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Comparing wage bargaining arrangements: Is the French arrangement unique ? Jelle Visser

**Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies AIAS** 



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## Wage Adjustment and Employment in Europe (Berson and others)

Our findings show wage rigidities via two channels:

- (1) collective agreements reduce probability of downward wage adjustment
- (2) wages adjust asymmetrically in response to demand changes: probability of downward adjustment when demand falls is significantly smaller than probability of upward wage response when demand increases

"this result implies significantly more downward nominal wage rigidities for countries with larger shares of employees covered by collective pay agreements"; and a negative effect on employment "induced by collective pay agreements"

#### Policy conclusions:

- 1. Bad news for France (and other countries with high coverage levels).
- 2. Must reform policies discourage collective bargaining (end administrative extension)?
- 3. Authors mention possibility to introduce 'exit' clauses in agreements



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### Bargaining coverage rates 2008-2016

■ 2016 ▲ 2008

multi-level sectoral or national bargaining 100 90 80 70 60 **Single-level enterprise** 50 40 30 20 10 0 Belejum Sweden Finland Netherlands Switzenland Clech Rep reland AUSTIN Denmart spain Portugal MOLMSH Slovenia Germany Greece SIOVAKIA HUNBARY Estonia Poland Latvia Lithuania France Jt.

Declining coverage related to

a) enterprise bargaining

b) opt out from employers' org.

High bargaining coverage rates require sectoral agreements supported by administrative extension and/or voluntary 'opt ins' based on union pressure



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#### Is finding representative and can it be generalized across bargaining systems?

Study is based on survey of 17,530 responses from firms (excluded are Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Ireland). Mean coverage rate is 53 percent (enterprise agreements:29%, other agreements:37%; overlap??).

Finding of the difference in wage behaviour of covered versus non-covered firms is driven by responses from countries where that distinction can be made (i.e. in countries with low coverage rate – UK, CEE, perhaps Germany).

Are findings representative for countries without clear division between covered and non-covered firms? (Results of North American "union mark-up" studies, based on division between union and non-union firms, are not representative for Europe.

There are large differences in collective bargaining arrangements across countries with relevance for nominal wage rigidity: indexation; presence and articulation of multi-level (sector and enterprise) bargaining; use of 'opening' clauses; wage bargaining coordination



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### **Hijzen and Schwellnus: Wage Bargaining and Resilience**

Coordinated / centralised bargaining arrangements can help to reduce the impact of an adverse aggregate shock on the unemployment rate in the short term by facilitating adjustments in wages and particularly working time

- Initial adjustment on the employment margin is mitigated by promoting more adjustment 1. on the intensive margin.
- 2. Typically, adjustment take form of reductions in working time with corresponding reductions in earnings and labour costs rather than reductions in hourly wages.
- 3. Coordination/centralisation may help to make such adjustments more acceptable to workers by ensuring that they are broad-based and hence are more equally shared.
- Moreover, reductions in working time are likely to be less demoralising than outs in 4. wages since they do not represent a devaluation of work

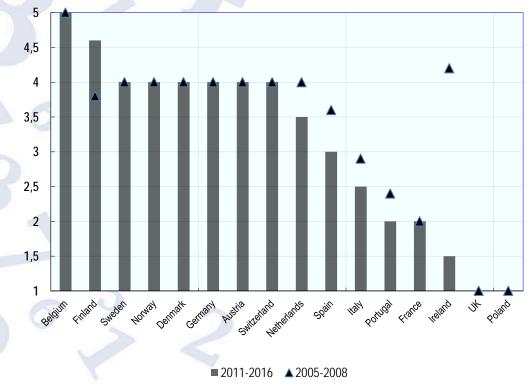


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#### Coordination of wage bargaining, across sectors and enterprises, before and since the crisis



#### Erosion of coordination in some countries

5 = centralized bargaining or government
imposition of maximum wage increase
4 = wage guidelines based on centralized
bargaining or dominant federation / regular
pattern setting coupled with union concentration
3 = negotiation guidelines based on centralized
bargaining or government arbitration
2 = mixed industry and firm-level bargaining,
without pattern setting or elements of government
coordination through MW setting or wage
indexation

1 = fragmented wage bargaining, confined largely to individual firms, without regular pattern setting or government guidance.

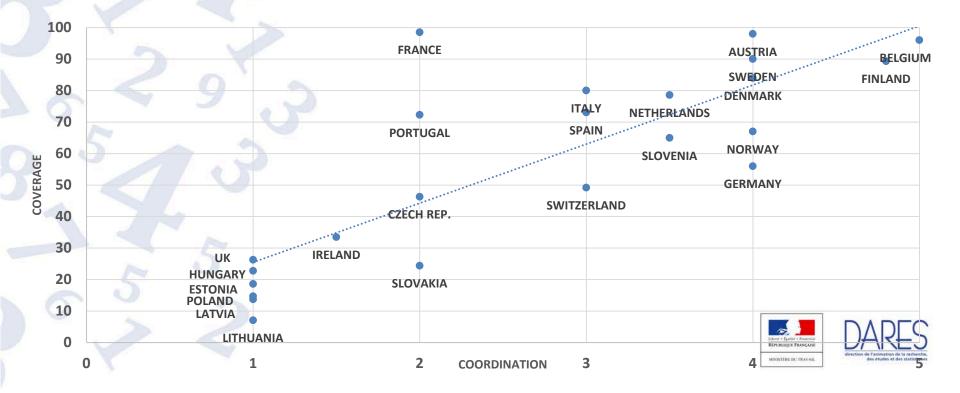




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#### **BARGAINING COVERAGE AND COORDINATION ACROSS UNITS AND LEVELS**



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## Wage bargaining coordination

Strong and positive relation with bargaining coverage rate

## Challenges:

- Coordination faces an increasingly decentralized wage setting framework (large and small firms may need different packages)
- Leading role of particular sectors (decline of manufacturing; open vs domestic sector)
- Position of unions and employers federations. (membership decline; challenge to authority of federations; fragmentation and rise of aggressive 'occupational' unions
- Weakness of "state-based" coordination (inevitably centralising?)

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## Gautier e.a.: Wage Rigidity and Collective Wage Agreements

Authors investigate effect of the French **two-tier bargaining** system in shaping wage dynamics. Findings:

- 1. Wage agreements contribute to wage growth by increasing **frequency of wage changes**; size of wage changes is only little modified by collective agreements.
- 2. Relatively high degree of **indexation** of base wages to past inflation; unemployment plays a relative limited role
- 3. Strong transmission effect of National Minimum Wage (and not just in vicinity of the minimum), direct and indirect, via change in base wage rates in **sectoral agreements**.
- 4. The **firm-level agreements** have larger effect on wage growth, but effect is not homogenous (unlike sector agreements); concentrated in large firms
- 5. Overall, wage setting institutions are interrelated, including a relatively strong spill-over effect of NMW, and considerable time before wages adjust to shocks.

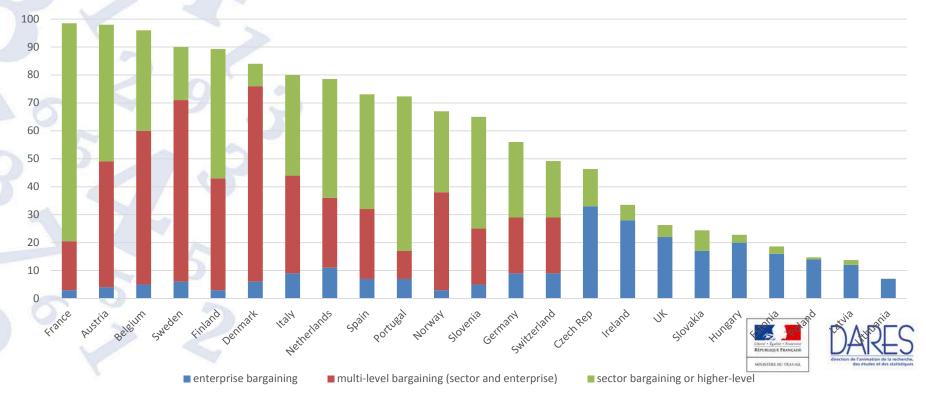


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#### Levels of bargaining: enterprise (single), enterprise (within sector), sector or higher



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## **Special features of French collective bargaining**

- 1. National Minimum Wage (NMW), rule-based, annual adjustment
- 2. Legally defined hierarchy between three levels of wage setting: sectoral wage floors must be set above NMW and firm-level wages cannot be lower than sectoral wages (no 'optouts').
- 3. NMS is 'strongly integrated' with CB rather than 'distant' or 'isolated'
- 4. Duty to bargain annually at sector and firm level (no obligation to reach agreement)
- 5. Firm-level bargaining limited to large firms (+200)
- 6. No scope for individual choice or bargaining (within frameworks set by agreement)?



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Variation in 'organized decentralisation': legal culture and employee representation

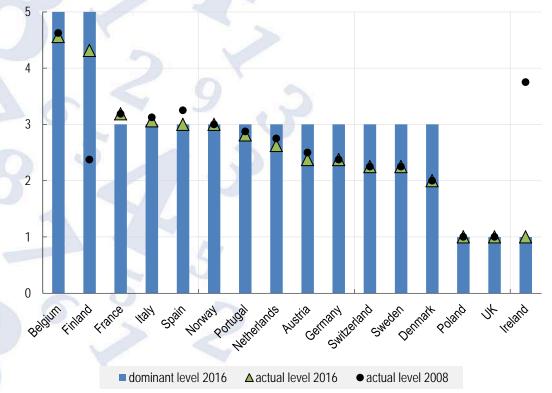
	REPRESENTATION	STRONG UNION REPRESENTATION, diffused or only in large firms	WEAK OR DIVIDED UNION REPRESENTATION IN THE FIRM		
	LABOUR STANDARDS (beyond minimum) ARE SET BY AGREEMENT; Parties are free with whom to bargain, Derogation is matter for bargaining parties	articulated two-tiered bargaining (diffused: Denmark, Sweden, Norway)	one-tiered bargaining: decentralisation through individualisation (Netherlands, Switzerland)		
	LABOUR STANDARDS ARE DETAILED	two-tiered bargaining in large	decentralisation is blocked		
1	IN LAW; Strict representation criteria	firms through opening clauses	(France, Portugal, Greece) or		
	for bargaining, Derogation conditions	(Germany, Austria) or	'forced' by legal intervention		
Y	regulated by law.	continued tension between	(opening clauses and		
		central and local level (Italy,	disarticulated bargaining)		
		Spain, Belgium, Finland)			

des études et des statis

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#### Decentralisation: Actual and dominant level of bargaining, 2008 and 2016



general trend towards decentralisation (exception Finland; France?)

#### Actual bargaining level is defined by:

- diffusion of 'additional' bargaining (and possibility of 'individual choice')
- limits put on additional bargaining (hierarchy between agreements: exclusion of particular topics; individual bargaining and assessment)
- 3. Derogation and opening clause (how general in terms of topics and conditions; veto rights)







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#### **Question for Bosch: Is there a trade off between protective and participative standards?**

	PROTECTIVE STANDARDS				PARTICIPATIVE STANDARDS						
	Statutory	State role in	Hierarchy	Automatic	Sum		Union-admin	Codetermin.	Support for	Derogation	Sum
	MW	(M)W setting	Law	extension			Unempl Funds	Works Council	collective barg	from law	
France	1	1	1	1	4		0	0	0	0	0
Belgium	1	1	1	1	4		1	1	0	0	2
Spain	1	1	0	1	3		0	1	0	0	1
Portugal	1	1	1	0	3		0	0	1	0	1
Finland	0	1	0	1	2		1	0	0	1	2
Italy	0	0	1	1	2		0	0	0	0	0
Germany	1	0	1	0	2		0	1	1	1	3
Austria	0	0	1	0	1		0	1	0	1	2
Netherlands	1	0	0	0	1		0	1	1	1	3
Ireland	1	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	0
UK	1	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0	0		1	1	1	0	3
Denmark	0	0	0	0	0		1	1	1	1	4
Norway	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	1	3
Switzerland	0	0	0	0	0		0	1	1	1	3