

Studienbeiträge zum European Working Conditions Observatory (EWCO)



Impact of the crisis on working conditions The case of Germany

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Köln, Juli 2013

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Abstract

The financial and economic crisis had a severe impact on certain, mainly export-oriented industries in Germany. Employees working in establishments greatly affected by the crisis naturally also faced changes in their working conditions. Shorter working hours, wage concessions and the usage of flexible employment forms however contributed to a comparatively stable labour market situation and helped retaining workers' jobs. National measures introduced by the federal government as well as industry-specific solutions arranged by the social partners supported firms in their struggle to overcome the recession.

1. General trends in working conditions

1.1 Basic trend data on selected working conditions indicators

Please describe the evolution in working conditions based on the available national information (surveys, administrative data, other data bases), over the requested period 2007-2011.

Employment development:

As the table below shows, employment levels remained relatively stable in Germany during the crisis years.

Employment development (2007-2011)					
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Employed persons (000s)*	37,397.2	37,902.3	37,807.8	38,072.7	38,979.3
Self-employed persons (000s)*	3,920.6	3,892.7	3,952.7	3,988.6	4,101.3
Unemployment (in %)	8.7	7.5	7.8	7.1	5.9
Long-term unemployment (% of total unemployment)**	56.6	52.5	45.5	47.4	48.0
Part-time employment (% of total employment)	25.4	25.1	25.3	25.5	25.7

*Notes: *age category: 15-64 years, **long-term unemployment is defined as 12 months or more (age category 15-64 years)*

Source: Eurostat

Figures and tables should relate to the following items:

Employment conditions:

- Career prospects and job mobility (e.g. self-reported career advancement, job-to-job mobility, migration flows)

A study by the Cologne Institute for Economic Research (IW Köln) shows that an annual 25% to 30% of employees liable to social security contributions changed their jobs between 2002 and 2010. Jobs are changed more often during an economic upswing than during a recession (Stettes, 2011).

- Job security related indicators (e.g. self-reported perception of job insecurity, chance of losing the job)

In 2007 the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) introduced a Decent Work Index (*DGB-Index Gute Arbeit* – DGB Index). It seeks to measure the quality of work and incomes in Germany. For details of the composition of the index see: Vogel (2010e).

With regard to the crisis, the DGB Index 2010 indicates that 64% of all dependent employees reported restructuring events in their firm (higher work intensity, short-time work or wage cuts). Around 46% were directly affected by such measures. Finally, 41% felt themselves under pressure at work as a result of the global crisis.

The DGB Index has been criticised (see section 1.2) and other sources paint a different picture of employees' perceptions of their workplaces: The IGA Report 21 (Friedrichs et al., 2011), for example, indicates that 82.2% of employees felt that their job was secure in 2010.

Working time and work intensity:

- Average working hours per week, overtime

National data indicates no great changes in the average working time per week, i.e. 35.6 hours in 2008 and 35.5 hours in 2011. However, using data from the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) is able to show that overtime dropped from 19.7 hours a week in 2007 to 18.9 and 19 hours per week in 2008 and 2009 respectively (Zapf, 2012).

The effects of the global crisis were also cushioned by short-time working arrangements and decreasing hours in employees' working time accounts. As the IAB indicates, between the fourth quarter of 2008 and the first quarter of 2010, employees' working time accounts were reduced by an average of 12 hours (IAB, 2011). Since the second quarter of 2010, however, hours in working time accounts have been rising again. At the end of the third quarter of 2010 they had risen by an average of 6.9 hours per employee.

- Average retirement age change

Average retirement age for men rose from 63.3 years in 2006 to 63.8 years in 2010. In comparison, the female average retirement age did not change much; resting at 63.2 years and 63.3 years in 2006 and 2010 respectively (DRV, 2011).

- Flexible working time in terms of irregularity of working hours

The Federal Statistical Office (destatis) notes that over 3 million people work regularly at night, i.e. between 11 pm and 6 am. The share of employees working at night dropped from 9.1% in 2008 to 8.3% in 2009 (destatis, 2010). The decrease was triggered by the crisis which mainly hit the manufacturing sector. As a result head counts and night shifts were also reduced.

- Work intensity related indicators:
 - Work load
 - Work pace / speed
 - Working with tight deadlines

The DGB Index also sheds light on employees' own perception of their work intensity: 61% of workers who were affected by greater working intensity during the crisis, also reported to be affected by high, or very high, time pressure. When looking at all employees, a national average of 36% reported high or very high time pressure at work in 2010 (DGB Index, 2010).

Health and wellbeing at work:

- Evolution of occupational accidents (Standardised incidence rate of accidents at work: more than 3 days lost per 100,000 persons in employment)

As the tables below show, indicators for health and well-being developed in different directions during the crisis years. The Federal Institute of Occupational Health and Safety (BAuA) and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS) annually release a report on the development of health and safety at work. The reports show that the number of fatal accidents fell from 812 to 674 between 2007 and 2010. Similarly, the share of accidents per 1,000 full-time employees dropped from 28.1 in 2007 to 27.4 in 2010.

Whilst figures and shares in the table below fell between 2008 and 2009, they were on the rise again in 2010 (though not reaching the levels of 2008). For example, the total number of accidents fell from 1,063,915 in 2008 to 974,642 in 2009. A rising number of accidents occurred in 2010. The increase can be explained with the economic growth and increasing employment figures in 2010. As the BMAS/BAuA report 2010 states economic growth led to higher work intensity and more accidents (BMAS/BAuA, 2012).

Occupational accidents (2007-2010)* Fewer fatal accidents occurred.				
Year	Total number of accidents	Accidents per 1,000 full-time workers**	Total number of fatal accidents	Fatal accidents per 1,000 full-time workers
2007	1,055,797	28.1	812	0.022
2008	1,063,915	28.3	765	0.020***

2009	974,642	25.8	622	0.016***
2010	1,045,816	27.4	674	0.018

* Not included are accidents that occur during commuting to or from work

** The numbers for part-time workers are expressed as full-time equivalents

*** Different statistical setting since 2008 (estimations on full-time workers and insurants in agricultural liability insurance associations changed)

Source: BMAS/BAuA report on the development of health and safety at work 2010

- Evolution of work-related and occupational diseases

Between 2007 and 2010, more employees were suspected to suffer from an occupational disease. However, whilst a rising number of cases were notified, the table below indicates that the number of finally recognised cases as well as new entries into the pension scheme fell between 2009 and 2010. The BMAS/BAuA report 2010 does not offer a further explanation on these diverging developments.

Occupational diseases (2007-2010) More cases are notified.			
Year	Total number of notified cases	Total number of recognised cases	New entries into pension schemes (total)
2007	64,257	13,932	4,306
2008	63,757	13,546	4,488
2009	70,100	16,657	6,781
2010	73,425	15,926	6,202

Source: BMAS/BAuA reports on the development of health and safety at work 2007 and 2010

- Absenteeism at work (e.g. absenteeism rate, number of days of sickness leave)

With regard to absence levels the annual reports on the development of health and safety at work show: In 2007, 103.3 cases per 100 insurants were reported of being absent from work due to illness. On average, 11.8 days of work per employee were lost to illness. By 2010, these figures had risen to 114.7 and an average of 12.1 days of absence from work.

- Presenteeism at work

In addition to absenteeism, data is also available on the opposite phenomenon, presenteeism. WIdO, the scientific research institute of the statutory health insurer AOK indicates that employees go to work though feeling ill or unfit for work (61.8% in 2007) (Zok, 2008), 71.2% in 2009 (WIdO, 2009). Around one third of the workers also went to work although their doctors advised them to stay at home (33.3% in 2007, 29.9% in 2009).

- Stress and other psychosocial problems (i.e. bullying, violence at work)

On work-related stress see Vogel (2010e).

- Motivation at work and other wellbeing indicators/Job satisfaction

Finally, indicators for job satisfaction and motivation at work presented by the Initiative Health and Work (Initiative Gesundheit und Arbeit) also mostly dropped slightly between 2007 and 2010. However, the decrease seems moderate in the light of the deep recession introduced by the global crisis in certain sectors.

Job satisfaction (2004/2010)				
	2004		2010	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
My work is versatile and varied	91	92	87	87
I gain recognition for my work	89	93	84	87
My work keeps me fit	81	89	77	86
My work provides appropriate challenges	79	80	76	75
My company cares about my health status	60	50	64	58

Source: IGA

Work-life balance indicators:

See section 2.1.

Other working conditions relevant indicators:

For recent development in training see: Vogel (2010d, 2011a, b). Crisis-related clauses on training in collective agreements are dealt with in section 4.1. Wages are covered in Stettes (2012).

1.2 Composite indicator of job quality

The DGB Index provides the following data: In 2008, 13% of the employees had decent work, 55% mediocre and 32% indecent work. In comparison to 2010, these shares remain relatively stable with 15% decent work, 52% mediocre work and 33% indecent work.

As the DGB-Index itself notes this is especially noteworthy against the background of the global crisis. Whilst the overall picture did not change much (as reflected in the data), the employees in crisis-ridden industries judge their working conditions differently (see section ‘Employment Development’).

However, the DGB Index was criticised for its methodological set up and structure. The index asks for employees' self-assessment of their working situation, but does not match the results with other data, e.g. employer surveys or information on broader economic developments in Germany, etc. (Lesch et al., 2011).

The results are therefore only of limited value for analysing the interplay between companies' need to restructure in order to achieve their economic goals in times of crisis and employees' changing working conditions. As the Index itself notes, employees feeling greatly stressed by the crisis also assessed their working conditions more negatively than those relatively unaffected by the crisis (DGB-Index, 2010).

2. Social differentiation/segmentation in the trends

2.1 Key differences between groups of workers in relation to the trends

- Gender (male, female)
- age (younger, older workers)
- occupational or skill class (low, middle, high)
- wage category (low-paid, high-paid)
- economic sector (industry, service, etc..)
- geographical area (for example: urban/rural areas or regions)
- newly created jobs/pre-crisis jobs
- employees / self-employed

As shown in section 1, cases and days of absence from work rose between 2007 and 2010. BMAS/BAuA annual reports on the development of health and safety at work also indicate that older employees (45 years or above) show higher rates and days of absence from work.

Absence from work by age (2007/2010)											
Older employees are longer absent from work due to illness.											
2007											
	15–20 years	20–25 years	25–30 years	30–35 years	35–40 years	40–45 years	45–50 years	50–55 years	55–60 years	60–65 years	65 years
Days	5	6	8	10	11	12	14	16	19	23	21
Cases	141	121	93	93	96	97	101	107	117	105	27
2010											
Days	5	6	8	9	11	13	14	16	19	23	20
Cases	157	136	105	102	106	107	110	117	128	119	34

Notes: Statistics are based on medical certificates of unfitness to work. Cases indicated in the table refer to cases per 100 members

Source: BMAS/BAuA reports on the development of health and safety at work 2007 and 2010

As the next table shows, gender differences also exist when it comes to cases not worked due to sickness leave. Generally speaking, female employees more often took a sickness leave between 2007 and 2010 when compared to their male counterparts. Most cases occurred in the public and private services sector and in manufacturing (excluding construction) in 2010.

With a recovering German economy in 2010, the number of such cases however dropped for men and women alike.

Cases of inability to work by gender and sector (2007 to 2010)*								
In comparison to the crisis year 2009, fewer cases of sickness leave occurred in 2010.								
	2007		2008		2009		2010	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	97.3	100.5	87.2	102.9	91.8	110.8	66.5	79.7
Manufacturing (excluding construction)	137.6	148.0	147.3	158.6	147.8	159.8	127.5	128.4
Construction	126.7	95.7	133.1	102.3	139.4	111.1	112.0	86.7
Commerce, hotels and restaurants, transportation	113.7	119.3	117.5	125.7	125.2	134.9	99.1	103.1
Financial services, rental services and other business services	102.2	124.1	113.1	132.0	113.6	139.8	91.6	109.6
Public and private services	145.0	147.4	148.4	153.0	160.9	166.9	130.2	130.6
Total	124.6	134.2	131.4	140.8	136.6	150.9	111.9	118.6

*Diagnosis per 100 insurants

Source: BMAS/BAuA reports on the development of health and safety at work 2007 to 2010

As the IGA report 2010 shows, 56.4% of female respondents reported finding the right balance between working and non-working life in 2010. This compares to 49.9% of the male respondents. The report also notes that compared to 2007, perception of the right work-life-balance decreased only slightly.

Changing working conditions for temporary agency workers and those employees with a fixed-term contract are explained in the next section.

2.2 Influence of the crisis on working conditions of specific workers groups

The global financial crisis did not affect all groups of workers in the same way. First of all, workers in heavily affected regions and export-oriented industries (such as manufacturing) were more likely to be affected by shorter working hours and wage cuts (achieved by various means, see sections 3 and 4). Secondly, the use of temporary agency workers provided companies with a means to reduce headcounts in times of recession and increase staff in times of economic upswing.

As Dietz, Stops and Walwei show, the use of temporary agency workers both provided the numerical flexibility needed by companies and protected core workers. Though the number of fixed-term contracts also dropped during the crisis, fixed-term employees were not as heavily affected as short-time workers (Dietz et al., 2012).

Reducing head counts was, however, not the only means deployed to deal with the crisis. Recruitment freezes were also put in place (Stettes, 2009b), affecting the unem-

ployed and job searchers. For those who have been unable to secure employment, longer spells of unemployment can, in their turn, decrease employability.

A further point established in studies is that hours saved in working time accounts have been used by companies to bridge times of order shortfalls and a low utilisation of workers. This practice has helped maintain employment levels, but might at the same time be jeopardizing the original concept behind the introduction of working time accounts in firms, i.e. saving up hours for sabbaticals, parental leave, etc. (Wotschak, 2010).

3. Impact of economic downturn

3.1 Research findings on health and well-being, career and skills development, employment security and work-life balance

Compared with the rest of Europe, the German economy dealt fairly well with the effects of the global economic and financial crisis. Whilst all sectors were affected, certain industries, such as the automotive (supplier) industry, and certain branches of the metal and electrical, the chemical and paper- or wood- producing industries suffered more severely (Heckmann et al., 2009).

However, a steep rise in unemployment figures was avoided by measures such as short-time work, greater use of working time accounts and flexible employment options. Naturally, these measures also impacted on the working conditions of those employees affected.

As the BA statistics show, short-time work peaked in May 2009, when 1,468,809 workers were registered. However, the number of employees working no or fewer hours during times of order shortfalls fell to 498,934 in May 2010 and 121,548 in May 2011. Short-time working schemes served as a tool for safeguarding employment in German companies, though workers were temporarily negatively affected (Dribbusch, 2009 / Vogel, 2009a / Stettes, 2009a).

The Institute for Employment Research (IAB) provided additional data on other measures implemented by companies during the crisis. A survey amongst 8,000 companies of all sectors in the second quarter of 2009 shows that 39% of the firms felt affected by the crisis (Heckmann et al., 2009).

Out of these, 83% ordered recruitment freezes and 56% responded to the crisis with restructuring programmes aimed at reducing costs. However, only 20% of the affected companies demanded wage concessions or reductions in working hours (other than the official short-time work scheme) from their employees. 11% implemented redundancies (Stettes, 2009b).

The IAB also analysed the contractual changes for workers during the crisis. The comparison between the first half of 2008 and the first half of 2009 highlights the fact that companies with more than ten employees more often opted for fixed-term contracts when recruiting new staff (Vogel, 2011c). Moreover, during the same time span fewer temporary contracts were made permanent (Hohendanner, 2010).

In the longer view, however, fixed-term employment did not rise steeply over the crisis years. As destatis data from the micro census shows, 9% of all employees aged 25 years or older held a fixed-term contract in 2011. With 9.4% of all females and 8.6% of all males in this age group working on a fixed-term basis, the gender difference is not great. Moreover, the analysis indicates that fixed-term employment initially dropped in 2009 and has only risen slowly from 2010 onwards (destatis, 2012).

3.2 Long-term effects of the crisis on working conditions

Few studies illuminate the long-term effects of the crisis on working conditions. As already discussed in section 2, the need of companies to adjust their labour costs to the business cycle was met by different means: reduction of working hours (by reducing hours saved in working-time accounts, working fewer hours of overtime or applying for short-time work), employing fewer temporary agency workers and fixed-term employees and wage moderation.

Whilst these measures helped stabilise German employment levels, Dietz, Stops and Walwei point to the possibility of free-rider effects and a mere postponement of redundancy for short-time workers. The use of labour market instruments such as short-time work can stabilise employment levels for a short period. However, if such measures hamper the restructuring of a company with greater structural shortcomings, workers might be retained for too long, resulting in a diminution of their job prospects with a new company (Dietz et al., 2012).

With regard to flexible forms of employment, the Cologne Institute for Economic Research (IW Köln) has shown that such jobs can, in the long run, serve as a stepping stone to the first labour market and thus, especially for the low-qualified and the unemployed population, create additional employment, see Vogel (2010a).

4. Impact of policy reforms

4.1 Crisis policies as intervening factor

The German federal government set up two emergency programmes in 2008 and 2009 to counter the effects on Germany of the global economic crisis. These programmes included a broad range of measures. Whilst the first package mainly aimed at stabilising the banking system, the second package also included tax reduction schemes, cuts in statutory health insurance contributions and investment packages to revive the German economy.

With regard to the labour market and employees' working conditions, entitlement periods for short-time working schemes due to a shortfall in orders were prolonged and used more extensively by companies in 2009 (Dribbusch, 2009 / Vogel, 2009a). The federal government also introduced a new measure which supported continuous training during short-time working periods (Vogel, 2011b). The effects of the short-time working schemes have been described in section 3.1.

Overall, statutory regulations on occupational health and safety at the workplace were not relaxed during the crisis years. However, the social partners managed to provide many industry-specific solutions to deal with the crisis. In addition to wage restraint during collective bargaining rounds (Dribbusch, 2010), several collective agreements were concluded with special crisis-related clauses on:

- short-time working arrangements (Vogel, 2009b / Kraemer, 2010b)
- collective staffing pools (Kraemer, 2010a) or transitional employment options (Vogel, 2010b)
- vocational and continuous training (Vogel, 2009b / 2010c)
- opening clauses to allow struggling companies to deviate from collectively agreed standards.

All these measures helped to maintain comparatively high employment levels during the crisis.

4.2 Debate on crisis-related shifts in working conditions

What is the current debate between the social partners in your country on working conditions, seen in the light of the current economic crisis and what are prospects or desiderata for the near future. Briefly summarise the views of the key national actors (Employers and Trade Unions).

In the light of the global economic crisis several issues were prominently discussed by the social partners. Whilst the unions fear deteriorating working conditions for employees, employers highlight the advantages of flexible forms of employment.

For example, in press statements and speeches made during 2011, Dieter Hundt, chair of the German Confederation of Employers' Associations (BDA), emphasised the need for flexible forms of employment (BDA, 2011 / 2012); Mr Hundt's speech of 22 Novem-

ber 2011 (Hundt, 2011). The BDA stresses that the subsequent economic upswing was made possible by flexible employment measures which lowered the barriers for new recruitment.

In addition, the employer organisation also stresses the positive effects of temporary agency work, which often represents an opportunity for the (re-)integration of the long-term unemployed and low-qualified labour into the labour market. Temporary agency work offers companies a means to employ new recruits in times of economic uncertainty, thereby also creating new jobs and stabilising the labour market.

Similarly, the Employers' Associations for the Metal and Electrical Industry (Gesamtmetall) highlighted the important role short-time work and flexible employment forms played during the crisis (Gesamtmetall, 2009).

The German Metalworkers' Union (IG Metall), on the other hand, points to longer weekly working hours after the crisis (41 hours instead of the collectively agreed 35 hours per week). The union deplors this development and calls for the recruitment of new employees instead of prolonging the weekly working hours of those already employed (press statements of 27 (IG Metall, 2012a) and 28 June 2012 (IG Metall, 2012b). IG Metall furthermore points to the rising pressure on employees at their workplaces.

Concerning temporary agency work, the union stresses that such workers were the first to suffer from the negative effects of the global crisis. IG Metall had called for better working conditions for temporary agency workers. A collective agreement was finally concluded for temporary agency workers in the metal and electrical industry in the first half of 2012 (Vogel, 2012).

The Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) also warns against an increase in temporary agency work and marginal employment. In the umbrella organisation's view neither of these employment forms leads to permanent employment. The confederation therefore calls for a concerted effort to take the opportunity offered by the economic upswing to bridge the gap between the working conditions of different groups of workers.

5. Commentary by the NC

Analyses and studies indicate that several measures were used by companies to stabilise employment levels during the crisis. Measures financed by public budgets or by firms provided the needed flexibility for firm-specific solutions. Complemented by collective agreements with special crisis-related clauses, the federal government and social partners set the framework for companies to deal with the crisis.

Measures taken by firms on the one hand impacted on the working conditions of employees (shorter working hours, wage concessions etc). On the other hand, research insights also point to companies' strives to retain their experienced workers and their specific expertise which is needed for the economic upswing.

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Final Questionnaire

1. General trends in working conditions

1.1 Basic trend data on selected working conditions indicators

Please describe the evolution in working conditions based on the available national information (**surveys, administrative data, other data bases**), over the requested period 2007-2011. Please note that the period you should refer to can differ from 2007-2011 if the available information at the national level do not allow referring to such a period. However, the chosen period should allow comparing the situation before and after the crisis (e.g. 2006-2009, 2005-2010, etc.). Some of the information might be based on objective indicators while others describe the evolution in the (subjective) perception of working conditions by workers, based on available surveys at national, sectoral or regional level over requested period.

Figures and tables should relate to the following items:

Employment conditions:

- Careers prospects and job mobility (e.g. self-reported career advancement, job-to-job mobility, migration flows)
- Job security related indicators (e.g. self-reported perception of job insecurity, chance of losing the job)

Working time and work intensity:

- Average working hours per week, overtime
- Average retirement age change
- Flexible working time in terms of irregularity of working hours
- Work intensity related indicators:
 - i. Work load
 - ii. Work pace / speed
 - iii. Working with tight deadlines

Health and wellbeing at work:

- Evolution of occupational accidents (Standardised incidence rate of accidents at work: more than 3 days lost per 100,000 persons in employment)
- Evolution of work-related and occupational diseases
- Absenteeism at work (e.g. absenteeism rate, number of days of sickness leave)
- Presenteeism at work
- Stress and other psychosocial problems (i.e. bullying, violence at work)
- Motivation at work and other wellbeing indicators
- Job satisfaction

Work-life balance indicators:

- Fit between working and non-working life
- Worker autonomy to change working time

Other working conditions relevant indicators (reference to training and wages should cover more recent years, as they have been already investigated by CARs)

1.2 Composite indicator of job quality

If composite indicators of job quality are available on a national level, please give the evolution over the requested period and comment on the trend data. Examples are: Gute Arbeit in Deutschland, Arbeitsklima-index in Austria, Workability Monitor in Belgium...

2. Social differentiation/segmentation in the trends

2.1 Highlight what are the key particular differences between groups of workers in relation to the trends provided in section 1:

- Gender (male, female)
- age (younger, older workers)
- occupational or skill class (low, middle, high)
- wage category (low-paid, high-paid)
- economic sector (industry, service, etc..)
- geographical area (for example: urban/rural areas or regions)
- newly created jobs/pre-crisis jobs
- employees / self-employed

2.2 Briefly describe how the working conditions of specific workers groups are in a negative or positive way influenced by the crisis.

3. Impact of economic downturn

3.1 Summarize the main findings and conclusions of national studies, reports, articles about the impact of the economic crisis on working conditions, covering the areas of health and well-being, career and skills development, employment security and work-life balance.

3.2 Comment and illustrate the role that in these studies is attached to the projected long-term effects of the crisis on working conditions

4. Impact of policy reforms

4.1 Crisis policies as intervening factor

Please detail 1) recent crisis-related labour reforms, anti-crisis recovery interventions, stimulus initiatives or austerity measures adopted by the government and/or social partners that **have had an impact on working conditions** and 2) such an impact on working conditions. The information about the impact on working conditions should be drawn from published articles, studies, reports. Please remember mentioning the source. The following are the areas of interest:

- working time (including retirement age, working time flexibility)
- health and wellbeing at work (risks, health outcomes, safety at work)
- work-life balance

- training and skill development (training leave, apprenticeships, ...)
- employment conditions (employment protection, contractual changes)
- Other working conditions if relevant in your country

4.2 Debate on crisis-related shifts in working conditions

What is the current debate between the social partners in your country on working conditions, seen in the light of the current economic crisis and what are prospects or desiderata for the near future. Briefly summarise the views of the key national actors (Employers and Trade Unions).

5. Commentary by the NC

Please provide your own comments on:

1. how clear the current picture is on the impact of the current crisis on working conditions in your country.
2. the role and impact of recent policies by state and/or social partners on the current state of working conditions