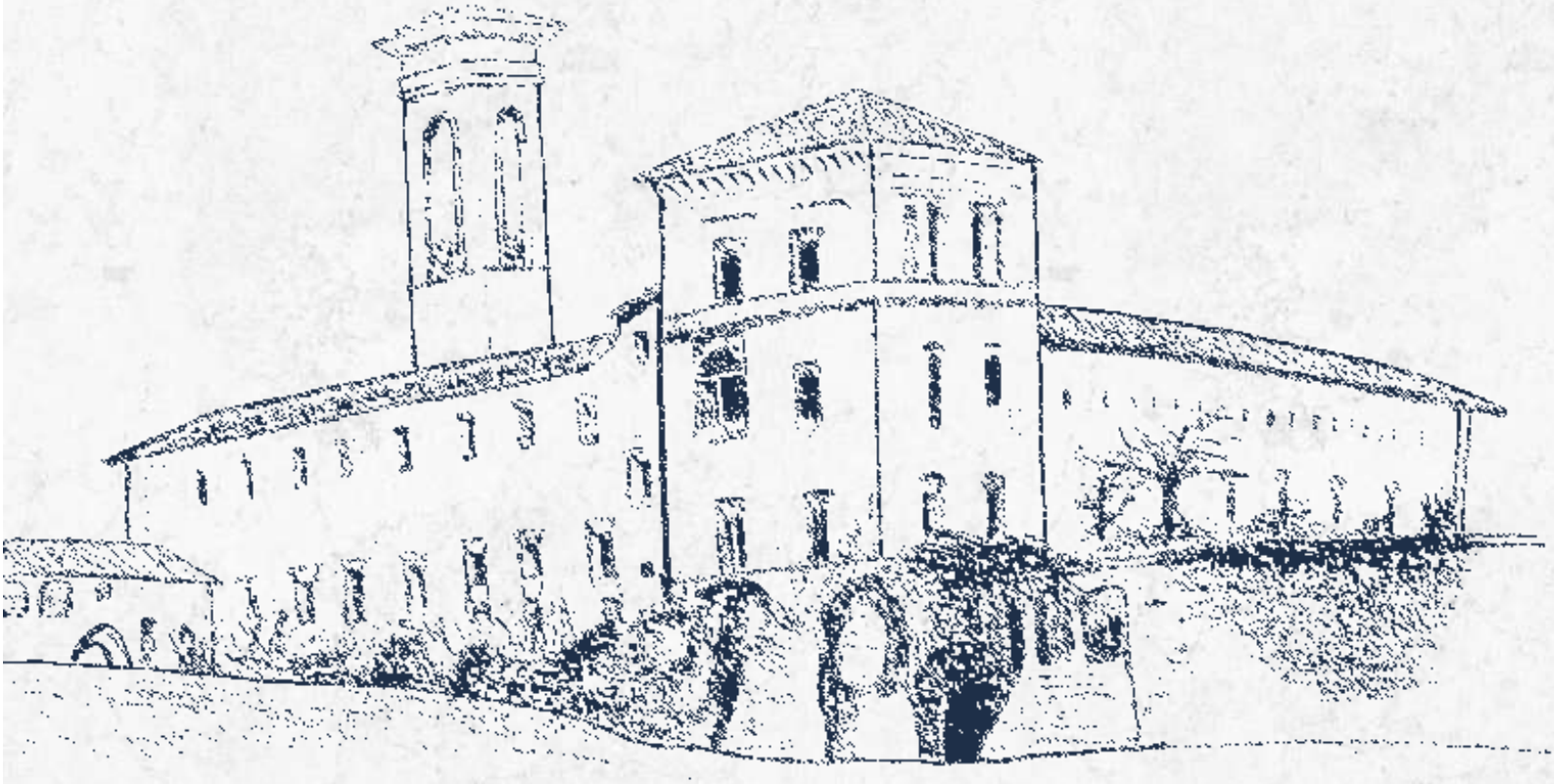
OPEN ACCESS
ISSN 2280-4056

E-Journal of International and Comparative

LABOUR STUDIES

Volume 12 No. 03/2023



ADAPT
www.adapt.it
UNIVERSITY PRESS

E-Journal of International and Comparative **LABOUR STUDIES**

ADAPT *International School of Higher Education in Labour and Industrial Relations*

E-Journal of International and Comparative

LABOUR STUDIES

Volume 12 No. 03/2023

ADAPT UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.adapt.it

Online Publication of the ADAPT Series
Registration No. 1609, 11 November 2001, Court of Modena
www.adaptbulletin.eu

The Scope of Representation of Trade Unions in Portugal: A New Reality?

Ana Teresa Ribeiro [*]

Abstract: The recent Act no. 13/2023 (the so-called "Decent Work Agenda") introduced several changes to the Portuguese Labour Code, and, among other things, it expressly allowed, for the first time in the Portuguese legal scene, the collective representation of autonomous workers (who are economically dependent). However, the terms in which this was achieved are dubious and may entail a different framing of the traditional tasks of trade unions in the Portuguese setting. In addition, union activity in the undertaking was reinforced, since now it may take place even in companies where there is no union presence. Still, this new provision is also ambiguous and requires a tactful interpretation, to ensure its compatibility with the constitutional parameter.

Keywords: *Decent Work Agenda; Freedom of Association; Economically Dependent Self-Employed Workers; Union Activity in the Undertaking.*

Preliminary remarks

With Act no. 13/2023 (known as the "Decent Work Agenda"/"Agenda do Trabalho Digno"), of 3 April[1], the Portuguese Legislator modernised

[*] Assistant Professor at Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Porto Faculty of Law. Member of CEID – Centro de Estudos e Investigação em Direito/Católica Research Centre for the Future of Law. Email address: aribeiro@ucp.pt.. This article corresponds, with some developments, to my intervention, entitled "The scope of representation of trade unions in Portugal – a new reality?", at the ADAPT International Conference "Towards a workless society? An interdisciplinary reflection on the changing concept of work and its rules in contemporary economies", that took place between 30 November and 2 December, in Bergamo, Italy.

[1] Available at https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei/13-2023-211340863 (accessed on 21 December 2023). This diploma entered into force on 1 May 2023.

several aspects of the national labour regime, bringing it up to speed with the trends observed among other national and international legal orders.
Some of the most interesting (and, perhaps, subtle) changes relate to union activity and are twofold: trade unions will, from now on, be able to organize economically dependent workers and will, also, be allowed to develop union activity in companies where there is no union presence. Possibilities that, as will be further explained, call for a change in the way union representation and activity are perceived in the national legal order.

1. Economically dependent workers

Until recently, in Portugal, the access to the rights to freedom of association, to collective bargaining, and to strike, was restricted to employees, that is, those who possess an employment contract.
In fact, all of these rights are enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution (respectively, in Articles 55, 56, and 57[2]), whose wording merely alludes to "workers". Most Portuguese Authors[3], as well as the jurisprudence[4], take this to mean "employees", since, in the absence of an express definition, this concept should be read according to the common legal notion. In addition, several clues in the Labour Code show that this is (or, at least, was) also the Legislator's view[5].
The Decent Work Agenda changed this scenario, by extending some of these rights to economically dependent workers.
Firstly, it should be noted that, according to the new legal definition, economically dependent workers are those who provide their activity,

[2] Which formally belong to the constitutional catalogue of civil and political rights – enjoying, therefore, from their more robust protection regime.
[3] See, among others, J. Leite, *Direito do trabalho*, Vol. I. Coimbra, Serviços de ação social da UC, 2004, 46 and ff.; G. Canotilho/V. Moreira, *Constituição da república portuguesa anotada*, Vol. I, 4th ed. rev., Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 2007, 286; and M. R. Ramalho, *Da autonomia dogmática do direito do trabalho*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2000, 61 and ff.
[4] See Judgement no. 474/02 of the Portuguese Constitutional Court, of 19 November 2002.
[5] For instance, when employees lose their employment contract, they might still (if they so wish) remain union members. However, if they subsequently become independent workers, they will have to leave the organization – see Article 444, no. 2, of the Labour Code. Furthermore, as will be discussed further below, collective agreements are, in principle, only applicable to employees affiliated to the signing trade unions (Article 496 of the Labour Code).

without legal subordination, in the same civil year, in more than 50%, to the same beneficiary[6].

Secondly, this category was already (albeit rather perfunctorily) regulated by the Labour Code[7], which granted it access to its provisions on personality rights, on equality and non-discrimination, and on health and safety. However, following the entry into force of the reform, these workers are now also entitled to the application of collective agreements (in force in the same activity, professional, and geographical domain)[8].

This novelty is further developed in the following provisions, in particular in Article 10-A, where, among other things, it is stated that these workers will benefit from trade union representation; from the negotiation, on their behalf and by trade unions, of collective agreements; and from the application of previously existing collective agreements, either by individual choice (through the – controversial[9] – mechanism enshrined in Article 497 of the Labour Code) or by governmental extension (Articles 514 and ff. of the Labour Code)[10].

Particularly regarding the first two segments (trade union representation and the negotiation of collective agreements on their behalf), how will this be achieved? At first sight, one could assume that, from now on, economically dependent workers will finally be able to create and join trade unions. Rights that, for a long time now, have been demanded by some national Literature[11] and acknowledged by the supervisory bodies of international conventions that bind the Portuguese State.

---

[6] See Article 140, no. 1, of the Code on Social Security Welfare Contributions (Act no. 110/2009, of 16 September) and Article 10, no. 2, of Labour Code (Act no. 7/2009, of 12 February). For further developments on this notion, see R. Redinha, *Trabalho economicamente dependente: the soft approach*, in *Questões laborais*, 2023, no. 63, 7-16.

[7] Available in English at: https://files.diariodarepublica.pt/diplomastraduzidos/7_2009_CodigoTrabalho_EN_publ.pdf?lang=EN (accessed on 21 December 2023).

[8] See Article 10, no. 1, of the Labour Code.

[9] For further developments, see J. Gomes, *Nótula sobre o artigo 497.º do Código do Trabalho de 2009*, *Questões laborais*, 2014, no. 44, 5-14.

[10] See Article 10-A, no 1, subparagraphs a) to d). On the delicate problems posed by governmental extensions of collective agreements see A. T. Ribeiro, *The extension of collective agreements by State intervention: the Portuguese regime and the protection it may offer to SMEs*, in *Employment relations and the transformation of the enterprise in the global economy. Proceedings of the thirteenth international conference in commemoration of Marco Biagi*, Torino, G. Giappichelli Editore, 2015, 247-262.

[11] See, among others, J. Reis, *O conflito colectivo de trabalho*, Gestlegal, Coimbra, 2017, 296 and ff. Conversely, advocating that this would encroach on the constitutional imperative, since, in the Author's view, freedom of association is an exclusive right of (subordinated)

In effect, according to the Committee on Freedom of Association of the ILO, the right to freedom of association should not be restricted to those who possess employment contracts. In fact, "all all workers (…) should have the right to establish and join organizations of their own choosing. *The criterion for determining the persons covered by that right, therefore, is not based on the existence of an employment relationship*, which is often non-existent, for example in the case of agricultural workers, self-employed workers in general or those who practise liberal professions, who should nevertheless enjoy the right to organize"[12]. It is, therefore, "contrary to Convention No. 87 to prevent trade unions of self-employed workers who are not subordinate to, or dependent on, a person"[13].

In turn, according to the European Committee on Social Rights, "all classes of workers"[14] are entitled to freedom of association. Furthermore, "the world of work is changing rapidly and fundamentally with a proliferation of contractual arrangements, often with the express aim of avoiding contracts of employment under labour law, of shifting risk from the labour engager to the labour provider. This has resulted in an increasing number of workers falling outside the definition of a dependent employee, including low-paid workers or service providers who are de facto "dependent" on one or more labour engagers. (…) In establishing the type of collective bargaining that is protected by the Charter, it is not sufficient to rely on distinctions between worker and self-employed, *the decisive criterion is rather whether there is an imbalance of power between the providers and engagers of labour*. Where providers of labour have no substantial influence on the content of contractual conditions, they must be given the possibility of improving the power imbalance through collective bargaining"[15].

employees, see M. R. Ramalho, *Tratado de Direito do Trabalho. Parte III – Situações laborais colectivas*, 4th edition, Coimbra, Almedina, 2023, 50.

[12] See ILO, *Freedom of association. Compilation of decisions of the Committee on Freedom of Association*, 6th ed., 2018, par. 387.

[13] See ILO, *Freedom of association*… cit., par. 389. Furthermore, "The Committee requested a Government to take the necessary measures to ensure that workers who are self-employed could fully enjoy trade union rights for the purpose of furthering and defending their interest, including by the means of collective bargaining" – see par. 1285.

[14] See Council of Europe, *Digest of the case law of the European Committee on Social Rights*, 2022, page 82 (available at: https://rm.coe.int/digest-ecsr-prems-106522-web-en/1680a95dbd).

[15] See Decision on the merits, of 12/09/2018, complaint no. 123/2016, *Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) vs. Irlanda*, pars. 37 and ff.

Furthermore, such a development in Portuguese law would be in line with the most recent developments at EU level.

It is true that the CJEU's jurisprudence has stated that collective agreements aiming at independent workers are incompatible with EU competition law[16] (since such workers are perceived as companies and, therefore, their agreements would be in violation of Article 101, no. 1, of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)[17].

However, as has been pointed out, this prohibition, by disenfranchising self-employed workers from the right to collective bargaining, means that their precarious negotiating position will almost always result in degrading working conditions[18].

And, in the meantime, the European Commission has acknowledged that, irrespective of their lack of legal subordination, these workers are often subject to precarious conditions and bargaining imbalances, which leads to them having very little say in their working conditions[19]. Having this in mind, the Commission has recently stated that "collective agreements by solo self-employed persons who are in a situation comparable to that of workers fall outside the scope of Article 101 TFEU; and (…) the Commission will not intervene against collective agreements of solo self-employed persons who experience an imbalance in bargaining power vis-à-vis their counterparty/-ies"[20].

In sum, and returning to the Portuguese regime, such evolution would align the national regime with other domestic legal orders where this step has already been taken, and also with these international trends and legal readings.

However, the Article 10-A is unclear on whether the Portuguese legislator has gone this this far. In fact, this provision adds (on its no. 2) that the right to collective representation of economically dependent workers shall

---

[16] See, CJEU, *FNV Kunsten*, C-413/13. Such agreements do not enjoy from the antitrust immunity that was extended to collective agreements by the jurisprudence inaugurated by CJEU, *Albany* (proc. C-67/96).

[17] On this, see J. Gomes/A. T. Ribeiro, *Algumas notas sobre a contratação coletiva e o direito da concorrência*, *Revista de Direito e de Estudos Sociais*, 2021, nos. 1-4, 223 and ff.

[18] S. Rainone/N. Countouris, *Collective bargaining and self-employed workers. The need for a paradigm shift*, ETUI Policy Brief, 2021.11, 3 (available at https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2021-07/Collective%20bargaining%20and%20self-employed%20workers_2021.pdf , accessed on 21/12/2023).

[19] Recital 8, Communication from the Commission, *Guidelines on the application of Union competition law to collective agreements regarding the working conditions of solo self-employed persons* (2022/C 374/02).

[20] Recital 9, *Guidelines on the application*, cit.

be defined in specific legislation (still inexistent) that will ensure, among other things:
- their representation by trade unions,
- that collective agreements bargaining on their behalf will require previous consultation with associations of independent workers, representative in that sector,
- the application of previously existing collective agreements to these workers (if they so wish), as long as they carry out tasks that correspond to the corporate object of the undertaking, for a period of over 60 days.

This provision does not state, at any moment, that the access of these workers to collective bargaining and union representation will be achieved through their unionization. Conversely, it is expressly mentioned unions should consult with other representative associations when bargaining on behalf of such workers… Which raises two questions:

1. How will such representative associations be identified, given that there are no criteria of representativeness in the Portuguese regime?[21]
2. Assuming that these workers could organize in trade unions, why should the latter have to consult with other organizations? Wouldn't this kind of demand be perceived as legal interference with union activity?[22]

The definitive answer to these questions depends on the approval of the aforementioned "specific legislation" (which might take its time, given the recent panorama of political instability, marred by the dissolution of the Parliament, the subsequent call for elections in March 2024, and, finally, the nomination of a minority Government, following the polarizing electoral results[23]). And here the Legislator faces two options. Either to allow the unionization of economically dependent workers (which would

[21] Neither regarding these professional association, nor even trade unions.
[22] Raising precisely the point it is incumbent only to trade unions to determine who they represent and how they do it, see Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses – Intersindical Nacional, *Guia interpretativo e orientador da acção sindical para as alterações à legislação laboral* (available at: https://www.cgtp.pt/informacao/279-destaque/280-secundario/19001-guia-interpretativo-e-orientador-da-accao-sindical-para-as-alteracoes-a-legislacao-laboral), page 23.
[23] See https://www.dn.pt/politica/marcelo-dissolve-parlamento-sem-consenso-do-conselho-de-estado-17311061.html (accessed on 21 December 2023) and https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/portugals-minority-government-be-sworn-stability-doubtful-2024-04-02/ (accessed on 26 April 2024).

be in accordance with the international instruments that bind the State). Or to deny such possibility, even though trade unions will now be incumbent to represent these workers when bargaining collectively[24].

Given the wording of Article 10-A, no. 2, (and particularly the need to consult with other associations), it is probably that the Legislator will follow the second path, leading to a scenario in which trade unions will be able to bargain on behalf of workers that they do not (nor can) formally represent. Which would spark a significant change in the traditional representative functions of Portuguese trade unions. In fact, when bargaining, trade unions (in the private sector) typically represent their members, given that, in principle, a collective agreement will only apply to the employees that are affiliated with the signing union (Article 496 of the Labour Code)[25].

This scenario begs the question of what would the motivation of trade unions be to, in such case, devote their (often scarce) resources to bargain on behalf of these workers (knowing that they are not, nor can became their members)?[26]

It should also be stressed that even though these provisions allude to the rights to collective representation and collective bargaining, the right to strike is conspicuously absent. As I previously noted, since this right also has been perceived, in the Portuguese legal order, as an exclusive of employees, will economically dependent workers be allowed to invoke it? The aforementioned Articles do not seem to permit it, *per se*. This doubt will, perhaps, be answered by the upcoming specific legislation. But even if such omission remains, could the right to collective bargaining be conceived without the necessary means to its materialization? Would it not, in this kind of situation, be reduced to a (as famously stated) "collective begging"?

Finally, as previously stressed, these provisions enshrine not only the right to the bargaining of new agreements, but also to enjoy from pre-existing ones (either by individual choice, through Article 497, or by governmental

[24] M. R. Ramalho (*Tratado de Direito*…, *cit.*, 50) believes that either option presents constitutional problems, since, in the Author's view, these rights can only be enjoyed by employees.

[25] Even though there are several deviations to this rule (as the one consubstantiated in the governmental extension of collective agreements), they always refer to employees that, even if not members of the trade union at stake, can choose to become so.

[26] Posing similar doubts, see J. Gomes, *A Lei n.º 13/2023 de 3 de abril: uma mudança de paradigma em matéria de direito sindical?*, in *Reforma da legislação laboral – Trabalho digno, conciliação entre a vida profissional e familiar*, coord.: M. R. Ramalho, C. O. Carvalho, J. N. Vicente, Estudos APODIT 11, Lisboa, AAFDL, 2023, 74 and ff.

extension). Which may cause several practical difficulties, since, when concluded, these instruments were not aiming at this specific category of workers. Should economically dependent workers benefit from all clauses or, for instance, only those related to the matters referred to in Article 10, no. 1?[27]

The lack of definitive elements precludes any further considerations for the moment, but the gaps and doubts surrounding this new regime are noticeable.

2 Union activity in the undertaking

Another novelty of this reform consists in the reinforcement of union activity in the undertaking. In fact, according to the new wording of Article 460, no. 2, of the Labour Code, the rights enshrined in Articles 461 (right of assembly), 464 (right to facilities) and 465 (right to diffusion of information) will also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to companies where there is no union presence.

The aim of this change is not entirely clear. Some believe that it means that unions, which do not represent any workers at a given company, will now be allowed to call for assemblies, to demand room (inside the company) for their activities, and to distribute and post union-related information in pre-determined spaces[28]. However, this scenario raises constitutional doubts, since it intrudes on the rights to private economic initiative and the right to private ownership (Articles 61 and 62 of the Portuguese Constitution). Such encroachment is particularly visible regarding the right to demand facilities, given the associated costs (costs that are not predefined, since they will depend on the (varying) number of existing trade unions)[29]. And even if one argues that this intrusion is justified by the right to freedom of association, it still seems to lack proportionality[30].

It might, however, be possible to harmonize these provisions with the constitutional parameter.

Firstly, it should be stressed that the first draft of the new Article 460, no. 2, was different. It merely alluded to the right of assembly, and it clearly

[27] Similarly, Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses – Intersindical Nacional, *Guia...*, cit., 20.

[28] See R. Martinez/G. da Silva, *Constituição e agenda do trabalho digno*, *Revista Internacional de Direito do Trabalho*, III, 2023, no. 4, 325.

[29] *Idem*, *ibidem*, 327.

[30] *Idem*, *ibidem*, 328.

stated that trade unions were entitled to summon them. The final version of this provision went in a different way, merely mentioning that the rights contained in Articles 461, 464, and 465 can be enjoyed in companies without union representation, with the necessary adjustments.
This wording begs the question of which adjustments should take place. Allowing third parties to demand spaces or rooms within the company seems excessive. And the same goes for the organization of assemblies or the distribution of information (namely in the company's internal portal). It seems, therefore, more appropriate to acknowledge these rights to the company's workers. Nevertheless, even in this scenario, doubts are rife. Are such rooms to be granted on a permanent basis? Within the company, how many workers will be required for these rights to be exercised (one third? The majority?)?[31]. And will these workers be interested in using such resources? It is unlikely that they will, since they are not workers' representatives and, therefore, lack the protection afforded to this category.
Finally, regarding the right to assembly, and considering the final wording of Article 460, no. 2, (and the difference it bears from the initial proposal), I believe it should not be read as allowing outside unions to call meetings in the company, but merely as allowing the invitation of union leaders to take part of such assemblies – extending a possibility that already exists when there is union representation in the company (Article 461, no. 4, of the Labour Code).

3. Final considerations

It is undeniable that this reform has made interesting steps towards the modernization of Portuguese labour law and the reinforcement of the protection of workers, particularly by allowing economically dependent workers to access collective bargaining instruments.
However, these new provisions elicit several doubts, regarding their adequate interpretation and application and, in some cases, their efficacy is still dependent on other legal instruments that still do not exist. And, regarding the new possibilities of union activity in the undertaking, their implementation must be cautious (and modest) or, otherwise, they risk encroaching on the Constitution. All circumstances that severely limit the impact of this innovation.

[31] J. Gomes («A Lei n.º 13/2023…», cit., 83) believes the right to facilities may, in this case, be merely conceived as granting an access to the company or its proximities to trade unionists, when there is no union presence.

Nevertheless, the measures regarding economically dependent workers are quite relevant and will contribute to a better adjustment of the Portuguese legislation with the rights to freedom of association and to collective bargaining, in the sense that they are given by the ILO conventions and the (Revised) European Charter of Social Rights (although, as previously underscored, the extent to which this will happen is still hazy).

It should also be noted that this particular change was, probably, motivated by the intention of providing a better protection of platform workers. In fact, another innovation of the Decent Work Agenda was the introduction of a new employment presumption (Article 12-A of the Labour Code) specifically applicable to this reality[32]. Which means that platform workers, who do not manage to activate this mechanism or, in general, to prove that they are inserted in an employment relationship, can still accede to some (now reinforced) labour protection, insofar they are considered economically dependent workers. Still, the broad terms in which this regime was conceived will lead to the encompassing of many other categories of workers.

Finally, in what concerns the scope of representation provided by Portuguese trade unions, we might be facing a shift from its previous, more traditional paradigm. It is still uncertain whether this was the choice made by the Legislator and the consequences to which it may lead. And only in time will we be able to ascertain the availability and willingness of trade unions to perform such tasks.

References

AMADO, João Leal, *As plataformas digitais e o novo art. 12.º-A do Código do Trabalho Português: empreendendo ou trabalhando?*, *Revista do TST*, 2023, vol. 89, no. 2, 294-312.

CANOTILHO, J. J.; MOREIRA, Vital, *Constituição da república portuguesa anotada*, Vol. I. 4th ed. rev., Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 2007.

CONFEDERAÇÃO GERAL DOS TRABALHADORES PORTUGUESES – INTERSINDICAL NACIONAL, *Guia interpretativo e orientador da acção sindical para as alterações à legislação laboral*.

[32] For further developments see J. L. Amado, *As plataformas digitais e o novo art. 12.º-A do Código do Trabalho Português: empreendendo ou trabalhando?*, Revista do TST, 2023, vol. 89, no. 2, 294-312 and A. T. Ribeiro, *An employment presumption for platform work – the Portuguese experience*, https://global-workplace-law-and-policy.kluwerlawonline.com/2024/03/18/an-employment-presumption-for-platform-work-the-portuguese-experience/ (accessed on 26 April 2024).

COUNCIL OF EUROPE, *Digest of the case law of the European Committee on Social Rights*, 2022.
GOMES, Júlio, *A Lei n.º 13/2023 de 3 de abril: uma mudança de paradigma em matéria de direito sindical?*, in *Reforma da legislação laboral – Trabalho digno, conciliação entre a vida profissional e familiar*, coord.: Maria do Rosário Ramalho, Catarina de Oliveira Carvalho, Joana Nunes Vicente, Estudos APODIT 11, Lisboa, AAFDL, 2023, 59-84.
GOMES, Júlio, *Nótula sobre o artigo 497.º do Código do Trabalho de 2009*, *Questões laborais*, 2014, no. 44, 5-14.
GOMES, Júlio; RIBEIRO, Ana Teresa, *Algumas notas sobre a contratação coletiva e o direito da concorrência*, *Revista de Direito e de Estudos Sociais*, 2021, nos. 1-4, 219-246.
ILO, *Freedom of association. Compilation of decisions of the Committee on Freedom of Association*, 6th ed., 2018.
LEITE, Jorge, *Direito do trabalho*. Vol. I. Coimbra, Serviços de ação social da UC, 2004.
MARTINEZ, Pedro Romano; SILVA, Gonçalves Luís da, *Constituição e agenda do trabalho digno*, *Revista Internacional de Direito do Trabalho*, III, 2023, no. 4, 279-362.
RAINONE, Silvia; COUNTOURIS, Nicola, *Collective bargaining and self-employed workers. The need for a paradigm shift*, ETUI Policy Brief, 2021.11.
RAMALHO, Maria do Rosário, *Da autonomia dogmática do direito do trabalho*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2000.
RAMALHO, Maria do Rosário, *Tratado de Direito do Trabalho. Parte III – Situações laborais colectivas*, 4th edition, Coimbra, Almedina, 2023.
REDINHA, Regina, *Trabalho economicamente dependente: the soft approach*, *Questões laborais*, 2023, no. 63, 7-16.
RIBEIRO, Ana Teresa, *The extension of collective agreements by State intervention: the Portuguese regime and the protection it may offer to SMEs*, in *Employment relations and the transformation of the enterprise in the global economy. Proceedings of the thirteenth international conference in commemoration of Marco Biagi*, Torino, G. Giappichelli Editore, 2015, 247-262.
REIS, João, *O conflito colectivo de trabalho*, Gestlegal, Coimbra, 2017.

ADAPT International Network

ADAPT is a non-profit organisation founded in 2000 by Prof. Marco Biagi with the aim of promoting studies and research in the field of labour law and industrial relations from an international and comparative perspective. Our purpose is to encourage and implement a new approach to academic research, by establishing ongoing relationships with other universities and advanced studies institutes, and promoting academic and scientific exchange programmes with enterprises, institutions, foundations and associations. In collaboration with the Centre for International and Comparative Studies on Law, Economics, Environment and Work, (DEAL) the Marco Biagi Department of Economics, University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, ADAPT set up the International School of Higher Education in Labour and Industrial Relations, a centre of excellence which is accredited at an international level for research, study and postgraduate programmes in the area of industrial and labour relations. Further information at *www.adapt.it*.

For more information about the E-journal and to submit a paper, please send a mail to *LS@adapt.it*.

DEAL Centre for International and Comparative Studies Law Economics Environment Work
THE MARCO BIAGI DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
UNIVERSITY OF MODENA AND REGGIO EMILIA

ADAPT International.it
Building the Future of Work