Industrial Relations History in Transnational Perspective: A Review Essay

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Abstract

Inspired by the 'transnational turn' in history writing, this essay reviews recent scholarship dealing with industrial relations from a transnational perspective. The essay starts with conceptual reflections on the merits and potential pitfalls of a transnational approach, and suggests that that such an approach should include not only the study of actors, networks and processes at the transnational level (top down perspective), but also that of the impact of transnational factors on industrial relations in specific countries and locations (bottom up perspective). The main part of the essay critically reviews the available scholarship with regard to this two-pronged agenda and makes suggestions for future research.

The call to look beyond national borders has come into fashion among historians,[1] and this trend equally applies to labour history. The urge to overcome 'methodological nationalism' has entailed a whole flood of conferences and publications on 'transnationalism',[2] while leading advocates have elaborated ambitious future research agendas for what is alternatively labelled as 'transnational' or 'global' labour history.[3]

In this essay, I review a sub-field of this literature, namely the scholarship dealing with industrial relations from a transnational perspective. Industrial relations are broadly understood as the system of relationships between employees, trade unions, employers and the state concerned with the rules pertaining to labour aspects of production (Zeitlin 1987: 159). In the first part, the essay provides conceptual reflections on the merits and potential pitfalls of a transnational approach to industrial relations, suggesting that such an approach should include not only the study of actors, networks and processes at the transnational level, but also that of the impact of transnational factors on industrial relations in specific countries and locations. Sections two and three critically review the available literature in relation to this double inquiry; due to space limitation the discussion of transnational entanglements at the country level is confined to the cases of Britain and Germany. I conclude that the current state of the art is characterized by a disjuncture – while the study of transnational networks and organizations has made rapid progress in recent years, these analyses have often remained detached from 'mainstream' national industrial relations historiography. In the future, as Trentmann pointed out already in 1997 in relation to labour parties and trade unions, more efforts are needed '[…] to treat domestic and international thought and policy as interlocking spheres'.[4]

I

A review essay is not the place for an extended discussion of the vivid and ongoing conceptual debates about transnational history writing.[5] However, a few preliminary

conceptual reflections are necessary to clarify the assumptions that underpin the subsequent empirical assessment of the industrial relations literature.

Over the last two decades, the rapid growth of transnational history writing has primarily been driven by an increasingly widespread dissatisfaction with what came to be labelled as 'methodological nationalism', that is, past historians' alleged tendency to conceive of 'society' as synonymous with 'nation' and/or 'nation-state', and to treat these nation-state societies as nomadic 'containers' whose interactions with the outside world were of secondary importance.[6] There was an urge to historicise national categories - further nurtured by the broader *spatial turn* in the social sciences that spurred historians to question the 'natural' boundaries of national 'space' and to inquire into shifting notions of 'territoriality'.[7]

Unsurprisingly, against this backdrop, transnational history writing has to this date focused on all those connections and entanglements that 'transcend' national societies. There has been a strong emphasis on *flows* in general, and on the cross-border movement of people in particular – witness the prominence of migration issues in the transnational history debate.[8] Moreover, a great deal of work has been dedicated to the study of transnational networks and institutions – from the scholarship on global institutions like the League of Nations and the UN, to the literature about international NGOs, cross-border political, economic and religious networks, and the 'epistemic communities' of experts.[9]

While transnational history writing along these premises has been growing impressively, a number of scholars have warned against an excessive and exclusive focus on cross-border flows and networks, and the associated occasional tendency among transnational historians to perceive their approach as a radical new paradigm that cuts all connections with 'traditional' historiography.[10] These critiques, I submit, need to be taken on board for a transnational history of industrial relations, too.

To start with, as Patel reminds us, a radical decoupling from 'traditional' approaches runs the risk of an implicit normative agenda that associates transnational history by definition with utopian ideals of cosmopolitanism and a peaceful 'world society'.[11] It is indicative of this normative bias that scholars frequently use the term 'transnationalism' rather than more 'neutral' categories like 'transnationality' or 'transnationalisation'.[12] This is problematic, however, because it implies a dangerous teleological understanding of transnational history and tends to restrict the scope of inquiry – at the extreme, the cross-border cooperation of criminals and racists is part of transnational history, too.[13]

A second (and in part related) problem is that the radical urge to overcome 'methodological nationalism' at times goes hand in hand with an understanding of transnational history as 'post-national' history and an associated rigid demarcation from 'traditional' international history. Here, there is a danger to throw the baby out with the bath-water. While the precise relationship between transnational and international history is debatable, much militates against a clear-cut demarcation and even more so against a juxtaposition between 'national' and 'transnational'.[14] Indeed, a growing body of scholarship emphasizes the symbiotic nature of *trans-nationality* (inter-nationality) in nineteenth and twentieth century European history.[15] Transnational (international) arenas and organizations – from the UN to international sporting events – have helped to entrench nationality as a universal principle of political and social organization,[16] while a host of transnational factors have continuously shaped and reshaped nationally defined cultures and practices. Consequently, in the words of Sebastian Conrad, "[…] il ne s'agit pas tant d'expulser la catégorie de 'nation' hors de l'histoire que de proposer une explication alternative de sa constitution – constitution qui n'est pas due uniquement à une impulsion interne, mais doit se lire aussi comme produit de l'interdépendance des sociétés."[17]

The methodological upshot of these reflections is that transnational history should be understood as a complement rather than a radical anti-thesis to 'traditional' national historiography.[18] This can be thought about in two different ways. From a top-down perspective, the analysis of transnational flows, networks and institutions should include systematic attention to their relationship to the national sphere. How, on the one hand, did national structures and actors shape the development of transnational *flows* and networks? And how, on the other hand, did these *flows* and networks impact upon domestic attitudes and practices?

From a bottom-up perspective, transnational history faces the challenge to relate cross-border entanglements to the analysis of place-specific processes of change. For example, a transnational approach can add a new dimension to the history of particular places – whether cities, regions or countries. At its best, the 'added value' of such transnational histories is not confined to a cumulative widening of perspectives, but implies the attempt to critically engage with existing narratives of national historiography – as illustrated, for example, in Conrad's and Trentmann's transnational approach to the history of nationalism in Germany and Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[19]

Adopting the distinction between top-down and bottom-up perspectives as a structuring device, the remainder of this essay will now turn to the review of the existing transnational industrial relations literature.

II

The study of industrial relations-related transnational networks and organizations has made rapid progress during the last two decades. This is perhaps best expressed in the proliferating scholarly work on the International Labour Organization (ILO).[20] Founded in 1919 under the auspices of the League of Nations with a unique tripartite decision-making structure (government, employer and trade union representatives), the ILO is often considered as the key organization in attempts to promote a 'global social order' – by the early 21st century it had adopted about 180 international conventions on work-related issues.

The ILO's history started to spark professional academic interest since the late 1950s – by lawyers, political scientists and historians alike.[21] But it is since the 1990s that we have witnessed a breakthrough towards a multi-faceted and sophisticated ILO historiography. Not only has the ILO's institutional history been more systematically explored than before.[22] More importantly, recent scholarship has branched out in many directions to address specific issues of the ILO's activities – from its involvement in the struggles against child and forced labour,[23] to the promotion of gender equality[24] and the intellectual construction of social security regimes.[25] Earlier biographical works on prominent ILO officials like Albert Thomas have been supplanted by a new stream of publications.[26]

International Labour Organization historiography is also exemplary in its attention to the interaction between transnational and national spheres. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, a number of studies had scrutinized the ILO's relationship with specific member-states, in particular with regard to the Cold War superpowers.[27] Since the 1990s, this line of research has been extended considerably even if a 'Western bias' remains[28] – ILO experts see closer attention to development issues and a broader involvement of historians from developing countries as one of the crucial future challenges.[29]

From a narrower European perspective, perhaps surprisingly, the impressive growth of research on the ILO has not yet been matched by equivalent efforts to deal with European Community (Union) industrial relations regulation. There are a number of more

broadly designed studies on the evolution of supranational European social policy, which occasionally include a specific emphasis on the origins of EC social dialogue.[30] But there is yet no comprehensive treatment of the historical development of EC/EU industrial relations agendas – from the promotion of equal pay between men and women, to supranational legislation on health and safety, training and employee consultation.[31] More focused studies, for example with regard to the decade-long debate about EC/EU legislation on worker participation, have so far equally remained the domain of legal and political science scholars.[32]

In a number of cases, transnational industrial relations regulation has taken place in more than just one regulatory arena. International labour standards, for example, have not only been promoted under the auspices of the ILO – their possible incorporation into the world trade regime has repeatedly been discussed within the GATT and WTO frameworks.[33] Since the 1960s, through a consumer-driven dynamic, the labour standards issue has also been addressed in the transnational 'fair trade' initiatives.[34] Attempts to regulate industrial relations in multinational firms, too, have been undertaken in a variety of arenas, from ILO to OECD and European Community/Union.[35] Again, this is a field that has so far been dominated by political scientists and that merits closer scrutiny from labour historians.[36]

If we shift the focus from institutional arenas to actors, the recent upsurge in the study of transnational trade union organizations is particularly noteworthy.[37] Certainly, this topic had attracted some interest already prior to the 1990s, yet the last two decades witnessed a quantum leap forward. We now *have at our disposal* a whole range of good overviews of the institutional evolution and the activities of international trade union organizations – whether Catholic, Social Democratic or Communist, whether at the level of umbrella confederations or in individual sectors, whether global or regional (European) in scope.[38] More focused studies include international union organizations' involvement in Cold War conflicts,[39] their role in the International Labour Organization,[40] and their attempts to lobby for global and/or regional regulatory codes for multinational firms[41] The specific case of union-driven transnational bargaining in the maritime industry has attracted particularly strong interest.[42] If a major gap persists, it is the missing local studies of cross-border cooperation in multinational firms.[43] Moreover, unfortunately, the literature on international trade unionism at times suffers from the above mentioned normative bias, expressed, for example, in claims about a 'prolonged transitional phase' since the 1960s, which is 'projected' to end with the replacement of 'national internationalism' (dominated by high-level diplomacy between national union bureaucracies) by a new network-based 'transnational internationalism'.[44]

Compared to the rich trade union literature, other actors have received far less scholarly attention. This is particularly discernible in the case of employer organizations – except for a few 'insider' accounts, there is yet no serious academic analysis of the main international employer confederation, the 'International Organization of Employers'.[45] At the regional European level, the situation looks better, as *we have already available* several studies of the EC/EU-level peak employer federation UNICE (later renamed 'Business Europe'), as well as of more informal groupings such as the 'European League for Economic Cooperation' and the 'European Roundtable of Industrialists'.[46] Moreover, there is also a sizeable literature in relation to European employer networks in specific sectors.[47] However, industrial relations issues have so far not been systematically explored in this literature.

It is also worth pointing to the need for further work on transnational industrial relations expert networks, such as labour economists and lawyers, organizational psychologists or industrial sociologists. There are already a number of good studies about such expert

circles in relation to the activities of the ILO,[48] yet more could be done with regard to the involvement of expert networks in issue-specific debates, for example with regard to the long international discussion about 'industrial democracy'.[49]

Next to these analyses of transnational regulatory arenas or actor networks, a third and final group of 'top-down' studies takes a thematic approach. Here, transnationality is explored in a much more 'diffuse' way, as scholars seek to uncover the ways in which industrial relations processes in different locations are connected through cross-border flows of goods, capital, people and ideas.

On the one hand, scholars have conceptualized cross-border flows of goods, capital and workers as constituting transnational labour markets,[50] and have sought to trace the impact of specific flows on industrial relations processes and outcomes. Historical migration research has demonstrated that the large-scale outflow of workers often had significant effects on wage levels both in the sending and receiving country,[51] while Beverly Silver's *Forces of Labour* convincingly points to the impact of global commodity and capital movements on worker bargaining power and strikes.[52] There are also interesting studies on the impact of cross-border flows in concrete bargaining situations, e.g. with regard to employer tactics to 'import' foreign strikebreakers.[53] This is a fascinating new area of research, which will hopefully be further developed in the future – through a widening of issues areas, but also through the engagement with sociological concepts such as the 'commodity chain'.[54]

On the other hand, and equally fascinating, scholars have sought to reconstruct the cross-border transfer of ideas and practices. In many cases, this is in fact connected to the flows of goods, capital and people. Migrants, for example, have not only had effects on host country labour markets, but have also frequently inspired new forms of collective action and trade unionism.[55] Likewise, cross-border investment flows by multinational firms have been associated with the transfer of labour management practices – despite the fact that such transfers have usually been constrained by firms' needs to adapt to regulatory institutions in host countries. There is a huge social science literature on this subject – in particular related to the experience of US-owned firms – with which historians have only just started to engage.[56]

There are of course also many cases in which transnational transfers of ideas and practices are not directly connected to economic cross-border flows but are mediated through various channels of communication. Collective worker protests, for example, have repeatedly spread to other countries by means of media and/or trade union reporting.[57] Labour management practices have likewise been propagated across borders: The post-1945 European 'import' of US-style 'productivity bargaining', for example, was the result of a multitude of transatlantic encounters – from the OEEC and the 'productivity councils' associated with the implementation of Marshall Plan aid, to bilateral employer and trade union meetings.[58] Again, it is not difficult to think about possible other topics to extend this line of research – from the recent spread of 'Human Resource Management', to cross-border transfers of worker participation schemes.

III

Gaps and shortcomings notwithstanding, transnational industrial relations historiography from a 'top-down' perspective has made impressive progress over the last two decades. However, unfortunately, this is not matched by similar transnational advances in local and national industrial relations studies. In the following, I will use the cases of post-1945

Britain and Germany to illustrate this disjuncture and to make suggestions to better address this problem in the future.

The underdeveloped transnational dimension of British and German post-1945 industrial relations historiography is easily discernible if we take a look at standard reference works. In the case of trade unions, for example, transnational issues were virtually absent in such works in both countries until a few years ago.[59] Indeed, still today, the analysis of transnational issues is usually confined to an 'addendum' related to the period since the late 1980.[60]

Beyond synthetic overviews, there is of course a more specialized literature dealing with some transnational aspects of post-1945 British and German industrial relations. For example, there is a growing body of scholarship on British and German trade union politics towards cross-border labour migration.[61] Likewise, we already dispose of a quite rich scholarship in relation to trade union attitudes towards European integration. In the UK, this subject had attracted attention already in the 1970s and 1980s, not least because of the prominence of trade union voices in the heated debates about British EC membership during the 1975 referendum.[62] German trade union historians neglected the issue for a long time but have recently started to address it in a systematic way.[63] British and German employer attitudes towards European integration have also been analyzed in several studies.[64] In recent years, moreover, scholars have started to explore the post-1945 development of industrial relations in British and German subsidiaries of multinational firms[65] – even if much remains to be done in this area of study.

While encouraging signs are thus discernible, the literature suffers from a major flaw, namely that it has remained detached from 'mainstream' national industrial relations historiography. The problem is, in other words, that the impact of transnationality on domestic industrial relations patterns has hardly been addressed.

The only exception in this regard is the Americanization literature, which has not only looked at the attitudes of employer and trade unions towards US models and practices, but has also traced in detail the changes of domestic practices as a consequence of transatlantic encounters during the first two post-war decades.[66] In the German case, for example, the impact of US labour relations models has been shown to have contributed to employers' post-Nazism transformation and trade unions' abandoning of radical ideas of planning and public ownership.[67]

The main future challenge for a 'bottom-up' transnational history of post-1945 British and German industrial relations is to follow this example and explore more broadly the impact of various transnational entanglements on domestic industrial relations. There is no lack of potential topics. In the British case, for example, historians could engage more with the contemporary literature on foreign-owned firms' pioneering role in the spread of new industrial relations practices.[68] More ambitiously, they could also systematically explore the transnational dimension of broader industrial relations reform debates since the 1960s, which have so far been studied through a purely domestic 'lens'.[69] In particular, historians should pay more attention to the importance of multinational firms as model cases and points of reference[70] and to the role of discursive comparisons with foreign industrial relations practices – from the conflicts over the 'import' of US labour law and German-style co-determination in the 1970s, to the battle over the UK's opt-out from EU-level industrial relations directives in the 1990s. In fact, following Howell's sweeping study of Britain's 'three systems' of industrial relations, such an analysis could even be extended to cover major reform debates throughout the period since the late nineteenth century – already then, cross-national comparisons appear to have played an important role in making (or opposing) the case of reform.[71]

In the German case, it is high time to systematically examine the transnational entanglements in the history of co-determination. Given the more centralized and legally regulated nature of German industrial relations, the 'demonstration effects' of foreign-owned firms appear to be generally weaker than in the UK. Yet, they do exist – witness the recent work on the transformation of co-determination into 'co-management' since the late 1980s.[72] At the same time, as in the British case, it would be worth exploring the broader discursive context, in particular with regard to the subliminal comparisons with foreign industrial relations systems for co-determination debates in the FRG, which were often connected to comparative assessments of bargaining and strike patterns.[73] That the emergence of a few small and militant occupational unions (e.g. train drivers) in the early 2000s has again triggered German employer anxiety about the alleged danger to 'import' the 'British disease'[74] should be sufficient proof of the salience of this rhetoric in the post-1945 period. In the specific case of supervisory board co-determination, wider European entanglements also still await scholarly treatment, in particular with regard to the role of German actors and the 'German model' in debates about board participation in other European countries and at the European Community/Union level.[75]

It is not necessary to prolong this list of possible areas of inquiry because the general direction should by now be clearly discernible, namely, to repeat Trentmann's verdict, that more efforts need to be made to treat domestic and international thought and policy as 'interlocking spheres' And, while a detailed literature assessment beyond the cases of Britain and Germany falls outside the scope of this review, it is not unlikely that this maxim could prove useful for industrial relations historiography in other countries, too.

Short Biography

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Notes

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[1] See Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (eds.), *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Jürgen Osterhammel, 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001): 464–79; Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, 'World History in a Global Age', *American Historical Review*, 100 (1995).
[2] For recent overviews of the literature see Neville Kirk, Donald MacRaild and Melanie Nolan, 'Introduction: Transnational Ideas, Activities and Organizations in Labour History 1860s to 1920s', *Labour History Review*, 74/3 (2009): 221–32; Melanie Nolan, Donald MacRaild and Neville Kirk, 'Transnational Labour in the Age of Globalization', *Labour History Review*, 75/1 (2010): 8–19.
[3] See Marcel Van der Linden, *Transnational Labour History. Explorations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); *Workers of the World. Essays Towards a Global Labour History* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
[4] Frank Trentmann, ''Wealth versus Welfare: the British Left between Free Trade and National Political Economy before the First World War'', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997): 70–98, here: 97.

[5] For a good introduction see Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (2005): 421–39; for the new 'flagship' of the literature see Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (London: Palgrave, 2009).

[6] For the broader social science debate see Daniel Chernilo, 'Social Theory's Methodological Nationalism: Myth and Reality', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9/1 (2006): 5–22.

[7] See Charles Maier, 'Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era', *American Historical Review*, June 105/3 (2000): 807–31.

[8] See Steven Vertovec, 'Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22/2 (1999): 447–62.

[9] See for example J. Boli and G. M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture. International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[10] See Osterhammel, 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte', 464–79; Kiran K. Patel, 'Transnationale Geschichte – ein neues Paradigma?' (2005). [Online]. Retrieved on 12 September 2011 from: http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/2005-02-001.

[11] Patel, Transnationale Geschichte.

[12] See for example Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', 421–39; Vertovec, 'Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism', 447–62.

[13] Patel, *Transnationale Geschichte*, 3.

[14] See ibid, 2, 5–6.

[15] See Geyer and Paulmann, *Introduction*, 6–7; Osterhammel, 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte', 475f.

[16] See James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[17] Sebastian Conrad, ''La constitution de l'histoire japonaise. Histoire comparée, transferts, interactions transnationale'', in Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann (eds.), *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée, Seuil* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), 53–72, here: 55–6.

[18] Osterhammel 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte', 475f.

[19] See Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Consumption, Commerce and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im deutschen Kaiserreich* (München: Beck, 2006).

[20] For an overview see Jasmien Van Daele, 'The International Labour Organization (ILO) in Past and Present Research', *International Review of Social History*, 53 (2008): 485–511.

[21] See for example: B. Beguin, *The ILO and the Tripartite System* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1959); V. Coussirat-Coustere, *Les origines et la naissance de l'Organisation internationale du Travail* (Paris, 1970); R. Cox, 'Labor and Hegemony', *International Organization*, 31 (1977): 385–424.

[22] See Jasmien Van Daele et al. (eds.), *ILO Histories. Essays on the International Labour Organization and Its Impact on the World during the Twentieth Century* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010).

[23] M. Dahlen, *The Negotiable Child: The ILO Child Labour Campaign 1919–1973* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007); Daniel Maul, 'The International Labour Organization and the Struggle against Forced Labour from 1919 to the Present', *Labor History*, 48 (2007): 477–500; S. Kott, ''Arbeit. Ein transnationales Objekt? Die Frage der Zwangsarbeit im 'Jahrzehnt der Menschenrechte' '', in C. Benninghaus et al. (eds.), *Unterwegs in Europa. Beiträge zu einer pluralen europäischen Geschichte* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 2008), 301–22.

[24] C. Riegelman Lubin and A. Winslow, *Social Justice for Women: The International Labor Organization and Women* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990); N. Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and International Organizations* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[25] C. Guinand, *Die Internationale Arbeitsorganisation (ILO) und die soziale Sicherheit in Europa (1942–1969)* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2003).

[26] M. Fine, 'Albert Thomas: A Reformer's Vision of Modernization', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12 (1977): 545–64; D. Guerin, *Albert Thomas au BIT: de l'internationalisme a' l'Europe* (Geneva: Institut européen de l'Université de Genève, 1996).

[27] R. Hislop, *The United States and the Soviet Union in the ILO* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1961); H. Jacobson, 'The USSR and the ILO', *International Organization*, 14 (1960): 402–28.

[28] K. Ewing, *Britain and the ILO* (London: Institute of Employment Rights, 1994); H. Heldal, 'Norway in the International Labour Organization, 1919–1939', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 21 (1996): 255–83; J. Cuesta Bustillo, *Una esperanza para los trabajadores. Las relaciones entre Espana y la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (1919–1939)* (Madrid: Consejo Economico y Social, 1994); S. Hughes, *New Zealand and the ILO: Current Debates and Future Direction* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1995); K. Boonstra, *The International Labour Organization and the Netherlands: Different Views concerning Government Influence on the Relationship between Workers and Employers* (Leiden: Stichting NJCM-Boekerij, 1996).

[29] Van Daele, 'The International Labour Organization', 509.

[30] See Antonio Varsori and Laura Leonardi, *Lo spazio sociale europeo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Fiesole (Firenze), 10–11 ottobre 2003* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2005); Maria Eleonora Guasconi, 'Paving the Way

for a European Social Dialogue: Italy, the Trade Unions and the Shaping of a European Social Policy after the Hague Conference of 1969', *Journal of European Integration History*, 9 (2003): 87–110.

[31]   For a contemporary synthesis see Paul Marginson and Keith Sisson, *European Integration and Industrial Relations. Multi-Level Governance in the Making* (London: Palgrave, 2004).

[32]   See for example A. Höland, *Mitbestimmung in Europa. Rechtliche und politische Regelungen* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2000).

[33]   See Edward C. Lorenz, *Defining Global Justice. The History of US International Labor Standards Policy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2001).

[34]   See Gavin Fridell, 'The Fair Trade Network in Historical Perspective', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 25 (2004): 411–28; Matthew Anderson, 'Cost of a Cup of Tea: Fair Trade and the British Cooperative Movement, 1960–2000', in Lawrence Black and Nicole Robertson (eds.), *Consumerism and the Co-operative Movement in Modern British History: Taking Stock* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 240–59.

[35]   J. Robinson, *Multinationals and Political Control* (Aldershot: Gower, 1983); Torsten Müller, Hans-Wolfgang Platzer and Stefan Rüb, *Transnational Industrial Relations in Global Companies* (Düsseldorf: VS-Verlag, 2004).

[36]   Van Daele, 'The International Labour Organization', 509.

[37]   Patrick Pasture, *Histoire du syndicalisme chrétien international: la difficile recherche d'une troisieme voie* (Paris/Montreal: Harmattan, 1999); Marcel Van der Linden et al. (eds.), *The International Confederation Of Free Trade Unions* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000); Sigrid Koch-Baumgarten, *Gewerkschaftsinternationalismus und die Herausforderung der Globalisierung: das Beispiel der Internationalen Transportarbeiterföderation (ITF)* (Campus, Frankfurt/M., 1999).

[38]   See Van der Linden et al. (eds.), *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*; Pasture, *Histoire du syndicalisme chrétien international: la difficile recherche d'une troisieme voie*; Peter Rütters, *History of the IUF* (Bonn: Veröffentlichungen der Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2003); Werner Reutter, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen internationaler Gewerkschaftspolitik* (Frankfurt: Bund-Verlag, 1998); Corinne Gobin, *Consultation et concertation sociales à l'échelle de la Communauté économique européenne. Etude des positions et strategies de la Confédération européenne des syndicats (1958–1991)* (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1996); Barbara Barnouin, *The European Labour Movement and European Integration* (London: Pinter, 1986); Jan-Erik Dolvik, *An Emerging Island? ETUC, Social Dialogue, and the Europeanization of the Trade Unions in the 1990s* (Brussels: European Trade Union Institute, 1999).

[39]   See Dennis MacShane, *International Labor and the Origins of the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[40]   See R. Tosstorf, 'The International Trade Union Movement and the Founding of the International Labour Organization', *International Review of Social History*, 50 (2005): 399–433.

[41]   See Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick, 'Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions 1972–1990s', in Van der Linden (ed.), *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, 341–517.

[42]   See Koch-Baumgarten, *Gewerkschaftsinternationalismus und die Herausforderung der Globalisierung*; Bob Reinalda (Hrsg.), *The International Transportworkers Federation 1914–1945: The Edo Fimmen era* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1997).

[43]   For a single case study see Thomas Fetzer, 'The Late Birth of International Labour Cooperation: Cross-Border Trade Union Networks at Ford and General Motors 1953–2001', *Labour History Review*, 75/1 (2010): 76–97; for the industrial relations debate on cooperation in multinational firms, see for example, Herbert R. Northrup and Richard L. Rowan, *Multinational Collective Bargaining Attempts. The Record, the Cases, and the Prospects* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1979); Ernst Piehl, *Multinationale Konzerne und internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Ein Beitrag zur Analyse und zur Strategie der Arbeiterbewegung im international organisierten Kapitalismus insbesondere in Westeuropa* (Nördlingen: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1973); for the more recent period see Müller, Platzer and Rüb, *Transnational Industrial*, and, with a regional focus on Europe, Michael Whittall, Herman Knudsen and Fred Huijgen (eds.), *Towards a European Labour Identity. The Case of the European Works Council* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[44]   Van der Linden, *Workers of the World*, 278–82.

[45]   See Van Daele, 'The International Labour Organization', 510.

[46]   See M. Matyja, *Der Einfluss der Vereinigung der Industrie- und Arbeitgeberverbände Europas* (Bern/Berlin: (UNICE) auf den Entscheidungsprozess der EU, 1999); H. Callaghan, *Transnational Employer Lobbying: When One Size Does Not Fit All. Anglo-German Wrangles under the UNICE Umbrella, 1970–2003*, Working Paper (Florence: European University Institute, 2007); M. Dumoulin and A.-M. Dutrieue, *La Ligue Européenne de Coopération économique (1946–1981). Un groupe d'étude et de la pression dans la construction européenne* (Bern/Berlin: Peter Lang, 1993); Bastian Van Apeldoorn, 'Transnational Class Agency and European Governance: The Case of the European Round Table of Industrialists', *New Political Economy*, 5/2 (2000): 157–81.

[47]   See for example the contributions in: G. Bussière and M. Dumoulin, *Milieux économiques et intégration européenne en Europe occidentale au XXe siècle* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1998).

[48]   See for example S. Kott, 'Une communauté épistémique du social? Experts de l'OIT et internationalisation des politiques sociales dans l'entre-deux-guerre', *Geneses. Science sociale et historie*, 71 (2008): 26–46; T. Cayet, *Organiser le travail, Organiser le monde. Etude d'un milieu international d'organisateurs-rationalisateurs durant l'entre-deux-guerre*, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Florence: European University Institute, 2005).

[49] See for an introduction: Steven Deutsch, 'A Researcher's Guide to Worker Participation, Labor and Economic and Industrial Democracy', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 26/4 (2005): 645–56.

[50] See Michael Hanagan and Marcel van der Linden, 'New Approaches to Global Labor History', *International Labor and Working Class History*, 66 (2004): 1–11.

[51] See for example Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson (eds.), *Migration and the International Labor Market* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[52] Beverly Silver, *Forces of Labor. Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[53] Christian Koller, 'Local Strikes as Transnational Events: Migration, Donations, and Organizational Cooperation in the Context of Strikes in Switzerland (1860–1914)', *Labour History Review*, 74/3 (2009): 305–18.

[54] See Van der Linden, *Workers of the World*, 374.

[55] For examples see ibid, 374–5.

[56] See for a recent overview: Tony Edwards and Anthony Ferner, 'The Renewed American Challenge: A Review of Employment Practices in US Multinationals', *Industrial Relations Journal*, 22 (2002): 94–111; Phil Almond and Anthony Ferner (eds.), *American Multinationals in Europe: Managing Employment Relations across National Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); for a recent historical engagement see William Knox and Alan McKinlay (eds.), American Corporations and European Labor, Special Issue, *Labor History*, 51/2 (2010).

[57] For example see Van der Linden, *Workers of the World*, 375–6.

[58] For the broader context see Marie-Laure Djelic, *Exporting the American Model: The Post-War Transformation of European Business* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[59] For Germany see for example Hans-Otto Hemmer and Kurt Thomas Schmitz (eds.), *Geschichte der Gewerkschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis heute* (Köln: Bund, 1990); Michael Schneider, *Kleine Geschichte der Gewerkschaften. Ihre Entwicklung in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis heute* (Bonn: Dietz, 2000), chapters 11–14; for Britain: Alan Campbell, Nina Fishman and John McIlroy (eds.), *British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions since 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[60] For Germany see Wolfgang Schroeder and Bernhard Wessels (eds.), *Die Gewerkschaften in Politik und Gesellschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ein Handbuch* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2003). The stronger emphasis on cross-border issues for the post-1989 period reflects the massive growth of contemporary scholarship on transnational industrial relations since the early 1990s – from macro-level studies on European Union regulation, to micro-level analyses of industrial relations in multinational firms (for a synthesis see Marginson and Sisson, *European Integration and Industrial Relations*.

[61] See for example: Peter Kühne, 'The Federal Republic of Germany: Ambivalent Promotion of Immigrants' Interests'; John Wrench, 'British Unions and Racism: Organizational Dilemmas in an Unsympathetic Climate', in Rinus Penninx and Judith Roosblad (eds.), *Trade Unions, Immigration, and Immigrants in Europe, 1960–1993: A Comparative Study of the Attitudes and Actions of Trade Unions in Seven West European Countries* (Oxford/New York: Berghahn, 2000), 39–64, 133–56.

[62] Paul Teague, *Labour and Europe: The response of British Trade Unions to Membership of the European Communities*, PhD (London School of Economics, 1984); ''The British TUC and the European Community'', *Millenium* 18 (1989): 29–46; for more recent reappraisals see Gerard Strange, 'British Trade Unions and European Union Integration in the 1990s: Politics versus Political Economy', *Political Studies*, 50/2 (2002): 332–53; Philipp Whyman, 'British Trade Unions, the 1975 European Referendum and its Legacy', *Labor History*, 49/1 (2008): 23–46.

[63] See in particular Jürgen Mittag (ed.), *Deutsche Gewerkschaften und europäische Integration im 20. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungsblatt des Instituts für soziale Bewegungen 42 (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2009).

[64] See for example: Neil Rollings, 'British Industry and European Integration 1961–1973: From First Application to Final Membership', *Business and Economic History*, 27/2 (1998): 444–453; Clemens Wurm, 'Verbände und europäische Integration. Großbritanniens Beitritt zur EG aus der Sicht von Industrie (CBI) und Gewerkschaften (TUC) 1969–1971', in Frany Knipping and Matthias Schönwald (eds.), *Aufbruch zum Europa der zweiten Generation. Die europäische Einigung 1969–84* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004), 329–77; Werner Bührer, 'Le BDI (Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie) et les institutions européennes', in Marie-Thérese Bitsch (ed.), *Le couple France-Allemange et les institutions européennes* (Bruxelles: Emile Bruylant, 2001), 261–79; Wolfram Kaiser, 'Quo vadis, Europa? Die deutsche Wirtschaft und der gemeinsame Markt 1958–1963', in Rudolf Hrbek and Volker Schwarz (eds.), *40 Jahre Römische Verträge: Der deutsche Beitrag* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1998), 195–213.

[65] See William Knox and Alan McKinlay, 'American Multinationals and British Trade Unions, c. 1945–1974'; Thomas Fetzer, 'Exporting the American Model? Transatlantic Entanglements of Industrial Relations at Opel and Ford Germany (1948–65)', *Labor History*, 51/2 (2010): 173–92, 211–32.

[66] See for example: Steven Tolliday, ''Ford and 'Fordism' in Postwar Britain. Enterprise Management and the Control of Labour 1937–1987'', in Steven Tolliday and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds.), *The Power to Manage? Employers and Industrial Relations in Comparative Historical Perspective* (Routledge London/New York, 1991), 81–114; C. Dartmann, *Re-distribution of Power, Joint Consultation or Productivity Coalitions: Labour and Postwar Reconstruction in Germany and Britain, 1945–1953* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1996).

[67] See Jonathan S. Wiesen, 'Coming to Terms with the Worker: West German Industry, Labour Relations and the Idea of America, 1949–60', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36/4 (2001): 561–79; Julia Angster, *Konsenskapitalismus und Sozialdemokratie: Die Westernisierung von SPD und DGB* (München: Oldenbourg, 2003).

[68] See Anthony Ferner, 'Foreign Multinationals and Industrial Relations Innovations in Britain', in Edwards Paul K. (ed.), *Industrial Relations: Theory and Practice*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 81–104.

[69] See for example Alan Fox, *History and Heritage. The Social Origins of the British Industrial Relations System* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985); Paul Davies and Mark Freedland, *Labour Legislation and Public Policy. A Contemporary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[70] See Chris Howell, *Trade Unions and the State: The Construction of Industrial Relations Institutions in Britain, 1890–2000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 103–4.

[71] Ibid, 82–5.

[72] See for example Britta Rehder, *Betriebliche Bündnisse für Arbeit in Deutschland. Flächentarifvertrag und Mitbestimmung im Wandel* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2003).

[73] See Andreas Hoff, ' "British Sickness" in Germany. An Inquiry into some international components of the current trade union debate in the Federal Republic of Germany' (Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Warwick, 1977).

[74] 'Gesamtmetall fürchtet britische Verhältnisse', Handelsblatt, 17 August 2007.

[75] For a first attempt see Thomas Fetzer, 'Defending Mitbestimmung: German Trade Unions and European Company Law Harmonisation 1967–1990', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 31/4S (2010): 24–39.

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