# Management Opposition, Strikes and Union Threat

Patrick Nüß

Kiel University

ASSA 2022

LERA Best Papers VI: Unions and Firm Concentration

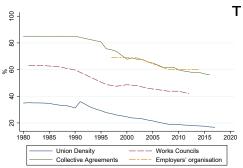
January 9th 2022

### Germany's industrial relations system...



#### ...has been eroding since the 90s.

- Union density has fallen in almost every country.
- There are several explanations for this decline.



#### The consequences are...

- Increasing evidence for monopsonies.
- Increasing inequality.
- More political interventions.

### Questions: Two key questions remain

- Is Germany's industrial relations system eroding due to Management Opposition to unions?
- And if so, what is the role of labor disputes?

### **Empirical Strategy:**

Introduction

- Correspondence experiment sending 13000 fictitious job applications.
- Merge data of the European Social Survey and of the Federal Employment Agency.
- Exploit regional and sectoral variation of labor disputes.



### In a nutshell

Introduction



### Is Germany's industrial relations system eroding due to Management Opposition to unions?

- Union membership decreases callbacks on average by 20% (up to 50%).
- Management Opposition: ↑ with Firm Size, ↑ with Union Density.
- The industrial relations system is mainly eroding where management opposition is low and unions no longer have threat potential.

### What is the role of labor disputes?

- First evidence indicates that management opposition increases in sectors exposed to a labor dispute.
  - Evidence for spillover effects on non-unionized firms.



### What do we know already?

Introduction



Unfair treatment of union members has been a topic for a while.

#### Limitations of Previous Literature

- Potential bias due to survey demand effects and social desirability.
- Organizing literature: Faces selection issues (Organizing is not random).
- Management Opposition literature: biased due to selective measurement (Unobservables).

### Correspondence experiments as a potential solution.

- Baert and Omey (2015) send 560 fictitious job applications in Belgium. (Find Discrimination)
- Kreisberg and Wilmers (2021) send 1025 fictitious job applications in the US. (No Discrimination)



Kiel University Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel

### The Experiment

000

#### The basic idea is...

- Send pairs of fictitious job applications to real vacancies.
- Monitor the callback rates of firms.

The experiment was carried out between August and October 2017, 2018 and 2019.

The main sample consists of 8714 applications (4357 firms).

Table: Overview of the Experimental Design

Regions	2017	2018	2019	Occupations	2017	2018	2019
Berlin	Χ	Χ	Χ	Sales Manager	Χ	Χ	Χ
North Rhine-Westphalia	Χ	Χ	Χ	Hotel Manager	Χ	Χ	Χ
Hamburg	Χ	Χ	Χ	Logistic Worker	Χ	Χ	Χ
Bavaria	Χ	Χ	Χ	Office Clerk	Χ	Χ	Χ
Saxony		Χ	Χ	Mechatronic Technician		Χ	Χ
Baden-Wurttemberg		Χ	Χ				



000



### The Applicant

- Male applicants (28 years old) only.
- With Vocational Training.

#### **Application Aspects**

- Two applications were sent to each firm.
- Comparison with real applications.
- Randomized Union Membership (0/1)

### Example Resume Figure





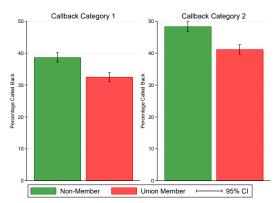
### Experimental Results



# C A U Kiel University Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel

#### **Definitions of Callbacks**

- Category 1 when it is a clear invitation to a job interview.
- Category 2 when firms asked for further information.

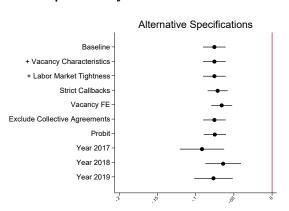




### Multivariate Results



#### Focus on a linear probability model.



### Robustness Checks



### Heckman Critique

- Differences in unobservables could bias experiments on hiring discrimination.
- Applying the Neumark Correction reveals no bias.

### Weighting

- Raw experimental data could give a wrong picture of management opposition.
- Limited differences in outcomes. (Small downward bias.)

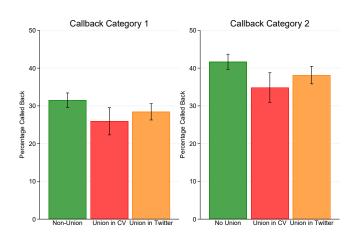
### Alternative Signaling (Ongoing)

- Revealing a union membership in a CV might be a misleading signal. (Readiness for conflicts or simple naivety?)
- New experiment reveals union membership via a Twitter account.



### Preliminary Results - Social Media Accounts

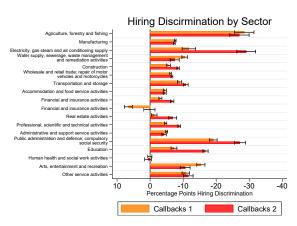






### Sector Specific Management Opposition

### Strong variation of Management Opposition between sectors.



- What explains this variation?
- How is this linked to trends in industrial relations?



### What drives Management Opposition?

Answer: It's Unions Threat Potential!





#### Union Threat is...

...the threat of the potential unionization of a firm and potential improvements in wages and working conditions.

Union threat is commonly approximated by variables of unions bargaining power such as...

- Union Density.
- ...Firm Size.

A common reaction to the union threat is to improve wages and working conditions.





#### Firm Size

• Taken from vacancy information.

### Contract Type

• Taken from vacancy information.

### Labor market tightness

ullet  $rac{Unemployed}{Vacancies}$  based on data of the Federal Employment Agency.

### Sector specific Union Density

ullet  $rac{UnionMembers}{SectorEmployees}$  based on the European Social Survey



### Potential Determinants II



Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel

#### Table: Potential Determinants - Callbacks 2

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Union	-0.0771*** (0.0083) (0.0084)	-0.0822*** (0.0094) (0.0094)	-0.0832*** (0.0102) (0.0103)	-0.0521*** (0.0143) (0.0139)	-0.0589** (0.0162) (0.0159)		
Union x Collective Agreement	0.0284 <sup>+</sup> (0.0169)	0.0264 (0.0169)	0.0386* (0.0174)	0.0273 (0.0169)	0.0383* (0.0174)		
Union x Temporary Contract	-0.0215 (0.0171)				-0.0185 (0.0174)		
Union x V/U Ratio		0.0025 (0.0128)			0.0097 (0.0133)		
Firm Size (Reference Category: 6 to 50 Employees)							
Union x Smaller 6 Employees			0.0534** (0.0202)		0.0498* (0.0204)		
Union x 51 to 500 Employees			-0.0100 (0.0158)		-0.0038 (0.0161)		
Union x Larger 500 Employees			$-0.0622^*$ (0.0306)		$-0.0561^{+}$ $(0.0308)$		
Union x Union Density				-0.2785* (0.1172)	$-0.2531^{*}$ $(0.1235)$		
Observations Adjusted ${\cal R}^2$	8714 0.087	8714 0.087	8714 0.088	8714 0.089	8714 0.089		

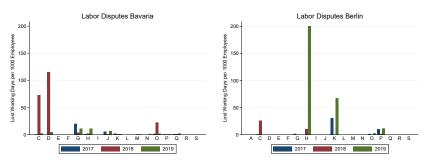
+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.





### Do labor disputes cause Management Opposition?

I exploit the regional and sectoral variation of labor disputes.



Days not worked due to industrial action (per 1000 employees).





#### **Preliminary Results**

Table: Potential Determinants - Callbacks 2

	Sectoral Variation	State and Sectoral Variation
Union	-0.0670***	-0.0631***
	(0.0081)	(0.0078)
Lost Working Days per 1000 Employees	-0.0006	-0.0001
	(0.0006)	(0.0004)
Union x Lost Working Days per 1000 Employees	-0.0003	-0.0007*
	(0.0004)	(0.0003)
Observations	8714	8714
Adjusted $\mathbb{R}^2$	0.086	0.087

<sup>+</sup> p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.



### External Validity



Is sector specific management opposition associated with the share of collective agreements?

• In Germany only 27% of firms are covered by a collective agreement, but an additional 30% follow a collective agreement.

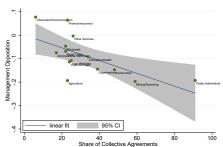


Figure: Share of Collective Agreements

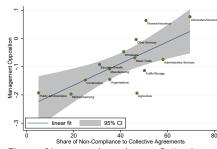


Figure: Share no orientation on Collective Agreements

### Conclusion



# Is Germany's industrial relations system eroding due to Management Opposition to unions?

- Union membership decreases callbacks on average by 20% (up to 50%).
- Management Opposition: 
   † with Firm Size, 
   † with Union Density.
- The industrial relations system is mainly eroding where Management Opposition is low and unions no longer have threat potential.

### What is the role of labor disputes?

- First evidence indicates that Management Opposition increases when sectors are exposed to a labor disputes.
  - Evidence for spillover effects on non-unionized firms.





# THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

Nuess@Economics.Uni-Kiel.de









### Appendix 1 Back



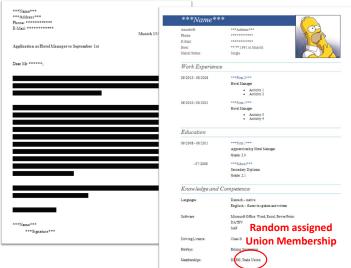
Kiel University
Christian-Albrochts-Universität zu Kiel



### Appendix 1 Back



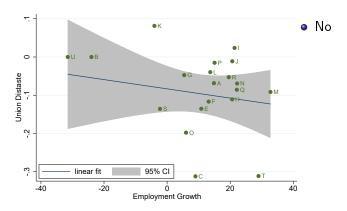
Kiel University
Christian-Albrachts-Universität zu Kiel



### Appendix 2

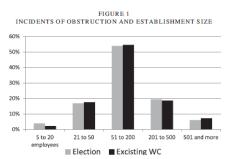


## Could Management Opposition be the result of sectoral growth?



### Appendix 3 - Relevance of Works Councils





Source: Second WSI survey on management hostility towards works councils (2015).

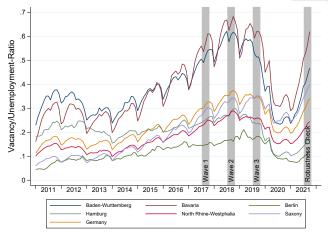
- Management Opposition against Unions increases with firm size.
- Opposition against works councils does not (Behrens and Dribbusch, 2018).



### Appendix 4 - Labor Market Conditions



Kiel University Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel



Source: Statistics of the Federal Employment Agency; Own calculations.

### Appendix 5 - External Validity II



# Is sector specific Management Opposition related to the decline in collective agreements?

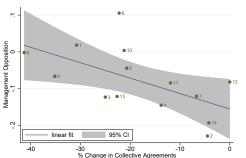


Figure: Decline in Collective Agreements

 A higher degree of Management Opposition is associated with a lower decline in Collective Agreements.

# Appendix 6 - Differences in Reservation Wages



Could hiring discrimination result from expected higher reservation wages of union members?

