

INDEX

ACAS (Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service, UK), 56 Accession Treaties, 155, 170-171 agriculture sector in Austria, 156n5 berry pickers in Sweden, 215n53, 215-216, 220 and JLC, 202n75 and Kommunal, 220 minimum labour standards in, 300-301 mushroom industry in Ireland, 202, 202n75 AK (Arbeiterkammer, Austria) on effect of limited access to labour market, 251-252 establishment of, 21 historical development of, 10, 12, 21, 22 overview of, 27-28 reconstitution as public law organisation, 23 regulatory function of, 28 works councils of, 27 language issues, 167 legal advisory services, 166 on limited access to labour market, 251-252 and Nazi Germany, 22 relationship with ÖGB, 10, 12, 162-163, 251-252 support for transitional arrangements, 158, 163-164 Albany International BV v. Stichting Bedrijfspensioenfonds Textielindustrie (1999), 102 Alemo-Herron v. Parkwood Leisure Ltd (2013), 102

Alimanovic v. Job Center, 176 ArbVG (Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz, Austria), 24 Ashiagbor, D., 82, 84, 93 Austria agricultural sector in, 156n5 Alien Employment Act, 156n2 case study, ÖGB. (See ÖGB (Austrian Trade Union Confederation)) conclusions about, 168-169 enlargements, effects of, 157-161 EU 8 commuters, 160, 160n25 illegally employed persons, 160 New Member State workers, overview of, 159 positive effects, 159-160 seasonal migration, 159 self-employed persons, increase in, 160 and social dumping, 157, 160, 253 transitional measures, implementation of, 159 transitional measures, support of, 158 - 159EU membership, 143, 144 freedom of association in, 297 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with unions, 250 Gastarbeiter in, 121-123 global economic crisis, lack of impact on, 19-20, 26, 161n30 government function of unions in, 293 historical development of collective labour laws systems in, 20-29 absorption into single union, 22 BAWAG Affair, 26, 26n48



338

INDEX

Austria (cont.) birth of unions, 20-29 Chambers of Labour (See AK (Arbeiterkammer, Austria)) collective agreements vs. work agreements, 28n59 high collective agreement coverage, 24-25 membership, early unions, 20-21 membership, recent decline in, 25-26post-World War I, 21 post-World War II, 22–24 social partnership system, 22,24-29labour legislation in, purpose of, 292 labour standards in, enforcement of, 302 legal framework applicable to EU2 and EU8 migrants, 155-157 migration from New Member States to, 3, 7-8minimum wage in, 106 overview of, 155 political involvement of unions in, 294 posted workers (EU 2 and EU 8), 157 reliance on historic ties with unions in New Member States, 248 reliance on traditional union functions, 290-291 seasonal workers in, EU2 and EU8, 156n5, 156-157 self-employed persons in, 157 traditional policy on migration, 4 work permits (EU 8 and EU 2), 155-157. See also Old Member States; trade union responses, analysis of; WKÖ (Economic Chambers, Austria); under migrant labour, traditional response of unions to

Barnard, C., 103, 278 BAWAG (Bank for Labour and Business, Austria), 26, 26n48 Bercusson, B., 82, 101, 103, 273, 287

BMAS (German Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs), 172, 182 bogus self-employment, 157n8 Börzel, T.A., 67 British Air Line Pilots Association (BALPA), 110n58 Bulgaria berry pickers in Sweden, 215n53, 215-216 EU membership, 1n1 migration to New Member States from, 4 and ÖGB, 167. See also EU2 CAC (Central Arbitration Committee, UK), 56 Castles, S., 119, 128, 139, 141n133 CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union, Germany), 124-125 CEE (Central and Eastern European), 2-3, 128n66 CFR (Charter of Fundamental Rights), 69-70, 85-86, 276-277, 298-299, 300n45 Chambers of Labour. See AK (Arbeiterkammer, Austria) Christian Social Union (CSU, Germany), 174-175 CIU (Congress of Irish Unions), 38, 39, 42, 194, 261 CJEU (Court of Justice of the European Union) and freedom of association, 299 proportionality requirement of, 297 PWD Directive and, 78, 80, 275-276 restriction of social security benefits to workers, 176-177. See also europeanisation, role of CJEU in; Laval case; Rüffert case; Viking case cleaning sector and Kommunal, 220 and SIPTU, 202-203, 263 Code of Conduct (EPSU), 285 collective bargaining

in Austria, 10, 23, 252

as classic role of trade unions in Old

Member States, 17-20



INDEX 339

in Germany, 34-36 in Ireland, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42-43, 43n139 in Sweden, 48, 258-259, 297, 304 in UK, 60 competency gap, 83n69 competition law, 112-113 Congress. See ICTU (Congress) Croke Park Agreement (Ireland), 42 Cyprus effects of global recession on, 5 EU membership, 1n1. See also EU10 Czech Republic bilateral agreement with Austria, 156n2 EU membership, 1n1 ÖGB cooperation with trade unions in, 166-167. See also EU8 Dano v. Jobcenter Leipzig (2014), 176-177 DGB (German Trade Union Federation), 30 case study, 177-188 cooperation with other unions, 187 - 188EPSU, 187-188 ETUC, 187 ÖGB, 166–167, 283 definition of migrant, 181-182 and education, 181 enlargements, response to, 179, 257 and EU membership, 143 and europeanisation, 179, 180, 281, 282 Fair Mobility project, 182–183, 255 governmental role of, 255 historical development of, 30 language issues, 182 on limited access to labour market, 257 Marshall Plan for Europe, 282 New Member State workers, responses to, 181-183 overview of, 177-178 political involvement of, 30, 181 transitional arrangements, response to, 180-181 on unemployment, 172

Directive 94/45 on establishment of EWCD, 73, 73n29, 75-78, 273-274 in Austria, 273 **European Works Councils** requirement, 76 in Germany, 273, 274 implementation of, 77 information and consultation procedures requirement, 76 in Ireland, 273 reasons for success of, 274 revised Directive, 76, 76n39 in Sweden, 273-274 in UK, 273, 274 Directive 96/71 concerning the posting of workers (PWD), 73, 78-81, 274 - 276in Austria, 275 and CFR (Charter of Fundamental Rights), 276-277 in Germany, 275 and government function of unions, 275-276 implementation of, 80-81 in Ireland, 277 in Sweden, 275–276 in UK, 275, 278 Directive 2008/104/EC on Temporary Agency Work, 212

Ebbinghaus, B., 266 ECHR (European Convention on Human Rights), 70, 276, 296 and freedom of association, 299-300 Economic and Monetary Union, 146-147 economic crisis, 5 Austria, lack of impact on, 19-20, 26, 161n30, 162 effects on Old Member States. 19-20,289and europeanisation, 87–89 Germany, effects on, 19-20, 33, 174 and globalisation, 5 Ireland, effects on, 5, 19, 41–42, 192, 200, 264 Portugal, effects on, 5



340 INDEX

economic crisis (cont.) need for stronger negotiation Sweden, effects on, 19-20, 50 and coordination role by, UK, effects on, 19-20, 59, 225, 233, 285 - 287234, 265-266, 268 need for unions to strengthen ECSR (European Committee of Social political role through, Rights), 217-218, 275-276 284 - 285Parental Leave Directive, 286 ECtHR (European Court of Human Rights), 113, 276-277, 299 on posted workers, 107-108 EEA (European Economic Area), 130 and racism/xenophobia, 286 EEC (European Economic and recruitment of New Member Community) State workers, 286 and Austria, 144 on right to strike, 277 and Germany, 142-143 and role in challenges to enlargements, and Ireland, 145, 145n155 306-307 and UK, 145 and Sweden, 221, 285 and UK, 240-241 EFFAT (European Federation of Food, Agriculture and Tourism EU (European Union) Trade Unions), 221 accession of Austria, 143, 144 EFTA (European Free Trade Area), accession of Ireland, 148 143-144 accession of Sweden, 143, 145 Enforcement Directive, 107-108 accession of UK, 146-147 EPSU (European Federation of Public eastern enlargement of, 1, 1n1 Service Unions) and Germany, 143 and Austria, 162, 168 relationship to national unions, 142 - 148Code of Conduct, 285 in Austria, 143-144 and europeanisation, 283, 284-285 and Germany, 187-188 in Germany, 142–143 and Ireland, 203-204, 265 in Ireland, 147–148 promotion of migrant workers on in Sweden, 145 agenda of social dialogue, 285 in UK, 145-147 role in challenges to enlargements, EU2 (Romania and Bulgaria) 306-307 in Austria, 155-157, 156n5 and Sweden, 222 in Germany, 170-171, 183 and UK, 235 in Ireland, 189-190, 193, 194, 196 Equality and Human Rights overview of, 1n1 Commission, 225 in Sweden, 206-208, 209, 210 in UK, 223-224, 225-229, 230, 231 ESC (European Social Charter), 296 Estonia, EU membership, 1n1. See also EU8 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, EU8; Viking case Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia) ETUC (European Trade Union in Austria, 155-157, 156n5 Confederation) and Austria, 162, 168 in Germany, 170-171 call for revision of PWD, 106-107 in Ireland, 189-190, 191-192, 193, and europeanisation, 150, 283, 195, 196, 203 284-287 overview of, 1n1 and Germany, 187 in Sweden, 206–209 and Ireland, 197, 203, 265 in UK, 223-225, 223n1 movement towards soft law, 82-83, EU10 workers (EU8 plus Cyprus and 88, 278-279 Malta), 191n12



> INDEX 341

EU enlargements	flexibility, 75
conclusions about, 309	neutrality, 75
difference of 2004/2007, from	Swedish trade unions, 272
previous enlargements, 117	terminology of successfulness of
effect on climate of fear in old	implementation, 73–74
Member States, 3–4	UK trade unions, 272
effect on immigration inflows to old	effects of, 272–279
Member States, 3–4	and ETUC, 150, 283, 284-287
regulatory challenges of, 289	framework for studying, 307-308
Eugen Schmidberger, Internationale	and labour law, 67–70
Transporte und Planzuge	bottom-up approach, 69
v. Republik Osterreich	Charter of Fundamental
(2003), 96	Rights, 69–70
Europe 2020 Strategy, 86–87, 88–89	and European Social Model, 67–68
European Commission	exclusion from EU's
and CJEU case law, 106	competence, 67
and PWD enforcement, 107-108	soft law approach, 69
European Commission's White Paper	top-down approach, 68–69
on Completing the Internal	mixed approach to, 66
Market (1985), 143	and movement towards soft law, 65,
European Convention on Human	82-90, 278-279
Rights. See ECHR (European	Charter of Fundamental
Convention on Human	Rights, 85–86
Rights)	Europe 2020 Strategy,
European Court of Human Rights. See	86–87, 88–89
ECtHR (European Court of	European Trade Union
Human Rights),	Confederation, 82–83, 88
European Court of Justice. See CJEU	financial crisis, 87-89
(Court of Justice of the	Lisbon Agenda, 82, 83
European Union)	Lisbon Strategy, 85, 88
European Economic and Social	Open Method of Coordination,
Committee, on PWD, 107	83–85, 86, 87, 90
European Financial Stability Facility, 5	opportunities for social Europe,
europeanisation, 5–6	279–287
bottom-up approach to, 66	in Austria with social
conclusions about, 90-91, 150, 288,	integration, 280
306–307, 308	and DGB, 281, 282
debate on European law, as category	and EPSU, 283
of law, 70-72	and ETUC, 283, 284-287
defining, 64, 65-67, 271	in Germany with social
Directives, development through,	integration, 280
64-65, 72-82, 272-275	hard law, lack of, 281, 282-283
Austrian trade unions, 272	National Reform Programmes, 283
German trade unions, 272	national union/national affiliate
Irish trade unions, 272	cooperation, 283-284
and social partners, 273	need for active role of unions,
successfulness of implementation,	282-284
criteria for, 74–75	need for reform agenda for
appropriateness, 75	unions, 282



342 INDEX

europeanisation (cont.)	overview of, 93-100
need for unions to strengthen	freedom of establishment
political role, 284–285	question, 95–96
and OMC, 283	free movement of services, 98
regulatory and governmental	globalisation, 94
role in implementation of	justification question, 96–97
Directives, 282	Laval case, 97–99
in Sweden with social	right to strike, 98–99
integration, 280	Rüffert case, 99–100
in UK with social integration,	traditional welfare State, 94
280	Viking case, 95–97
overview of, 63-65, 271-272	European Parliament, on PWD, 107
and social dumping, 63–64, 78	European Social Model, 87–88
top-down approach, 66	European Voluntary Workers (EVW),
as two-way process, 281–282. See	139, 267
also CJEU (Court of Justice	EWCD (Directive 94/45 on the
of the European Union);	establishment of a Europear
europeanisation, role of CJEU	Works Council). See
in; EWCD (Directive 94/	Directive 94/45 on
45 on the establishment of a	establishment of EWCD
European Works Council);	Ewing, K.D., 18, 54, 55, 61,
Directive 96/71 concerning	301–302
the posting of workers (PWD)	
europeanisation, role of CJEU in	Fair Mobility project (DGB),
Albany ruling, 92, 95	182–183, 255
conclusions about, 115–116	family reunification
overview of, 92–93	in Austria, 123
Viking, Laval, Rüffert	in Germany, 124n37, 127
impact of judgments on labour	financial crisis. See economic crisis
law systems, 108–115	FPÖ (Freedom Party, Austria), 25
on Austria, 108	France, 145n155, 167
on Germany, 108	freedom of association
on Ireland, 108–110	in Austria, 297
on Sweden, 112–115	CFR on, 298–299
on UK, 110–111	CJEU on, 299
implications for europeanisation, 100-108	ECHR on, 299–300
criticism of <i>Laval</i> judgment,	ECtHR on, 299
	in Germany, 297, 298
104–105 criticism of <i>Rüffert</i> judgment,	in Ireland, 297–298
105–106	in Sweden, 297, 298 in UK, 297
criticism of <i>Viking</i> judgment,	Frege and Kelly's strategies, 248
103–104	fit with Austrian unions, 250
proportionality test, 103	fit with German unions, 250
reactions of social partners,	fit with Irish unions, 263–264
106–108	fit with Swedish unions, 259
right to strike, 102, 103–104	fit with UK unions, 267
settled case law, reliance on, 101	FSU (Finnish Seaman's
soft law, reliance on, 101	Union), 95–97
	**



INDEX 343

Gama case, 108n53, 193, 198-199	collective bargaining, 34-36
Gangmasters (Licensing) Act (2004,	trade union links with SPD, 29–30
UK), 231, 302	trade union membership decline, 30
Gastarbeiter (guest workers), 151	post-World War II, 30–31
in Austria, 121–123	regulatory function, 34–36
in Germany, 122, 124–125, 126–127,	reorganisation around DGB, 30
186, 254	service function, 34
German Federal Employment	works councils, 34–36
Agency, 171	labour legislation in, purpose of, 292
German Labour Front (DAF), 30	legal framework applicable to EU2
Germany	and EU8 migrants, 170–171
case study, DGB and ver.di, 177–188	migration from New Member States
cooperation within European	to, 3, 7–8
unions, 187–188	
•	minimum wage in, 99, 105–106, 108,
enlargements and transitional	278, 293
arrangements, responses to, 179–181	overview of, 170
	political involvement of unions in, 294
New Member State workers,	posted workers in, 128, 171,
responses to, 181–187	171n6, 255
classic role of unions in, 18	reliance on traditional union
conclusions about, 188	functions in, 290–291
economic crisis, effects of, 19–20,	self-employed persons, 171
33, 174	traditional policy on migration, 4
effect of enlargements on, 172–177	transitional measures, 170–171
negative effects, 174–177	unemployment in, 172. See also
numbers of new arrivals, 173–174	DGB (German Trade
positive effects, 174	Union Federation); migrant
poverty migration, 174, 175	labour, traditional response
seasonal migration, 171, 173	of unions to; Old Member
self-employed persons, 173	States; <i>Rüffert</i> case; trade
social dumping, 172	union responses, analysis of;
social security benefits, 176–177	ver.di (Germany)
transitional arrangements,	globalisation, 5, 94, 246
172–173	guest workers. See Gastarbeiter
wage undercutting, 173	(guest workers)
work permits, 170-171	Gumbrell-McCormick, R., 245, 251, 280
freedom of association in, 297, 298	
Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with	Haddington Road Agreement
unions, 250	(Ireland), 42
Gastarbeiter in, 122, 124-125,	human rights, 70. See also CFR (Charter
126–127, 186, 254	of Fundamental Rights);
government function of unions	ECHR (European Convention
in, 293	on Human Rights); ECtHR
historical development of collective	(European Court of Human
labour laws systems in, 29–36	Rights)
after reunification, 31–32	Hungary
Christian trade unions, 30	bilateral agreement with Austria,
co-determination, 34–36	156n2
codification of labour law, lack of, 31	commuters to Austria, 160n25



344 INDEX

Hungary (cont.) EU membership, 1n1 ÖGB cooperation with trade unions in, 166-167. See also EU8 Hyman, R., 17, 146, 245, 251, 280 ICTU (Congress) economic crisis, effects of, 264 on EEC membership, 148 enlargements and transitional arrangements, responses to, 195-196 EU2 workers, 196 EU8 workers, 196 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with, 263-264 New Member State workers, responses to, 197-203 economic crisis, effects of, 200 language issues, 198 Migrant Rights Centre, 198 National Employment Rights Authority (NERA), 199 - 200rights-based approach, 198–199 social partnership, 197-198, 199 overview of, 194-195 IG Metall (German Metalworkers' Federation), 126, 129 ILO (International Labour Organisation) Committee of Experts (CEACR), 217, 298 Convention No. 87 on the Right to Organise, 296, 297, 304 Convention No. 98 on the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, 297, 304 and PWD, 275-276 International Transport Workers' Federation and The Finnish Seamen's Union v. Viking

Line Eesti. See Viking case
Ireland
case study, Congress and SIPTU,
194–196
cooperation within European
unions, 203–204

Line ABP and OU Viking

enlargements and transitional arrangements, responses to, 195-196 New Member State workers, responses to, 197-203 social partnership, collapse of, 272 collective agreements and, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42–43, 43n139 conclusions, 204 economic crisis, effects of, 5, 19 EEC membership, 145, 147-148 effects of enlargements on, 191-194 economic crisis, effects of, 192 EU2 workers, 193, 194, 196 EU8 workers, 191-192, 193 negative effects, 192-193 positive effects, 192, 193 social partners, 193-194 freedom of association in, 297-298 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with unions, 263-264 Habitual Residence Condition for EU8 citizens, 190, 195 historical development of collective labour laws systems in, 36-44 collective agreements, enforcement of, 43n139 dispute resolution, 41, 43n136 economic crisis, 41-42 fall in union density, 39 IBEC, 42, 198 membership rise, 38 National Partnership Agreements, 40 political involvement of unions, 39 service function of unions, 43-44 similarity to British counterparts, 37-38 social partnerships, 41-43, 44, 109 structural reform, lack of, 38 unemployment, 42 labour standards in, enforcement of, 302 - 303legal framework applicable to EU2 and EU8 migrants, 189–190 migration from New Member States to, 3, 8 migration policy after 2004

enlargement, 4



> INDEX 345

> > Ladrech, R., 65-66, 271, 279-280

overview of, 189 political power of unions in, 294 population statistics, 129 reliance on traditional union functions, 290-291 and social partnership system, 292, 293, 294 unemployment rate, 147, 189, 192 work permits for EU nationals, 95, 190. See also migrant labour, traditional response of unions to; Old Member States; SIPTU (Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union, Ireland); trade union responses, analysis of; under ICTU (Congress) ITF (International Transport Workers' Federation), Jenkins, C., 290, 291, 295, 304-305 Kahn-Freund, O., 7, 54, 55, 74, 75 case study, 210-222

Kommunal (Sweden) cooperation with EPSU, 222 on EU enlargements, 211–213, 259-260, 261 on free access to labour market, 258-259, 260, 261 New Member State workers, responses to, 218-221 agricultural sector, 220 care sector, 220 cleaning sector, 220 cooperation with Nordic unions, 221 cooperation with other unions, 221 definition of migrant, 218 language issues, 219-220 membership issues, 218-219 posted workers, 219 social movements, 216-217 overview of, 211 rights-based approach of, 219, 260 on transitional arrangements, 211-213. See also Sweden

Landsdowne Road Agreement (Ireland), 42 language issues and DGB, 182 and Kommunal, 219-220 and ÖGB, 167, 251 and SIPTU, 201, 202 and UNISON, 238 and ver.di, 185-186 Latvia EU membership, 1n1 partnership with Irish union, 203. See also EU8; Laval case Laval case, 80, 298 effect on Swedish model, 213 ILO on, 217, 218 legislative repercussions in Sweden, 114 liability ruling in Sweden, 112-114 on right to strike, 98-99, 102. See also CIEU laws, kinds unions should want, 295-304 argument for law, 290-295 and government function, 293 political strength of unions as potential obstacle to, 294-295 primary function of legislative change, 292-293 and service function, 293 and social partnerships, 293-294 conclusions, 304-305 EU vs. national level focus, 295-296 minimum labour standards, 300-304 and agricultural and service sectors, 300-301 and effective recruitment, 301 and enforcement issues, 302-303 at EU level, 303-304 at national level, 302-303 and legal regulation, 301 and posted workers, 300-301 and social dumping, 301 and workers not covered by collective bargaining, 301–302 overview of, 289-290 purpose of legislative change, 292-293



346 INDEX

laws, kinds unions should want (cont.) Maastricht Treaty, 69, 72, 146 rights for all workers, 295 Marshall Plan for Europe (DGB), 282 right to freedom of association/ membership issues collective action, 295, in Austria, 20-21, 25-26 296-300 in Germany, 30 at EU level, 298-300 in Ireland, 38, 201 at national level, 296-298 in Sweden, 213-214, 218-219, Lex Laval, 114, 115, 298 260-261, 293-294 Lindsey Oil Refinery (UK), trade union responses, 246-247 110-111, 302 in UK, 57-58, 234, 238-240 Lisbon Agenda, 82, 83 migrant Lisbon Strategy, 85 defining, 4, 285 Lisbon Treaty (2007), 147 DGB definition of, 181-182 Kommunal definition, lack of, 218 Lithuania LO definition of, 218 EU membership, 1n1 SIPTU definition of, 201 and migration to Sweden, 4. See also EU8 migrant labour, traditional response of LO (Sweden), 46 unions to, 118-142 case study, 210-222 in Austria, 120-124 cooperation with ETUC, 221 citizenship requirement for works definition of migrant, lack of, 218 councils representatives, 124 enlargements and transitional ethnic Germans, 120-121 arrangements, responses to, family reunification, 123 211-213 fit with Wrench's categories, 124 and EU enlargements, 259-260, 261 foreigner's employment law, 123 and EU membership, 145 foreign worker quota, 123n33 Gastarbeiter, 121-123 on free access to labour market, 258, 261 influence of social partners, 123 historical development of collective and ÖGB, 120, 121-122 labour laws, 45, 48, 49, 53 and ÖVP, 121 migrant labour, traditional response and SPÖ, 121 to, 133, 134-136, 137 conclusions, 148-151 New Member State workers, in Germany, 124-129, 150 responses to, 213-218 and CDU, 124-125 cooperation with Central Central and Eastern European and Eastern European workers, 128, 128n66 unions, 216 ethnic Germans, 125-126 cooperation with Nordic family reunification, 124n37, 127 unions, 216 fit with Wrench's categories, 129 and ECSR, 217-218 Gastarbeiter, 124-125, 126-127 and ILO/international fora, German Metalworkers' Federation 217, 218 (IG Metall), 126, 129 membership issues, 213-214 posted workers, 128 posted workers, 214-215, 216 rotation system, 126-127 self-employed persons, 215-216 works councils, 128 social movements, 216-217 in Ireland, 129-131, 149 undocumented migrant fit with Wrench's categories, 131 workers, 213 non-EU workers, 130 overview of, 210-211 rights-based approach, 151



INDEX 347

overview of, 118-120 National Partnership Agreements in Sweden, 131-138 (Ireland), 40 ambivalence toward migrant NERA (National Employment Rights labour, 134-135 Authority, Ireland), 262-263, and centre-right coalition, 137 263n31 fit with Wrench's categories, 138 Joint Nordic Labour Market ÖGB (Austrian Trade Union Confederation), 10, 12 (CNLM), 132 LO policy, 133, 134-136, 137 affiliated trade unions of, 161n33 and New Member States, 137 Arbeiterkammer, relationship with, 162-163, 251-252 posted workers, 137 case study, 161-168 postwar non-Nordic workers, 132-133 and collective bargaining, 10, 252 proactive approach to immigration, cooperation with unions, 167-168 135-136 DGB, 166-167, 283 racism/diversity, 136-137 EPSU, 168 ETUC, 168 refugees, 133, 136 rights-based approach, 133-134 New Member States, 166-167 self-employed workers, 137 economic crisis, lack of impact tourist immigrants, 134 on, 162 in UK, 118-119, 138-142, 149-150 on EEC membership, 144 Commonwealth citizens, on effect of limited access to labour 140 - 141market, 251-252 fit with Wrench's categories, enlargements, response to, 163-164 139, 142 and EU, 164, 253-254 Irish workers, 139 post-World War II European Europa-Memorandum of, 144 migrants, 139 European focus of, 287 racism, 141-142 on European integration, 144 self-organisation, 141-142, government function of, 252 142n137, 151, 268 historical development of, 10, TUC policy, 140-142 23-24 Migrar (Germany), 182, 184 overview, 27-28 migration political independence, 23-24 poverty, 174, 175 regulatory function, 28 reliance on traditional/historical historic ties to trade unions in New approaches to, 289-290 Member States, 251 seasonal, 156n5, 156-157, 159, on illegally employed persons, 160 170-171, 173 and language issues, 167, 251 and legal advice, 166, 251-252 minimum wage New Member State workers. in Austria, 106 response to, 165-167 in Germany, 99, 105-106, 108, 278, 293 legislative reforms, 165 in Sweden, 52 rights-based approach, 165 overview of, 10, 161-162 ver.di on statutory, 185 Monti II proposal, 299n42 regulation function of, 252-253 Monti II Regulation, 107, 303 representation function of, 253 Mortimer, J.E., 290, 291, 295, service function of, 253 304-305 and skilled workers, 165-166



348 INDEX

ÖGB (Austrian Trade Union Confederation) (cont.) traditional response to migrants, 120, 121 - 122on transitional arrangements, 157, 160, 163-164. See also Austria Old Member States collective bargaining as classic role of unions in, 17-20 historical context of union development, 17-20, 308 similarities among underlying labour law systems in, 8. See also Austria; Germany; Ireland; Sweden; UK (United Kingdom) OMC (Open Method of Coordination), 83-85, 86, 90, 278, 279 ÖVP (Osterreichische Volkspartei), 25, 158 Parental Leave Directive (ETUC), 286 Penninx, R., 118, 129, 131, 248, 249 Poland EU membership, 1n1 migration to Sweden, 4, 209 partnership with Irish unions, 203

partnership with Irish unions, 20 workers in UK, 233, 234, 236, 239–240. See also EU8; Rüffert case

Portugal, posted workers from in Austria, 157 ETUC on, 107–108

in Germany, 128, 171, 171n6, 255 and minimum labour standards, 300–301

in Sweden, 137, 214–215, 216, 219, 298. *See also* Directive 96/71 concerning the posting of workers (PWD)

poverty migration, 174, 175 proportionality requirement, 297 PWD. See Directive 96/71 concerning the posting of workers (PWD)

Raab-Olah Abkommen, 122 REFIT (Regulatory Fitness and Performance Programme), 87, 280–281 refugees, 133, 136 regulatory challenges, of EU enlargements, 289 research, present study, 8-14 approaches to, 8-10 data sources, 12 limits to scope of study, 10 main finding, 13, 306 research questions, 8, 306 subjects of case studies, 10-12 suggestions for adaptation to legal regulatory framework, 14 rights-based approach in Austria, 165 in Ireland, 151 in Sweden, 133-134 in UK, 231 rights vs. principles, 300n45 right to strike ETUC on, 277 and freedom of association, 299 Laval case on, 98-99, 102 Viking case on, 102, 103–104 Romania, 1n1, 4, 210. See also EU2 Roosblad, J., 118, 129, 131, 248, 249 Rüffert case, 80, 99–100 criticism of judgment, 105–106 Rush Portuguesa Lda v. Office national *d'immigration* (1990), 78

seasonal migration, 156n5, 156–157, 159, 170–171, 173 self-employment in Austria, 157, 160 bogus, 157n8 in Germany, 171, 173

in Sweden, 215–216 self-organisation of underrepresented groups, in UK, 141–142, 142n137, 151, 236, 268

SIPTU (Services, Industrial,

Professional and Technical Union, Ireland) affiliation with Labour Party, 39 and cleaning sector, 263 economic crisis, effects of, 264

enlargement and transitional arrangements, responses, 195–196



INDEX 349

subsidiarity principle, 77, 85, 304

EU8 workers, 196 EU2 workers, 196 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with, 263-264 New Member State workers, responses to, 201-203 agreements with EU8 unions, 203 cleaning sector, 202-203 definition of migrant, 201 language issues, 201, 202 mushroom industry, 202, 202n75 percentage of membership as migrants, 201 rights-based approach, 201-202 overview of, 195 recruitment and integration of New Member State workers, 261 recruitment strategies of, 264 social solidarity service of, 202 Wrench's categories, fit with, 262 Slovakia, 1n1, 166-167. See also EU 8 Slovenia, 1n1. See also EU 8 social dumping, 94, 289 and Austria, 157, 160, 253 and europeanisation, 63-64, 78 and Germany, 172 and globalisation, 5 and minimum labour standards, 301 Social Progress Protocol (EU), 106-107, 280-281 soft law Charter of Fundamental Rights, 85-86 Europe 2020 Strategy, 86-87, 88-89 europeanisation move towards, 65, 69, 82-90, 278-279 European Trade Union Confederation, 82-83, 88 financial crisis, 87–89 Lisbon Agenda, 82, 83 Lisbon Strategy, 85, 88 Open Method of Coordination, 83-85, 86, 87, 90, 278, 279 Solidarność (Poland), 203, 233 SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), 29-30, 175 SPÖ (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs), 26, 120, 121, 158

Sweden benefits tourism, 206-207, 208 berry pickers in, 215n53, 215-216, 220 case study, LO and Kommunal, 210 - 222cooperation within European unions, 221-222 enlargements and transitional arrangements, responses to, 211-213 New Member State workers, responses to, 213-221 on ETUC, role of, 285 classic role of trade unions in, 18 conclusions about, 222 economic crisis, effects of, 19-20 enlargements, effects of, 208-210 migration from EU2 States, 209, 210 migration from EU8 States, 208 - 209EU membership, 143, 145 freedom of association in, 297, 298 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with unions, 259 historical development of collective labour laws system in, 45–53 Act on the Right to Organise and Negotiate (1936), 47 Basic Agreement (1938), 47-48 CJEU case law, 51, 53 Co-Determination Act (1976), 49, 52Collective Agreements Act (1928), 46-47December Compromise, 46 decentralisation of collective bargaining, 48 economic crisis, 50 employers' federation, 45-46 first organised labour unions, 45 governmental/public administration function, 53 Industry Agreement (1997), 49, 50 legislative explosion on labour market, 48-49 LO, 45, 48, 49, 53



350 INDEX

Sweden (cont.)	article 45, 303
minimum wage, 52, 97, 99	article 49, 95, 96
non-unionised workers, 52	article 56, 97, 99, 112
regulatory function, 53	article 153, 69
service function of unions, 51	article 153(1), 296
TCO, 48, 53	article 153(4), 296
unemployment insurance,	article 153(5), 296
50-51, 53	article 352, 299n42
union density, 50, 206	Trade Union Bill (2015, UK), 297
white-collar workers, 45	trade union development, historical
workplace representation	context of, 17–20. See also
function, 51–52	individual Old Member State
labour legislation in, purpose of, 292	trade union responses, analysis of,
language requirements, 208	245–270, 306
legal framework applicable to EU2	Austria, 250–254
and EU8 migrants, 206–208	Arbeiterkammer, 251–252
membership decline of unions in,	collective bargaining, 252
293-294	and EU, 253–254
migration from New Member States	Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit
to, 4, 8	with, 250
overview of, 205-206	government function, 252
political involvement of unions in, 294	historic ties to trade unions in
posted workers in, 137, 214–215,	New Member States, 251
216, 219, 298	language provision, 251
reliance on traditional union	legal advice, 251–252
functions, 290–291	ÖGB, 251–252
traditional policy on migration, 4	public administration
transitional measures, rejection of,	function, 27, 28
205, 206–208	regulation function, 252-253
unemployment insurance in,	representation function, 253
293-294. See also Kommunal	service function, 253
(Sweden); Laval case; LO	and Wrench's categories, 250-251
(Sweden); migrant labour,	Austria and Germany, effect of limited
traditional response of	access to labour market,
unions to; Old Member	250-257
States; trade union responses,	conclusions about, 268-270
analysis of	free movement of workers and
Swedish Model, 145, 213	services, 247
Swedish Trade Union Centre for	Germany, 254-257
Undocumented Migrant	and EU, 143
Workers, 213	DGB, 257
	enlargements, DGB and ver.di
TCO (Tjanstemannens	on, 257
Centralorganisation, Sweden),	Fair Mobility project of DGB, 255
45, 145, 217–218, 221	Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit
TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the	with, 250
European Union), 247, 289,	Gastarbeiter, 254
296, 303	governmental function, 33, 36, 255



> INDEX 351

Sweden, Ireland, UK, free access to historical attitude towards migrant labour market, 257-268 workers, 255-256 Migrar drop-in centre, 254 trade union conduct guide, 247-250 UK, 265-268 minimum wage, 254 and EU, 145-147 posted workers, 255 'black workers', 267-268 public administration economic crisis, effects of, function, 33, 36 regulation function, 254 265-266, 268 representation function, 254 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit service function, 254 with, 267 ver.di, 254-255, 256-257 government function, 265 Wrench's classification, 255-256 mediator role between workers globalisation, and demise of traditional and government, 266-267 union structures, 246 public administration Ireland, 261-265 function, 60, 61 and EU, 147-148 regulation function, 265 cooperation with other unions, 265 representation function, 265 and self-organisation, 268 economic crisis, effects of, 264 and EU, 265 service function 265 specific policies for different ethnic EU enlargements, 261, 265 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit groups, 248 with, 263-264 Wrench's classifications, fit with, 267 government function of, 261, 262 Congress, 263-264 trade unions, Old Member States public administration collective bargaining as classic role function, 261 of, 17-20 recruitment strategies, 264 principle functions of, 18-19 regulation function, 261, 262-263 government, 19 representation function, 261, 262–263 public administration, 19 service function, 261, 262 regulatory, 19 SIPTU, 263 representative, 18-19 Wrench's categories, fit with, 263 service, 18 Sweden, 258-261 and EU, 143, 145 transitional arrangements EU enlargements, 259-260, 261 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit Austria on, 158-159 DGB on, 180-181 with, 259 governmental function, 258 Kommunal, 258-259, 260, 261 Congress on, 195–196 Laval case, 247, 258-259 Kommunal on, 211-213 LO, 258, 261 LO on, 211-212 membership issues, 260-261 public administration ÖVP on, 158 SIPTU on, 195-196 function, 258 regulatory function, 258-259 representation function, 258 TUC on, 268 service function, 258, 260-261 UK on, 230-231, 268 Wrench's categories, fit with, 259 UNISON on, 268



352

INDEX

Treaty of Nice (2000), 85-86 TUC (Trades Union Congress, UK), 53-54, 230-231 case study enlargements and transitional arrangements, responses to, 230-231, 268 New Member State workers, responses to, 231-234 economic crisis, effects of, 265-266, 268 on EEC membership, 145-146 European focus of, 287 government function of, 265 historical development of, 53-54 regulation function of, 265 service function of, 265

UK (United Kingdom) case study, TUC and UNISON, 229-241 cooperation within and through European unions, 240–241 enlargements and transitional arrangements, responses to, 230 - 231New Member State workers, responses to, 231-240 classic role of unions in, 18 collective laissez-faire approach in, 53-55, 292 conclusions about, 241 decollectivisation of domestic industrial relations in, 287 economic crisis, effects of, 19-20, 233, 234 EEC membership, 145 enlargements, effects of, 224-229 economic crisis, 225 EU2 workers, 225-229, 231 EU8 workers, 224-225 negative effects, 225 positive effects, 225 EU membership, 146–147 freedom of association in, 297 Frege and Kelly's strategies, fit with unions, 267 Gangmasters (Licensing) Act, 231, 302

historical development of collective labour laws systems in, 53–61 government function, 60-61 public administration function, 60, 61 regulatory function, 60 representation function, 60 rise of/early history of unions in, 53-54service function, 61 Thatcher's reforms, 56-57 workplace representation function, 60 labour standards in, enforcement of, 302 legal framework applicable to EU2 and EU8 migrants, 223-224 Worker Registration Scheme (WRS), 223n1, 223-224 migration from New Member States to, 3, 8 overview of, 223 political power of unions in, 294 reliance on traditional union functions, 290-291 self-organisation of underrepresented groups in, 141-142, 142n137, 151, 236, 268 traditional policy on migration, 4 unfavourable legal regulation of unions, 293 See also Old Member States; trade union responses, analysis of; TUC (Trades Union Congress, UK); UNISON (UK); under migrant labour, traditional response of unions to UMF (Union Modernisation Fund, UK), 234 UNISON (UK) economic crisis, effects of, 265-266 enlargements, responses to, 230 government function of, 265 on lack of links with unions in new Member States, 283 Migration Unit of, 268

New Member State workers,

responses to, 234-240

'black workers', 236-237, 267-268



INDEX 353

relationship with UNISON, 235, 239,

membership issues, 234, 238-240 Migrant Workers Participation Project, 237-238 Polish workers, 236, 239-240 political role, 235-236 self-organisation, 236 structural difficulties, 236-237 overview of, 229-230 and PWD, 278 regulation function of, 265 relationship with German unions, 274 relationship with ver.di, 235, 239, 266-267, 273, 283, 286-287 service function of, 265 on transitional measures, 268

ver.di (Germany) on enlargements, 179-180, 257 governmental role of, 255 on lack of links with unions in New Member States, 283 and limited access to labour market, 254-255, 256-257 New Member State workers, responses to, 183-187 Gastarbeiter, 186 language issues, 185–186 Migrar drop-in unit, 182, 184 separate group status for migrant workers, 185-186 statutory minimum wage, 185 overview of, 178

266-267, 273, 283, 286-287 Viking case impact on labour law systems in Ireland, 108-110 in UK, 110-111 overview of, 95-97 and right to strike, 102, 103-104. See also europeanisation WKÖ (Economic Chambers, Austria) fears about free movement, 158, 158n13 historical development of, 23, 24-25 representation in Brussels, 144 Worker Registration Scheme (WRS, UK), 223n1, 223-224 Wrench, J., 118-119, 124, 129, 140 Wrench's classification fit with Austrian unions, 124, 250-251 fit with German unions, 129, 255-256 fit with Irish unions, 131, 262, 263 fit with Swedish unions, 138, 259 fit with UK unions, 118–119, 139, 142, 248, 267 incorporation, 118 overview of, 118-119, 248-249 partial autonomy, 118 race and class perspective, 119 racial exclusion, 118, 124

separatist, 119