Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining

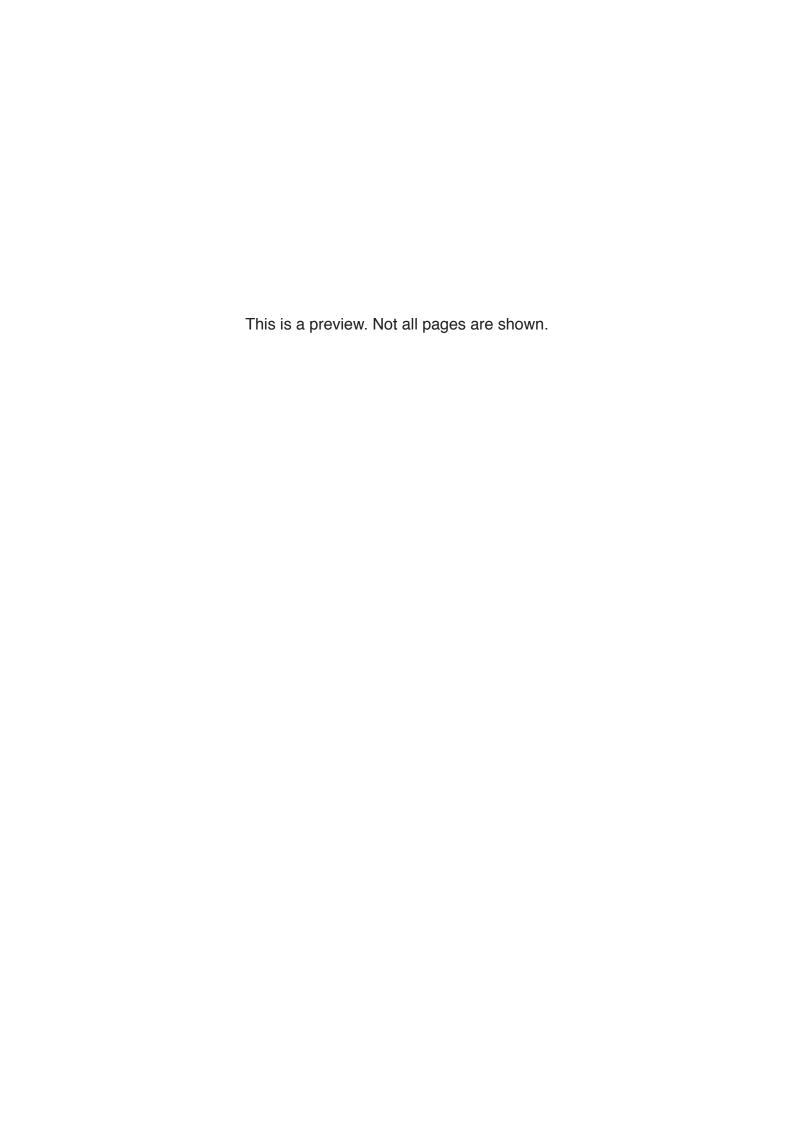
Rae Cooper and Bradon Ellem

Introduction

In a volume of studies honouring Professor Russell Lansbury, readers might well be drawn to ponder changes in industrial relations over the 40 years that Russell has been writing and teaching in the field. In Australia, as with most market economies, this period has seen fundamental shifts in paid work, industry structure and the political-economy and gender orders in which employment relations had been set. The apparently endless economic boom after World War II proved to be more problematical than it seemed in the 1950s and 1960s, and the stable regimes of union-based collective bargaining proved to be less enduring than many had thought.

As part of these secular changes there was a remarkable transformation in bargaining and representation at work, and the influence of trade unions over those processes. In Australia, for most of the 20th century, collective bargaining or, more generally, the setting of minimum conditions through union-won 'awards' for particular industries and occupations, had been central to any understanding of the nature of the academic discipline, and to the social practice, of industrial relations. In few countries did the state act as radically to re-work the forms of labour market regulation as in Australia between 1996 and 2005. The century-old framework of labour regulation was transformed by a government intent on reducing union and arbitral intervention in favour of non-union and individualised agreement making.

In this chapter, we explore trade unionism and collective bargaining in the light of this general context. However, the immediate environment in which we are interested is a rather different one from that which has driven much industrial relations research in the last few years. This is because of the revamping of regulation by a Labor Party government from 2007. Here we reflect upon this current period, examining the ways in which the election of the federal Labor government and its *Fair Work Act* 2009 have affected indus-



WORK AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

that Australian unions have a greater residual capacity after years of difficulty than do their counterparts in comparable countries.

References

- Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) (2009) 'Hotels accused of locking out unions', *AM Programme*, 29 June 2009, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-06-29/hotels-accused-of-locking-out-unions/1335398, accessed 6 October 2011.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (1997) *Trade union members, Australia*. February 1997, Cat No 6325.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2010a) *Employee earnings, benefits and trade union membership*. August 2009, Cat No 6310.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2010b) *Employee earnings and hours*. May 2010, Cat No 6306.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011a) Employee earnings, benefits and trade union membership. August 2009, Cat No 6310.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011b) *Industrial disputes*. May 2010, Cat No 6321.0.55.001, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011c) *Employee earnings and hours*. May 2011, Cat No 6306.0, Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) (2010) Workers turn to unions for better pay: New ABS data shows lift in union membership. *ACTU Media Release*, 12 May www.actu.asn.au (accessed 11 February 2011).
- Bray M and Macneil J (2009) Individualism, collectivism and awards in Australia. 15th World Congress of the International Industrial Relations Association (IIRA): Congress Proceedings, Sydney.
- Bray M, Waring P, MacDonald D and Le Queux S (2001) The 'Representation Gap' in Australia. *Labour and Industry* 12(2): 1-31.
- Brigden C (2011) Unions and collective bargaining in 2010. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 53(3): 368-382.
- Briggs C (2005) Lockout law in comparative perspective: Corporatism, pluralism and neo-liberalism. *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations* 21(3): 481-502.
- Briggs C and Cooper R (2006) Between individualism and collectivism? Why employers choose non-union collective agreements. *Labour and Industry* 17(2): 1-23.
- Bronfenbrenner K, Friedman S, Hurd R, Oswald R and Seeber R (1998) *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Carter B and Cooper R (2002) The organizing model and the management of change: A comparative study of Unions in Australia and Britain. *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* 57(4): 712-742.
- Cooper R (2003) Peak council organising at work: ACTU strategy 1994–2000. *Labour and Industry* 14(1): 1-21.
- Cooper R and Ellem B (2006) Union power: Space, structure, and strategy. In: Hearn M and Michelson G (Eds) *Rethinking Work: Time, Space and Discourse*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp 123-143.
- Cooper R and Ellem B (2008) The neo-liberal state, trade unions and collective bargaining in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 46(3): 532-554.
- Cooper R and Ellem B (2009) Fair work and the re-regulation of collective bargaining. *Australian Journal of Labour Law* 22(3): 284-305.
- Cooper R and Ellem B (2011a) 'Less than Zero': Union recognition and bargaining rights in Australia 1996-2007. *Labor History (US)* 52(1): 49-69.

TRADE UNIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

- Cooper R and Ellem B (2011b) Getting to the table: Trade unions and collective bargaining under the Fair Work Act, 2009. In: Forsyth A and Creighton B (eds) *Rediscovering Collective Bargaining*. Palgrave.
- Cooper R, Ellem B, Briggs C and van den Broek D (2009) Anti-unionism, employer strategy, and the Australian state, 1996–2005. *Labor Studies Journal (US)* 34(3): 339-362.
- Crosby M (2005) *Power at Work: Rebuilding the Australian Union Movement.* Sydney: Federation Press.
- DEEWR (2011) *Trends in Enterprise Bargaining*. Workplace Agreements Database, Canberra: Australian Government <www.deewr.gov.au/WorkplaceRelations/Pages/Reports.aspx/>.
- Dundon T, Curran D, Ryan P and Maloney M (2006) Conceptualising the dynamics of employee information and consultation: Evidence from the Republic of Ireland. *Industrial Relations Journal* 37(5): 492-512.
- Ellem B (1999) Trade unionism in 1998. Journal of Industrial Relations 41(1): 127-151.
- Ellem B (2012) Peak Union Campaigning: Fighting for Rights at Work in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 50(4): Online.
- Ellem B and Franks P (2008) Trade union structure and politics in Australia and New Zealand. *Labour History* 95: 43-68.
- Ewing K (2008) Future Prospects for Labour Law Lessons from the United Kingdom. In: Riley J and Sheldon P (eds) *Remaking Australian Industrial Relations*. Sydney: CCH Australia Ltd, pp 197-206.
- Forsyth A (2009) 'Exit Stage Left', now 'Centre Stage': Collective bargaining under Work Choices and Fair Work. In: Forsyth A and Stewart A (Eds) Fair Work: The New Workplace Laws and the Work Choices Legacy. Sydney: Federation Press, pp 120-140.
- Forsyth A (2011) The impact of 'good faith' obligations on collective bargaining practices and outcomes in Australia, Canada and the United States. *Canadian Labour and Employment Law Journal* 16:1.
- Forsyth A and Stewart A (Eds) (2009) Fair Work: The New Workplace Laws and the Work Choices Legacy. Sydney: Federation Press.
- Gorman P (1996) Weipa: Where Australian Unions Drew their 'Line in the Sand' with CRA. Sydney: Weipa Industrial Site Committee, Construction Forestry Mining Energy Union.
- Hardy T and Howe J (2009) Partners in enforcement? The new balance between government and trade union enforcement of employment standards in Australia. *Australian Journal of Labour Law* 22(3): 306-336.
- Lichtenstein N (2010) Despite EFCA's limitations, its demise is a profound defeat for US Labor. *Labor* 7(3): 29-32.
- Markey R (2007) Non-Union employee representation in Australia: A case study of the Suncorp Metway Employee Council Inc (SMEC). *Journal of Industrial Relations* 49(1): 187-210
- Markey R and Patmore G (2009) Employee participation in health and safety in the Australian steel industry: Port Kembla, 1935-2006. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 49(1): 144-167.
- McCrystal S (2010) The Right to Strike in Australia. Sydney: Federation Press.
- Morehead A, Steele M, Alexander M, Stephen K and Duffin L (1997) *Changes at Work: The 1995 Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey*. South Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Muir K (2008) Worth Fighting For: Inside the 'Your Rights at Work' Campaign. Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Parker J and Douglas J (2010) Can women's structures help New Zealand and UK unions' revival? *Journal of Industrial Relations* 52(4): 439-458.

WORK AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

- Peetz D (1998) Unions in a Contrary World: The Future of the Australian Trade Union Movement. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peetz D and Pocock B (2009) An analysis of workplace representatives, union power and democracy in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 47(4): 623-652.
- Pyman A, Cooper B, Teicher J and Holland P (2006) A comparison of the effectiveness of employee voice arrangement in Australia. *Industrial Relations Journal* 37(5): 543-559.
- Rathmell A (2008) Collective bargaining after WorkChoices: Will 'good faith' take us forward with fairness? *Australian Journal of Labour Law* 21: 164.
- Thickett G, Walsh P and Harbridge R (2004) Collective bargaining under the employment relations Act. In: Rasmussen E (Ed) *Employment Relationships: New Zealand's Employment Relations Act.* Auckland: Auckland University Press, pp 39-58.
- Towers B (1997) *The Representation Gap: Change and Reform in the British and American Workplace.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Visser J (2006) Union membership statistics in 24 countries. *Monthly Labour Review*, January: 38-49.
- WRC (2009) Who bargains? A report prepared for the NSW Office of Industrial Relations by the Workplace Research Centre. University of Sydney.