

Christin Landgraf, Heiko Pleines (eds.)

**Interest Representation and Europeanization
of Trade Unions from EU Member States
of the Eastern Enlargement**

CHANGING EUROPE

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AND EUROPEANIZATION
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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABIEC	Asociația Marilor Consumatori Industriali de Energie [Association of Large Industrial Energy Consumers]
AIAS	Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies
ASO ČR	Asociace Samostatných Odborů České Republiky [Association of Independent Trade Unions of the Czech Republic]
ASZSZ	Autonóm Szakszervezetek Szövetsége [Autonomous Trade Union Confederation]
ATLAS Uniunea	Uniunea Federativa Sindicala 'ATLAS' [Trade Union Federation 'ATLAS']
AUTOglobal	Europäische Automobilkonferenz [European Automotive Conference]
AWS	Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność [Electoral Action Solidarity]
BBDSZ	Bankok, Biztosítók Dolgozói Szakszervezeteinek [Finance Sector Union]
BBDSZ SZ	Bankok, Biztosítók Dolgozói Szakszervezeteinek Szovetsege [Federation of Unions of the Finance Sector]
BCR	Banca Comercială Română [Romanian Commercial Bank]
BDSZ	Bánya-, Energia- és Ipari Dolgozók Szakszervezete [Mining and Energy Workers' Union]
BG	Belgium
BMASK	Bundesministerium für Arbeit, Soziales und Konsumentenschutz [Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection]
BNS	Blocul National Sindical [National Trade Union Bloc]
BoBa	Bohemia-Bavaria
BPS	Balgarski Profesionalni Sauzi [Bulgarian Trade Unions]
CC	Coordination Council
CCMB	Christelijke Centrale der Metaalbewerkeren van België [Belgian Christian Union of Metal Industry Workers]

CCMI	Consultative Commission on Industrial Change
CEC Bank	Casa de Economii și Consemnațiuni [Savings and Consignments Bank]
CEE	Central Eastern Europe
CFDT	Confédération française démocratique du travail [French Democratic Confederation of Labour]
CI	Communications International
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CISL	Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori [Confederation of Trade Unions in Italy]
CITUB	Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria, see also KNSB
CL Podkrepa	Confederation of Labour Podkrepa
CLCA	company-level collective agreements
CMB	Centrale der Metaalbewerkers van België [Federation of the Belgian Metal Workers]
CMB	Centrale der Metaalindustrie van België [Federation of the Belgian metal industry]
ČMKOS	Českomoravská konfederace odborových svazů [Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions]
CNSLR Frăția	Confederația Națională a Sindicatelor Libere din Romania – Frăția [National Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania— Brotherhood]
CO ₂	carbon dioxide
Conftext	Federația Sindicatelor Textile-Confecții [Federation of Textiles and Clothing]
CONPIROM	Confederația Patronală din Industrie, Agricultură, Construcții și Servicii din România [Employers' Confederation of Industry, Agriculture, Construction and Services in Romania]
CS KOVO	Československý Svaz KOVO [Czech Metalworkers' Federation]
CSDR	Confederația Sindicatelor Democratice din România [Democratic Trade Union Confederation of Romania]
CSN	Confederatia Sindicala Nationala [National Trade Union Confederation]
CVT	continuous vocational training
CY	Cyprus

CZ	Czech Republic
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund [German Confederation of Trade Unions]
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
EC	European Community
EC	Executive Committee
ECHOZ	Energeticko-Chemický odborový zväz [Energy-Chemical Trade Union]
ECO	Economic and Monetary Union and Economic and Social Cohesion
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EE	Estonia
EEC	European Economic Community
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EFBWW	European Federation of Building and Woodworkers
EFCGWU	European Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions
EFEDOSZSZ	Építő-, Fa- és Építőanyagipari Dolgozók Szakszervezeteinek Szövetsége [Trade Union of Building Materials workers]
EFFAT	European Federation of Food, Agriculture and Tourism Trade Unions
EFRR	Evropský fond pro regionální rozvoj [European Regional Development Fund]
EFTA-TUC	Trade Union Committee for the European Free Trade Area
EIRO	European Industrial Relations Observatory
EIT	European Integration Team
EMCEF	European Mine, Chemical and Energy Workers' Federation
EMF	European Metalworkers' Federation
ÉŐDSZ	Értékszállítási és Őrzésvédelmi Dolgozók Szakszervezete [Trade Union of Value Transportation and Security Workers]
EP	European Parliament
EPSU	European Federation of Public Service Unions
ESFTU	European Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ÉSZT	Értelmiségi Szakszervezeti Tömörülés [Confederation of Unions of Professionals]
ETF	European Transport Workers' Federation
ETS	Emission Trading System

ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
ETUC	European Trade Union Congress
ETUC-TCL	European Trade Union Federation-Textiles Clothing and Leather
ETUF	European Trade Union Federations
ETUI	European Trade Union Institute
ETUS	European Trade Union Secretariat
EU	European Union
EUCOB@N	European Collective Bargaining Network
Eurofound	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
EVDSZ	Egyesült Villamosenergia-ipari Dolgozók Szakszervezeti Szövetsége [The Trade Union of United Electricity Workers]
EVS	European Value Survey
EWC	European Works Council
FDI	foreign direct investment
Federatia Sindicatelor UNICONF	Federația Sindicatelor din Confecții și Tricotaje București 'Uniconf' [Federation of Trade Unions of Garments and Knitwear Bucharest 'Uniconf']
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [Friedrich Ebert Foundation]
FFSZ	Filmművészek és Filmalkalmazottak Szakszervezete Syndicat [Movie and Film Artists' Union of Employees Syndicate]
FGTB	Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique [General Federation of Labour of Belgium]
FIET	La Fédération internationale des employés, techniciens et cadres [International Federation of Employees, technicians and managers]
FNME	Federatia Nationala Mine Energie [National Federation of Mining and Energy]
FNS Solidaritatea Metal / FNS SMETAL	Federația Națională Sindicală Solidaritatea Metal [National Federation of Trade Unions Solidarity Metal]
FNSM	Federatsiyata na nezavisimite sindikati na minyorite [Federation of the Independent Syndicates of Miners]
FSAB	Federatia Sindicatelor din Asigurari si Banci [Trade Union Federation of Insurance and Banks]

FSC	Federatia Sindicatelor din Comert [Trade Union Federation of Commerce]
FSCOM	Federatia Sindicatelor din Comunicatii [Trade Union Federation of Communication]
FSN	Frontul Salvarii Nationale [National Salvation Front]
FSPCOM	Federatia Sindicatelor din Posta si Comunicatii [Trade Union Federation of Mail and Communication]
FSRT	Federatia Sindicatelor din Romtelecom [Trade Union Federation of Romanian Telecommunication]
FSS METAROM	Federația Sindicală a Siderurgiștilor METAROM [Trade Union Federation of Siderurgiștilor METAROM]
FTT	Financial Transaction Tax
FZZ	Forum Związków Zawodowych [Trade Unions Forum]
FZZ PKIS	Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników Kultury i Sztuki [Federation of Trade Unions of Culture and Arts Workers]
FZZ Przemysłu Chemicznego	Federacja Związków Zawodowych Przemysłu Chemicznego [Federation of the Chemical Trade Unions]
FZZP	Federacja Związków Zawodowych Pracowników [Trade Union Federation of Chemical, Glass and Ceramic Industries]
GDP	gross domestic product
GESIS	Gesellschaft Sozialwissenschaftlicher Infrastruktureinrichtungen [Association of Social Science Infrastructure Facilities, today Leibniz Institute for Social Science]
GMBE	Gewerkschaft Metall-Bergbau-Energie [Trade Union of Metal, Mining and Energy]
GUF	Global Union Federation
HGWU	Hungarian Graphical Workers' Trade Union
HLCA	Higher Level Collective Agreements
HOPWTU	Hungarian Oil- and Gas Workers Trade Union
HU	Hungary
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICTWSS	Database on Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts
IG BCE	Industriegewerkschaft Bergbau, Chemie, Energie [Industrial Mining, Chemistry and Energy Union]

IG F	International Graphical Federation
IG Metall / IGM	Industriegewerkschaft Metall [Industrial Union of Metalworkers]
IMF	International Metalworkers' Federation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INT	Section for the Single Market, Production and Consumption (EESC Section)
IOZ	Integrovaný odborový zväz [Integrated Union]
IR	industrial relations
IRTUC / IRTUCs	Interregional Trade Union Council(s)
ISTC	Iron and Steel Trades Confederation
ISTUR	Institute for Social and Trade Union Research
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
ITU-CZ	Independent Trade Union of Czech Television
KASZ	Kereskedelmi Alkalmazottak Szakszerveze [Trade Union of Commercial Employees]
KDOS	Koalice dopravných odborových svazů [Coalition of Transport Trade Unions]
KNDP	Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt [Christian Democratic People's Party]
KNSB	Konfederatsiyata na nezavisimite sindikati v Balgariya [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria], see also CITUB
KOK	Křesťanská odborová koalice [Christian Trade Union Coalition]
KOZ SR	Konfederácia odborových zväzov Slovenskej republiky [Confederation of the Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic]
KRZ ZPPP	Zwiazek Zawodow y Pracowników Przemyslu Poligraficznego [Trade Union of Graphical Workers]
KS OS KOVO	krajská sdružení odborový svaz KOVO [Regional Association of Czech Metalworkers' Federation]
KUK	Konfederace Umění a Kultury [Confederation of Arts and Culture]
LIGA	Független Szakszervezetek Demokratikus Ligája [Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions]
LT	Lithuania
LV	Latvia
MEBO	management and employee buy-out

MEF	Mineworkers European Federation
MEGAk	Mitteleuropäische Gewerkschaftsakademie [Central European Trade Union Academy]
MEI	Media and Entertainment International
METACHIM	Federația patronală a producătorilor din chimie [Federation of Manufacturers of Chemistry]
METALURGIA	Federația patronală a ramurii metalurgie feroasă și neferoasă și produse refractare [Federation of Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metallurgy Industry and Refractories]
MNC	multinational companies
MOL Bányász Szakszervezet	Magyar Olaj- és Gázipari Bányász Szakszervezet [Trade Union of Hungarian Oil and Gas Production Workers]
MOSZ	Mozdonyvezetők Szakszervezete [Locomotive Drivers' Union]
MP	Member of Parliament
MSZOSZ	Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége [National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions]
MSZSZ	Magyar Szakszervezetek Szövetsége [Hungarian Confederation of Trade Unions]
MT	Malta
Munkástanácsok / MOSZ	Munkástanácsok Országos Szövetsége [National Federation of Workers' Councils]
NACE	Nomenclature statistique des activités économiques dans la Communauté européenne [Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community]
NAT	Agriculture, Rural Development and Environment (EESC Section)
NEPSI	Noyau Européen pour la Silice [European Network for Silica]
NETLEX	ETUC network of trade union legal experts
NFTINI	Natsionalna federatsiya 'tekhnicheska industriya, nauka, infor- matika' [National Federation 'Technical Industry, Science, Informatics']
NGTT	Nemzeti Gazdasági és Társadalmi Tanács [National Economic and Social Council]
NMS	new member states
NRZP ČR	Národní rada osob se zdravotním postižením České Republiky [Czech National Disability Council]

NSZZ Solidarność	Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy Solidarność [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity]
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEGB / OGB / ÖGB	Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund [Austrian Trade Union Federation]
OÉT	Országos Érdekegyeztető Tanács [National Interest Reconciliation Council]
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
OPZZ	Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions]
OS ČMS	Odborové sdružení Čech, Moravy a Slezska [Trade Union Association of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia]
OS ECHO	Odborový svaz Energeticko-chemického, see also ECHOZ [Energy-Chemical Trade Union]
OS KOVO	Odborový svaz KOVO [Czech Metalworkers' Federation]
OS MEDIA	Celostátní odborový svaz hromadných sdělovacích prostředků [National Union of Mass Media]
OS PPP	Odborový svaz pracovníků peněžnictví a pojišťovnictví [Trade Union of Banking and Insurance Employees]
OS SKP	Odborový svaz skla, keramiky a porcelánu [Trade Union of Glass, Ceramics and Porcelain Workers]
OS TOK	Odborový Svaz Pracovníků Textilního, Oděvního a Kožedělného Průmyslu Čech a Moravy [Trade Union of Textile, Clothing and Leather Industries of Bohemia and Moravia]
OS ZPTNS	Odborový svaz zaměstnanců poštovních, telekomunikačních a novinových služeb [Trade Union of Workers in Postal, Telecommunication and Newspaper Services]
OSPO	Odborový svaz pracovníků obchodu [Trade Union of Trade Workers]
OZ KOVO	Odborový svaz kováckých odborech
OZ PAL	Odborového svazu pošty a logistiky [Trade Union of Mail and Logistics Services]
OZ POCHR	Odborový svaz pracovníků obchodu a cestovního ruchu [Trade Union of Commerce and Tourism]
OZ PPA P	Odborového svazu Pracovníků Peňažníctva a Poistovníctva [Trade Union of Finance and Insurance]

OZT	Odborového zväzu Telekom [Trade Union of Telecommunication Employees]
OZZGNIG	Ogólnopolski Związek Zawodowy Górnictwa Naftowego i Gazownictwa [Trade Union Federation of Polish Oil and Gas Companies]
PATROMAT	Federația patronală din industria materialelor de construcții din România [Employers' Federation of Construction Materials Industry]
PERC	Pan-European Regional Council
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice]
PL	Poland
ProAlt	Iniciativa pro kritiku reforem a na podporu alternative [Initiatives for Critique of Reform Measures and Supporting Alternatives]
PRO-GE	Produktionsgewerkschaft [Trade Union for Production Workers]
PROTECTOR	Federatia 'PROTECTOR' a sindicatelor din industria de Securitate [Trade Union Federation 'Protector' for the Security Industry]
PSZ	Postás Szakszervezet [Hungarian Postal Trade Union]
PZZ KADRA	Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych KADRA [Trade Union Agreement 'KADRA']
REX	External Relations Section (EESC Section)
RHSD	Rada pro hospodářské a sociální dohody [Council for Economic and Social Accord]
RO	Romania
ROH	Revoluční odborové hnutí [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement]
RS ČR	Rada seniorů České Republiky [Czech Senior Council]
SGiE	Sekretariat Górnictwa i Energetyki [Mining and Energy Secretariat / National Secretariat of Mine and Energy Workers Union]
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
SKEI	Sindikata kovinske in elektro industrije Slovenije [Trade Union of Metal and Electro Industry of Slovenia]

SKF	Svenska Kullagerfabriken [Swedish Ball Bearing Factory]
SKGWB	Sekcji Krajowej Górnictwa Węgla Brunatnego [Section of the National Brown Coal Mining]
SKGWK	Sekcji Krajowej Górnictwa Węgla Kamiennego [Section of the National Hard Coal Mining]
SKK	slovenska koruna [Slovak Koruna]
SMEs	small and medium-sized enterprises
SOC	Employment, Social Affairs and Citizenship (EECS Section)
SOZ SP	Slovenský odborový zväz slobodných povolání [Slovak Trade Union of Liberal Professions]
STICEF	Organizația patronală din industria sticlei și ceramicii fine [Employers' Organization of the Glass and Fine Ceramics Industry]
SZEF	Szakszervezetek Együttműködési Fóruma [The Forum for the Cooperation of Trade Unions]
SZOT	Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa [National Council of Trade Unions]
TB-CZ	Typografická Beseda [Czech Trade Union of Printing Producers]
TEN	Transport, Energy, Infrastructure and Information Society
TU	Trade Union
TUAC	Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TUC	Trade Union Confederation
TUC	Trade Union Congress
TUF	Trade Union Federation
TUFIB	Trade Union Federation from Insurances and Banks
UGSR	Uniunea Generală a Sindicatelor din România [General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]
UK	United Kingdom
UNI	Union Network International
UNI Europa	Union Network International Europa
UNI Europa MEA	UNI Europa Media and Entertainment and Arts
UNI Global	Union Network International Global
V-4 / V4	Visegrad group; Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary are the Visegrad countries
V-5 / V5	Visegrad 4 plus Slovenia

VASAS	Vasas Szakszervezeti Szövetség [Metalworkers Federation of Trade Unions]
VAT	value-added tax
VDSZ	Magyar vegyipari, energiaipari és rokon szakmákban dolgozók szakszervezeti szövetsége [Federation of Trade Unions of the Chemical, Energy and Allied Workers]
Ver.di	Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft [United Services Union]
VKF	Versenyszféra és a Kormány Állandó Konzultációs Fóruma [Consultative Forum of the Industry and the Government]
VSZSZ	Vagyonvédelmi Szakszervezetek Szövetségének [Trade Union of the Private Security Worker]
VW	Volkswagen
WCL	World Confederation of Labour
WWF	World Wide Fund For Nature
WWF EPO	World Wide Fund For Nature European Policy Office
ZO OS KOVO	základní organizace odborový svaz KOVO [Basic Organisations of Czech Metalworkers' Federation]
ZOJES	Združenie odborárov jadrovej energetiky Slovenska [Trade Union of Nuclear Power Workers of the Slovak Republic]
ZUWINS	Zukunftsraum Wien-Niederösterreich-Südmähren [European Territorial Co-operation Austria–Czech Republic, Future Region Vienna–Lower Austria–South Moravia]
ZZG w Polsce	Związek Zawodowego Górników w Polsce [Mine Workers Union in Poland]

Preface

This book presents the results of a research project conducted from 2012 to 2014 that examined the integration of trade unions from European Union (EU) member states of the Eastern Enlargement into EU governance as a follow-up to a similar study conducted in 2007. The project examines a total of 50 trade unions from the six largest states that joined in 2004 / 07, namely Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.

Analysing integration at the EU level, in interregional cooperation and in EU Works Councils, the main objective was to assess to what extent trade unions from the member states of the Eastern Enlargement have been integrated into EU governance structures and how related cooperation is assessed. Based on this assessment, the research project also analysed which strategies the trade unions follow in their EU-related activities and how they developed and discussed these strategies internally.

The research project has been coordinated by the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, Germany, and it has been financially supported by the Hans Böckler Foundation. The project team included Monika Čambáliková (Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences), Klaus Henning (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, now University of Potsdam), Vassil Kirov (Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Christin Landgraf (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, now Zeppelin University, Friedrichshafen), Aleksandra Lis (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Zdenka Mansfeldová (Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), Heiko Pleines (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen) and Leyla Safta-Zecheria (Central European University, Budapest).

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The Project Team

Introduction

Although the traditional task of trade unions is the representation of workers *vis-à-vis* employers, trade unions regularly seek access to policymaking processes to represent workers' interests in the political arena. In European societies, trade unions are still important interest groups in political decision-making even though their influence is perceived to be in a long-term decline and there are huge differences between European states concerning the actual political role of trade unions.

From a historical perspective, trade unions were one of the first collective actors with a mass following to emerge in the wake of industrialisation, and they therefore received special attention from policymakers. As a result their prerogatives, together with those of employers' associations, were codified in most European countries through special legislation on wage bargaining and social dialogues. Through the European social dialogue they also have—at least *de jure*—a privileged position in EU-level policymaking.

As more and more policies are regulated in Brussels, trade unions also present their interests at the EU level. As interest groups with a massive membership base in all EU member states and with a privileged role in policymaking, they are an important and interesting case for interest group studies, all the more because they are integrated into EU governance at several levels ranging from the company level, with the European Works Council, to the EU level, with European umbrella trade union organisations in Brussels.

Nonetheless, research on interest groups in the EU addresses mostly business interests and a small group of value-based NGOs from the old EU member states. There are a very limited number of studies that focus on trade unions in EU governance. Moreover, interest group studies tend to select cases from the small group of big, old EU member states.

With the EU's Eastern Enlargement, however, ten post-socialist countries from Central Eastern Europe joined the EU in 2004 and 2007.¹ At that time, many analysts expected the huge expansion in the number of member states with the accompanying increase in the number of decision-makers and interest groups at the EU level to lead to blockades and a breakdown of decision-making processes. While, in retrospect the challenges for EU governance seem to have been exaggerated, the opposite perspective, focusing on the challenges that EU governance poses for the newcomers, has

¹ In the first round of Eastern Enlargement the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia joined in May 2004. In the second round Bulgaria and Romania joined in January 2007. Additionally, Croatia joined in July 2013.

hardly been taken in academic research. There are a very limited number of empirical studies that draw their attention to the integration of interest groups from the new EU member states into EU governance, and again, trade unions are not a major focus of research on interest groups.

The research project that has led to this book publication has aimed to fill this gap and to add fruitful empirical insights to the theoretical debate on European interest groups. In the following chapter, Christin Landgraf and Heiko Pleines will elaborate on the related state of research in more detail. Then, Heiko Pleines will present the research design of the project, which forms the foundation for all empirical results presented in this book. After that, a chapter by Klaus Henning introduces the respective trade unions and provides basic facts about labour relations in the countries under study.

The presentations of empirical results are grouped into three parts. The first part gives an overview of the three major levels of EU governance in which trade unions are active. Klaus Henning describes the functioning of the trade unions' European umbrella associations, focusing on the integration of trade unions from the member states of Eastern Enlargement. Then, Christin Landgraf analyses the channels of influence used at the EU level by trade unions from EU member states of the Eastern Enlargement. The third chapter of this part, which has been written by Christin Landgraf and Zdenka Mansfeldová, goes on to look at interregional cooperation using the example of the Vienna Memorandum, which brings metal and machine-building trade unions from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia together with their peers from Austria and Germany. This part concludes with a look at the company level, which is provided by Karoline Mis, on the basis of an analysis of the role of Polish trade unions in European Works Councils.

The second part changes the perspective and gives an overview of the integration of trade unions from selected countries into the full system of EU governance. The respective chapters are to a large degree based on interviews with trade union representatives and are thus able to present not just integration measures taken but also an assessment of successes and failures by the respective trade union representatives. The chapters in this part cover Bulgaria, with Vassil Kirov as author, the Czech Republic (Zdenka Mansfeldová), and Hungary (Christin Landgraf).

Whereas the second part offers a collective profile of all major trade unions from the respective countries, the third part provides detailed case studies of selected trade unions. In the first chapter of this part, Vassil Kirov describes how the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria (CITUB), the largest national trade union confederation in Bulgaria, integrates into the different levels of EU governance. Zdenka Mansfeldová then continues with a similar case study of the Czech Metalworkers' Federation Trade Union KOVO (OS KOVO). Looking at the Polish trade union *Solidarność*, Aleksandra Lis focuses in her chapter on the challenges and tensions that have resulted

from integration into EU-wide umbrella organisations. In the same vein, Leyla Safta-Zecheria looks at Alfa Cartel, a major Romanian trade union confederation. Finally, Monika Čambáliková, in her case study of the Slovak Metalworkers' Federation OZ KOVO, includes an analysis of a company-level conflict with a foreign investor from another EU member state.