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## Abstracts

### TRADE UNIONS AS ACTORS OF MACROECONOMIC POLICIES

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Giovanni Di Bartolomeo, Stefano Papa

Over time, trade unions have increasingly turned their attention to bargaining at firm level, gradually abandoning their sphere of macroeconomic intervention that had characterised their actions in the past. Taking sometimes a hostile stance, unions have focused their actions on government policies; however, in this area, such actions have been carried out in a non-cooperative manner and have seldom had concrete effects. Our paper analyses the role of union actions in the formation of macroeconomic policies. It highlights their theoretical and empirical features and why they are necessary with a view to protecting workers. Finally, building on an initial idea of Ezio Tarantelli, the paper suggests a change in trade unions' approach to the formation process of economic policies: from conflictual to cooperative. The approach should become cooperative not in relation to the definition of union priority goals, but in the ways in which they are proposed: if unions intend to table (or critically analyse) some actions, they should do it with the same "language" and in the same area as the subjects that are supposed to implement (or propose) them.

### COORDINATION BETWEEN FIRMS AND TRADE UNIONS IN THE 1970S

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Mauro Rota, Donatella Strangio

The economic growth during the Golden Age (1950-1971) was based on the institutional setup of the European economy, which – by means of different arrangements across countries – achieved a cooperative equilibrium between the conflicting interests of firms and unions, which allowed for an unprecedented growth in employment and income. The disruption, due to institutional obsolescence, of such coordinated equilibrium is deemed to have played a fundamental role, along with macroeconomic shocks, in the slowdown of the European economy after 1971, thus marking a difference with the previous phase of sustained growth.

The present contribution demonstrates, instead, that the cooperative equilibrium between unions and firms survived also during the 1970s, extending the phase of sustained growth in Europe by a decade. From the dismissal of the Bretton Woods system until 1979, the institutional obsolescence had been offset by appropriate economic policies that, during the 1970s, contributed to stabilising the cooperative equilibrium between firms and unions by means of very low (and in some cases even negative) real interest rates. In particular, the strengthening of capital controls and the adoption of expansionary monetary policies reduced real interest rates, preventing savings outflows and sustaining domestic investments. The coordination mechanism became weaker and weaker starting in 1979 onwards, in conjunction with the newly established EMS framework, which stripped policy makers of their full discretion on interest rates, as well as with the faster and faster globalisation process and the loss of effectiveness of capital controls. It was only then that the obsolescence of the European institutional setups of the post-WWII period appeared in full.

## HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES RELATED TO 1969

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Andrea Ciampani

After a brief methodological consideration, the essay focuses on three main aspects: the distinction of the social phenomena associated with the years 1968 and 1969; the socio-political preparation of the so-called 'Hot Autumn', consisting of expectations and fears, which tended to anticipate its outcomes; and the remarkable participation of workers from large segments of the private and public sectors in the so-called 'Union Autumn' as a mature social identity that demanded recognition, openly pointing to the issue of a proper relationship between social representation and political representation, still unresolved at the end of 1969.

## UNITY OF ACTION AND ORGANIC UNITY

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Adolfo Pepe

The reflection on the so-called 'Hot Autumn', and in general on 1969, can now benefit both from the analysis conducted by sociologists, economists, and jurists, and from some recent studies that have tried to historicise this period. The reference to this new and rich series of studies on Republican Italy – interpreted taking into account the changes in work and industrial relations – is particularly useful because it frames the events occurred in 1969 and during the Hot Autumn within a broader historical perspective. All of this raises a question as to why in 1969 the economic and social phenomena, as well as the political and institutional ones, had an impact on trade unions.

At first glance, the answer to this question is trivial and can be easily found in the existing juridical, sociological, and economic literature. However, if considered from a historical point of view, the question gains much more significance: the focus shifts towards the close examination of the historical features of Republican Italy, of which the year 1969 becomes a turning point in the double sense that it is at the core of a long and homogeneous period (begun in 1967-1968 and ended in 1972-1973) and forms part of an unprecedented cycle in the history of united Italy.

## UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITARY FEDERATION: TRADE UNIONS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARTIES AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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Mimmo Carrieri

This article analyses the changes in the relationship between trade unions and the political system during the years of the Unitary Federation (*Federazione unitaria*), which brought together Italy's main union confederations (CGIL, CISL, and UIL). During this period, the united unions became more and more autonomous from political parties and were recognised as "political entities".

At the same time, new problems and tendencies emerged within left-wing parties. In particular, following the disagreement on the wage indexation mechanism (known as 'sliding wage scale'), the Italian Communist Party adopted a strategy that was less focused on the working class and featured a more generalist orientation, thus heading towards the "catch-all party" model. In the following years, this evolution triggered new tensions in the relationship with unions.

## GOVERNING INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS? UNION REPRESENTATIVENESS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

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Micaela Vitaletti

The author addresses the issue of trade union representativeness to take part in national collective bargaining. To this aim, she analyses the 1972 Federative Pact, also comparing it with the Inter-confederal Agreement dated 10 January 2014 with a view to identifying similarities and differences, thus outlining avenues for further reflection.

## PROPENSITIES TO CONSUME AND THE PERSONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME IN A SIMPLE KEYNESIAN MODEL

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Fabio Ravagnani

As is known, explicit consideration of the different propensities to consume of the various groups of income earners plays a major role in the attempts to extend Keynes's and Kalecki's principle of effective demand to the analysis of growth and functional distribution. This paper points out, by means of a simple multi-sectoral model, that those different consumption habits contribute to shaping the personal distribution of income in the economy, not only directly but also by influencing the impact on personal distribution, of policy measures involving income transfers.

## THE LABOUR MARKET IN EUROPE BETWEEN DEREGULATION AND PROTECTION OF RIGHTS

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Vito Di Santo

The paper aims to highlight the dynamics and criticalities of the labour market organisational model in Europe: the indications coming from the Community level, which are intended to create a market that is both flexible for businesses and safe for workers, are crosscutting in nature and have an impact on the three phases of working relationships – entry, exit, and contract – in addition to affecting industrial relations models. Workers' rights and companies' organisational needs find new forms of coexistence and mutual reinforcement in a production world that is further and further from the Fordist model, as well as increasingly oriented towards *Industry 4.0*.

## THE DIFFICULT PATH OF STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Luciano Marcello Milone

In the expectation of a successful and definitive exit from the recent global crisis, the debate on the long-term programmes of structural reforms in the European Union has gradually revived. It is a widely shared view that the scant economic dynamism characterising a number of member countries in recent decades is largely due to widespread structural weaknesses. However, similarly to the pre-crisis experience, the path of structural reforms continues to appear fraught with difficulties. On the basis of the extensive literature grounded on political economy and public choice approaches, this paper analyses why the decision-making process of structural reforms is usually very difficult even though, at least potentially, they lead to a more efficient allocation of resources and boost long-run growth. Finally, the paper points out how the path of a country's structural reforms may be strongly influenced by political, institutional, and economic factors contributing to the definition of a framework in which policy makers interact with the national community in its various forms, lobbies and, more generally, organised special interest groups.

## HIRING POLICIES AND EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE: THE ROLE OF THE PENSION REFORM IN ITALY

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Roberto Quaranta, Andrea Ricci

This paper investigates the impact of an (unexpected) increase in retirement age on Italian firms' hiring decisions. Using data derived from the Survey on Employers and Employees, conducted by the National Institute for Public Policies Analysis (INAPP) in 2015 on a representative sample of Italian firms (partnerships and stock corporations) active in the private non-agricultural sector, we show that the increase in retirement age associated with Law no. 214/2011 (so-called 'Fornero Reform') prompted, between 2012 and 2014, 2.2% of Italian firms to abstain from previously planned hirings. This implied a net loss of new hirings corresponding to 43,000 workers. Based on such evidence, we can confirm the assumption that the increase in retirement age triggered a reduction in new employment. Furthermore, the application of simple regression models allows us to test whether this reduction in new (previously planned) hirings also impacted on the age structure of the workforce and on work organisation within firms. Estimates point out that, following the reform, the employment rate of young people aged less than 35 decreased, as did the percentage of fixed-term employment contracts, whereas the share of workers involved in vocational training activities increased. Finally, regression results show that the reform brought about a decrease in women's employment rate.

## REGIONAL MODELS IN THE LIGHT OF THE REFORM OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICES. A COMPARISON BETWEEN TUSCANY AND LOMBARDY

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Francesco Pastore

This essay analyses two of the best regional models of employment services, the ones adopted in Lombardy and in Tuscany. Following the rejection of the Boschi-Renzi constitutional reform through the last referendum, different regional systems will continue to be in place. The Single Job Grant (*Dote Unica Lavoro*, DUL) programme in Lombardy envisages the introduction of a quasi-market, with vouchers assigned by public and private services according to the objective profiling of beneficiaries in different groups. This is aimed at limiting cherry picking and creaming. Moreover, in order to avoid gaming, the programme envisages a reward that, based on the Anglo-Saxon black box approach, is conditional upon the activation of an employment contract of at least six months. DUL was used as a model for the national reform (Legislative Decree No. 150 of 14 September 2015) with a few small differences, such as the monitoring, supervision, and evaluation role assigned to the public sector in order to avoid conflicts of interests in the profiling of beneficiaries. In the implementation of the reform, Tuscany attaches greater importance to forecasting demand for training and jobs (a task to be carried out by DUL operators), as well as to training (in addition to placement).