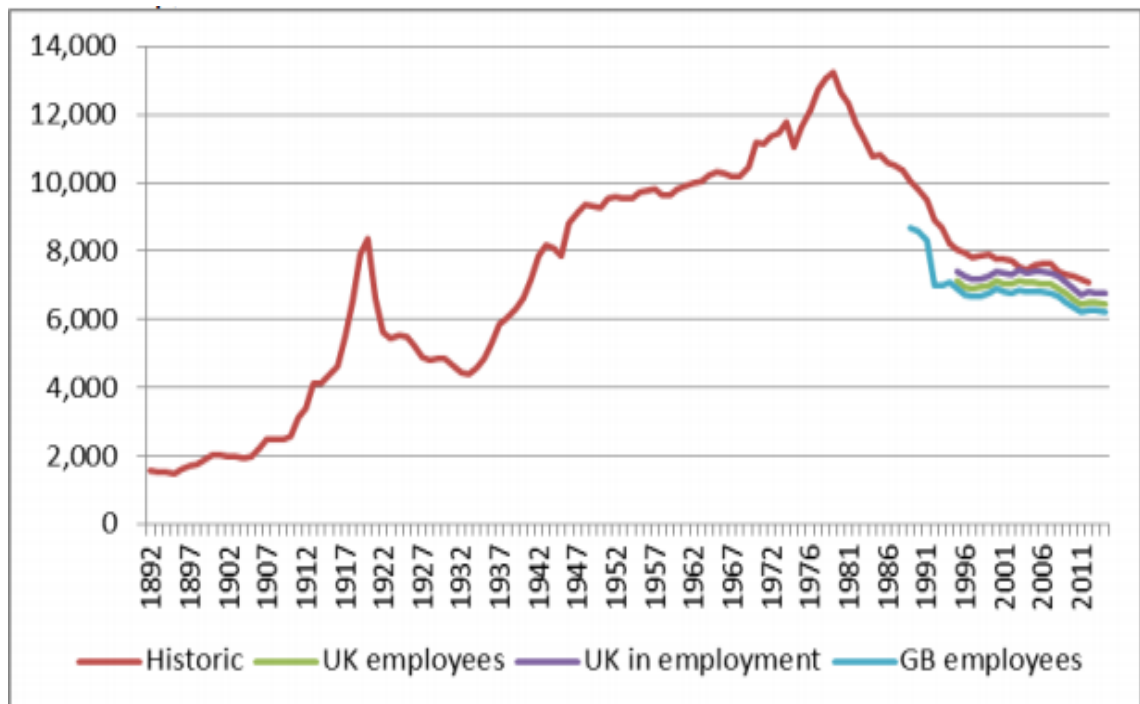


Figure 2 - Trade Union membership (in millions) in UK (1892-2014)

Source: Labour Force Survey, Office of National Statistics; Department of Employment (1892-1973); Certification Office (1974-2012) cited in Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2015. Statistical Bulletin

With the new trade union bill introduced by the government, the trade unions will be facing harder times in future. According to columnist Ellie Mae O'Hagan, the Certification Officer (CO), the government regulator for trade unions and employers' associations was given excessive powers: administrative details on industrial disputes and political expenditure should be given to the CO, also the CO will monitor the union records to ensure that they are not using their resources for sedition. The latter will become the judge and jury of trade union activities and if the unions breach the rules a fine of up to £20,000 will be paid. This proves that further developments are required in British trade unions, for example, campaign for changes in legislative law and rebuild people's trust and confidence to trade unions.

### 2.1.2 Contrast between the British and German Trade Unions

Though the German unions faced challenges in the 1980s, their experiences were not as stiff as the British unions. Despite the challenging global competition, the German economy fared better than most European Countries (Hyman 2001:196). De-industrialisation was a major cause of weakening trade unions in Britain, this was less marked in Germany. Hyman (2001; 127) argues that Kohl government was less hostile to the German unions; the firmly established rights of work council proved a steadfast factor in times of difficulties with small number of membership decline. As we have noted in (page 6), British unions faced difficult challenges under the Conservative Party. Merging into larger associations in Germany also helped unions curb membership decline.

According to Silvia (2013: 3), in late 2000s the IG Metall, welcomed 'social movement unionism' and began a radical re-organisation. This reversed the union membership decline. The unification between employers and trade unions strengthened the German economy. Despite the challenges the collective bargaining parties faced in 2008, employers' associations, employers, unions and state joined hands and implemented a set of effective programmes to curb unemployment. The short term work was filled with the exchange of wage-and-benefit concessions for employment guarantees (Silvia 2013:225). The successful outcome made Germany a role model among prosperous countries. Phelan (2007: 174) defines German Union Movement as a regionalised collective bargaining system managed by industrial unions & well-organised employers' associations.

### 2.1.3 American Labour Movement Challenges

There are so many arguments about why the labour unions declined in America. Rosenfeld (2014: 18), argues that globalisation has caused so much trouble in many US firms: "Increased product competition in product markets undermines the union bargaining power in labour market" (Griswood 2010). In his article, Hyman (2007) states that trade unions acted as collective bargainers at national levels; industries such as manufacturing and construction which had most unionised workers, were not able to adapt to the rapidly changing economy; In addition, "increased workforce diversity reduced the necessary solidarity for collective union" (Wheeler 2002:4).

Yates (2009: 87) argues that globalisation has given employers power to oppress labour unions, the former disobeyed labour laws; refused to provide unemployment benefits, medical care, etc. Meanwhile, the slow economic growth led to bargaining structures dissolution, employers broke the bargaining code and preferred to handle wages & benefits at the individual enterprise level. Employers, for example, in the steel, mining industries claimed to their employees that unionisation was reducing the power to compete with non-unionised firms.

Manufacturing, constructions and transportation were the key industries for the labour movement. Due to de-industrialisation, there were new technological innovations in these industries replacing workers hence, reduced employment. As Hyman (2007) states, there has been a relative decline in the manufacturing sector and growth in service sectors which are weakly unionised. Rosenfeld (2014: 18) explains, job growth shifted to service sectors and high-tech industries, areas that unions had little experience. Troy (cited in Wheeler 2002: 4) suggests that the transition of highly unionised manufacturing workers to low unionised service workers played a significant role in membership loss. According to Wheeler (2002: 3), unions have been lacking enough resources to organize new members. Being unable to reach out on these sectors, as Luce suggests lead to union membership decline (2014: 112). Nearly, all industries in US have large non-union sectors and immigrant workers, which make unions more vulnerable to employers.

Bureau of Labour Statistics, News Release 2015, reported that 14, 6 million workers were union members in 2014, with a decline of 0.2 percent from the previous year. The majority was identified from New York City and workers in public sectors; education, training and library occupation emerged to be the highest with a rate of 35.5 percent for each occupation.



## 2.2 Major Challenges Facing Trade Unions Today

Globalisation is growing rapidly and has become a core subject of discussion in many fields; political, social and economic. Companies are growing overseas through merging and acquisitions. Their aim is to seek cheap labour and new markets. Globalisation plays on the two sides of the coin, on one side: it promotes economic growth and employment opportunities; transfer of technology, innovation and creativity; and loosens the trading restrictions. In addition, it has also advanced ICT and transportation. Munck (2010: 219) suggests that the revolution of transport and communication in 1970s and 1980s speeded up trade and economic transactions. On the other side of the coin; workers have been replaced with technology, resulting in unemployment, job insecurities and union membership decline; arising of low wage non-union workers and precarious work, particularly, held by immigrants due to increased immigration; escalating inequalities; inability of unions to speak on behalf of workers; abandonment of labour laws through deregulation, marketisation and privatisation; economic crisis in 2008, among others. Maybe, the question we should be asking ourselves right now is 'Do the globalisation benefits exceeds the injury, it causes, or is it vice-versa?

Milkman states that globalisation has emerged as a major contributing factor to the difficulties, trade unions are facing (2014: 4). It exhausts the trade unions' ability to regulate work and employment within the national boundaries in which they are embedded (Bernaciak et al. 2014: 11). Standing (2011: 37) summarizes globalisation as "commodification" where everything can be bought and sold as a commodity subject to market forces. The fragmented sub-sections below will discuss further some of the negative effects that trade unions experience due to globalisation

### 2.2.1 Globalisation & Unemployment

"While globalisation has led to a massive increase in wealth...a closer look reveals a troubling picture for many of the world's worker" (Luce 2014: 9-11). If the creation of global economy produces a global workforce, Munck (2010: 219) suggests that it might seem to be reasonable for global unions. However, the global economic power does not call forth for a balanced global social counter-movement.

Hyman (2007) argues that many analysts see globalisation as a challenge which limit the employment regulation & hence lessens the capacity of trade union capacity. Hyman further adds that demographic changes, extensive privatisation, curbs on public expenditure have challenged regulatory processes According to Storch (2013: 187) & Bernaciak et al. (2014: 11), the global competition led to manufacturing companies relocating abroad. In search of profit maximisation and with reduced capital movement regulations, jobs moved to lower labour costs and non-unionised areas, leaving the unions with no power (Gall & Hurd 2011 ch. 1). This weakened workers and their unions as jobs were open to non-union workers.

The alteration of world's capital-labour ratio and weakened bargaining position of workers, in Standing (2011:39) opinion, were caused by China, India and ex-Soviet bloc entering the global economy in 2000 with little capital and low wages. In addition, Hayter (2015) argues that the emergence of global production networks has further weakened the bargaining power of labour. She names inequality and insecurity as the most significant "labour problems" of our era.

Faced with competition from global competition, Standing (2011: 52) & Yates (2009: 26) claim that firms have been downsizing, closing, outsourcing and offshoring and by changing workforce into precariat<sup>7</sup>. Also, wage differences have augmented remarkably between regular employees and those near the precariat. With the shift from manufacturing to service sectors, thousands of workers were displaced, disempowered and labour unions staggered in membership loss. Management get rid of previous commitments to employees by outsourcing, only to hire the same skilled employees as self-employed contractors (Gall & Hurd 2011: ch. 1). According to Luce (2014: 100-101), this also allows the management to get rid of labour and employment laws as contractors are not covered by minimum wage nor do they have a right to form a union. Expanding private sectors such as retail, hospitality, building services to mention a few spreads through avoiding unions, privatisation and outsourcing.

Globalisation gives employers the power to threaten employees; for instance, an employer might threaten the employees by saying "a firm will move abroad if the

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<sup>7</sup> Precariat: useful work that is uncertain, unstable and insecure (Vosko cited in Luce 2014: 97)

employees become union members". Piazza (cited in Chaison 2014, ch. 1) explains that this threat is convincing if much of the industry have partly relocated as many have in light manufacturing.

Supervisors told lies concerning the tyranny of union power, others used lawyers to delay union elections through appeals. And if the elections were held, management refused to negotiate contracts (Storch 2013: 195).

In addition, Hyman (2007) argues that employers escape easily the national employment structure through economic internalisation. They have also turned the full-time workforce to a temporary workforce, as Storch (2013: 188) & Standing (2011: 46) explain, this signified less responsibility for worker's unemployment, benefits, health insurance, risks of being fired, among others.

Standing's opinion on temporary job is that it may be a necessity to many, but it is unlikely to promote social mobility (2011: 26). Moreover, it is a sign of stepping down into a lower status of income, once this is the case, the chances of getting a 'decent' income may be difficult. He further states that many firms pay people as part-timers but expect them to work full hours. In ETUI publication (2013: 18-20), Lang et al. describe Zero-hours contracts as one of the newest contractual forms whereby, workers are placed in insecure positions by employers not providing number of hours to be worked at and pays are not guaranteed. In UK, the number of workers under such contract doubled between 2005 and 2012. They further suggest that, efforts should be made by that worker under such contracts can be called to work for a certain period of time and be paid only for the hours they've worked. Also, holiday and sick pay should be included in the contract.

Another new controversial contract in UK as Lang et al. further discuss, is whereby employees are willing to set aside their employment rights in exchange of company shares. Some of these rights include; unfair dismissal, request for flexible working hours and time off for training. This is demeaning for trade unions who intensely, protects employment rights. Silvera (cited in Lang et al. 2013) explains that the House of Lords approved "employee ownership bill" after so many debates, permitting employees to give up some of their labour rights in exchange for shares, but, with slight concession

that employers will have to offer legal advice to the employee willing to accept the system.

Globalisation forces the unions to focus on new goals - closing the gap between the labour cost that has been imposed through collective bargaining agreements and the labour costs of international companies. The recent statistics show that the unemployment rate in EU28 went down from 11.1 % in June 2015 to 10.9% in July 2015, with the lowest unemployment rates indicated in Germany (4.7%) and the highest rate indicated in Greece (25.0%) as illustrated in the figure 3 below.

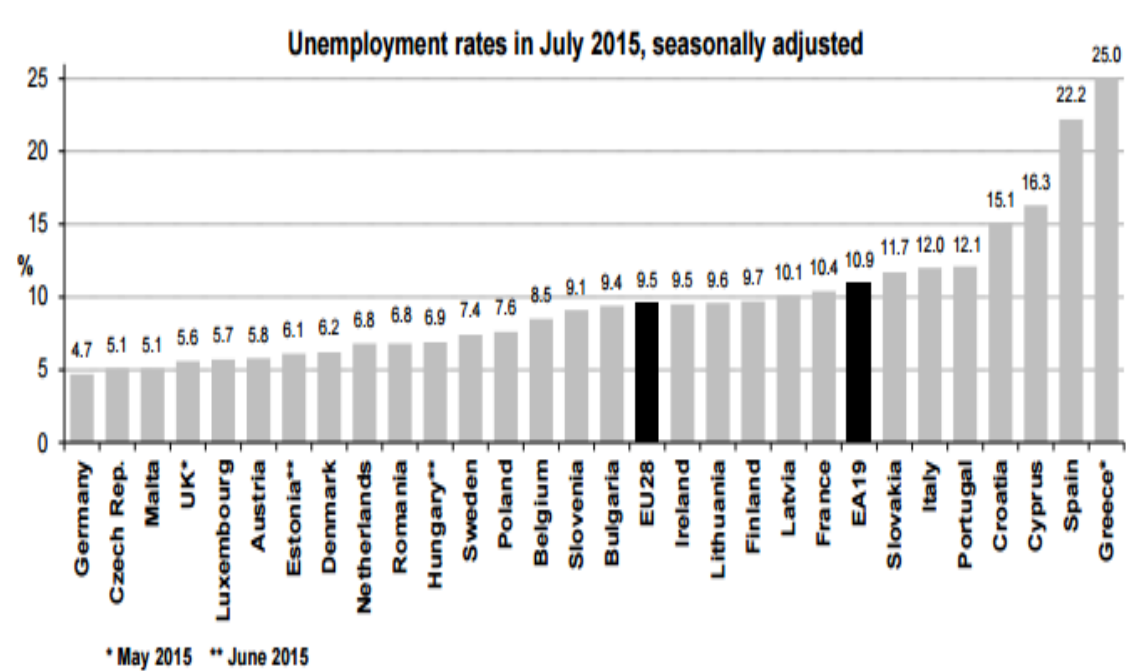


Figure 3 - Euro Area Unemployment Rate  
Source: Eurostat News release Sep. 2015

“Every year, about a third of employee in OECD countries leave their employer for one reason or another” (Standing 2011: 46-48) and “the role of unemployment is climbing rapidly” (Munck 2013: 240). “ILO’s (2015) estimates, 201 million workers were unemployed in 2014” (Hayter 2015).

### 2.2.2 Economic Crisis

In addition, to the long-term difficulties, Bernaciak et al. (2014: 5) argues that the economic crisis in 2008 caused severe austerity measures and acted as a pretext for collective bargaining institutions attack in many countries. Thirty years of global liberalisation have prompted to the increasing global crises. An example given by Turner (2014: 5) shows that in the US, wage stagnation and upward wealth redistribution led to the need of subprime loans. Yates (2009: 15) adds that the market crash in 2000 and later in 2007, left the working class in US, in irrecoverable state. The shortfall of money forced them to borrow with credit cards and take home equity loans. These rapidly accumulated the consumer spending and left workers blocked in huge amount of debts and finally resulted in financial collapse and the global economy crashing. The informal economy as Tate argues, forced trade unions in US to take a broader orientation on versatile political movement than just issues such as wages and benefits (cited in Munck 2010: 228).

Gall & Hurd. (2011, ch. 1), associate neo-liberalism<sup>8</sup> with privatisation, liberation, deregulation and less government spending. That means less role for the state and maximum role to the market which promotes individual liberty and guarantee economic growth. In short, workers are exposed to the unpredictable markets with less protection from the government, leaving the workers into the hands of powerful employers to form regulations concerning employment relationship. According to Standing (2011: 17), neo-liberalism claims emphasised on needs to pursue "labour flexibility" otherwise, corporations would transfer productions and investments to countries where the cost was lower. As labour flexibility became rampant, long-term, stable, fixed hour jobs with established unionisation reduced significantly. According to Becker (2014: 28), labour flexibility involves, continuous adjustment of workers' schedules and shifts in relation to the decrease and flow of consumer traffic and sales.

Turner (2014: 3) refers to inequality as possession of wealth on one hand and workforces facing insecure circumstances on the other hand. In Yates (2009: 28) opinion, capitalistic economic system divides the society into two classes; those who own the workplaces and those who work for them. A high percentage own nothing while a small percentage

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<sup>8</sup> Neo-Liberalism: liberal political views prioritising economic growth.

own almost everything. In their article "Déjà Vu All Over Again" Kotz & Wolfson (2004) argue that in the past US economy performed poorly and exhibited instability under free market predomination periods: In the golden age, the economic growth was at 4 percent per year while in the free-market period, the economic growth was at 3 percent. That means active regulated state and strong trade union had faster growth in output than the free-market, weak union periods. With economic factors such as unemployment and job insecurities, labour unions have not been able to respond to employers' challenges (Gall & Hurd 2011, ch. 1).

Five years after the global economic crisis, Luce (2014: 36) explains that firms have expanded, broader networks less accountability, more complicated regulations and trade agreements which is ironical because free markets call for less regulation. "In reality, she says, many neoliberal reforms resulted in increased regulations" causing the corporations to restructure in ways that hindered workers to organize and bargain for better wages and working conditions. Luce further argues that Export Processing Zones (EPZs) which were liberated from domestic labour and employment laws often, came along with neoliberal reforms. This means that the new jobs related to EPZs were unlikely to be unionised (2014: 51)

### 2.2.3 Diverse Workforce

Not long ago, unions failed to build alliances with diverse workforce, including domestic workers, immigrant workers, and black workers. Luce (2014: 109) explains that employers took the advantage of the division in the workforce. By excluding groups of workers from their ranks, unions created the conditions of their own decline. Gall & Hurd (2011: ch. 1) argues that globalisation has changed the work landscape and workforces across countries. Meanwhile, groups organised around race and ethnicity are reshaping the society. It's unfortunate that trade unions have been slow in exploiting the membership potential of new workforces, such as young, disabled, lesbians, gays, among others. Though unions are diverse in composition and occupations they represent, Luce (2014: 45) suggests that they are still far from representing the global working class. Particularly, the young generation who are facing unemployment and under employment.

#### 2.2.4 Immigration

As Munck (2010: 243) elaborates, the unfolding globalisation in the 1980s, came along with huge transformation of labour in the world. There was increased mobility between countries and restructuring of labour that entailed wages and functional flexibility. Though this took different national forms and depended on the strength of labour movement, the whole process was driven by global nature. He further states that trade unions pleaded for 'a social clause' to be included in the multilateral agreements that prevented "social-dumping" across borders. Becker (2014: 26) & Munck (2010: 236) argue that in the past, organised labour viewed immigrants as a threat and a problem to labour standard. While unions looked foreign workers as the enemy, Luce (2014: 112) argues that employers were moving jobs overseas, getting rid of unions, strikes, etc. Most unions supported regulations that hindered immigration hiring practices and policies.

In UK, falling wages and worsening conditions in the care, hospitality and agricultural sectors where migrants are concentrated have intensified downward pressure in other sectors (Standing 2011: 113-115)

Flashing back in the past, In Italy, as Standing elaborates, a city called Prato, near Florence was invaded by Chinese immigrants in 1989 (2011: 16). The city was well known of solidarity and great manufacturing centre of textiles and garments. The Chinese opened textile firms & operated under low wages with Chinese immigrants gradually, flopping the city. By 2008 the number of Chinese firms had risen to 4,200. Italian old factories experienced harsh competitions, as Chinese built community within community, and eventually shedding workers. They also shifted more workers from regular to precarious jobs.

Wheeler, (2002: xvi) argues that the traditional bargaining and organising of unions have been affected by the high number of migrant workers. "Emerging market economies will continue to be a primary factor in the growth of precariat" (Standing 2011: 38). Due to global competition and desire to increase profitability, employers prefer hiring foreign workers (low compensated, non-union compared to domestic workers). Immigrants have been prone to low-paid jobs or long working hours without security or protection from trade unions (Milkman 2014: 7); Besides, agencies may withhold wages for migrant

workers as a return of finding them jobs abroad. Also, the latter may have difficulties in opening bank accounts or finding accommodation. Menz (2009: 287-289) shows the exploitation of migrant workers in the case between Irish ferries and a Cyprus based contractor who dismissed Irish employees and paid Latvian hourly wages of € 0.71 and claimed this practice to constitute to be legitimate.

It is a fact the most migrant workers are not registered with trade unions as Keune (2015) argues in his article, contradicting the fact that they could benefit most from strong collective representation. Becker (2014: 28) lists some of these benefits as regularised work schedules, greater access to health, promotions based on justice, rulings without jeopardizing job security, etc. Workforce without a collective representation, according to Munck's article on challenges and responses to globalisation and labour movement, stands out as a menace to solidarity and organising opportunity (2010). Most unions believe that voluntary initiatives such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) can enhance the regulations, but, Government based regulations should be mandatory. According to Delgado Wise (2015: 36), the number of migrants from 1975 to 2010 went from 84 million to 215 million respectively. He states that the main flows came from south to north direction (82 million), followed by the south to south direction (74 million).

The figure 4 below illustrates the permanent migration to OECD countries from 2006 to 2014. Estimates shown in year 2014 are based on growth rates published in official national statistics (OECD 2015).

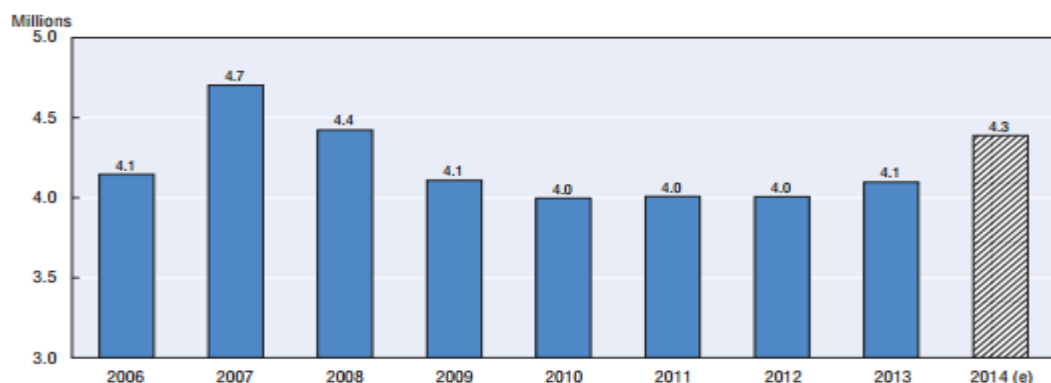


Figure 4: Permanent Migration Flows to OECD Countries, 2006-2014. Source OECD 2015



Standing (2011: 101-102) list the seven features that mark today's migration as; highest number is undocumented, rising share of temporary immigrants, number of women migrating is heightening, student mobility induced by globalisation, movement within multinational corporations, increased number of refugees and asylum seekers and environmental refugees. He points out that due to climate change, 200 million people could be driven from their homes by 2050 (2011: 103-105).

### 2.2.5 Current Refugees Movement

In 2014, the immigration to the 27 EU member states due to conflict was reported to be more than 185,000 asylum seekers (Eurostat 2015). The figure 5 below shows the beneficiaries of asylum protection in 2014, with the largest group coming from Syria (37%).

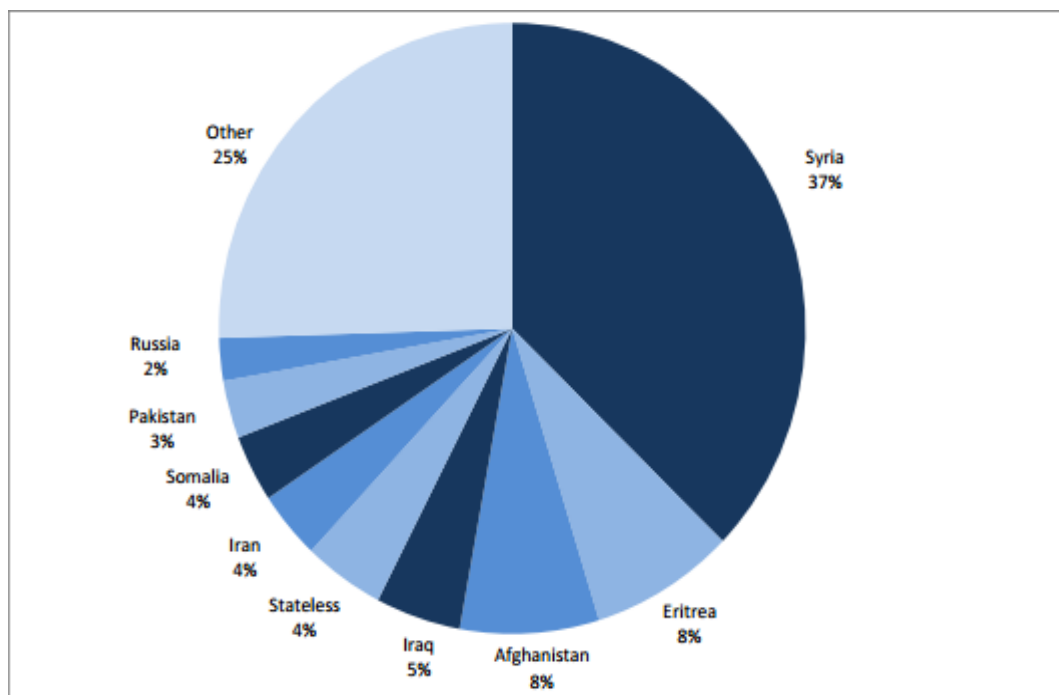


Figure 5 - Nationalities of Beneficiaries of Asylum Protection in the EU 2014  
Source: Eurostat September 2015

The recent increase in migration in EU countries, have raised fear. According to The Economist (2015) the fear of overburden economies, intrusion of foreigners among cultures, impossible provision of social benefits and invasion of terrorism is causing tension. Apart from the fear of Muslims' cultural differences, the Islamist terrorist attacks

in Europe this year raises the concern. However, the welcome has been recognised notably in Western and Nordic countries and less enthusiasm has been noted from Central and Eastern Europe as illustrated in table 1 below.

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
European Union (28 countries)	225,150 <sup>(d)</sup>	263,835 <sup>(d)</sup>	259,400 <sup>(d)</sup>	309,040 <sup>(d)</sup>	335,290 <sup>(d)</sup>	431,090	626,960
Belgium	15,165	21,615	26,080	31,910	28,075	21,030	22,710
Bulgaria	745	855	1,025	890	1,385	7,145	11,080
Czech Republic	1,645	1,235	775	750	740	695	1,145
Denmark	2,350	3,720	5,065	3,945	6,045	7,170	14,680
Germany (until 1990 former territories)	26,845	32,910	48,475	53,235	77,485	126,705	202,645
Estonia	15	40	35	65	75	95	155
Ireland	3,855	2,680	1,935	1,290	955	945	1,450
Greece	19,885	15,925	10,275	9,310	9,575	8,225	9,430
Spain	4,515	3,005	2,740	3,420	2,565	4,485	5,615
France	41,840	47,620	52,725	57,330	61,440	66,265	64,310
Croatia	:	:	:	:	:	1,075	450
Italy	30,140	17,640	10,000	40,315	17,335	26,620	64,625
Cyprus	3,920	3,200	2,875	1,770	1,635	1,255	1,745
Latvia	55	60	65	340	205	195	375
Lithuania	520	450	495	525	645	400	440
Luxembourg	455	480	780	2,150	2,050	1,070	1,150
Hungary	3,175	4,665	2,095	1,690	2,155	18,895	42,775
Malta	2,605	2,385	175	1,890	2,080	2,245	1,350
Netherlands	15,250	16,135	15,100	14,590	13,095 <sup>(d)</sup>	13,060	24,495
Austria	12,715	15,780	11,045	14,420	17,415	17,500	28,035
Poland	8,515	10,590	6,540	6,885	10,750	15,240	8,020
Portugal	160	140	155	275	295	500	440
Romania	1,175	960	885	1,720	2,510	1,495	1,545
Slovenia	255	190	240	355	295	270	385
Slovakia	895	805	540	490	730	440	330
Finland	3,670	4,910	3,085	2,915	3,095	3,210	3,620
Sweden	24,785	24,175	31,850	29,650	43,855	54,270	81,180
United Kingdom	:	31,665	24,335	26,915	28,800	30,585	32,785
Iceland	70	35	40	75	115	125	170
Liechtenstein	20	280	105	75	70	55	65
Norway	14,395	17,125	10,015	8,990	9,675	11,930	11,415
Switzerland	16,520	15,900	15,425	23,615	28,400	21,305	23,555
Total	256,155 <sup>(d)</sup>	297,175 <sup>(d)</sup>	284,985 <sup>(d)</sup>	341,795 <sup>(d)</sup>	373,350 <sup>(d)</sup>	464,505	662,165

Table 1 - EU Asylum Applicants by Citizenship Year 2008-2014 Source: Eurostat

Whether the immigrants are searching for a better life or a safer life (refugees or economic migrants), today, the number of refugees seeking asylum in EU member states has heightened. Germany is leading the path of hosting the latter: in the first eight months of 2015, the share taken was 40% of the EU's refugees (The Economist 2015).

### 3 Theory

From the literature review section, we've realised that unions are facing challenges in so many dimensions and can totally differ from one part of the world to the other. However, the union membership decline since 1980s have been experienced all over the world. Researchers affirm that, membership levels are crucial to trade union's ability to sign and carry out collective agreements with employers and for their capacity to persuade government policy. Also we have noted that trade unions play an important role in the modern society, apart from protecting their members' wages and benefits, different authors have confirmed that they fight against inequalities<sup>9</sup>, promotes labour law reforms balance the distribution of economic benefits<sup>10</sup>, narrow the gap associated with race and ethnicity among other things.

#### 3.1 Challenges

Many authors argue that trade unions are still relevant, but with the globalised economy, the challenges are still rampant. As mentioned (see page 10), employers' power has significantly increased over workers and unions; power to relocate jobs and capital due to the advanced international trade agreements, labour regulations that oppress workers, restructured public sectors, increased global labour force leading to increased migration and high underemployment, complicated supply chains with escalated outsourcing and subcontracting, etc.

Most researchers affirm that immigrants and refugees can be beneficial both to the host country and country of origin. For example, allowing refugees to work can replace the government aid and leads them to learn the local language quickly. Unlike the old days, today's immigrants are, educated and some have professional skills. With the aging population and declining labour forces in most advanced EU 15<sup>11</sup> countries, refugees and

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<sup>9</sup> Though some scholars argue that technology and conditions of a country can bring inequality, hence it cannot be generalised on the relationship between unions, collective bargaining and wage inequality (Luce 2014: 47)

<sup>10</sup> However, the economy theory argues that labour is a commodity & rising the price of labour (wages) results in decrease of demand of that good. This theory tells us that trade unions destabilize the economy by raising wages (Luce 2014: 48)

<sup>11</sup> EU 15: 15 member states of the European Union

migrant workers will play a significant role in maintaining labour supply and filling in labour shortages. Some consider this as a long term investment.

One of the recent trade unions' challenge mentioned (see page 19) is the heightened migration of asylum seekers to the EU member states. With some of the member states opening doors for the refugees while others placing restriction forces on their border lines, this is definitely a burden that need to be divided evenly. As General Secretary of ETUC Bernadette Ségol commented, "closing the border is not only wrong, but will not stem the flow". Hence, she called for the international community and European leaders to deal with the root causes of this unusual flow of people (ITUC 2015).

The recent asylum seekers will have a huge impact on trade unions in the EU, particularly in Western and Nordic European Countries (EU 15). As it is obvious that majority of them with the ability to work and are under certain age limit, will be joining workforce of the host country sooner or later. This shows us that trade unions challenges are far from over; re-strategising, organising, merging, learning and collaboration are now needed more than ever.

Much has been written and researched about strategies that can improve unions' issues related immigration. The urge to contribute to this subject arises due to the ongoing immigration of asylum seekers to EU countries. A comprehensive research will therefore be conducted to find out strategies that can be useful for trade unions in handling immigrant workers. These strategies will be extracted from different authors, this research will then analyse them under one study. Due to the fact that different EU countries have diverged policies related to immigration and different rules will apply regarding to the recent refugees situations in countries concerned, furthermore, trade unions have varying structures across the borders, this research will generally, be standardized: the objective questions will be addressed on a common level and different strategies used will be identified in cases examples, particularly, in UK, France and Germany, that is countries where trade unions have in cooperated more the new models through coalitions, vocational training, codetermination, etc.

## **4 Methodology**

This section involves all the methods and techniques that will be applied during research; research design data collection, analysis and interpretation. In addition, maintaining the objectivity and abiding to some values related to the control of bias will be exercised in the research.

### **4.1 Problem Clarification**

On the subject of immigration, trade unions have come from far: from hindering regulations that supported immigration employment rights to supporting those regulations. Furthermore, they are forming alliances with immigration associations, local communities and with NGOs in global level. An example is the Decent Work Campaign (DWC) promoted by the ILO, the International Trade Union Movement and the EC. Their aim is to try to fight against oppression of immigrant workers by employers, narrow the gap associated with race and ethnicity, among other things. As mentioned (see page 17) immigrant workers are the most vulnerable to abuse at workplaces, hence a consistent protection will be required. Nevertheless, with the new challenge of increased immigration, particularly from Syria to EU 15, might pose challenges to the work of trade unions, which is in progress, regarding the protection of labour migrants.

### **4.2 Main Objectives**

Linked to the problem our main objective will then be to investigate ways that can aid, trade unions to cope up with the increasing immigrant workers in relation to the recent escalated movement of refugees. This study also aims to contribute to the widely researched topic about strategies that can assist trade unions on the issues of globalisation in finding a common place with immigrant workers.

#### **4.2.1 Sub-Objectives**

A comprehensive research will be carried out under the following sub-objectives to support and give path to our main objectives.

1. To find out the relationship between trade unions and immigrant workers.
2. To identify different strategies that are used to enhance healthy relationships and solidarity between trade unions and immigrant workers
3. To find out how can trade unions promote solidarity with immigrant workers in an environment where labour force is competitive.

#### 4.3 Trend Study

According to Selltitz, Deutsch and Cook (cited in Kumar 2011:112-114), a research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine the significance of research purpose using an economical method.

Trend study will be used to design this research. A thorough and critical investigation will be conducted by implementing our sub-objectives in the past, present and what is likely going to happen in the future as shown in figure 6 below.

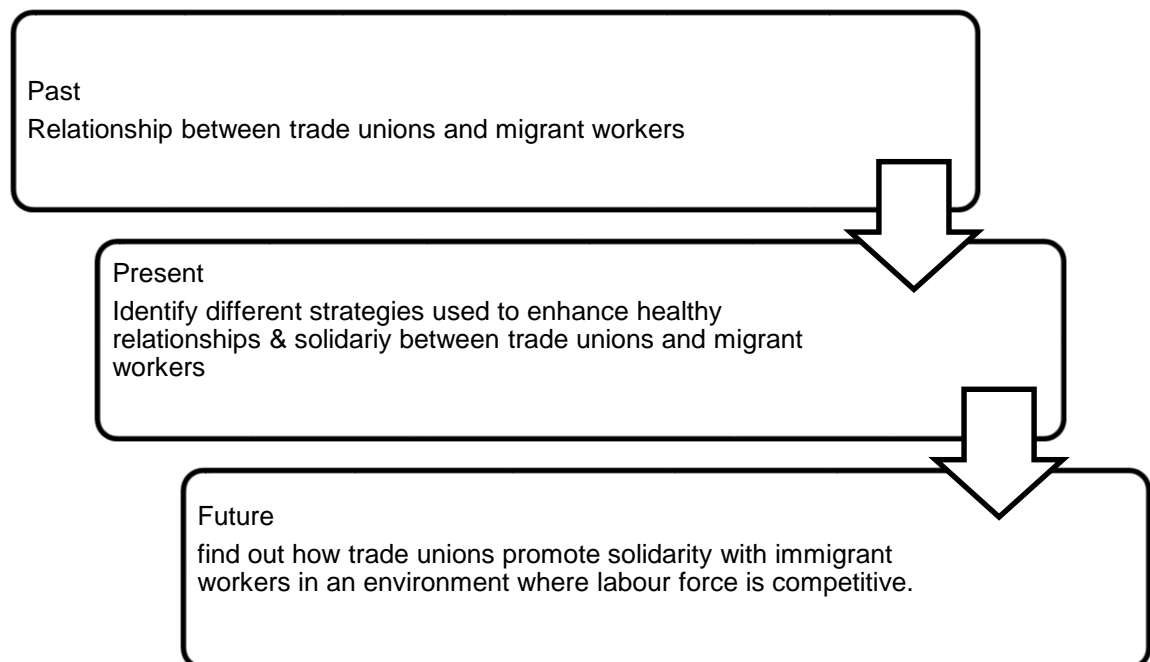


Figure 6 -Trend Study Design between Trade Unions & Immigrant Workers. Source: own

Trend study is useful in this research because, as we've noted unions' strategies have changed over time; for example, as mentioned (see page 17), before some of the trade

unions were supporting policies and practices that hindered hiring immigrants. Today, they support regulations that protect immigrant workers, for example oppression of immigrant workers by employers, through campaigns and other methods and in future, it is not certain of what will evolve with the increased immigrants particularly, in the Nordic and Western European Countries. Thus, through trend study as Kumar (2011: 144-146) explains, data observation points in the past, will be selected and together with the current strategies used by trade unions to enhance solidarity with migrant workers, we will be able to identify certain strategies that can be implemented in future.

#### 4.4 Data Collection

In data collection, a secondary data method will be used to gather information. Therefore, descriptive data will be extracted from secondary sources including; books, articles, journals, periodicals, Government publications such as Labour Force Surveys and NGOs publications and statistics. Due to the fact that this study is based on literature, a secondary data is chosen to suit the purpose of gathering information from existing sources and identify what has been and hasn't been discussed in relation to trade unions and immigrant workers. The diversity of resources will also help to compare the ideas, suggestions and opinions from different sources relating to the subject matter. A sample size will be determined after extensively exploring different sources. Probably, till the data obtained is less significant to the objectives.

The data will then be analysed through content analysis; text and table format will be used. This is one of the proposed methods by Kumar (2011: 296) in data processing. The data analysed will be in relation to our objectives and will try to support arguments in the literature reviewed. For ethical issues, all sources and primary origins of collecting information that will be used during the entire research will be cited under reference section.

## 5 Data Analysis

Following our research design method (trend study) of the past, present and future of trade unions and immigrant workers, the data is analysed thematically. Different information is analysed from varying sources in relation to our objectives and integrated to the literature review.

### 5.1 The Relationship between Trade Unions and Immigrant Workers

One of the major contributing factors of growing labour force, according to Luce, is the levels of human migration within and across national borders (2014: 102). She explains that after the post-war in Europe, the reconstruction was successful that led to economic growth and labour shortage. Hence, States were in need of immigrant workers, for example, UK took ex-servicemen from Poland. Unions collaborated with their governments in relation to the immigrants, though different countries had different approach. In Germany, Sweden and Netherlands, unions negotiated for regulated and controlled immigration (2014: 95). Meanwhile, in Britain, Wrench explains that the TUC and Miners' Unions insisted that immigrants could only be employed if there were no British labour available (cited in Tapia 2014: 53). Trade Unions "displayed a protectionist attitude towards the free mobility" (Munck 2015: 105).

Luckily, today, the relationship has changed incredibly. Unions are accepting more and more immigrant workers, forming alliances with immigration associations and NGOs, campaigning for reforms and policies that protect immigrant workers, etc. Hyland (2015: 122) argues that trade unions are rethinking the traditional model of organising<sup>12</sup> and moving to new, more proactive, united and community-based approaches. According to Menz (2009: 43), some group of immigrants is seen as useful contributors in reducing the shortage in labour market. However, he contends that refugees and asylum seekers are viewed as "burdensome" imposing costs and drains on social security and public services (2009: 52-54). Meanwhile, Munck (2013: 237) states that trade unions have realised that having a unity with immigrant workers is helping them to get back to the basic principles of labour movement. Menz further argues that embracing migration is

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<sup>12</sup> Organising Model: Bottom-up approach, whereby union leaders empower union members by involving them and encouraging them to participate.



inevitable, thus, trade unions support employers' initiatives in favouring liberal immigration (2009: 134-136). The globalisation pressure, for example, in France has led unions to accept economic migration as long as such flows feed the basic layer of labour market (Haus cited in Menz 2009: 136-138). Since early 2000, major federations have adopted policies that identify immigrants in need of organisation and representation (Turner 2014: 9). They give an example of TUC and DGB emphasis on recognising workers as workers, regardless of their country of origin.

### 5.1.1 Challenges Facing the Relationship

According to Munck (2015: 107), migrants are primarily organised by migrant-oriented organisations. In some cases, immigrants are employed through agencies (origin or destined countries). According to Hardy & Clark (2007: 135), there has been successful cases of unions negotiating and signing agreements with agencies. However, this may prove difficult if the agencies are outside the country. Unions need to investigate and map the temporary labour agencies to find out about their practices as well as the number of workers employed.

Another problem with immigrant workers, as Munck (2015: 104) informs us "much as workers are divided by gender, age and ethnicity, they are also divided according to national origin and citizen status". In addition, as we've noted (mentioned in page 10), trade unions are weak in service sectors, most of the immigrants are employed in these sectors. Hyland (2015: 128) lists two of these sectors as agriculture and hospitality. She adds that immigrant workers are frequently temporary and sub-contracting. Making it even more difficult for unions to organize and recruit

## 5.2 Cases

Different cases are used to show varying strategies used by trade unions to enhance healthy relationships and solidarity with immigrant workers.

### 5.2.1 Justice for Cleaners

The TGWU and Community Organization of London Citizen (LC) campaigned for justice for cleaners of whom 58 percent were immigrants (this number has so far increased). In 2001, the East London Communities Organization (TELCO) started a campaign to protect the welfare of the most vulnerable and lowest paid workers (cleaning workers). The community and labour groups formed alliances. They held demonstrations and protests, particularly in the wealthy financial district of Canary wharf, from which, living wage and holiday and sick pay for immigrant workers were achieved. (Turner 2014: 21). They also introduced a cross-national learning by inviting colleagues from the SEIU to offer lessons from campaign in US (Turner 2014: 11)

### 5.2.2 Sans Papier "Movement"

An example given (Turner 2014: 22-23) is from the commonly known "weak in number, but strong in mobilisation" (French unions), they successfully led a movement in support of undocumented immigrants "sans papier". The purpose of the movement was to demand employers to support immigrant workers when they were applying for legal work permits. The campaign broadened with more strikes and protests and in the process, a coalition was formed "collectif des onze". The employers reclaimed their workplaces by writing letters as evidence of employment status, about 5000 workers received work permits by the end of the strike.

### 5.2.3 Irish Trade Unions

With the quick transition from emigration to immigration in Ireland, due to economic factors, highlights the issues of immigrant workers in Ireland. According to Hyland, Irish trade unions led by SIPTU, are using a more pro-active organising method (previously used servicing model<sup>13</sup>) that involves, reaching out to workers in unorganised industries, paying attention to low paid workers, especially immigrants, creating links with

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<sup>13</sup> Servicing Model: Up-bottom approach, whereby union leaders have the authority to regulate and control.

communities, nurturing leadership at local levels and engaging with workers outside workplaces (2015: 133).

#### 5.2.4 Modern Community Unionism

According to Holgate, in 1940s in Chicago, the foundation of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) under Saul Alinsky, brought together a network and movement of poor ethnic groups for the purpose of self-help and pressure. Together, they established credit unions, provided housing and developed social services. They became successful by training local leaders to take up issues in their communities, today the organisation has grown with affiliates in US, Canada, Germany and UK (cited in Hyland 2015: 130).

#### 5.2.5 Learning & Vocational Training

According to Tapia (2014: 58), one way that UK unions organize immigrant workers is by offering them education. Through a Union Modernization Fund, Unison (one of the biggest public sector union in UK) carried out national and regional projects that mainly offered ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes, skills development and training for immigrant workers. Meanwhile, in Paris region, an activist Laurent Grognu together with his colleagues, organised workers and recruited them in a cleaning industry. They focused on teaching workers about their rights, bargaining skills, empowerment and French language. They emphasised on rank and file education, which led to the growth of the cleaning industry: From 2003 to 2009, workers grew from 80 to 1 400 respectively. The workers were both documented and undocumented (Turner 2014: 78).

### 5.3 Ways of Promoting Solidarity in a Competitive Labour Environment

According to Luce (2014: 103), unions should not only welcome immigrants into unions, but they should also address the root cause of immigration. With unions focusing on job creation and economic development in all countries, Luce further explains, workers will have a right not to migrate (2014: 214). She further suggests that unions must organize in a larger context; comprehending the international political and economic context.

Strategies such as labour-management partnership, coalitions and international solidarities are interconnected (2014: 114). "Organising workers into union is difficult without large structural changes such as revised labour law, trade policy or immigration law". She also urges the unions willing to revitalize in the coming years, to experiment different forms of organisation, profound collaboration and other social movements and flexibility of current union leaders will also be required (2014: 212). Also, they need to link traditional unions and federations that are more vertical with networks of NGOs that are more horizontal (Evans cited in Luce 2014: 212).

In today's crisis, Munck (2015: 111) suggests a capital-state-labour tripartite alliance would be useful to create 'decent work' for all. He further argues that with the recent social movement unionism, trade unions may forge closer links outside the workplace with community organisations of various types, by expressing concerns of their demands. Menz (2009:285-287) notes that union movements are not powerful actors in shaping immigration. He suggests a social partnership framework as the principle vehicle to communicate. An example is shown (see page 17) the partnership of the SIPTU and ICFTU in protest against the exploitation of the EU liberalisation of service protection that strengthened the union's movement credibility, despite the low levels of unionisation in the private sectors.

According to Menz (2009: 363), reaching out to labour migrants even upto third generations of descendants of migrants is becoming a crucial component of organising. In addition, a coalition of unions with unions in other countries can help them to fight the negative impact of globalisation, however, this may prove difficult due to the international standard regulations. Pulignano et al. (2013) suggest that establishing alliances across national boundaries can help unions to restructure.

### 5.3.1 Strategies Identified

The figure 7 below shows different strategies identified and that can be implemented by trade unions to enhance a healthier and stronger solidarity with the immigrant workers.

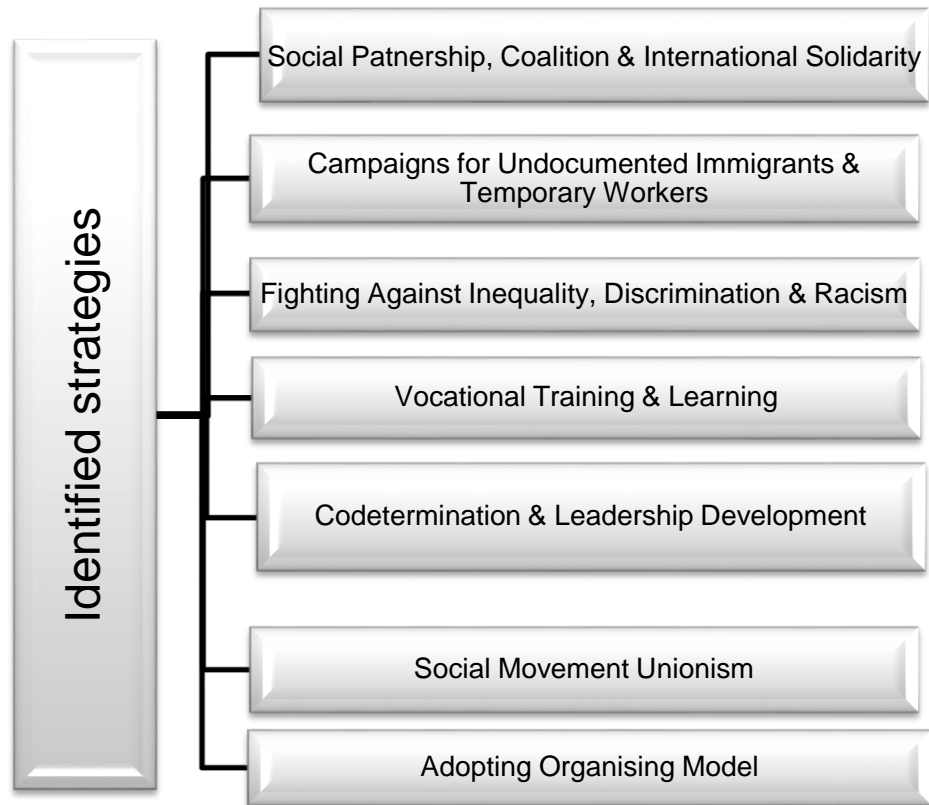


Figure 7: Different Strategies Identified. Source Own

Some trade unions have adopted some of these strategies. To be able to organise immigrant workers domestically and internationally, trade unions will need to replace their complex and bureaucratic procedures with the strategies shown above.

## 6 Conclusion

The impact of globalisation has contributed unquestionably to the matters related to trade unions. Through globalisation, immigration has escalated which, on the contrary, we would have assumed the opposite due to deindustrialisation in Western Europe. The economic globalisation is inevitable and will continue to steer immigrant workers to move from poor economies to seek opportunities in economically rising countries (though this is not always the case). Immigration may as well result from conflicts and violence, this research focussed on labour migrants assuming that refugees/asylum seekers searching for safer places, majority of them join the labour force of the country in question, sooner or later. Labour mobility has raised concerns for trade unions over the years, we may simply say that they have come from rejecting immigrant workers into accepting them. They now realise that immigrant workers play a crucial role in the workforce and are part and parcel of the working class.

Although there are still challenges in organising immigrant workers, as we've noted from the analysis section, there are many ongoing developments that trade unions in different parts of EU are engaged in; organising the 'unorganised', reforming of trade unions structures, national and international alliances with community organisations, NGOs, immigration associations, community and local organisations, etc. The French union movement for example, demanding the employments rights of undocumented immigrants (see page 28), shows a successful organisation of immigrant workers.

Many trade unions are open to new ways of organising, they have moved from servicing model to organising model. This is observed with Irish trade unions (see page 28); they are more engaged with immigrant workers, they try to reach out for workers inside and outside workplaces and create connections with communities. Trade unions are also trying to organise immigrant workers through training, skills development and offering language course, an exemplar is ESOL in UK.

Immigration is a widely discussed topic, particularly, in migration studies and currently, the topic has escalated due to the continuing refugees' migration to EU countries. Issues discussed, are more related to human rights, crisis & relief. With the new strategy of forming alliances between trade unions "labour rights driven" and immigrants oriented

organisations “human rights driven”, they will need to work extra hard to come to a consensus.

### 6.1 Implications of Further Research

To cope up with the increasing immigrant workers, this research has identified different ideas and opinions suggested by varying authors (illustrated in fig. 7), that can be useful to unions. Trade unions have different structures but face similar challenges in regards to immigrant workers. Thus, this study has outlined standardised strategies, which can be implemented using diverged approaches. This study does not exhaust the ideas related to trade unions and immigrant workers planning, but, acts as a platform to investigate further and generate more strategies. Reporters continue to report everyday about the increasing number of refugees (immigrants) in different EU countries. The challenge is far from over and that’s why new tactics, planning & suggestions will still be required for trade unions, as they try to break the national structure to global level.

### 6.2 Recommendations

Trade unions systems have been known to be complex and bureaucratic. Decisions once made can be difficult and slow to change. Also, they are known to concentrate on what is ‘their own’ neglecting the large community. Nevertheless, some unions are trying to break these traditional structures by adopting the organising model elements, which is connected to social unionism movement. But to many, the traditional system is still practised.

Economic globalisation is unavoidable, and as the saying goes “if you can’t beat them, join them, trade unions will have to find a way of changing the negative impacts of globalisation into opportunities and this will be achieved, for example through stepping out of their “comfort zone” and engaging more into social networks and local communities, understanding workers’ environment both inside and outside workplace, working alongside those who don’t share their views and integrating with diverse workforce that includes young generation and immigrant workers. The changes may be slow, but are achievable as we’ve seen from the example cases. As the Chinese proverb

says "to get through the hardest journey, trade unions will need to take only one step at a time, but they must keep on stepping".



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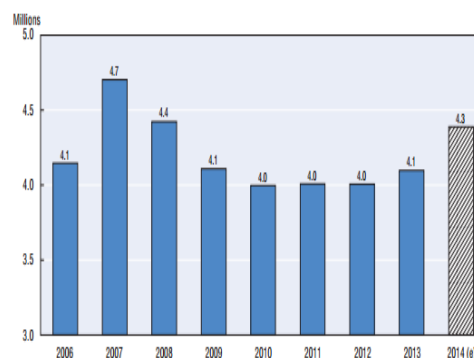
## Permanent Migration Flows to OECD Countries, 2006-2014.

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### 1. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION MOVEMENTS AND POLICIES

Figure 1.1. Permanent migration flows to OECD countries, 2006-14



Note: Data for 2006 to 2013 is the sum of standardised figures for countries where they are available (accounting for 95% of the total of flows to OECD countries), and non-standardised figures for other countries. 2014 data are estimated based on growth rates published in official national statistics.

Source: OECD calculations based on national statistics.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933260721>

A number of relatively smaller countries also contributed noticeably to the overall rise in flows. Korea, for example, with the lowest unemployment rate in the OECD and the second strongest economic growth – both around 3% – saw inflows increase by more than 12%. Austria, Denmark, Ireland, Israel, New Zealand, and Sweden all received between significantly more arrivals in 2014 than in 2013. A double-digit increase is also observed in Iceland.

Only a few countries took in fewer migrants in 2014 than in 2013. Italy, where most migrants come for work purposes, experienced a 9% fall, partly due to its difficult labour market situation. Although inflows to the country have been declining steadily since 2007, Italy remains among the OECD's main destinations.

With a 6% drop, Australia was another major immigration destination that welcomed less new migrants in 2014 than in 2013. In Switzerland, too, there was a slight fall – of 2% – for the first time in ten years, while the make-up of inflows by country of origin changed significantly. Arrivals from EU15 countries, Romania, and Bulgaria dropped by 9% while those from other EU member countries and third countries altogether increased by 13%.

#### Trends in migration flows by country and by category

Comprehensive data for standardised permanent migration by country of destination and migration category are available for 2013. In 2013, the United States welcomed a little less than one million new permanent migrants (Table 1.1). Altogether, the OECD countries which are also EU members received a similar number of third-country nationals. Germany was the second main OECD destination country, with 468 000 arrivals of permanent migrants, a figure twice higher than the average level at the end of the 2000s. In Southern European countries like Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece, new migrants are approximately twice fewer than in 2008, which is also the case in Ireland. All those countries had been particularly hard hit by the 2008 Great Recession. It can also be noted that, for the first time since these data exist, new permanent arrivals in Korea outnumbered those in Japan. Migration flows to Chile have also increased rapidly in 2012 and 2013, to reach 132 000.

Source OECD 2015