





# Organizing Matters Two Logics of Trade Union Representation

Guy Mundlak

ILERA PUBLICATION SERIES

Organizing Matters



#### ILERA PUBLICATION SERIES

The ILERA publication series covers the general theme of comparative labour and employment relations. Books in the series focus on comparative analysis of labour and employment relations, broadly interpreted to comprise all aspects of work including labour policy, labour market analysis, labour relations and collective bargaining, human resource management, and work- and workplacerelated topics.

Trade Unions and Migrant Workers New Contexts and Challenges in Europe Edited by Stefania Marino, Judith Roosblad and Rinus Penninx

Organizing Matters Two Logics of Trade Union Representation *Guy Mundlak* 

## Organizing Matters Two Logics of Trade Union Representation

Guy Mundlak

Tel Aviv University, Israel

ILERA PUBLICATION SERIES



Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

**International Labour Office** Geneva, Switzerland © International Labour Organization 2020

First published 2020



This is an open access work distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/ licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/). Users can redistribute the work for non-commercial purposes, as long as it is passed along unchanged and in whole, as detailed in the License. The ILO must be clearly credited as the owner of the original work. Any translation or adaptation of the original content requires the written authorization of the ILO. The use of the emblem of the ILO is not permitted in connection with users' work.

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

Published by Edward Elgar Publishing Limited The Lypiatts 15 Lansdown Road Cheltenham Glos GL50 2JA UK

In association with International Labour Office 4 route des Morillons CH-1211 Geneva 22 Switzerland ISBN 978-92-2-031421-0 Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc. William Pratt House 9 Dewey Court Northampton Massachusetts 01060 USA

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2019956799

This book is available electronically in the **Elgar**online Social and Political Science subject collection DOI 10.4337/9781839104039

ISBN 978 1 83910 402 2 (cased) ISBN 978 1 83910 403 9 (eBook)

Typeset by Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire

## Contents

| Αc  | knowledgements  | vii        |
|---|---|------------|
| Introduction: A theory of two logics, a study of four countries |   | 1          |
| 1   | The two logics of labour's association  | 9          |
| 2   | Hybrid industrial relations systems: Between Ghent and sliced-up bargaining units       | 35         |
| 3   | Four hybrid industrial relations systems: Converging challenges, divergent institutions | 61         |
| 4   | Declining membership and a rising legitimacy gap  | 86         |
| 5   | Membership-based strategies: Organizing and recruitment                                 | 111        |
| 6   | Between two logics: Strains of organizing when membership counts                        | 155        |
| 7   | Between two logics: Bridging practices as a path towards revitalization                 | 182        |
| Postscript: The two logics and membership counts                |   | 217        |
| References<br>Index   |   | 229<br>247 |

### Acknowledgements

This manuscript began with the exploration of organizing practices in 2014. The conversion of the initial findings into a full-fledged manuscript was triggered by the International Association of Labour and Employment Relations (ILERA), which patiently supported me throughout the process. Their backing enabled me to extend the fieldwork from 2014 into a second round in 2018, adding perspective and depth to my attempt to understand the experience of organizing in selected countries. I would like to extend my gratitude first and foremost to all those informants who generously provided me their time and wisdom. Having promised them anonymity during the interviews – about which some cared but others didn't – I can only express my deepest appreciation in this general way. Informants hosted me at their homes, or I met them in their offices, onsite or at midnight in a bar after a long day of organizing. Often they promised me an hour and then spent many more with me, telling stories, contemplating, confiding and reflecting. In Israel, where my initial interest in the topic was sparked, organizers who attended my classes, students who graduated and became organizers, lawyers who consulted with me on legal responses to challenges, trade union officials disposed to making change and the workers on a picket line were all essential to developing this project. My own theoretical reflections would not have come to light without all these players in four countries, whose candid enthusiasm and concern made this a fascinating journey.

I met Michael Croshv when I presented the framework I'd developed



https://www.yunbaogao.cn/report/