	VIRAL IR pre-Covid-19	Denmark	France	Germany	Italy CA = Collective Agreement CB = Colletive Bargaining EO = Employers' Organisation	Ireland	Poland	Spain
1	The main actors	Confederations DA (EO) and FH (unions) setting the frame and general politics. Actual collective bargaining (CB) is on sector level with DI, DE and DB as trendsetters.		Employer federations - Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbänd (Federation of 14 state employer associations and 48 branch associations – lobby work), Bundesvereinig ung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbänd (Federation of 38 industrial employer associations, lobbyist). DGB is the trade union federation, representing the interests of its 8 affiliates. Of these affiliates, two, the IG Metall and Verdi (service) organize nearly two thirds of all union members. In addition, there are 14 so-called employee associations, five of which undertake collective bargaining – these are not affiliated to the DGB.	Labor Confederations: Three (3) historic labor confederations (CGIL, CISL, UIL) representing various affiliated labor federations, or categories, which roughly correspond to economic sector (e.g., metal- mechanical, transportation, public administration, construction; freelance workers, etc.). Additionally, UGL — historically aligned with the political right — various craft unions and other autonomous unions play important roles in specific industries, workplace and geographic areas. Employer Confederations: Confindustria (highly representative of largest firms across industries) Confartigianato, CNA, Casartigiani (artisanal firms, across industries) Confcommercio, Confesercenti (services, tourism, hospitality)			

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				Legacoop, Confcooperative, AGCI (cooperative firms, across industries and firm size) Confagricoltura (largest ag. firms), CIA and Coldiretti (smallest ag. firms) R.ETE. Imprese Italia, established more recently, is a network among Confartigianato, CNA, Casartigiani, Confartigianato, Confcommercio and Confesercenti Historically, both labor confederations and employers associations have been affiliated with one of three major political ideologies in post-war Italy, and the respective Parties: socialist/communist, Christian democratic, republican/social democratic. This fact helps explain the number of unions and associations.			

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2	State or social partners – degree of voluntarism (partly overlapping with Q5 and Q6)	Social partners are regulating majority of labour market through collective bargaining every 2-3 years		Supported by legislation, in particular the German constitution and the collective bargaining act, employer associations and unions autonomously undertake collective bargaining	In the private sector, labor relations and collective bargaining are voluntaristic and largely self-regulated by a series of protocols negotiated among social partners. Representativeness is almost exclusively in the domain of these voluntary protocols. With some important exceptions, these agreements are largely bipartite. In the public sector, collective bargaining is highly regulated by law, including rules for determining representativeness.			
3	Form of employee representation	 Works councils are wide-spread Close cooperation with shop-stewards Shop steward density is 52 % (2010) Many very small companies in DK → do not have neither shop 		• Works councils (density rate - 41% West and 36% East). The percentage of works councils amongst small to medium size	1.) RSA (present in 12.1% of firms) The Workers' Statute (Act n. 300/1970, article 19) provides, in workplaces with more than 15 employees (greater than 5 in agriculture), for the possibility that workers may "constitute" (without specifying how)			

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	steward nor works council – but a H&S rep.		companies is low Shop steward committees mainly in large old industrial firms. Supervisory boards	Rappresentanze Sindacali Aziendali (RSA) (in English, company-level union representative structures) on the basis of unions that are signatories to collective agreements applied in the establishment in question. RSAs engage in collective bargaining. 2.) RSU (present in 11.8% of firms) The bipartite Testo Unico sulla Rappresentanza of 10 January 2014) introduces the RSU (Rappresentanza Sindacale Unitaria). These unitary workplace structures are necessarily elected by all employees in an establishment, on the basis of union lists, every three years. Where they exist the RSU substitutes the RSA in terms of recognised union rights in the workplace and they have the power to collectively negotiate company level agreements. 3.) The nature of the RSA/RSU			

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					In each case, these are single channel representation structures, because each represent both the individual workers in the establishment (whether or not they are members of a union) and the external union, with the power to negotiate contracts in the workplace.			
4	Union density	2019: 68.4 %, hereof 11.4 % yellow		DGB. 5.8 million members (roughly 14%), IG Metall 38% of all DGB members, Verdi 33%. Vereinigung Cockpit (Pilots union) 9,300 members - ≥ 80%. Unabhängige Flugbegleiter Organisation (cabin crew) 10,000 members -	2019: Overall density (not including retirees) was 32.5%: CGIL: 2.7 million active members CISL: 2.4 million active members UIL: 1.7 million active members			

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			over 25 % of all cabin crew members				
Employers' organisation	2015: Private: 53 % Public: 100 %			Confindustria: 32.1% of all firms (71.9% among firms with more than 50 employees) Artisanal Firms (Confartigianato, CNA, Casartigiani): 37.5% of artisanal firms Retail (Confcommercio, Confesercenti): 21.6% of all			
Collective bargaining coverage	2015: Private: 74 % Public: 100 %		2019: West 28% East 20 %	small retailers The vast majority of employees in Italy are covered by the relevant national- level CA for their sector, while only a minority are covered by a second-level contract. % employees covered in 2019: Primary level (national): 80% Secondary level (company) 30-40%			

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					Two factors help explain the degree of extension of CAs in the private sector: 1. Individual members of employer associations voluntarily agree to apply the relevant contract negotiated by their association to their own employers 2. In the absence of a standard minimum wage in Italy, jurisprudence has interpreted the Constitution's guarantee of a worker's "right to remuneration commensurate with the quantity and quality of their work" to mean a wage not lower than the minimum established by the relevant sectoral CA, which has encouraged employers to apply the relevant CA			
5	Social partners strength vis-á-vis the state	Unions as well as EOs are respected partners. They dominate regulation of the labour market		There are no available stats regarding membership, the collective bargaining coverage suggests that	IR in Italy is primarily bipartite. Historically, due to alignment between associations and political parties together with the			

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		and are often involved in tri-partite negotiation when major well-fare issues are at stake (pension, paternity leave, vocational training etc.)		the percentage is low due to the fact that membership traditionally means you are covered by CB. In 2000, 47% of West German companies were involved in CB and 27 in the East.	centralized nature of Italian unions, historically with weak penetration at the company level, social partners have been strong vis-a-vis the state. In recent decades, the power of unions vis-a-vas the state has perhaps eroded. For example, beginning in the 1990s, several important reforms in the field of labor law and flexible employment contracts were not negotiated by the State together with the main unions.			
6	The balance btw. Social partners and the state (overlapping with Q5 and Q2)							
7	Legislation vs. collective agreements in labour market regulation	Legislation is playing a withdrawn role while CA are regulating the majority of the issues. Often, legislation copies from CA to cover those w/o CA. Health & safety is legislatively regulated.		As indicated above the state sets the parameters but is not allowed to get involved in CB. Although recently the state has passed legislation, in particular the minimum wage and collective bargaining	Italian labor law is extremely rich and covers practically all aspects of employment relations. Based on the constitutional principal of the free nature of labor unions, national- and company-level CAs, whose purpose is to supplement the former, intervene on top			

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				law, which has seen employers and unions suggest legislators are contravening the autonomous principle.	of labor law in order to improve upon the legal standard. In many cases the law delegates or remands to CB the governance of specific features of labour law. In other instances, the law allows CAs to intervene in employment law in specific areas with the function of deregulation or lowering of standards. In such cases, frequently, the law grants this power only to CAs signed by the most representative labor organizations.			
8	Bargaining on sector, industry and/or company level	While the general political lines are laid out by confederations (DA and FH in private sector), actual collective bargaining is on sector level.		Traditionally CB has taken place at the branch level between the recognized unions and employer associations. In recent years, though, there has been an inflation in the number of company level agreements as well as firms that although not covered by CB base their pay increases of CB agreements.	Despite forces pushing toward more decentralized bargaining in recent decades, Italian IR lead by CGIL-CISL-UIL-CONFINDUSTRIA fundamentally rests on CB at the national level which, in the absence of a minimum wage law, establishes the minimum remuneration for the workers in a given sector, in addition to a series of other rights .This primary level CA		S	

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					is extended to 80-90% of employees, despite the proliferation of social dumping phenomenon characterized by the proliferation of sector-specific CAs signed by less representative unions. Where a stewards council (RSA/RSU) is present, representatives may negotiate a company level CA within the bounds established by the national-level CA, in a vision of "controlled decentralization." At most, 40% of employees are covered by a company-level CA.			
9	Leading branches in the negotiations?	The sector dominating the bargaining is the metal sector. This is setting the frame for all other sectors, as this is the sector most exposed to international competition. This spills over to other sectors, including the public sector and as such is		The metal sector has traditionally set the tone for other branches to follow –its bargaining orientation influenced heavily by productivity levels.	Traditionally the metal- mechanical federations and Confindustria have set the tone for CB in other industries. Often the metalmechnical contract has the highest wages and most favorable conditions.			

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		setting the overall. level for wages and working conditions in the Danish economy.						
10.	Changes from 2010 to 2020: (de)centralisation	Decentralization took place from late 1980's onwards and was further enhanced through 2010 where the CA opened up for local agreements deviating from the collective agreement if local consensus at company level could be obtained		As in other EU countries Germany has experienced the development of various forms of decentralized CB, such as company and plant bargaining as well as so-called open-clauses, branch level collective agreements providing site/company actors room to customize such agreements.	In recent years there has been increased decentralizing in terms of CB. For example, firm-specific CAs are negotiated around additional employee benefits (welfare), remote and smart-working, Covid, etc. Furthermore, it is now possible to negotiate a "proximity contract" which allows, in specific cases, for "derogation" from the national CA, in other words the weakening of certain standards with respect to the sector contract. This decentralization has not come at the expense, however, of the primacy of the national CA and has represented a vision of "controlled decentralization" in the context of centralized, self-regulated CB. In the public sector, due to a stronger legal regulation of IR, CB is more structured, with			

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				second level CAs playing a more important role in regulating employment.			
Changes from 2010 to 2020: Power balance state vs. social partners	Social partners are still considered important cooperators in dealing with welfare problems and are involved irrespective of the orientation of the incumbent government		German law sets aside a strong role for social partners to influence labour market, vocational training and finance legislation. The tripartite system came into its own in managing the 2008-2010 financial crisis.	In the last decade or so, the power of unions vis-a-vis the state has been eroded (while the same can't be said for the power of employer associations.) For example, certain reforms that have weakened protections against terminations without just cause were passed without any social dialogue. However, during the pandemic, we have also seen the elevation of the power of unions, as the emergency was managed in collaboration with unions (for example around support for furloughed workers, at the freeze on permanent layoffs, Covid protocols, remote/smart working).			
Changes from 2010 to 2020: Power balance btw. employers('	While the EOs has had a stable membership base, unions have lost members over the last two decades. Partly		Since the 1990s, especially after the implementation of Agenda 2010, a radical labour market reform	During this period, Italian labor unions have certainly lost power, often as the effect of labor market reforms which undermined			

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organisation) and	due to better		designed to promote	job stability (eg.,			
unions	education, but more		atypical employment	outsourcing, flexible and			
	importantly they have		arrangements,	temporary contracts,			
	lost members to		relations between the	reduced job security for			
	yellow unions.		two parties have	open-ended contracts.) As			
	However, an		declined. There has	an outcome of the 2008			
	important feature in		even been a well-	crisis, the same can be said			
	the Danish model is		documented debate	for the employer			
	that employers have a		about the value of the	associations, which saw			
	vested interest in		social partnership	their power eroded by			
	strong unions as only		concept. Certainly, in	upstart associations, created			
	through a strong		the aviation industry	for the sole purpose of			
	partnership btw. social		there have been a	negotiate CAs with lower			
	partners it will be		series industrial	standards (e.g., so-called			
	possible to keep the		stoppages deemed	"pirate CAs," which are			
	state out of labour		alien to the idea of a	responsible for the			
	market regulations.		win-win situation	phenomenon of social			
			central to German IR.	dumping.)			