

## **THE CHANGES IN BUSINESS PRACTICES IN THE ERAS OF GLOBALIZATION INDICATE THAT TRADE UNIONS HAVE NO PLACE IN TODAY'S WORKING WORLD: AN OVERVIEW**

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### *ABSTRACT*

In this era of globalization and rapid technological advancements, the business world is full of uncertainty. The only certainty that prevails in today's working environment is the necessity to change. Businesses need to constantly monitor the economic variables and continuously adapt to changes in order to remain competitive and to gain sustainable competitive advantage over their rivals. The new developments like globalization and rapid technological advancements have brought significant changes not only in the way that businesses operate but also have created strong impact on the structure of labour markets and industrial relations. Therefore, looking over the past years, trade unions have faced profound adverse challenges that have threatened their present day relevance in the modern industrial relations systems. The objective of this paper is to explore the relevancy of trade unions in today's businesses setting and to dissect what contributes to its sustenance.

Keywords: Trade Union, Globalization, Labour, Industrial relations and Recognition

### **INTRODUCTION**

The concept of globalization has achieved much currency and a high degree of popularity in recent years. This is probably due to the fact that globalization is transforming the world at a rapid pace and it is changing the traditional work place and employment practices. Waters (1995:1, cited by Debrah and Smith 1999) reminds us about the importance of the globalization process to contemporary society when she asserts that:

*“...just as post modernism was the concept of the 1980s, globalization may be the concept of the 1990s, a key idea by which we understand the transition of human society into the third millennium”.*

Globalization also means the process of world wide integration by international trade of goods and services, and by cross border transfer of capital and know how. The main characteristic of economic globalization is the increase of these international transactions in relation to national transactions (Stierle, 1999). Upadhyaya (2002), further discussed that globalization in general humanitarian sense must be understood as creating a situation where people and nations all over the globe come closer and closer with lesser and lesser conflict and greater prosperity. This process has been going on for centuries and further may go on for centuries. However, the present-day globalization is a fast flow of scattered ideologies, policies and activities forwarded and launched to restructure the globe in political, economic social, cultural & environmental paradigms in order to make the new capitalism and market philosophy inevitable, unchallengeable and acceptable with no option.

The impact of the capitalist globalization is widespread covering almost all segments of society and sectors of employment & work. Since majority members of the society fall under the broad category of working class, vulnerable and immediate point of adverse effect is the workers both in the formal & informal sectors (Upadhyaya, 2002). One of the major impacts, with the intensification of the globalization process, we are witnessing major shifts in employee relations in many countries. For instance, there is ample evidence in the literature of a shift towards non-unionism, single union, and a decline in collective bargaining and trade unionism, (Locke, Kochan and Piore, 1995 cited by Debrah and Smith 1999).

According to Dunlop (1958) as cited by Kochan (2003), there are three key actors in modern industrial relations systems. They are the employers, the trade unions and the governments. None of these

institutions could ever act in an independent manner. However, over the past couple of decades, unions have faced profound adverse challenges that have threatened their present-day relevance in the modern industrial relations systems. Nevertheless, over the past years, it has been generally recognized that trade unions all around the world, particularly in the UK have experienced a difficult and challenging period since 1979. Over the last twenty years, there has been a widespread decline in trade union membership throughout most Western Europe (FedEE, 2004). According to statistics from Personnel Today (2005), at its peak, UK union membership stood at 13 million in 1979, but dropped to 5.5 million in the subsequent two decades. Research indicates that unions all around the world would be facing a painful journey to extinction if they fail to evolve their images and their roles in the industrial relations systems.

The central problem now faced by most unions all around the globe is the perception that they may be too weak to make a difference. Even though there are significant indications that changing business practices and other relevant factors have restricted union power and union recruitment, yet on the contrary, trade unionists still have grounds for optimism if they can regain the confidence of their workers as well as their employers. This can be done through effective union revitalization strategies which emphasize on the view that professional cooperation between the employers and the employees can deliver big improvements in organizational performance but it certainly requires significant cooperation from union members, their employers as well as from the governments. These issues have been critically analyzed from different points of views raised from multiple research findings both quantitative and qualitative to show that even though across the globe union membership continues to decline, there is still hope for revival of unionism provided some substantial steps are taken by the key actors in the employment relations systems, namely the employers, the governments and the trade unions themselves. The main objectives of this paper is to highlight the decline in trade unionism over the past couple of decades and how the effectiveness of trade union responses to these new threats associated with new management and production approaches. In addition this paper will investigate and highlight the issues that concerns the relevancy of trade unions in the context of the modern business world.

## **BACKGROUND OF THE ISSUE**

The global economy of the twenty-first century has created a difficult environment for trade unionism which had developed as a strong response to capitalism during the later part of the eighteenth century and early decades of the nineteenth century. New approach to modern industrial relations preclude workers from benefiting from collective representation by trade unions and made it more difficult for workers to turn to national labour laws to address their concerns. For example, in both developing and developed countries, most businesses are now turning towards individual contracts between the employer and the workers as results of emerging roles of Human Resource Management. These contracts do not allow for collective bargaining hence restricting the power of unionism. Furthermore with open markets, global trade and investment do not inevitably lead to greater prosperity and more job's. Thus, workers and trade unions pointing to adverse effects of globalization, in particular the loss of jobs, stagnating wages and increasing inequality, have good reasons to do so (OECD, 2007). Given the wide and growing international divergence between country level union membership density, the link between globalization and the national level of trade union organization remains complex and problematic (Salmon et. al., 1999). Literally, the importance of unions has diminished considerably since the 1990s. By 2005, the percentage of workers belonging to unions had fell to just 18.7 percent. However, most researches indicated that trade union responses to such change have generally been minimal and moderate, with new arguments on 'globalization' generating a potentially fragmenting effect on workers' ability to respond to the new employer offensive (Brown, 1990 as cited by Upchurch and Danford, 1999).

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **The decline**

For more than a decade, there has been a growing debate surrounding the impact of globalisation (Held, 1995; Hutton, 1995; Boyer and Drache, 1996; Giddens, 1998 as cited by Salmon et. al., 1999). Globalization has also precipitated changes to the labour market and has resulted in changes in employee relations. To the extent that we are witnessing a rise of the "in secure work force" and the disappearance of

the standard forms of employment (Heery and Salmon, 1997 cited by Debrah and Smith, 1999). As a result, globalization and increasing economic integration have important consequences not only for product markets, but also for labour markets, i.e. for wages, employment and the work place (Borghijs and Du Caju, 1999). The impact of globalization also led companies to reviewing their human capital needs to be leaner and selective to their needs and at the same time competitively viable. For example, total employment in the South West of England (e.g. at British Aerospace, GKN-Westland, Rolls Royce Military Engines, Messier-Dowty and Smiths Industries) fell as a result of redundancy programmes, work intensification and outsourcing (Upchurch and Danford, 1999).

Within a unionized workplace, mobilization theory holds that trade union effectiveness can be measured by a common reliance on trade unions to represent worker interests, borne out through high levels of internal participation, and a willingness to engage in collective action (Kelly, 1998; Wood and Psoulis, 2001 as cited by Wood and Glaister, 2008). Trade unions are considered important actors of industrial relations systems in any economy since unions are pattern setters and important political and economic force (Mills, 1994). Unions not only negotiate for their members, they also affect fringe benefits, productivity, work allocation, job security and employee participation practices. They also influence the employment terms for non-union members through spill-over effects, extensions or agreements and employer responses to the union environment. Thereby, it is essential to study the reasons behind continued decline of union membership over the past couple of decades so that effective union revitalization strategies can be suggested to all the parties concerned to save from being wiped out from the industrial relations system in the near future. However, Shuto see that the importance of unions have diminished considerably since the 1990s where the percentage of workers belonging and joining unions fell to as in the case of Japan (Shuto, 2006).

According to Bean (1994) the obvious cause for the sharp decline in the number of trade unions in the developed as well as developing countries was the movement away from goods-producing economy and manufacturing employment to a service-dominated economy, which was more difficult for unions to organize. Statistics indicate that in Britain, 76.1 percent of all the employees were employed in the service sector, a marked rise from 52.6 percent from 1971 to 1996 (Blyton and Turnbull, 1998). Employees working in the banking, insurance and building societies made the option to join staff association and formed work councils instead of trade unions. In addition, Blyton and Turnbull further stated that the increase in the trends of female employment and part time employment patterns also contributed to the fall of unionism in developed countries like United Kingdom and in the United States. According to Sharma (1996), in developing countries like Malaysia and Philippines, the extent of unionization has also been weakened over the past few decades two main reasons. Firstly, because of due to the increase in the level of women's participation in the labour force as part-time workers. Secondly, heightened global competition pressurized industries all around the world to become globally competitive by adopting greater flexibility in terms of labour utilization.

Practices such as labour subcontracting, and hiring of temporary and contract workers, had negative effects on the position and influence of trade unions (Binghay, 2003). In the case of Japan the main reason is that the number of enterprise union members continues to decrease with the reduction in fulltime employees (Nakamura, 2005, p.27-44 as cited by Shuto, (2006). Globalization also affected how firms see their employees. With the rising costs of production, management embarked on creating cheap labour market to attain the objective of keeping low prices for their products while maintaining profit, leading one to think that labour have become commodity and not a partner for progress. According to Binghay, firms that globalize seem to substitute labour-intensive operations by machine processed operations consequently reducing the labour needs of businesses and thereby adversely affecting unionism. In large organizations human resource management strategy may exist with a unitary agenda which focuses on the individual and therefore limits the need for intermediaries in the form of trade unions (McCracken and Sanderson, 2004).

In the 1970s there was an increase of employer opposition to union recognition. Managements instituted a retreat from collective bargaining in favour of a slow but steady growth of non-union resource management systems. Recognition of unions by employers declined substantially during the 1980s and 1990 (Farnham et. al., 1995). In part, this was a consequence of the need to cut costs arising from exposure of product markets to international competition and the effects of deregulation (Kochan et. al., 1984; Miller, 1987 as cited by Bean, 1994). Without voluntary recognition from the employer, workers do not have much choice but to go for statutory recognition whose effectiveness is very much subjected to the labour laws of the concerned countries. At the same time, derecognition is the primary threat to trade unions associated with the spread of International Public Relations Partners (IPRP) and similar new management techniques,

not disorganization (Heery, 1997). Trade union recognition is a crucial issue for Trusts intending to introduce local pay bargaining. Most trade unionists however, regards them at best as a feeble apology for the real thing and at worst as a management-inspired attempt to undermine the appeal of genuine trade unionism. Senior management may also believe that a staff association will not be as difficult to deal with as a trade union and will be more likely to adopt a “reasonable” negotiating position on a given issue (Hutchinson, 1994).

Since the early 1980s, the signing of New Style Agreements on Greenfield sites which are also referred to as single union or no strike deals, was the focus of considerable attention in modern industrial relations. Their use was pioneered in the UK by the Japanese manufacturing transplant of Toshiba and Hitachi (Grant, 1994). These agreements are thought to have adverse impacts on union influence and power at the workplace by shifting the “frontier of control” in management's favour. Some unions view this as part of the employers' anti unionization which disposes employees to adapt anti union practices. Greater employee involvements through profit-sharing and employee shareholding schemes also contributed to the marginalization of trade union. Firms adapted HRM strategies of profit-sharing and employee shareholding whereby workers are rewarded for their participation in decision making and their involvement in the processes of control within the firms. The objective is to increase the sense of identity of employees with the companies in which they work, as well as providing an incentive to work harder, improving their motivation and commitment towards enhancing organizational competitiveness. However, according to Bean, (1994) strategies that complement HRM attempts to establish individual relationships between the firms and their employees impairs unions' prospects since effective application of these strategies weakens the appeal of collectivism. Even in the organized enterprises, such strategies marginalizes unions' power and recruitment.

On the same token, governments extensive regulation of the labour markets condone the power of trade union. In the UK during the era of Margaret Thatcher's government, wide-ranging and ideologically driven reforms of the legal framework for trade unions were carried out (Fosh, 1997). These reforms included the introduction of substantial legal regulation of and intervention in the way trade unions make their decisions and conducted their affairs. The conservative believed strongly that trade unions had too much power. Therefore, it led in to the extensive regulation of the labor market in the UK. In recent years, trade unions in UK are regulated by the Employment Relations Act 1999. On the local scene, trade unions in Malaysia are regulated by the Industrial Relations Act (IRA) 1967. According to Sharma (1996), the police, armed forces, prison personnel and high security government officers are forbidden from joining unions in Malaysia. Moreover, the Government of Malaysia also holds that issues of transfer, dismissal, and reinstatement are prerogatives of management and are excluded from collective bargaining.

### **The Impact**

The growth of service economies resulted in formation of staff association and work councils that are thought by employers as an effective alternative to reduce the influence of trade unions at the workplace. This has undoubtedly reduced the bargaining power of the workers as staff associations and most work councils are not allowed to conduct collective bargaining (Rose, 2001). However, trade unionism can still co-exist to work in cooperation with work councils in organizations. Moreover, increased participation of women in the workforce and also greater use of flexible labour forces have indisputably restructured industrial relations. Women have always been blamed for not being active or interested in workplace issues because they do not show a strong interest in union representation (Miller and Amano, 1995 as cited by Broadbent, 2005). Research indicates that the formation of autonomous women only unions in Japan namely Josei Union Tokyo with a member of 250 members has challenged both management and the male domination of the union movement. According to Broadbent (2005), the formation of women only unions are a positive strategy for development of women workers all around the world that can aid in revitalizing unionism in case of such structural changes of the economy where women make up a significant part of a country's labour force.

Since the early 1980s, fierce competition as a result of globalization and other changes in organizational environments have prompted organizations to adopt flexibility strategies, lean production techniques, and other strategies to enhance operating efficiency (Debrah & Smith, 1999). The competitiveness in the world requires enterprises to seek ways to adapt to the constant changes in the environment. This requires flexibility in business practices of organization as well as the way they utilize their workforce to capitalize maximum profitability. In response to globalization, contractual employment has become common in order to achieve flexibility in terms of labour utilization in most developed and

developing nations such as UK, USA, Malaysia and the Philippines. Furthermore, most employers view their workforce as a commodity due to the negative perceptions that permanent workers have created on their employers by carrying out industrial actions such as strikes and picketing which always pose threats of ceasing the production processes leading to heavy losses. Unions, thereby, need to gain the confidence of their employers by making positive contribution to organizational performance rather than only focusing on the needs of their members and other workers. For example, Rengo, the Japanese Trade Union Congress has set up a committee that holds discussions not only on possible directions for the revitalization of the trade union movement on meeting the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century but also on how to improve their respective organizational performance (Rengo, 2006).

Decline of union density around the world has increased due to the heightened difficulty experienced by unions in gaining recognition in non-unionized work-places. Employers' hostility to trade unions supported by toothless industrial relations legislation seems to be at the root cause of the so called organized labour movement crisis. According to Socialist Voice 2005, a research conducted at the University of Limerick into the experience of full-time union officials organizing in the private sectors shows that, according to many activists, employers' opposition to union recognition has intensified in private sectors of economies around the world in recent years between the periods of 1998-2003. Even in the UK, where a clear formal procedure for trade union recognition was introduced through the 1999 Employment Relations Act, the unionization of employees has remained stable (FedEE, 2004). In some countries such as Columbia, employers also encourage workers to join cooperative organizations, which contract employees with an employer to perform labour rather than joins or seek union recognition (McWilliams, 2002). According to FedEE, the average level of unionization across the EU will fall to under 20 percent by 2010 if unions do not find effective ways to gain recognition from their employers. However, it is certainly possible to do so by recruiting sufficient members and changing managements' perception about unions.

During the periods of 1980s and 1990s, trade unions in UK signed New Style Agreements (NSAs), many of them at Japanese transplant on Greenfield sites with hopes that they constitute solutions to declining trade union fortunes. According Grant (1994), Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union was one such union that signed such an agreement. On the other hand, over the years, some trade unions have also expressed concerns that they represent a management strategy of allowing union recognition in a form without content. They suspect that management signs NSAs because they believe that they can exploit the procedures within them thereby strengthening their control of the workplace. That being the case, these unions are highly skeptical that the spirit and intention behind such agreements is ever put into practice or believe that it never existed in the first place. Although senior management at the companies such as Toshiba and Hitachi argued that they had signed NSAs, in part, because they believed that they would facilitate reductions in "them and us", research shows that NSAs are indicative of and may even contribute to trade union decline if the spirit and intention of these agreements are biased. Therefore, the success of NSAs calls for an emphasis on cooperation and partnership between management and the union rather than their acceptance of a conflict of interest.

In large organizations a human resource management strategy may exist with a unitary agenda which focuses on the individual, and therefore limits the need for intermediaries in the form of trade unions (McCracken and Sanderson, 2004). As business practices change in response to globalization, the styles of managing labour relations are as well undergoing through significant changes. In response to the significant increase in the use of HRM strategies by employers to undermine union power, union officials should not retaliate. Instead, union officials should become more involved in what have in the past been areas of decision reserved for management, including for example, product quality, capital investment and plant or office closings. For example, union officials at Ford requested training from Ford Motor Company in techniques of improving quality so that they can participate in quality discussions from a base of knowledge (Mills, 1994). Such initiatives should be taken by unions to encourage employee involvement through participation of union members thereby reducing the antagonism between managements and unions and gradually transforming it into a symbiotic relationship.

In developed countries such as the UK, the government carries out extensive regulation of the labour markets through laws that restrict the power of unions to carry out protest actions against their employers. According to Guardian (2006), the Gate Gourmet dispute in UK, which grounded hundreds of British Airways flights when 813 catering workers at the subcontractors were sacked for protesting against the use of agency staff at lower pay, highlighted the limits on trade union action. The strike was classified as illegal. The settlement negotiated by the Transport and General Workers' Union, which had to reject the strike to avoid being sued itself, costed 131 employees their jobs without any compensation. The Gate

Gourmet case shows, as many other disputes have over the last quarter century, the degree to which the anti-union laws of the Thatcher's era remain in place to deny workers and their unions the ability to mobilize to wards create effective countervailing power against management prerogative. This highlighted management tactics such as “suppressionist strategies” or “substitutionist strategies”. The suppressionist strategy seeks to: Sabotage existing or expected attempts at union organisation and requests for union recognition or at least prevent them from getting to a “critical mass” (Gall and McKay, 2001, p. 99 as cited by McCracken and Sanderson, 2004). The substitutionist strategy on the other hand is where “. . . the employer tries to supplant the union role by attempting to show that the union is unnecessary . . .” (Gall and McKay, 2001, p. 102 as cited by McCracken and Sanderson, 2004).

On the other hand, weak labour laws in developing countries such as in the Philippines, allow multinationals corporations and local employers to exploit labours by restricting them to join unions (Binghay, 2003). Thereby, it is extremely essential for unions around the globe to gain government support in order to strive and thrive, as governments are one of the keys actors in the industrial relations systems. Wood and Glaister (2008) In other words, they may use new HRM strategies to weaken the established system of collective representation, in order to both regain managerial authority, in seeking greater flexibility in using human resources (see Guest, 2001; Gooderham et. al., 1999). Secondly, managers may implement alternative forms of participation and involvement with the aim of harnessing and building on the benefits flowing from a strong union presence (see Brewster et. al., 2006). Thirdly, even if forced to deal with unions, managers may remain wedded to a static, cost-cutting strategic framework. This would result in a continued focus on the standardization of work, and a high degree of numerical flexibility. Within a unionized workplace, mobilization theory holds that trade union effectiveness can be measured by a common reliance on trade unions to represent worker interests, borne out through high levels of internal participation, and a willingness to engage in collective action (Kelly, 1998; Wood and Psoulis, 2001). Participation in the internal life of a trade union reflects the extent to which members see the union as worthwhile, providing the base for the articulation of new values and reinforcing solidarity in changing external circumstances (Kelly, 1998 cited by Wood and Glaister (2008).

## METHODOLOGY

Briefly for this study various documents was considered through analysis and reviews that include:

- a. Details review of selected literature on the development of trade union.
- b. In depth review of selected literature on the development of globalization.
- c. Review of selected literature on the pressure and challenges faced by trade union.
- d. Selected review of text books directly touches and discusses about trade unions.

## DISCUSSIONS

The impact of globalization is quite alarming in degrading the role of trade union and reinventing the employment and industrial relations in many countries around the globe. To note the experience in Turkey five challenges facing trade unions can be listed as follows : (a) changing patterns of employment and union membership; (b) change in labour management relations; (c) public status of trade unions; (d) challenges in a hostile economic environment; and (e) the international economy: a thread to national trade unions. (Ozkaplan, 1999). Globalisation is indeed a challenge for industrial relations, questioning what is the new scope for national Trade Unions facing the policy of firms who now work all over the world (Corteel and Hayem, 1999). It also led to the fear of social dumping, the concern over labour standards, the issues of protectionism and unfair competition leading to the race to the bottom arising out of the growing disparities in employment conditions (Sengenberger & Campbell, 1994). Reacting to all these, more recently, a number of national trade union centres in the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Britain have sought to radically reverse the decline in membership levels through a radical initiative to revitalise trade union purpose (Bronfenbrenner et. al., 1998; Heery, 1998; Salmon, 1998; Turn bull, 1997).

The crisis that trade unions face now can only be resolved if both unions and management move towards a more co-operative relationship. Unions need to learn to help companies faced with intense competition to survive and prosper, yet continue to represent the interest of theirs members. Such a co-operative relationship will be able to resolve disagreements without major confrontations, whereby, unions would share responsibilities for productivity and companies would take responsibilities for employment

security and pay equity for their employees. In order to do achieve such symbiotic relationship, unions must first encourage workers to join unions. This can be only done if unions preserve jobs, unless they will continue to lose members since according to Salamon (2000), workers across the world primarily require jobs with good benefits and satisfactory working conditions.

Unions clearly need to struggle with the effect of in-house HRM practices, which provide direct worker consultation with managers. This means that increasing number of workplaces employee see little need for unions, which they believe are adversarial organizations. Thereby, unions need to work out on their negative image. If unions are continued to associate with strikes and non-competitive practices that cause companies to go out of business, ordinary working people are not likely to be union enthusiasts. It is quite obvious that changes in business practices indicate unfavorable environment for the existence of trade unions in today's working world but unions still have a chance to prove themselves as essential and efficient actors of industrial relations systems that are vital for the economic growth of any prospering nation by gaining substantial support from their members, their employers as well as from their governments through their sincerest positive contributions to all the parties concerned.

To make trade union still relevant from the onslaught of globalization, Upchurch and Danford examined a variety of trade union approaches to defending members' interests, varying from 'social partnership' to more traditional adversarial approaches. They argue that two decades of state and employer led decollectivisation, and the associated impacts of labour intensification, have severely tested the ability of unions at work place level to develop effective strategies of resistance. Furthermore, in terms of trade union renewal, further strategic orientation is necessary which would involve recasting relations between work place union and full time officials and the sustained provision of resources from the union centre (Upchurch & Danford, 1999). Amid a largely negative evaluation of unions, the primary motive for membership appeared to be the desire for protection in the event of disciplinary action or victimization by management (Blyton and Turnbull, 1994, p. 126 as cited by Heery, 1997).

## **LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDY**

Since this paper is more of a conceptual study it does not involve any sort of empirical or quantified data therefore the findings of the study is limited to analysis derived from the literature. However, for future studies, this research can be expanded to a more reliable and quantified study with in depth survey by data gathering from various trade union and also organizations. With the application of statistical analysis the validity and significant of the study will be more justified.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

As highlighted above, the increasing globalization of economic, social, political and cultural processes have important implications for the organization of work, employment, labour markets and employee/industrial relations. The globalizing trend means the work place of the twenty-first century will continue to witness the impact of the world economic re structuring. The trend towards global integration of production and circulation of finance capital will have enormous impacts on the work place and as a result the way human resources are managed. For instance, the current state of economic interdependence means that an economic recession in one part of the world quickly impacts on jobs/employment and employment practices in other parts of the world (Debrah & Smith, 1999).

Business realism appeared to influence the actions of both management and unions. For trade unions, they may be wise to heed the advice of McCartney (1999), who emphasized that: If unions fail to recruit in the expanding areas of the economy, if they fail to adapt to the changing labour market, or if they fail to embrace the partnership approach, their decline will continue (McCracken & Sanderson, 2004). Therefore, if trade union continues to carry out conventional means of campaigning without taking on these challenges head on, they will no doubt further erode their union image and their appeal as powerful bodies to influence social changes enhancing their chances of extinction in the years to come. Moreover, employers and governments need to extend their heartiest support to the whole union movement. Thereby, even though the changing business practices pose extensive threats to the relevancy of trade unions' in the context of today's global competitive business environment, the future of trade unions largely depends on the extent of partnerships that trade union can manage to harness with all the key bodies of industrial relations systems instead of focusing on conflicts.

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