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LABOUR RELATIONS IN THE GERMAN MEAT INDUSTRY – FROM EROSION TO RE-ORGANISATION?

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- 1. The specific business and labour exploitation model of the German Meat Industry
- 2. After massive Covid-19 outbreaks in the German meat industry: The adoption of a new legal labour package
- **3. The impact of the new legal labour package:** New rules of the game and opportunities for trade unions and workers' struggles







- **1970/1980s: Privatisation** of former public abattoirs
- **1990s:Opening of the German labour market**for posted workers from Eastern Europe

Erosion of sector-level collective bargaining

Decline of trade union representation

2000s EU Eastern Enlargement/ Increasing employment of Eastern European workers in the meat industry

Increasing concentration in the meat industry and the emergence of large meat companies

Establishment of a **new business model!**





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Trade balance of the German meat industry Annual Labour Costs in the meat industry (2018)

Denmark* 69,000 53.300 Belgium Netherlands 52.500 46,500 France 31,700 Germany

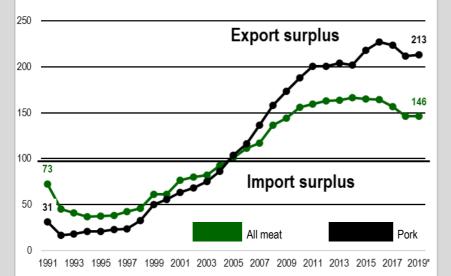
Increasing market expansion based on

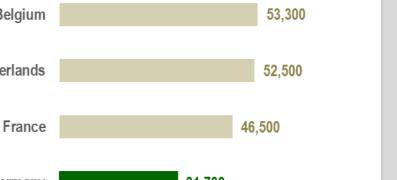
- cheap mass production
- strong export-orientation

The New Business Model

exploitation of cheap labour from Eastern Europe

of the German Meat Industry (since the 1990s)









The Specific Labour Exploitation Model of the German Meat Industry (since the 1990s)



from Eastern Europe

- hired not by the meat producer but by sub-contracting companies
- extremely low wages; not covered by collective agreements
- extremely hard working conditions and long working hours
- many offences against health and safety and other legal labour standards
- extremely poor housing conditions
- no workers' representation, as works councils in the meat companies have almost no representation rights regarding workers from sub-contractors





Attempts to limit labour exploitation in the German Meat Industry (since the 2010s)



Regular scandalisation of exploitative labour and housing conditions in the media

2015: Introduction of a statutory minimum wage

and subsequently also temporarily a collectively agreed sectoral minimum wage for the meat industry.

In Practice: Minimum wages were often undermined, especially through excessive working hours!

2014 ff: Voluntary commitments of the meat companies

to improve conditions and to reduce the number of subcontractors.

In Practice: Almost no effect!

2017: A special law *(GESA Fleisch)* obliging meat companies to monitor compliance with labour standards at subcontractors.

In Practice: Almost no effect!



Massive Covid-19 Outbreaks in German Slaughterhouses (May/June 2020)



FINANCIAL TIMES

Coronavirus pandemic + Add to myFT

German slaughterhouses in spotlight after virus outbreak

Migrant workers endure conditions scientists say are prime Covid-19 incubators



Coronavirus: 'Modern slavery' at the heart of German slaughterhouse outbreak

Just as lockdown measures are lifting, more than 200 employees at a slaughterhouse in western Germany have contracted COVID-19. DW spoke to workers living in dilapidated, crowded conditions.



GERMANY



CORONAVIRUS THE TIMES Coronavirus: Slaughterhouse at centre of huge new German outbreak



• This article is more the Guardian

'Exploitative conditions': Germany to reform meat industry after spate of Covid-19 cases

Ban on use of subcontractors and fines of €30,000 for slaughterhouses breaching new labour regulations a 'historic moment', say campaigners

- Coronavirus latest updates
- See all our coronavirus coverage





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After the Covid-19 Crisis: **A New Era for the German Meat Industry?**









The New Legal Labour Package for the for the German Meat Industry (2021)



Occupational Safety and Health Inspection Act (Arbeitsschutzkontrollgesetz)

- Legal ban of sub-contracting in the core areas of meat production from 1 January 2021
- Legal ban on temporary agency work from 1 April 2021
- Requirement of electronic recording of working hours
- Minimum number of workplace inspections
- Minimum standards for company housing
- Higher financial penalties for employers which violate labour standards
- Changing rules of the game

for workers' representation and trade unions





The end of the subcontracting system?

- All approx. 35.000 former subcontracted workers were directly employed by meat companies!!!
- Subcontractors were still used for **recruiting** of migrant workers
- Work organisation/hierarchies of subcontractors were often taken over from the meat companies
- Some companies try to **bypass** the ban on subcontracting (legal cases are pending and are still not decided by courts)
- Whole new legislation is legally contested (has to be decided by the German Constitutional Court)





Impact of the New Legal Labour Package in the German Meat Industry



Improvement of conditions?

- Working time: Formerly extended working days (up to 16 hours) are reduced to max 10 h/day, due to digital recording and controls
- Inspections by state institutions were extended (but still not satisfying)
- Working conditions did not change substantially. Harsh, authoritarian regime inside factory continues -> supervisors of the former subcontracting firms still in charge
- **Division of workforce** (core migrant workers) proceeds
- Still high labour turnover rate among unskilled migrant workers
- Housing situation improved, but not resolved -> still no new legal framework





Impact of the New Legal Labour Package in the German Meat Industry

New rules of the game:

- 1. Workers councils at companies are in charge of the entire workforce
- 2. New Opportunities for trade unions to organise migrant workers and to re-regulate the sector via collective agreements
- **3. Strengthening networks** between unions and other NGOs (churches, welfare organisations etc.)
- 4. Better support for migrant workers through the union-run advisory organisation "Faire Mobilität"







New Trade Union Campaigning in the German Meat Industry

Collective bargaining for new sectoral agreements

March 2021: Start of negotiations

April 2021: Wave of industrial action

- nation-wide more than 50 protests and strikes at slaughterhouses
- largest number of activities since decades
- May 2021:Agreement on a sector-wide minimum wageabove the level of the statutory minimum wage
- 2022ff. Negotiations started on other working conditions (working time, holidays etc.)





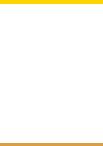


New Trade Union Campaigning in the German Meat Industry

Collective bargaining in multiple languages

- Significant participation of migrant workers in industrial action
- **Raising self-confidence** of migrant workers ۲
- Significant (but still rather limited) organising of migrant workers





NGG



01 04 2022

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MEHR GELD! MEHR URLAUB!





- New rules of the game and subsequent union and civil society activities started a (social) transformation of the German Meat Industry
- despite first gains the union NGG is still in a weak position, civil society network small
- There will be new opportunities for **works councils** in the meat industry (especially after electing in spring 2022)
- Social transformation will need more years to gain stable improvements and to change production and business model more fundamentally







Relevance for labour relations analysis:

- A re-organisation of rather disturbed labour relations and exploitive business models is possible!
- It requires both **political** and **trade union action**.





Many thanks for your attention!





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Further Reading: WSI Institute of Econom Social Research REPORT The WSI is an institute of the Hans-Söckler-Stiftung No. 61e, January 2021 **RENEWING LABOUR RELATIONS** IN THE GERMAN MEAT INDUSTRY An end to 'organised irresponsibility's Serife Erol and Thorsten Schulte OVERVIEW Supervy employees, holds out the prospect of a 1 brund of angin is employees, holds out the prospect of a 1 for the course of 2020, repeated outbreaks of COVID-19 in a nomber of large Gamman meat pro-se not sufficient, on their court, to ensure does the longstandford (larger and larger and larger and larger not sufficient, on their court, to ensure does the longstandford (larger and larger and larger and larger not sufficient, on the industry, underprint how legalation providing for enhanced inspection to health and starts, register with a bare track work, and limitations on the use of temporary by law to cover the entire sector. verage in the meat industry in selected European co National branch-level collective agreement for entire food industry with specific pro slaushter-houses and meat processing: the agreement has been extended by law t Denmar National collective agreement for the meat industry lational collective agreement for slaughterhouses (extended ment for the meat industry (extended) ts: no industry-level agreement and most establishments are not cov ws

Download:

https://www.wsi.de/de/ faust-detail.htm?sync_id=HBS-007928 71. Jahrgang, 51-52/2021, 20. Dezember 2021



AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE Fleisch

Gunther Hirschfelder VOM WOHLSTANDS-ZUM KRISENSYMBOL

Martin Winter

FLEISCHKONSUM

UND MÄNNLICHKEIT

Achim Spiller · Gesa Busch WIE TIERE ZU FLEISCH WERDEN

Bernd Ladwig Thorsten Schulten - Johannes Spech KRITIK AM FLEISCHKONSUM: MORALISCH ODER MORALISTISCH

Deborab Williger SCHÄCHTEN IN DER DEUTSCH-JÜDISCHEN GESCHICHTE

APuZ ZEITSCHRIFT DER BUNDESZENTRALE FÜR POLITISCHE BILDUNG Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das **Parlament**

Download:

https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/ fleisch-2021/344835/ein-jahr-arbeitsschutzkontrollgesetz



