

# Young workers: attitudes to work, unions and society

Report for the European Federation of Public Service Unions (EPSU)



MAY 2019



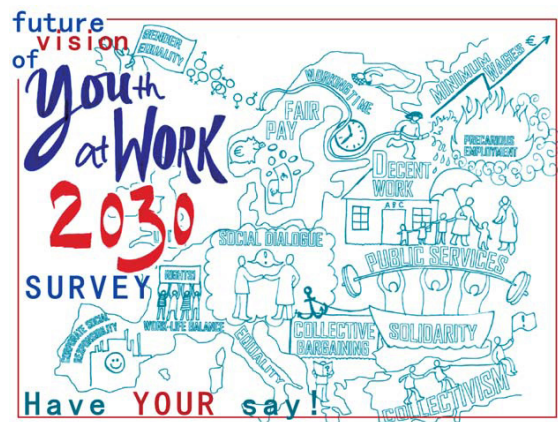
# Contents

<b>Executive Summary</b>	4
<b>Background</b>	5
<b>Methods</b>	7
<b>Findings and analysis</b>	9
Labour markets	9
Unionism	9
Wider societal interests and activities	13
<b>Conclusion</b>	17
<b>References</b>	18



# Executive Summary

This report analyses survey data undertaken by the EPSU, with the support of the ETUC Youth Committee and the European Youth Forum. The data in this report represent the views of 1,394 young people towards work, trade unions and society. The survey was aimed at those aged under-35 across Europe. The report is structured as follows. Following a brief background, the methods are explained before the findings are presented. The analysis is split into three sections. The first will focus on the labour market positions of the respondents, before considering their views towards unions and involvement in wider society.



## The main findings suggest that:

- **The majority of the sample are both contracted to work and actually work at least 35 hours per week, despite the growing nature of precarious work among young people.**
- **Qualitative data however suggests there remains a concern about employment security and precarity.**
- **In-line with this, younger workers (aged 24 and under) and students have a preference for future employment with a standard contract of employment**
- **The main reasons for joining a trade union remain consistent with existing research: improvements in pay and conditions, belief in trade unions, and support if problems occurred at work.**
- **The main reason people had not joined a trade union was because they had not been asked (19%), with a further 18% indicating they had not got around to it. This is encouraging from an organising perspective.**
- **Passive union members were more likely to stop being union members in the future, showing the need to continually engage and organise existing members for membership retention.**
- **Men are significantly more likely to report engagement with societal interests and organisations.**
- **Active union members are more likely to be also active in wider society.**

These findings will be useful in helping EPSU and affiliated unions in terms of continuing their work with regards to the unionisation of young workers and defending public services.

# Background

This report presents findings of a study into the views of young people towards work, trade unions and society across Europe. Undertaken between November 2018 and early 2019, the research explores attitudes of members and non-members towards work, employment, societal involvement and trade unionism.

Across the globe, unions have suffered dramatic losses in membership and influence since the 1980s. The reasons for union decline vary between countries and have been attributed to a range of socio-economic and political factors (Crouch, 2017; Vandaele, 2019). In response to this decline, unions have sought to re-establish themselves, often through adopting strategies such as organising, as well as broader attempts at community unionism and coalition building (Murray, 2017). Central to each of these approaches has been the emphasis on the need for unions to increase their appeal to traditionally under-represented groups, including young workers.

Young workers have been particularly affected by the wider changes in global economic conditions, as such changes have seen an increase in employee insecurity and instability. As the position of young workers in the labour market becomes increasingly precarious, it would be logical to expect them to join trade unions for protection. However, most young people remain non-members. It could be argued that the future of trade unionism depends on the extent to which unions can adapt to the harsh realities faced by young people today.

Many academics and trade unionists have listed the reasons as to why young people tend not to be members of unions (for a more in depth discussion, see Hodder and Kretsos, 2015). First, it is important to consider the nature of labour markets. Since the global financial crisis (2007-2008), governments have increasingly promoted non-standard forms of employment which provide workers with substantially weaker employment and social protection. Such policies have had a disproportionate impact on young workers as young people suffer from high levels of unemployment and those that do enter into employment are increasingly at risk of jobs with high levels of insecurity and instability. Employers have long been shown to be more likely to resist unionisation at times of high unemployment, which has the potential to impact adversely on youth unionisation, as they may fear victimisation for joining a union. This is compounded by a lack of trade union organisation in sectors where young people are employed. Indeed, when faced with precarious working conditions in a non-unionised environment, young workers often face the choice of exit or voice and they most often choose exit. If the nature of labour markets is such that young people are less likely to be employed in unionised industries, it is likely that workers will not experience unionism at an early age and therefore potentially never join.

Second, it has been suggested that young people hold negative attitudes towards unions and are more individualistic in attitude and outlook, meaning they are more instrumental when it comes to their decision to join a union or not. With regard to instrumentality, it has been argued that young workers are likely to feel less attachment to their workplace due to the changing nature of the labour market described above and are consequently more likely to question the benefits of unionisation. Research from Australia has shown that some young people believe that only 'victims' needed to be unionised (see Bulbeck, 2008). Additionally, the cost of union membership is sometimes perceived as an issue amongst young workers, although many unions have introduced reduced fees in an attempt to address this problem. It is clear that 'attitudes about society, work and the economy are in a formative stage during the late teens and early twenties' (Lowe and Rastin, 2000: 214). As such, it is important to consider the many factors that may influence attitudes held by young people towards unionism. For example, it has long been suggested that young people are more likely to be unionised if their parents were union members. Others have noted how the decline in the passing down of union values throughout society has influenced the rates of unionisation amongst young workers. It has also been argued that younger workers may feel that unions only represent the interests of older workers. However the majority of evidence suggests that young workers have little ideological opposition to unions (see Waddington and Kerr, 2002; Tailby and Pollert, 2011; Vandaele, 2018) and in fact possess 'a slight positive orientation towards unions', yet propensity to join is still hampered by a lack of knowledge of what unions do (Freeman and Diamond, 2003:30). This lack of knowledge is sometimes mistaken for apathy. Freeman and Diamond (2003) argue that young people are

more like 'blank slates' when they enter the workplace and thus are likely to be 'malleable' to unionisation if it is properly explained. The importance of image and marketing of unions has been recognised both generally, and specifically in relation to young people. One way of potentially improving the social interaction between unions and young people is through education from high school onwards.

The third reason for low youth unionisation is the perceived failure of unions themselves to try and engage with young people. The relationship between unions and youth has not always been positive and the extent to which unions around the world developed youth organisations is varied. It can be argued that unions started to recognise the need to engage with young people since the turn to organising. Despite this, it has been suggested that these initiatives seldom work, being at risk of isolating young workers from the rest of the union, and are often considered inadequate in terms of commitment from union leaders. Increasingly, however, unions are engaging with youth at a more practical level, integrating youth issues into wider union structures and making links with external organisations to raise awareness of the importance of trade unionism to young people. In doing so, unions are attempting to challenge the widespread (and often false) perception that young people lack both collective and social values, and, taking the 'blank slates' approach, try to do more to impress the importance of such values on young people. This work has been extensive, being undertaken at a workplace, regional, national and European level (Vandaele, 2012; Vandaele, 2015; Vandaele, 2018). However, the extent to which this has been successful is questionable, as levels of membership remain low amongst young people.

Whilst there is a growing body of academic literature which examines the relationship between unions and young workers (see Hodder and Kretsos, 2015; Vandaele, 2018), this tends to focus on single union case studies and the attitudes of trade unionists more broadly towards youth unionisation. Due to its pan-European nature, this survey provides important insights into the views of young people towards work, unions and society and advances academic and union-based knowledge on the topic.



# Methods

Quantitative and qualitative data were retrieved via a cross-cultural survey. The questionnaire survey was designed by the EPSU Youth Network and made available in ten languages: Czech, English, French, German, Italian, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Turkish. The survey was launched by EPSU and its Youth Network, and mainly distributed via social media channels like Facebook and Twitter. In addition, the European Youth Forum supported the survey and was instrumental in its distribution. The virtual snowball sampling implies, however, that the survey was largely distributed within ‘trade union circles’, especially within the public sector, and that the results are biased towards this particular group of young people. Put differently, no generalisations can be made beyond this group. Moreover, the respondents are largely unevenly represented among the 43 countries as a result of the distribution method (and the availability of the survey in certain languages). Therefore, the number of respondents per country are also not representative in terms of the size of the population or of the unionised wage and salary earners.

In an attempt to remedy the uneven number of respondents per country, the countries are grouped into five regional country-clusters, largely based on EPSU’s internal constituencies and shared political-legal and other characteristics in the national industrial relations systems, i.e. (1) the Benelux constituency (Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) and the German-speaking constituency (Austria, Germany and Switzerland) (19%); (2) the Central European constituency (Croatia, Czechia, Hungary, Kosovo, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia) (16%); (3) the constituency UK and Ireland together with the Nordic constituency (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) (22%); (4) France and the Mediterranean constituency (Andorra, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain) (16%); and (5) North Eastern Europe (Armenia, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine), the Russian and Central Asian constituency (Russia) and South Eastern Europe (Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey) (28%).<sup>1</sup> Controlling for regional variation is thus based on those five country groups in the report.

**TABLE 1: Breakdown of respondents by age and gender (%)**

AGE GROUP	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)	OVERALL (%)
<=24	20	27	25
25-30	37	39	38
31-34	28	21	24
>=35	15	13	14

Note: Rounding errors possible. Source: Survey results.



As the survey was about young people’s attitudes to work, employment, unions and society, it is important to note the age of respondents. Notwithstanding disagreements about what constitutes a young worker, the majority of the sample (87%) was under the age of 35, in keeping with the target of the survey. There was a relatively equal gender balance between the age categories, with slightly more women under the age of 24 and slightly more member between the ages of 31-34 completing the survey.

The qualitative data were analysed using thematic analysis (King, 1998). This approach is centred on the researcher identifying a number of codes which represent themes identified in the fieldwork and occupies a position between content analysis, where codes are all predetermined and their distribution is analysed statistically, and grounded theory, where there is no prior definition of codes. A number of codes were developed a priori and modified and added to as the research developed.

<sup>1</sup> Countries from which no questionnaires have been received are not listed.



# Findings and analysis

## Labour markets

This section presents the findings relating to young people's experiences of work and labour markets, before considering their plans for future employment.

The majority of the sample was in some form of employment (81%), with 11% full-time students and 8% unemployed. When we look at the number of hours workers were contracted to undertake, we can see that 75% of those working were contracted to work at least 35 hours a week, with the majority (35%) contracted to work between 40 and 44 hours a week. When we compare contracted hours to actual hours worked, we find similar results. 72% of those working actually worked at least 35 hours a week, with the majority (34%) working between 40 and 44 hours a week. This is a surprising finding, as only 57% of the overall sample said they were working full-time. This finding is positive for the sample as existing literature suggests that young workers tend to get trapped in precarious, non-standard contracts (Gumbrell-McCormick, 2011), and could potentially be explained by the public sector-driven nature of the survey. When looking at the data a little closer, we can see that men are more likely to be given contracts for fewer than 34 hours a week, and those aged 30-34 are also more likely to receive a contract for fewer than 34 hours a week. When we look at regional differences, respondents from Nordic countries worked the least hours, and those in Eastern European countries had longer contracted hours.

In terms of plans for their future careers, the majority (61%) wanted to be employed in some form. However, we can see that a substantial proportion of the sample (18%) did not know what kind of career they wanted. This was remarkably more the case among older workers in the sample. Overall, 18% want to be self-employed and 7% want to freelance. Women expressed a higher preference for employment than men, with men more likely wanting to be self-employed in the future. Those under the age of 24 expressed a preference for a standard employment relationship. This was also the case for students in the sample. The main regional difference came from respondents from Eastern Europe, who expressed significantly less preference for a standard employment relationship, preferring self-employment and freelancing, which perhaps reflects the wider economic environment.

Across the sample as a whole, 45% of respondents expressed a desire to work in the public sector. This is unsurprising given the nature of the survey (being undertaken by EPSU). This desire for public sector employment was relatively more popular for women and respondents with vocational training. There was no difference found between age groups. General attitudes towards the public sector were again largely positive, with no difference between gender, age, educational level or labour market position. However, there were significant differences between regions, with the most substantial being that apart from the Nordics, Ireland and the UK, all other countries had a less favourable attitude to the public sector, a finding that can be explained due to the nature of the Nordic countries.

## Unionism

The next part of the analysis focuses on responses relating to attitudes toward trade unionism. We looked at a range of factors associated with unionism. Overall, 67% of respondents were union members. As we can see from Table 2, 27% of the sample were passive members, 12% self-declared active, 8% full-time officials, and 33% were non-members. The number of active trade union members, representatives and officials is disproportionately high. It reflects again the way the survey has been distributed. There were fewer union members in the under 24 age group, and almost no full-time officials in this category. Union representatives were more common in the older age categories, especially over the age of 35.

**TABLE 2: The trade union status of the respondents (%)**

TRADE UNION STATUS	%
NON-UNION MEMBERS	33 %
PASSIVE MEMBERS	27 %
SELF-DECLARED ACTIVE MEMBERS	12 %
TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVE	19 %
FULL-TIME UNION OFFICIALS	8 %



Note: Rounding errors possible. Source: Survey results.

The literature on joining unions notes that most people join due to two main reasons, collective reasons and individual benefits (Waddington and Whitston, 1997: 520). Collective reasons includes notions of support at work, protecting/improving pay and conditions, belief in trade unions and peer group pressure. Individual benefits are concerned with free legal advice, professional services, industrial benefits, financial services and training and education. Our findings complement existing literature (Waddington and Whitston, 1997; Hodder et al., 2017), noting that the top three reasons members listed for joining were: improvements in pay and conditions (40%), belief in trade unions (37%) and support if problems occurred at work (36%). This shows there is continued demand for collective organisation and scope for organising along traditional grounds. We also acknowledge that some of the collective reasons for joining include an individual element but argue that such reasons as 'support if I had a problem at work' depend on the existence of collective organisation in the workplace and can therefore be classified as collective.

Regarding non-membership, the top three reasons for not being a member of a union are important findings to be considered. 19% of non-members in the sample reported that the main reason they were not a member was because they had not been asked to join – a finding that is also congruent with the literature. A further 18% said they had not got around to it, with 16% stating they believed they did not need union membership. The first two findings again represent encouraging findings for EPSU and its affiliated unions, suggesting that a number of young workers would be inclined to join a union, if they were asked and were properly organised, again matching previous findings (Hodder and Kretsos, 2015).

Just over 70% of the sample indicated they would remain union members (if they had already joined) or would join in the future (if they were not yet members). Whilst this finding is encouraging, we have to note the impact of the snowballing sample which means that respondents were more likely to be predisposed to unionism. There were no significant differences in the intent to join or to remain with regards to the age or gender of respondents, when controlling for other characteristics. Part-time workers were less likely to remain members, or join in the future, which reflects longstanding issues that unions have had with atypical workers (Gumbrell-McCormick, 2011). From a union organising perspective, it is important to note that passive members were less likely to want to remain union members in the future, compared to other categories of membership. This shows the importance for unions to continue to engage with their membership base after recruitment, in order to retain membership levels in the future.

We then considered general attitudes toward unions, and perceptions of what unions should do. Perhaps unsurprisingly, (again given the snowball sampling strategy), 70% of respondents reported being positive or very positive toward unions, with only 8% being negative or very negative. Those aged under 24 years old were slightly less positive, and attitude toward unions increases positively with age. This again reflects existing knowledge about attitudes held toward unions (Hodder and Kretsos, 2015), although the finding does not remain

when other characteristics are controlled for. Women held significantly more positive views toward unions, and those from Mediterranean countries held less positive views. Non-members had relatively less favourable union attitudes than members. The more active in the union members were, the more favourable union attitudes they held, and this remained so if we controlled for other characteristics.

Respondents were then asked what the main purpose of a union should be. The majority of respondents think that unions should be trying to influence the public debate on labour market issues (92% strongly agree/agree), reflecting the concerns of precarity and non-standard employment (see Cha et al, 2019), provide education and training for members (92% strongly agree/agree), and to activate workers in general (92% strongly agree/agree), in line with the widespread turn to organising (Murray, 2017). A total of 78% of respondents (strongly agree/agree) believed unions should be focusing on campaigns regarding abuses of multinational corporations. 65% (strongly agree/agree) believed that the focus of unions should only be on workplace issues, with 21% (strongly agree/agree) stating they thought that unions should not be allowed to engage in protests on issues outside of the workplace, suggesting a strong desire for focus on market or class issues. It should also be noted that 28% (strongly agree/agree) of respondents believed that unions should only organise 'non-strike protests' at a workplace level.





## Wider societal interests and activities

The final section of the survey considered the extent to which respondents were engaged in other social organisations and activities outside of trade unions, before asking where respondents saw themselves in the year 2030. We first provide an overview of other forms of engagement based on the quantitative data, before outlining the main hopes people had for their futures.

A large proportion of respondents believed themselves to be very engaged in wider society, in terms of actively taking part in something that they believed to be important. Men were significantly more likely to report engagement in society when compared to women, but there was no significant difference found between age groups, labour market position or geographic region (when other characteristics were controlled for). Those who self-reported higher levels of union activism considered themselves to be more active in wider society than passive union members. That is to say, the stronger the union attitude, the stronger the level of societal engagement. If we look more closely at different types of engagement outside of trade unionism, we can see that the most popular form of engagement for respondents was involvement in youth organisations. This is not surprising given the organisation of the survey. The top five types of societal engagement are given in Table 3.

**TABLE 3: Different categories of societal engagement (%)**

TYPE OF SOCIETAL ENGAGEMENT	%
YOUTH ORGANISATIONS	50
CIVIC/COMMUNITY GROUPS	42
CULTURAL ORGANISATION	31
CHARITIES	30
POLITICAL GROUPS	29



Note: Rounding errors possible. Source: Survey results.

Upon examining this data more closely, we found no significant differences in terms of gender or labour market positions with regards to self-reported societal engagement. However, there were significant differences between the age categories – younger respondents tended to be more engaged with societal organisations, when compared to the oldest age category (35 and over), with the youngest age group expressing the highest level of societal engagement.

Respondents were then asked if they were active in any other ways in society. The top three reasons are listed in Table 4. From this, we can see that the main ‘other’ way that respondents felt they were able to make a difference to society was through their own behaviour and actions. Those who are active are more likely to self-report activism levels and a belief they can make a difference, and so this finding is interesting and confirms existing knowledge. The second ‘other’ way that respondents felt they could influence society was through their own jobs. This is not a surprising finding given the nature of the survey being conducted through EPSU, and mirrors the positive findings in relation to the public sector more broadly (as noted above). Social media (to campaign and raise awareness) was listed as the third most common way respondents believed they could influence society. This finding is interesting, as it has been suggested elsewhere that such technologies are ‘changing the face of community engagement because of their ability to recruit people to causes, organize collective action, raise awareness, influence attitudes, raise funds, and communicate with decision-makers’ (McAllister, 2013: 93).



**TABLE 4: Additional categories of societal engagement (%)**

<b>OTHER TYPES OF SOCIETAL ENGAGEMENT AND MAKING A DIFFERENCE</b>	<b>%</b>
SETTING AN EXAMPLE THROUGH MY OWN ACTIONS/ ATTITUDE	83
THROUGH MY OWN JOB	81
USING SOCIAL MEDIA	56

Note: rounding errors possible. Source: Survey results.



Taking all of the above into consideration, we now comment on the answers to the open-ended question at the end of the survey which asked respondents to provide a brief description of how they envisaged themselves in the year 2030. A total of 1,005 people responded to this question, with varying degrees of detail provided among the answers. Answers often included details about a range of issues, as indicated in the example which was provided as part of the question (this may have influenced the answers of respondents). There were not enough substantial comments about hobbies and pets to include these in the report. Almost all of those that responded took the question seriously, although there were a small number of answers that did not yield much insight (e.g. 'I want to stay young forever'). The majority of respondents indicated their hopes and aspirations for the future, specifically in relation to future careers, family and education. 5% of respondents noted a level of fear about their life and future prospects (e.g. 'everything feels so unstable and insecure that I can't even imagine 2030. Even 2020 seems unsafe'), and surprisingly, only 11% expressed uncertainty with regards to their future (e.g. 'no idea, everything is very unpredictable').

The majority of responses (84%) commented on their future career trajectories. As with the quantitative findings noted above, the majority wanted to be employed in some form, continuing to work in the public sector. Again, this is not surprising, given the nature of the survey. However, a number of respondents did not know what kind of career they wanted. Regardless of what type of career that was preferred, there was a common concern around stability of work and suitable levels of payment, as indicated by the following examples: '[it is] hard to say, professionally I have never had the opportunity to project myself for more than six months'; 'I think work will be intensifying... I [will] have to change jobs a lot'; 'in 2030, I hope to have a fixed contract and to have stability in work'. The qualitative evidence therefore lends more support than the quantitative data to more widely reported concerns about the long-term impacts of precarious work and flexible scheduling on young people (Gumbrell-McCormick, 2011; Tailby and Pollert, 2011).

46% indicated that they wanted to have a family/spend more time with their families in the future. However, there were concerns about time and financial implications (e.g. 'I hope that I will manage my life so I have the time to start a family'), although these answers are likely to have been influenced by the example in the question (which stated 'I don't know if I will have time for a family'). Among the sample, 22% of respondents expressed the desire to continue or complete further educational activities (either through professional qualifications or higher education degrees such as master's degrees or doctorates), and the majority of comments regarding education related to the specific choice of career of the respondent. Only 10% of respondents mentioned continuing their involvement in trade union activities, which is surprising given the strong nature of the quantitative results discussed above.



# Conclusion

This report has given insights into the views of young Europeans towards work and employment, unions and wider society.

With regards to experiences of work and employment, we find that the majority of the sample are both contracted to work and actually work at least 35 hours per week, despite the growing nature of precarious work among young people. However, there remains a concern about employment security and precarity among younger workers, which is shown in the qualitative data. In support of this, younger workers (aged 24 and under) and students have a preference for future employment with a standard contract of employment, which is something that unions can continue to bargain for. This could be viewed as an opportunity for unions if they are seen to be representing the interests of the younger generation. This finding also confirms existing literature that notes the younger generation would like to move out of precarious work situations (Cha et al, 2019).

The main reasons for joining a trade union among the sample remain consistent with existing research. Improvements in pay and conditions, belief in trade unions, and support if problems occurred at work were the top three reasons listed, confirming that the notion of collectivism is the main reason people still join unions. The main reason people had not joined a trade union was because they had not been asked (19%), with a further 18% indicating they had not got around to it. This is encouraging from an organising perspective, and confirms existing research that states that young people are potentially malleable to trade unionism if it were to be explained to them. From a recruitment and retention perspective, passive union members were more likely to leave the union in the future, showing the need to continually engage and organise existing members for membership retention.

A range of societal activities were reported in this sample, mostly relating to youth organising, and community groups. Men are significantly more likely to report engagement with societal interests and organisations, and active union members are more likely to be also active in wider society. Overall, respondents were generally positive about their future prospects, with main concerns relating to work, family, and education.

In conclusion, whilst the findings cannot be generalised beyond this sample, they should provide useful information for EPSU and its affiliate unions in terms of recruitment, representation and organising moving forward.



# References

- Bulbeck, C. (2008)** 'Only "Victim" Workers Need Unions?: Perceptions of Trade Unions Amongst Young Australians', *Labour and Industry*, 19 (1-2): 49-71.
- Cha, M., Dupay, C., Holgate, J., Simms, M. and Tapia, M. (2019)** *Unions are only as old as they feel: lessons on young worker engagement from the UK, France, Germany and the US*, ETUI Policy Brief, Brussels: ETUI.
- Crouch, C. (2017)** 'Membership density and trade union power', *Transfer*, 23 (1): 47-61.
- Freeman, R. and Diamond W. (2003)** 'Young workers and trade unions' in H. Gospel and S. Wood (eds.) *Representing Workers: Union recognition and membership in Britain*, London: Routledge.
- Gumbrell-McCormick, R. (2011)** 'European trade unions and atypical workers', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 42 (3): 293-310.
- Hodder, A. and Kretsos, L. (eds.) (2015)** *Young Workers and Trade Unions: A Global View*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hodder, A., Williams, M., Kelly, J. and McCarthy, N. (2017)** 'Does strike action stimulate trade union membership growth?', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 55 (1): 165-186.
- King, N. (1998)** 'Template Analysis', in G. Symon and C. Cassell (eds.) *Qualitative Methods and Analysis in Organisational Research*, London: Sage.
- Lowe, G. and Rastin, S. (2000)** 'Organizing the Next Generation: Influences on Young Workers' Willingness to Join Unions in Canada', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 38 (2): 203-222.
- McAllister, A. (2013)** 'New media and new voices', *The Philanthropist*, 25 (2): 93-98.
- Murray, G. (2017)** 'Union renewal: what can we learn from three decades of research?', *Transfer*, 23 (1): 9-29.
- Tailby, S. and Pollert, A. (2011)** 'Non-unionised young workers and organising the unorganised', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 32 (3): 499-522.
- Vandaele, K. (2012)** 'Youth representatives' opinions on recruiting and representing young workers: A twofold unsatisfied demand?', *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 18 (3): 203-218.
- Vandaele, K. (2015)** 'Youth structures in six European trade union federations: a short overview', *Transfer*, 21 (4): 471-476.
- Vandaele, K. (2018)** 'How can trade unions connect with young workers?' in J. O'Reilly, J. Leschke, R. Ortlieb, M. Seeleib-Kaiser and P. Villa (eds.) *Youth labor in transition: Inequalities, Mobility, Policies in Europe*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vandaele, K. (2019)** *Bleak prospects: mapping trade union membership in Europe since 2000*, Brussels: ETUI.
- Waddington, J. and Kerr, A. (2002)** 'Unions fit for young workers?', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 33 (4): 298-315.
- Waddington, J. and Whitston, C. (1997)** 'Who joins trade unions in a period of membership decline?', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 35 (4): 515-546.





[www.epsu.org](http://www.epsu.org)



**Andy Hodder and Kurt Vandaele**

[a.j.hodder@bham.ac.uk](mailto:a.j.hodder@bham.ac.uk) · [KVandaele@etui.org](mailto:KVandaele@etui.org)