



Industrial relations and social dialogue
**Luxembourg: Developments in
working life 2024**

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Introduction

The socio-political year 2024 has been characterized by a substantial deterioration of national-level social dialogue between the government and trade unions, alongside a parallel period of harmony between the government and employer organisations. The conflict between trade unions and the government has crystallized around two main issues: a planned reform of the collective bargaining system and the issue of working time and opening hours in the retail sector. Furthermore, the government has initiated a public debate over the future of the pension system, a debate that trade unions see with concern.

Following the economic downturn in 2023, Luxembourg saw a modest recovery in 2024, with economic growth reaching 0.5%. This growth rate still falls short of the historical average growth of 3.2% observed between 1995 and 2021.

Inflation has subsided to 2% in 2024, partly due to continued government subsidies for gas and electricity, taking pressure away from the contentious issue of the automatic wage indexation mechanism. In 2025, inflation is expected to reach 2.1%.

Unemployment has slightly increased, up to 5.7%. Job creation has also slowed down in comparison to the previous year, reaching 1% (after increasing by 2.3% in 2023). This is the most modest growth of employment since 2009 in Luxembourg. The national statistical office has also noted a lesser growth of the number of cross-border workers in crucial sectors such as finances and IT, which may be the result of a decrease in attractiveness of the country's labour market for qualified workers (Statec 2024).

Political context

The new government formed after the general election held in October 2023 is made up of the Christian Social People's Party (Chrëschtlech-Sozial Vollekspartei, CSV) and the Democratic Party (Demokratesch Partei, DP), under the leadership of Luc Frieden from the CSV. The Prime Minister Frieden has repeatedly emphasised during the recent period the fact that Luxembourg is one of the few remaining countries in Western Europe with a "stable government", seeing this as a competitive advantage.

Whereas the previous government, made up of the DP, the centre-left Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (Lëtzebuenger Sozialistesche Arbechterpartei, LSAP) and the Green Party (déi Gréng), had not known many points of friction with trade unions, the new government seems less keen on including unions in decision-making processes. Relations between unions and the government are tense especially over three issues: a planned reform of the collective bargaining system, the issue of working time and opening hours in the retail sector, and a planned reform of the pension system. On all three points, trade unions see risks of a deterioration of social rights. As concerns employer organisations, they are by and large supportive of the governments' initiatives on these points, amid a general feeling that the new government is showing more responsive to employer demands.

The conflict around collective agreements and opening hours/working hours in retail have also led to internal divergences within the CSV, with the party's group chairman in Parliament Marc Spautz, a former trade unionist, voicing his dissent and demanding from the Minister of Labour, Georges Mischo (CSV), that he reopen the dialogue with the unions. Before the Minister of Labour had made public his reform plans seen by unions as limiting their role in collective bargaining and putting into question the hierarchy of norms, Spautz had declared in a press interview in September 2024 his support for multi-employer bargaining and the hierarchy of norms: "It is evident that we need more collective agreements, and wage policy must be negotiated by nationally representative trade unions, as agreed in the conventions with the International Labour Organization. This must be achieved through framework collective agreements in sectors where none currently exist. [...] Based on these framework collective agreements, individual businesses naturally have the opportunity to build on them and create better conditions." (*d'Lëtzebuenger Land* 2024). Former Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker (CSV), a committed social catholic, has publicly stated his support for Spautz's stand and has called not to lose sight of the importance of social peace for Luxembourg's national competitiveness and for respecting the role of unions in the regulation of working conditions (RTL Radio 2024c). Juncker also urged his party to beware of moving its political centre of gravity to the right, particularly on social issues. The debate over the government's plans to reform the collective bargaining system will thus turn into a test of the remaining influence of the once powerful social-catholic wing of the CSV, which entertained close links with the LCGB.

Actors and institutions

Social partners

In March 2024, elections were held to elect staff representatives in the companies and to elect representatives to the Chamber of Employees (CSL). Both elections, which are held every five years, are important to measure the national representativeness of trade unions. Indeed, to qualify for national representativeness, a trade union must meet two key criteria. First, it must have secured an average of at least 20% of the votes in the most recent elections to the CSL. Second, it must demonstrate an effective presence across the majority of the country's economic sectors. This presence is verified based on the union's results in the most recent staff delegation elections.

The election of the Chamber of Employees (Chambre des salaires, CSL) saw a slight uptick in the participation rate for the first time in several decades, from 32.6% in 2019 to 34.4% in 2024. The balance of forces between the two nationally representative unions, the Luxembourg Independent Trade Union Confederation (Onofhängege Gewerkschaftsbond Lëtzebuerg, OGBL) and the Luxembourg Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (Lëtzebuenger Chrëschtleche Gewerkschaftsbond, LCGB), remained fairly stable. The finance sector union Luxembourg Association for all Employees with a need for Assistance (the former Luxembourg Association of Bank and Insurance Employees, ALEBA) continued to erode in its core sector of banks and fell short of its own set target of achieving national representativeness (although the union gained one seat outside of the financial sector). The OGBL gained 37 seats, maintaining its position, while the LCGB obtained 17 seats (-1 seat), ALEBA gained 5 seats (+1 seat) and the railway workers' union Christian Federation of Transport Personnel (Fédération Chrétienne du Personnel des Transports, SYPROLUX), one seat (no change).

Similarly to the election of the CSL, the election of staff delegations in companies with more than 15 employees did not lead to major changes in the relationship of forces between the two main private sector trade unions, the nationally representative unions OGBL and LCGB, as well as ALEBA, which is mainly present in the finance sector and did not succeed in its stated ambition of gaining a following among the numerous non-unionized staff representatives. According to the Labour and Mine Inspectorate (Inspection du Travail et des Mines, ITM), 25% of elected staff delegates are affiliated with the OGBL (+1% in comparison to the last elections held in 2019), 13% with the LCGB (-1%), 4% with ALEBA (no change), while 57 % were elected from non-union lists (no change).

Staff representatives who are not affiliated with unions are primarily elected in smaller companies with fewer than 100 employees, and in sectors such as real estate, accounting, IT and communication, hospitality and retail. In companies with fewer than 100 employees, 77% of staff representatives were elected from non-union lists, whereas in companies with more than 100 employees, 32% were elected from non-union lists. According to the Minister of Labour, 66% of employees in companies with more than 15 workers are represented by a staff delegation that includes at least one trade union (Chambre des députés 2024). In the aftermath of the election, the high presence of elected staff representatives who are not union-affiliated has become a source of dispute between unions and employers. The employer organisation, Federation of Craftsmen (Fédération des artisans, FdA) has highlighted the fact that many staff representatives are non-unionized, and stated that unions have become an "absolute fringe phenomenon" in the "real world of work" (Fédération des artisans 2024). In contrast, the president of the OGBL has accused the FdA of deliberately avoiding the election of unionized staff

representatives: “The employers’ association competed with us by putting forward its own lists of candidates who are completely aligned with the employers’ side” (*Tageblatt* 2024).

Luxembourg law does not contain provisions on the representativeness of employers’ organisations, therefore the elections for the two private sector employers’ chambers, the Chamber of Commerce (Chambre de commerce) and the Chamber of Skilled Trades and Crafts (Chambre des métiers) do not carry the same implications for employer’s organisations. It is, however, noteworthy that in 2024, for the first time since 1999, the Chamber of Commerce held elections in one of its electoral groups. Whereas usually only as many candidates present themselves as there are posts, this time around, more candidates ran than there were posts available in the so-called group 1, covering “Trade and other commercial activities not specifically named” (one of the six electoral groups of the professional chamber). The participation rate was very low, with 556 voters out of 34,770 possible electors. Fernand Ernster was confirmed as president of the main employers’ chamber.

Social dialogue bodies or frameworks

There are no relevant developments to report as concerns Social dialogue bodies and frameworks.

Other working life related institutions

There are no relevant developments to report as concerns Other working life related institutions.

Developments in collective bargaining

Changes to the collective bargaining structures and frameworks

The Minister of Labour presented on 8 October 2024 to trade unions and employers associations gathered in the Permanent Committee of Employment and Work (Comité permanent de l'emploi et du travail, CPTÉ) his plans to reform the collective bargaining system. The minister's declarations during this meeting were seen by trade unions as an attack on their role in the industrial relations system and led to a much-discussed fallout with the government.

During the meeting, the Minister of Labour presented a project to allow staff delegations to negotiate directly agreements with the employer, without the intervention by a union. This would represent a break with the current situation where only nationally or sectorally representative unions are entitled to negotiate collective agreements. This approach also puts into question the favourability principle as collective bargaining seems to be primarily considered by the government as a means to adapt labour law in order to enhance the competitiveness of companies. Additionally, in order to incite more companies to negotiate collective agreements, the government plans to reduce the topics that need to be covered in a collective agreement.

Trade unions left the meeting of the CPTÉ in protest after twenty minutes of discussion. Trade unions and the opposition parties from the centre left and the left accused the government of putting into question the legitimacy of trade unions as negotiators of collective agreements. The government declared that it does not want to reduce trade unions' right to negotiate collective agreements but rather create the possibility to negotiate directly at the company-level between (unionized or non-unionized) staff representatives and company management, without the intervention of a union. The Minister of Labour thus stated in a radio interview: "One could say that the right to negotiate collective agreements stays with the trade unions, but that one could extract certain points that could be discussed directly between the employer and the employee." Asked by the journalist which points could thus be discussed bilaterally, the minister answered: "This could be everything." (RTL Radio 2024b). The Prime Minister explained a few weeks later that trade unions would continue negotiating collective agreements, but that "some issues" are better left to be negotiated at the company-level, directly between the employer and staff representatives (RTL Radio 2024a).

In addition, the Minister of Labour announced on 11 October 2024 that the government planned to allow work in the retail sector on Sundays for 8 hours. At present, employees in the retail sector can work a maximum of four hours on Sundays unless their employer has signed a collective agreement permitting extended hours. The announcement, made three days after the contentious meeting of the CPTÉ, was considered as a further provocation by unions. In its opinion on the draft law put forward by the Minister of Labour, the Chamber of employees criticized that by allowing Sunday work for up to 8 hours, the government will take away an important incentive for employers to negotiate collective agreements in the retail sector, where the collective bargaining coverage rate is already fairly low, at 38 % (Chambre des salariés 2024).

Data on collective bargaining

Collective bargaining in Luxembourg is characterised by the coexistence of company-level collective agreements and industry-level agreements, and can thus be qualified as a mixed bargaining system. Cross-industry agreements have been limited to subjects such as telework, and harassment and violence at work.

The collective bargaining coverage in Luxembourg stands at 59%, but if one looks only at the bargaining coverage in the private sector (excluding public administration and public education), the coverage rate stands only at 53%. Collective bargaining in Luxembourg is measured by the national statistical office Statec based on the Structure of earnings survey conducted every four years. The currently available figures refer to the 2018 edition of this survey.

The bargaining power of unions varies significantly across industries. In 2018, at the industry level, the coverage rate of collective agreements ranged from 75 percent of workers in health and social work to 64 percent in manufacturing, with lower rates of 21 percent in hospitality and 14 percent in professional, scientific and technical activities (Thomas 2023a).

In 2024, a collective agreement of general obligation was negotiated for the first time in the sector of collective food services provided to schools, hospitals and workplaces. The agreement was signed by OGBL and LCGB, on the union side, and by FEDIL Catering representing the employers. Given that most sectoral collective agreements of general obligation are long standing, the introduction of a new sectoral collective agreement is a noteworthy development.

While no data is available on the total number of valid collective agreements at any given time, the Labour and Mine Inspectorate (Inspection du Travail et des Mines, ITM) publishes each year in its annual report the number of new or amended collective agreements filed. The available data shows that collective agreements are negotiated at both the sectoral and company level (see Table 1).

Table 1. The number of new/amended collective agreements per year

Year	New and amended sectoral collective agreements of general obligation	New and amended agreements at company level
2023	2	129
2022	5	128
2021	10	111
2020	1	67
2019	3	62
2018	15	104

Source: ITM, *Inspection du Travail et des Mines, Rapports annuels, 2018-2023*.

Collectively agreed pay outcomes and wage-setting mechanism

Most wage increases in Luxembourg are primarily due to the wage indexation mechanism rather than to wage negotiations. Under the wage indexation system, wages are linked to the cost of living. If the

consumer price index increases by 2.5%, wages are automatically raised by the same amount. Luxembourg is among the few eurozone countries where wage costs in 2023 exceeded those of 2021 (+3%), similar to Belgium (+2.4%), which also operates a wage indexation system (Statec 2024a). After a sharp increase of the average wage costs in 2023 in Luxembourg, which was mainly due to the occurrence of three indexation tranches in February, April and September 2023 (each time wages increased by 2.5%), wage costs increased more slowly in 2024 (Statec 2024b).

In 2024, a new collective agreement was negotiated for the period 2024-26 in the banking sector, which, as the main driver of Luxembourg's service-oriented economy, plays a key role as a reference point for wage trends, in particular for the public sector. Prior to the conclusion of the agreement, employers had highlighted the need for a prudent approach in a volatile environment, while trade unions pointed to the high profits made by many banks in Luxembourg in 2023. The resulting agreement negotiated between ALEBA, OGBL and LCGB, on the union side, and the Luxembourg Bankers' Association (Association des Banques et Banquiers Luxembourg, ABBL) includes a special bonus of EUR 500, an increase of the "fidelity bonus" aimed at incentivizing employees to remain in the banking sector, and a right to vocational training. However, trade unions did not succeed in having the high-ranking employees (cadres supérieurs) of the banking sector covered by the collective agreement. In accordance with labour law, these high-ranking employees – defined by their higher pay, managerial authority and autonomy in work organization – are not covered by collective agreements unless otherwise specified in the collective agreement. Trade unions frequently argue that companies in the financial sector designate far too many of their workers as high-ranking employees, even when they do not meet all the legal criteria for this classification.

As concerns the minimum wage, it is regularly adjusted to the evolution of the average wage level (in addition to being adjusted in line with the automatic wage indexation mechanism). The minimum wage can indeed be raised every two years based on the evolution of the average wage level. In January 2025, the minimum wage was raised by 2,6% according to this mechanism. This brought the regular minimum wage for unskilled employees to EUR 2.637 per month and to EUR 3.165 for skilled employees with recognized qualifications or experience. Based on a 40-hour week, this corresponds to a minimum wage of EUR 15,24 per hour for unqualified workers and EUR 18,30 for qualified workers. Despite having the highest minimum wage in Europe, Luxembourg continues to face a significant issue with "in-work poverty" of households depending on the minimum wage. According to OECD data, in 2023 the minimum wage stood at 57% of the median salary in Luxembourg and at 45% of the average salary.

Regarding the minimum wage, the Minister of Labour has proposed on 30 August 2024 a draft law to transpose the European Directive on Adequate Minimum Wages. It does not spell out any changes as concerns the level of the minimum wage. The government considers indeed that the current possibility to adjust every two years by law the level of the minimum wage as well as the automatic wage indexation mechanism, by which wages are adapted each time the consumer price index increases by more than 2.5 %, are sufficient to guarantee conformity with the directive. The main innovation of the draft legislation is the creation of a body tasked with advising the government on the evolution of the minimum wage. Tasked with examining and regularly monitoring changes in the level of the social minimum wage and with exchanging information on the setting and updating of the minimum wage, this consultative body is to be made up of 5 members designated by the government or public institutions and of four members appointed on the proposal of trade unions and employer associations (2 by unions and 2 by employers).

Luxembourg's Prime Minister, Luc Frieden, cited competitiveness concerns to explain why the minimum wage should not be structurally raised: "Living on the minimum wage is very difficult. But the minimum wage is not paid by the state, it is paid by companies, and we have to ensure, also in the context of the debate on competitiveness, that we have a social policy and that the ones paying the wages can also survive" (RTL Radio 2024a).

Collective bargaining and artificial intelligence (AI)

Trade unions have proposed to the employers' association UEL to conclude a cross-industry agreement on AI. The OGBL believes, however, that employers are not keen to negotiate an interprofessional agreement, in a context in which they want to push the idea of decentralising collective bargaining from the national and sector-level to the company-level (Woxx 2024).

Labour disputes and industrial action

Trade unions have made it clear that they consider the planned reform of the legislation on collective bargaining as a *casus belli*. The three nationally representative unions Luxembourg OGBL, LCGB and General Public Sector Confederation (Confédération Générale de la Fonction Publique, CGFP), declared in a joint press statement: “The Labour Minister tramples on the spirit of the EU directive on adequate minimum wages.” The president of the LCGB declared that the unions were ready to do “whatever it takes” to contest the draft law, and accused the Minister of Labour, member of the CSV, which has historically been a close ally of the LCGB, of having “denigrated the unions like nobody else in Luxembourg” (RTL Radio 2024d). He furthermore called the government’s action plan “the worst attack on Luxembourg’s social model” (*Luxemburger Wort*, 10 October 2024). During a joint protest meeting, OGBL and LCGB declared on 3 December 2024 that they were ready to call a “general strike” in case the government persists with its plans to reform the collective bargaining system. In Luxembourg, “general strikes” are traditionally one-day intersectoral strikes in opposition to government policies, with the last general strike taking place in 1982 on the topic of the wage indexation mechanism.

Employer organisations have been supportive of the Minister of Labour’s reform plans as concerns collective bargaining. Historically, employers have claimed since the 1930s that they prefer to negotiate with the company staff representatives rather than with union representatives from outside the company (Thomas 2024b). The director of the umbrella organisation of employers, Union of Luxembourg Enterprises (Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises, UEL), had summed up in a press interview the general point of view of his affiliates regarding collective agreements and put into question the favourability principle: “Luxembourg has the best collective agreement: its labour law, which is already so rigid and so much in favour of employees, with a minimum wage much higher than in other countries [...]. A collective agreement is a compromise: we give something and we receive something in return. For example, we give more money [to employees] and in return, as a company, we receive more flexibility regarding working hours. But in Luxembourg, this is not possible: no clause in a collective agreement can be less favourable [to employees] than what is already provided for by law. As a result, the company has nothing to gain, it can only outbid: give more, but receive nothing. If we want to have an opening on collective agreements, we must also create the conditions for negotiations where, on the flexibility of working time or on Sunday work, the employer can expect something in return.” (*Paperjam* 2024).

Changes to the right to strike

There are no relevant developments to report as concerns Changes to the right to strike.

Data on industrial action in 2024

While 2023 saw two much-noted strikes in the air freight and manufacturing sectors, 2024 did not experience similar industrial action. No data on the overall number of working days lost due to strikes is published in Luxembourg.

Developments in working time

Changes to legislation

There are no relevant developments to report as concerns Changes to legislation.

Bargaining outcomes

There is no consolidated information available on working time reductions negotiated in collective agreements. Collective agreements do, however, often contain dispositions on additional holidays either for all workers, or for specific categories of workers, for instance older workers. Additional holidays for specific purposes, such as for family or health reasons, may also be negotiated at sector or company-level.

Debates on duration and organisation

In October 2024, the Minister of Labour announced that the government planned to allow work in the retail sector on Sundays for up to 8 hours. Currently, employees in retail can only work for 4 hours on Sundays, unless their employer has concluded a collective agreement allowing for longer working hours. Trade unions have criticized this change of legislation, arguing that it would take away an important incentive for employers to conclude collective agreements. Employer representatives see this as a chance for the Luxembourg retail sector to become more competitive compared to the neighbouring countries.

In parallel, the Minister of the Economy has announced a proposal, welcomed by the employer organisations, to substantially extend opening hours in retail on weekdays (from 5:00 to 22:00), on weekends (5:00 to 19:00) and on most public holidays (with the exception of 1 May, 25 December and 1 January). The head of the Luxembourg Confederation, representing employers from retail, has welcomed the opportunity for retail to “experiment” with various opening hours (*Luxemburger Wort* 2025) and has called for a total deregulation of opening hours.

Developments in governmental responses to rising use of artificial intelligence (AI)

Luxembourg's government submitted on 23 December 2024 a bill of law to Parliament that transposes the EU's AI Act. The proposed legislation assigns responsibility for AI Act compliance to established regulatory bodies in Luxembourg. Notably, the National Commission for Data Protection (Commission nationale pour la protection des données, CNPD) will serve as the sole contact point for the AI Act. In this capacity, the CNPD will coordinate with all national competent authorities.

Other important policy developments

Other topics

The government has announced its intention to reform the pension system in order to make it more sustainable in the long run. Although the government has not yet outlined concrete proposals for reform, it has hinted that its goal is to introduce a stronger role for capitalization in the pension system. Trade unions are alarmed, while employer associations appear to support a reform that does not increase companies' contribution to the pension system.

Commentary and outlook

Commentary

Following the economic downturn in 2023, Luxembourg saw a modest recovery in 2024, with economic growth reaching 0.5%. This growth rate still falls short of the historical average growth of 3.2% observed between 1995 and 2021. Inflation has subsided to 2% in 2024, partly due to continued government subsidies for gas and electricity. Unemployment has slightly increased, up to 5.7%.

In 2024, elections for two influential professional chambers were held (Chamber of Employees and Chamber of Commerce). The Chamber of Employees (Chambre des salariés) election saw a slight uptick in the participation rate for the first time in several decades, from 32.6% in 2019 to 34.4% in 2024. The balance of forces between the two nationally representative unions, the Luxembourg Independent Trade Union Confederation (Onofhängege Gewerkschaftsbond Lëtzebuerg) and the Luxembourg Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (Lëtzebuenger Chrëschtliche Gewerkschaftsbond (LCGB)), remained fairly stable. The finance sector union Luxembourg Association of Bank and Insurance Employees (Association Luxembourgeoise des Employés de Banque et Assurance) continued to erode in its core sector of banks and fell short of its own set target of achieving national representativeness.

For the first time since 1999, the Chamber of Commerce (Chambre de commerce) held elections in one of its electoral groups. Whereas usually only as many candidates present themselves as there are posts, this time around, more candidates ran than there were posts available in group 1, covering 'Trade and other commercial activities not specifically named' (one of the six electoral groups of the professional chamber). The participation rate was very low, with 556 voters out of 34 770 possible electors.

The year 2024 has been characterised by a substantial deterioration of national-level social dialogue between the government and trade unions, alongside a parallel period of harmony between the government and employer organisations. The conflict between trade unions and the government has crystallised around two main issues: a planned reform of the collective bargaining system and the issue of working time and opening hours in the retail sector. In October 2024, the minister of labour presented to the trade unions and employer associations gathered in the Permanent Committee of Employment and Work (Comité permanent de l'emploi et du travail) his plans to reform the collective bargaining system, by allowing staff delegations to directly negotiate agreements with the employer, without intervention by a union. This would represent a break with the current situation where only nationally or sectorally representative unions are entitled to negotiate collective agreements. In addition, the minister of labour announced that the government planned to allow work in the retail sector on Sundays for up to eight hours (currently employees in retail can only work for four hours on Sundays, except if their employer has concluded a collective agreement allowing for longer working hours). In parallel, the minister of the economy has announced a proposal, welcomed by the employer organisations, to substantially extend opening hours in retail on weekdays, weekends and most public holidays.

Furthermore, the government has announced its intention to reform the pension system in order to make it more sustainable in the long run. Although the government has not yet outlined concrete proposals for reform, it has hinted that its goal is to introduce a stronger role for capitalisation in the

pension system. Trade unions are alarmed, while employer associations appear to support a reform that does not increase companies' contribution to the pension system. Furthermore, the government has announced its intention to reform the pension system in order to make it more sustainable in the long run. Although the government has not yet outlined concrete proposals for reform, it has hinted that its goal is to introduce a stronger role for capitalization in the pension system. Trade unions are alarmed, while employer associations appear to support a reform that does not increase companies' contribution to the pension system.

Outlook

The main issues facing social relations in Luxembourg are currently the future of social dialogue and the announced reform of the pension system.

The ongoing conflict over negotiation rights for collective agreements has already caused internal divisions within the Christian Social People's Party (Chrëschtlech–Sozial Vollekspartei (CSV)). The party's parliamentary group chair, a former trade unionist, has publicly voiced his disagreement, urging the minister of labour to reopen dialogue with the unions. The government's plans to reform the collective bargaining system could become a test of the remaining influence of the once-powerful social–catholic wing within the CSV, which maintained close links to the LCGB.

Remarkably, Luxembourg's two main private-sector unions, the Luxembourg Independent Trade Union Confederation and the LCGB, have demonstrated unity on the issues of collective bargaining rights, retail opening hours and pension reform. This is noteworthy given their historically conflictual relationship. It remains to be seen whether this newfound unity will reignite discussions about a unified trade union confederation – traditionally rejected by the LCGB.

Employer organisations find themselves largely aligned with the government's approach on reforming collective bargaining and the pension system. A number of employer representatives have made it clear that they believe the time is ripe for fundamental changes to Luxembourg's industrial relations system.

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