



Centre for Labour, Employment and Work

Unions and Union Membership in New Zealand – report on 2015 Survey

Sue Ryall, Centre Manager, CLEW

Dr Stephen Blumenfeld, Director, CLEW

Since enactment of the Employment Contracts Act (ECA) in 1991, during the duration of which the New Zealand Government ceased compiling such data, the Centre for Labour, Employment and Work (formerly Industrial Relations Centre - IRC) at Victoria University of Wellington has collected data on union membership each year. Over that time, we have reported on the change in union membership and, in particular, the marked decline in the share of employees who belong to trade unions in New Zealand.

Following the oil shocks of the 1970s, trade unions across the advanced capitalist world have witnessed prolonged membership decline. The plunge in union membership and density experienced in New Zealand in the first few years of the ECA 1991, though, was far more pronounced than in virtually any other OECD member country. Despite this, in the period December 1999 to December 2008, following introduction of the 'union-friendly' Employment Relations Act in October 2000, union membership has increased, 26.5 percent but the levels of union membership and union density never recovered to their pre-1991 levels.

In the aftermath of the 2007/08 global economic crisis nearly a decade ago, though, the share of the global workforce covered by collective agreements has fallen precipitously at a pace unprecedented since the Second World War (Visser, 2016). New Zealand workplaces too have witnessed a gradual decline in union membership and union density in that time. This suggests that, while the global economic crisis may have posed as much peril as promise for organised labour, given their already weakened position and lack of a political ally in government, trade unions in New Zealand, as well as in most other countries, were unable to exploit the crisis to their advantage (Dark, 2011).

So, where is this decline happening, and is it likely to be redressed?

CLEW's Union Membership Surveys

The union membership survey conducted by the Centre for Labour, Employment and Work (CLEW) is distributed to all registered trade unions in New Zealand in February/March each year. That survey asks those unions to account for their membership numbers as at 31 December of the previous year. At October 2016, the time of initial processing of CLEW's latest

union membership survey, 85 of the 135 registered unions had returned completed surveys to CLEW. Union membership data for a further 37 registered unions was sourced from the Registrar of Unions (the Registrar). All unions have a statutory obligation to submit a return to the Registrar by 1 June each year of their membership numbers at 1 March in that year.

The Registrar reported in October 2016 that 13 registered trade unions did not submit a return for 2016, hence their membership tallies for the year ending 31 December 2015 are therefore unknown. These unions accounted for 411 members in the 2015 return to the Registrar. The Registrar has now directed that six unions be referred to the Employment Relations Authority to seek an order directing the Registrar of Unions to cancel the union's registration; one is in liquidation; and a further six unions are to be monitored for their compliance.¹ An additional eight unions were wound up in the 2015/2016 year. Finally, two unions, the Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU) and the Service and Food Workers Union (SFWU), merged to form E tū, now the largest private sector union, and the Southern Local Government Officers Union (SLGOU) amalgamated into the NZ Public Service Association (PSA).

For the purposes of interpreting our data it is important to note the following:

1. One union, in education and training, has changed the way it categorises 'membership' for the purposes CLEW's survey.² That union now includes only financial members in their survey return, whereas prior to 2014 included other categories of membership – student members and 'suspended' memberships – in its tally. This change in practice has resulted in an apparent reduction of close to 5000 members in CLEW's accounting for December 2014 and a discrepancy of 3300 from that returned to the Registrar of Unions for March of this year.
2. Across the 37 unions for which membership data was sourced from the Registrar, the distribution of total membership across sectors has been estimated from past survey returns or assumptions based on the industry coverage area, as indicated in the Register of Unions.³
3. Where unions did not allocate 100% of their membership to an industry or where no industry was indicated on the union membership return to CLEW, those membership numbers have been added to the category 'no industry'.

Total union membership

Union membership at 31 December 2015, in Table 1, shows a continued decline in both membership and density. Following a period of strong growth from the end of 1999 to

¹ New Zealand Companies Office (2016) 'Union Membership Report 2016' <http://www.societies.govt.nz/cms/registered-unions/annual-return-membership-reports/2016>

² In this regard, CLEW asks respondents to its survey to account for their 'total financial membership'. MBIE, on the other hand, ask for 'total membership' by industry (at level 1 ANZSIC) and gender. CLEW further asks for the composition of the membership (as a percentage) by gender, by industry (at level 2 ANZSIC) and by ethnicity.

³ See <http://www.societies.govt.nz/cms/registered-unions/register-of-unions>.

December 2006 when union membership increased 26.5 percent, growth levelled off in the period to December 2010 with a minimal 1 percent growth. Since that time there has been a steady decline in union membership despite strong growth in employment in this period. In the period December 2014 to December 2015 union membership declined 0.8 percent.

Table 1: Trade Unions, Membership and Union Density 1991-2015

Year	Union membership	Number of unions	Potential union membership		Union Density	
			Total employed labour force ²	Wage and salary earners ²	(1) / (3) %	(1) / (4) %
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dec 1991	514325	66	1509400	1199000	34.1	42.9
Dec 1992	428160	58	1514200	1190500	28.3	36.0
Dec 1993	409112	67	1545400	1215300	26.5	33.7
Dec 1994	375906	82	1612000	1269600	23.3	29.6
Dec 1995	362200	82	1686600	1331700	21.5	27.2
Dec 1996	338967	83	1741200	1375100	19.5	24.7
Dec 1997	327800	80	1750600	1401700	18.7	23.4
Dec 1998	306687	83	1739300	1387000	17.6	22.1
Dec 1999	302405	82	1766400	1395600	17.1	21.7
Dec 2000	318519	134	1800000	1425200	17.7	22.3
Dec 2001	329919	165	1846100	1482200	17.9	22.3
Dec 2002	334783	174	1906500	1540100	17.6	21.7
Dec 2003	341631	181	1955900	1579700	17.5	21.6
Dec 2004	354058	170	2024100	1637900	17.5	21.6
Dec 2005	377348	175	2084800	1702100	18.1	22.2
Dec 2006	382538	166	2134700	1759700	17.9	21.7
Mar 2008 ¹	373327	147	2173000	1792000	17.2	20.8
Dec 2008	384777	141	2175900	1798000	17.7	21.4
Dec 2009	385280	145	2147000	1791800	17.9	21.5
Dec 2010	386276	145	2156600	1804100	17.9	21.4
Dec 2011	372891	134	2188200	1819100	17.0	20.5
Dec 2012	369200	133	2183500	1817000	16.9	20.3
Dec 2013	365927	126	2226900	1881400	16.4	19.4
Dec 2014 ³	361419	125	2305300	1951600	15.7	18.5
Dec 2015	358633	121	2357000	2005400	15.2	17.9

Source: HLFS - Persons Employed by Sex by Employment Status (Annual-Dec) Table reference: HLF005AA; Centre for Labour, Employment and Work Survey 2015.

Notes: ¹The 2007 figures are from the DOL Union Membership Return Data.

²Figures in column 3, 4, 5, & 6 are different from those reported in previous years due to the population rebase by Statistics New Zealand to take account of the latest census results.

³A change in union membership accounting for one union decreased membership by close to 5000 compared with previous years.

It is also noteworthy that there has been a large decline in the number of registered unions since the introduction of the Employment Relations Act (ERA) in 2000. The ERA required that collective employment agreements only be negotiated between a registered union and an employer. Under the ECA there was no such restriction and many 'in-house' unions and bargaining agents represented employees in the bargaining process. Following the introduction of the ERA many of these groups sought registration as a union such that by the end of 2003, when all agreements settled under the ECA had to be replaced, the number of unions had swelled to 181, from a starting point of 82 in 1999. At December 2015, this number

has reduced to 121 with the vast majority, as will be discussed later in this article, with less than 1000 members.

As shown in Table 2, Union membership remains predominantly in the public sector and community services industries, with more than 3 out of 5 union members in New Zealand being employed in these industries. More than a quarter of union members work in health care or social assistance, and just over a fifth work in education and training. Outside of these predominantly public sector industries, union membership remains highest in transport, postal and warehousing and in manufacturing, where despite a drop in the number of employees, there has been a small increase in union membership in the year to December 2015. These private sector industry groups represent a far smaller share of the economy and the country's labour force than was the case three decades ago.

Manufacturing, a traditional stronghold of union organisation, has experienced a decline of 38.7 percent in union membership since December 2005. While there has also been a decline in employment in the industry, the union density has also declined significantly in the period December 2005 to December 2015 (31.3 percent to 20.4 percent).

The area with the strongest growth in employment in the 2014-2015 year is construction, where the number of wage and salary earners increased 14 percent. Health care and social assistance is also growing in terms of employment. A number of other industries are also seeing growth in employment including manufacturing, the 'utilities', retail trade and accommodation, professional services and health care and social assistance. Of these only retail trade and accommodation and health care and social services have grown union membership at a similar rate to the growth in employment to maintain or increase union density. Union density in construction has fallen steadily since it peaked in 2009 at 7 percent. It is now only half that level.

Research indicates that increasing union strength within an industry has a similar positive effect on union wage inflation in that industry during economic expansions and during contractions. The results for union workers are most likely due to strong unions' superior ability to keep up with price inflation as compared to that of weak unions. The declining influence trade unions and collective bargaining has also been associated with increased work pressure and has been suggested as a possible cause of work intensification in the aftermath of the Great Recession (Russell & McGinnity, 2014).

Industry Spread of trade union membership

Table 2: Distribution of union members and employees across industry sectors at December 2015

Industry grouping	Union membership in 2015	Union membership in 2014	Change in membership 2015-2014 (No.)	Change in membership 2015-2014 (%)	Change in employees 2015-2014 (%)	Wage & salary earners 2015 (000)	Wage & salary earners 2014 (000)	Union density
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1059	2151	-1092	-50.8%	6.6%	89.1	83.6	1.2%
Mining	1388	1749	-361	-20.6%	-7.6%	6.1	6.6	22.8%
Manufacturing	47906	47677	229	0.5%	5.8%	235.2	222.4	20.4%
Electricity, gas, water and waste services	4002	4062	-60	-1.5%	4.4%	21.2	20.3	18.9%
Construction	5571	5834	-263	-4.7%	14.2%	163.7	143.3	3.4%
Wholesale trade	694	835	-141	-20.3%	-11.7%	76.4	86.5	0.9%
Retail trade and accomodation	20212	19265	947	4.7%	3.7%	322.8	311.4	6.3%
Transport, postal and warehousing	33940	34283	-343	-1.0%	-1.9%	88.4	90.1	38.4%
Information media and telecommunications	2917	3280	-363	-12.4%	0.0%	38.2	38.2	7.6%
Financial and insurance services	3831	3832	-1	0.0%	1.1%	63.2	62.5	6.1%
Rental, hiring and real estates Services	275	305	-30	-10.8%	-2.9%	23.6	24.3	1.2%
Profl, scientific, technical, administrative and support services	5094	5161	-67	-1.3%	4.1%	209.8	201.5	2.4%
Arts, recreation and other services	7888	8587	-699	-8.9%	1.0%	116.4	115.2	6.8%
Public and community services	223112	223586	-474	-0.2%	1.0%	546.3	540.7	40.8%
<i>Public Administration and Safety</i>	48183	49325	-1142	-2.4%	-1.9%	121.5	123.8	39.7%
<i>Education and Training</i> ¹	77295	82174	-4879	-6.3%	1.0%	189.4	187.5	40.8%
<i>Health Care and Social Assistance</i>	97634	92087	5547	5.7%	2.6%	235.4	229.4	41.5%
<i>No industry</i> ²	744	813	-69	-9.2%	2.0%	5	5.1	14.9%
TOTAL	358633	361419	-2786	-0.8%	-2.7%	2005.4	1951.6	17.9%

Source: HLFS 2014 and 2015 (December quarter); Centre for Labour, Employment and Work Union Survey 2014 and 2015.

Note: ¹ The large decrease in membership in 2014 is largely a result of one Union changing the way in which they categorise 'membership' so that only 'full' members are reported.

² Union Members not allocated to particular industries on the Union Survey return

Union density

Overall, union density in New Zealand fell from 18.5 percent to 17.8 percent of wage and salary employees in the year to 31 December 2015, continuing the gradual decline that has occurred since December 2010. The country's public service still maintains the highest levels of union density with close to two-fifths of employees in that sector belonging to a union.

However, over the last five years, union density in New Zealand's public sector has fallen, as growth in employment has outstripped that in union membership. Since December 2005 union density in both education and health and social assistance industries has declined substantially. Close to half of employees in each of these industries belonged to a union at December 2005 and 2006 but at December 2015 this figure has fallen to just over 40 percent. Also, while union membership density in the public administration and safety industry increased as the employment in the industry declined in the period of the global financial crisis (2008 and 2009), as the employment levels increased after 2010 the union density declined slightly as the growth in union membership failed to keep up with the growth in employment.

The only private sector industry that comes close to matching public sector union density is transport, postal and warehousing (38.4 percent), perhaps in part because there was a strong public sector component in the past with a large public transport sector and publicly owned postal and courier services. While union density in this industry group has declined since December 2010 there has been a gradual increase in the last two years, bucking the trend across most other industries.

Mining (22.8 percent), manufacturing (20.4 percent), and utilities services (18.9 percent) are the only other areas of the private sector where union density is greater than one in ten. However all of these industries have experienced a decline in union density across the last five years with density in the 'Utilities' industry (Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services), an industry that also had a strong public sector history, almost halving across that period. Union density in mining also dropped from 35.6 percent at December 2010 to 22.8 five years later.

New Zealand's union density continues to decline as does that of other countries that we monitor with exception of Canada. In December 2005 more than one fifth of New Zealand employees belonged to a union and this was maintained through to 2010. In 2010 New Zealand's union density was slightly higher than Australia (18 percent) and lower than the UK (27 percent). At this time union density in the USA was at only 12 percent and Canada was at 30 percent. While the UK still has close to a quarter of employees as union members in 2015 and Canada remains at just over 30 percent, in New Zealand and Australia the levels are edging closer to that of the USA. As in all other countries with the exception of Canada the drop in union density in New Zealand has been in both the public and private sector however the decline in New Zealand is at a greater rate than the other countries.

Union membership in the public and private sectors (Table 5)

Underscoring the fact that union membership in New Zealand – much like in most other OECD countries – remains primarily a public sector phenomenon, 60 percent of wage-and- salary employees in the country's public sector belong to a trade union, while only 10 percent of private sector employees are unionised.

Table 5: Public/private sector union density – international comparisons 2015

Country	Union density	Public sector	Private sector	Public/private ratio
New Zealand ¹	17.9%	60.0%	10.0%	1.5
Australia ²	16.7%	n/a	n/a	n/a
UK ³	24.7%	54.8%	13.9%	1.4
USA ⁴	11.1%	35.2%	6.7%	1.0
Canada ⁵	30.7%	76.0%	16.5%	1.5

¹Statistics NZ, QES, Table Filled Jobs by Sector by Status in Employment (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec) 2015Q4 Table reference: QEX018AA; Centre for Labour, Employment and Work Survey 2015;

²Australian Bureau of Statistics, 63330DO013_201408 Characteristics of Employment, Australia, August 2014, Tues 27 Oct 2015. Table 13.1 EMPLOYED PERSONS: Trade union membership–By industry of main job (2 digit).

³Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, Trade Union Membership 2015, Table 2.2 & 2.1(a)

⁴United States Department of Labour, Bureau of Labour Statistics, Economic News Release: Union Members 2015, 28 Jan 2016

⁵Statistics Canada, Table 282-0077: Labour force survey estimates (LFS), employees by union coverage, North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), sex and age group, unadjusted for seasonality, CANSIM (database) December 2015.

The higher level of union density in the public sector is common across the four comparator countries to which we refer in Table 5. Canada has the highest concentration of union members in the public sector, with more than three quarters of such employees in that country belonging to a union. Only the USA has fewer union members who work in the public sector than in the private sector. But, for the other countries in our comparison, there is 30-40 percent more public sector union members than private sector.

Size of Unions

There is very little change in the spread of union membership across different size of unions in New Zealand from that which we last reported for the year to 31 December 2014. Eighty-nine of the 121 unions (74 percent) who responded to our survey in 2015 have a membership that is less than 1000 and three out of five unions have less than 200 members. This is a very similar distribution to 2014 but in the last ten years there has been some change.

Table 6: Membership by union size 1991 – 2015, selected years

Membership range	Dec 1991			Dec 1999			Dec 2005			Dec 2014			Dec 2015		
	#	Members	%	#	Members	%	#	Members	%	#	Members	%	#	Members	%
Under 1000	4	2750	1	48	12703	4	140	19436	5	84	15658	4	89	14803	4
1000 - 4999	39	87119	17	22	43709	14	23	56801	15	21	48117	13	21	48319	13
5000 - 9999	9	76489	15	3	19669	7	4	30050	8	3	23981	7	3	23888	7
10000+	14	347967	68	9	226324	75	8	271061	72	9	272887	76	8	271623	76
Totals	66	514325		82	302405		175	377348		117	360643		121	358663	
Av. Size		7793			3688			2156			3082			3014	

Source: Industrial Relations Centre Surveys 1991, 1999, and 2005; Centre for Labour Employment and Work Survey 2014 and 2015.

In December 2005, 80 percent of the unions in the IRC survey had a membership of less than 1000 and 68 percent of the unions had a membership of less than 200. But this change has not come about through amalgamation of small unions into larger ones but rather a reduction

in the number of unions, a 31 percent reduction across the ten years, primarily in the unions with less than 1000 members. In this category the **number** of unions has reduced 36 percent.

While the average size of a New Zealand trade union has increased slightly to 2964 members, the median has remained at almost the same level (146 members). In our last report we questioned how unions with such a small membership are able to sustain a level of service to their members such as is required in today's workplace. At that time 45 unions (36 percent of the total) had a membership of under 100 members but this has now dropped to 41 unions representing 34 percent of the total number of unions.

Despite the significant number of relatively small unions, 82 percent of union members in New Zealand belong to one of eleven unions. This implies that the vast majority of employees who belong to a union in this country are members of unions with a solid membership base and which are likely to be well-resourced organisations. As would be expected from the earlier discussion of dominance of the public sector with regard to union membership, of the four unions with a membership greater than 30,000 members, only one is in the private sector.

In the last ten years there has been very little change in the number of unions with 10,000 or more members. There has been a consistent 9 or 10 unions in this category. Some larger unions have amalgamated in recent years but some unions in the public sector such as the NZ Nurses Organisation have experienced considerable growth in membership. On the other hand large private sector unions have experienced a considerable decline in membership. The amalgamation of the Service and Food Workers Union and the NZ Engineering Printing and Manufacturing Union has created the largest private sector union but with a membership that is much reduced on the combined membership ten years ago. The NZ Meat Workers Union has also seen a dramatic decline in membership across the last ten years as the importance of the industry to the New Zealand economy and the environment for union organisation in their sector has changed.

Union amalgamation has continued in the face of declining overall union membership. In the past ten years the Tertiary Education Union was formed with the amalgamation of the unions for university staff and polytechnic staff; FIRST Union was formed from the FINSEC and NDU amalgamation; and the Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union (EPMU) merged with the NZ Building Trades Union. In 2015 the NZ Public Service Association merged with the Southern Local Government Officers Union and E Tū was formed from the amalgamation of the Service and Food Workers Union and the EPMU. The Flight Attendants and Related Services Association (FARSA) were also finalising their amalgamation with E Tū at the end of 2015.

Gender

The gender composition of union membership has remained at a similar level over the last five years and a majority of union members in New Zealand (58.8 percent) are female. This is not surprising when we see that female membership is largely concentrated in the three large state sector unions – the Public Service Association, the NZ Nurses Organisation (NZNO) and NZEI (primary teachers union).

Table 7: Female union membership 2004-2015, selected years

Year	%Female
2004	52.0
2006	54.9
2008	55.3
2011	58.8
2012	57.0
2013	57.8
2014	57.6
2015	58.8

Source: Industrial Relations Centre Surveys, selected years 2004 to 2012. Centre for Labour, Employment and Work Survey 2013 to 2015

Nevertheless, In addition, smaller unions tend to have higher male membership. Only twenty-seven of the eighty unions with less than 500 members have a majority of female members, and only 34 percent of the total membership in unions with less than 500 members is female. In contrast, seven of the eleven unions with more than 5000 members have a majority of female members and 63 percent of the total membership of these unions is female.

NZ Council of Trade Unions (NZCTU) affiliation

The proportion of union members who belong to unions affiliated to the NZ Council of Trade Unions has varied only slightly in the last 15 years, but has fallen consistently in the last five years from a high of 90 percent of union members in 2010 to 86.5 at December 2015 (Table 8). There has also been a decline in the number of union affiliated to the CTU and this has declined by 31 percent in the last five years (39 down to 27). This is largely a result of the merging of a number of affiliated unions.

The number of unions affiliated to the NZCTU has further decreased in the past year, as has the percentage of union members who are affiliated (through their union) to the CTU. These affiliated unions tend to be the larger unions. Of the 80 unions with less than 500 members only three are affiliated to the NZCTU. With the exception of one union, all the unions with membership over 5000 (a total of 11 unions) are affiliated to the CTU.

Table 8: NZCTU affiliation 1991 – 2015

Year	NZCTU Affiliate unions	Members	Percentage of total m'ship in CTU affiliates
1991	43	445116	86.5
1992	33	339261	79.2
1993	33	321119	75.8
1994	27	296959	78.9
1995	25	284383	78.5
1996	22	278463	82.2
1997	20	253578	77.4
1998	19	238262	77.7
1999	19	235744	78.0
2000	26	273570	85.9
2001	32	289732	87.8
2002	34	293466	87.7
2003	36	297440	87.1
2004	38	310451	87.7
2005	37	333395	88.4
2006	39	340281	88.9
2007	38	330130	89.0
2008	37	343017	89.4
2009	41	341637	89.4
2010	39	347453	90.0
2011	34	333956	89.6
2012	35	326753	89.6
2013	36	325412	88.9
2014	34	315927	87.6
2015	27	310041	86.5

Source: Industrial Relations Centre Surveys 1991- 2012; Centre for Labour Employment and Work Survey 2013 to 2015.

One strategy to address decline in unions has been to build stronger better resourced unions through amalgamations. This has primarily occurred amongst NZCTU affiliated unions and it seems that future amalgamations are unlikely to impact small unions. That is, it will likely be the mid-sized and larger unions which look to amalgamate. But, what of the smaller enterprise based unions that are not affiliated to the NZCTU? As they close down there is a loss of union membership and also the loss of union presence in many workplaces and further reductions in union density.

Conclusion

The challenge for the NZCTU and all unions is to maintain a level of union density that supports collective bargaining and the advantages this brings for wages and conditions of work. For instance, the positive impact of collective bargaining on the reduction of low pay can be expected only above a certain threshold of coverage (Lee and Sobeck, 2012).

But the decline of union density and collective bargaining is not just a problem of poor organisation by 'unions' and something unions have the responsibility to address. A number of studies in the last few years have revealed the impact that the decline in collective bargaining has had on increasing inequality and social disparity and have challenged the

underlying assumptions of the economic policies that have been prevalent in the last thirty years that have deliberately undermined collective bargaining and trade union organisation.

A study from the New Economics Foundation with the University of Greenwich - *Working for the Economy – the economic case for trade unions* looks at the broad economic impact of the decline in collective bargaining in the UK. The report comments that their evidence *'is against the strong assumptions of economic policymaking across the continent, which has favoured (or at least turned a blind eye to) a rising share of income going to the owners of capital as the necessary complement of encouraging entrepreneurship, investment and innovation. The "trickle down" effect was supposed to ensure that, even if inequality rose, all would be better off as a result.'*

The report concludes

Declining union presence has, as a result, fed directly into lower growth overall. The evidence we present suggests that the decline in union density, from its peak in 1975 to today, has reduced UK GDP by up to 1.6% – a significant and permanent loss. Restoring union density to the levels seen in the early 1980s would, thanks to the impact on the wage share, add £27.2bn to UK GDP. (Onaran et al 2015, p3)

.....

The research presented here seeks to show that the question of income distribution is central to the performance of the economy, and that (in particular) the steady erosion of independent bargaining institutions for labour has resulted in both a more unequal distribution and worse economic performance overall. (ibid, p21).

So while the Employment Relations Act 2000 was an attempt support union organisation and the role of unions in collective bargaining, as commented earlier, the damage done to these important institutions in the 1990's under the Employment Contracts Act have proven too difficult to reverse.

References

- Dark, T.** (2011) 'The Economic Crisis and Organized Labor: Resentment over Solidarity,' *New Political Science*, 33:4, 525-539
- Lee, S. and Sobeck, K** (2012), 'Low-wage work: A global perspective,' *International Labour Review* 151:3, pp. 141-155.
- Onaran, O., Guschanski, A., Meadway, J. and Martin, A.** (2015) *Working for the Economy – the economic case for trade unions*. New Economics Foundation (NEF).
- Russell, H., & McGinnity, F.** (2014). 'Under pressure: The impact of recession on employees in Ireland'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 52, 286–307.
- Visser, J.** (2016) 'What happened to collective bargaining during the great recession?' *IZA Journal of Labor Policy* 5:9, pp.1-35.