

# The (dis)advantages of sector-level bargaining: Outsourcing of cleaning work and the segmentation of the Israeli industrial relations system

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## Abstract

This article examines the segmentation of the corporatist industrial relations system through a historical analysis of the public-sector outsourcing process in Israel, which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Emphasizing the intersection of class, race/ethnicity and gender in Israeli society, the article analyses outsourcing of cleaning work as the adoption of labour market vulnerability into the industrial relations system. It uses intersectionality to demonstrate how the promotion of outsourcing through sector-level bargaining acted as a means of labour market control and industrial relations centralization, thus legitimizing precarious employment forms. Stressing the links between intersectionality and outsourcing practices in the Israeli corporatist system sheds light upon structural segmentation and differential representation of vulnerable workers in a centralized industrial relations system.

## Keywords

Collective bargaining, corporatism, industrial relations, intersectionality, Israel

## Introduction

Corporatist industrial relations systems are based on centralizing concertation between workers', employers' and the state's independent interests into a

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comprehensive sectoral/national agreement. Through central bargaining, often backed by legislative processes, workers' and employers' representative institutions form a 'social partnership' that promotes joint regulation of the labour market and the economy, for the general national benefit (Schmitter, 1974; Streeck, 1993). This form of coordination between labour and capital allegedly pursues a general common good through centralized bargaining, which enables the promotion of full employment policy, wage moderation, social and economic equality, and reduction of labour market competition. But in the face of growing challenges – economic pressures, migration trends and the liberalization of the markets – scholars suggest a declining capacity of corporatist structures to reproduce universal goals (Visser, 2005). Political-economic changes throughout Europe, among them the increasing power of European Union institutions, are causing the attrition of local institutions (e.g. trade unions, employers' associations) and a decline in their capacity to concentrate political-economic power and to pursue centralized bargaining (Bryson et al., 2011; Traxler, 2004).

Noticeable within the process of institutional weakening is the increasing prevalence of precarious forms of employment, mainly affecting vulnerable groups of workers (e.g. women, migrants, the old and the young) (Baccaro et al., 2003; Briskin, 2014a). Precarious employment leads to a further increase in income inequality, a differentiated decline in employment security, and growing segmentation in labour markets, all of which affect social-economic solidarity and cohesion. In its turn, through a gradual decrease in the influence of national institutions and traditions, precarious employment also reinforces the segmentation of the industrial relations system itself, disrupts centralized resistance to labour market fragmentation and reduces unions' ability to enforce collective employment norms. In analysing the segmentation of the industrial relations system and its consequential effects upon social-economic measures in the labour market, scholars have demonstrated the importance of sectoral features and their contributions to the declining political-economic power of institutions (Bechter et al., 2012; Wagner and Hassel, 2016). This form of analysis enables the identification of sectoral industrial relations features and institutional context, which are associated with the spread of precarious employment in various forms – mini jobs, zero-hour contracts, fixed-term employment and outsourcing – and increased labour market vulnerability. Offering a closer look at trends of change in the labour market and the processes underlying the development of precarious employment, the analysis focuses on industrial sectors rather than the national industrial relations system as a whole, thus making it possible to discover earlier and more complex forms of segmentation – in both the labour market and the industrial relations system – prior to the abovementioned institutional weakening.

Focusing on the formation of a separate cleaning sector in Israel through its outsourcing from the public sector and increased precarization during the 1960s and 1970s, this article will address the segmentation of the Israeli corporatist industrial relations system. Through analysis of the creation and institutionalization of precarious employment (i.e. subcontracted cleaning work in Israel), it examines

the intersectionality of class, race/ethnicity and gender in the Israeli corporatist system and its outcomes, as a process of creating a distinct, sectoral 'industrial relations regime' (Schulten et al., 2008). Based upon the cleaning workers' marginalization in the Israeli labour market, the process of sectoral separation was characterized by the differentiation of the workers' organization and representation. Instead of minimizing social-economic gaps and decoupling them from the labour market, industrial relations agents internalized the workers' marginality and created a differentiated sector-level representation, which later resulted in the reproduction of the workers' multiple vulnerabilities. Despite the centrality of intersectionality theory to this article, it does not deal with it in order to fully comprehend the variety of identities and experiences of cleaning workers, but rather to determine how intersection of social-economic characteristics functioned in designing unions' strategy, workers' resistance to precarity and finally segmented the industrial relations system.

The methodology of the research presented in this article is of a historical nature, based upon extensive archival work done through the years 2009–2011. This work was conducted in the 'Labour Movement Archive' (hereafter Histadrut Archives) and the 'Archive for Historical Jewish Journalism', and included a thorough review of archival material concerning cleaning workers and subcontracted employment in Israel. Following a theoretical review, offering an integration of the industrial relations literature with intersectionality theories, the article will present a short historical sketch of the Israeli industrial relations system and its contributions to the reproduction of the class-, gender- and race-/ethnic-based discrimination that characterized the Israeli labour market. The fourth (and main) section will present the outsourcing process of cleaning services from the Israeli public sector, analysed as having fragmented the Israeli corporatism and reproduced intersectionality in the labour market by coupling class, gender and ethnicity with employment form. The last section will summarize the socio-historical analysis of cleaning work outsourcing in Israel and its theoretical contributions, emphasizing the effects of workers' social-economic characteristics upon the strategies of industrial relations agents, which further influence the segmentation of the Israeli industrial relations system. Although it is a historical analysis of a single case study, this article will contribute to industrial relations research as well as to intersectionality theory by emphasizing the latter's contributions to the strategic choices of central agents in the industrial relations system and to the understanding of its segmentation.

### **Gender, race and class and the segmentation of corporatist industrial relations systems**

Collective bargaining is a political-economic process that seeks to simultaneously achieve several goals, not all of which point in the same direction and elicit similar strategies. On the one hand, collective organization and consequential bargaining seek to provide actual voice to workers' preferences, encourage their influence on

employment relations and act as a mechanism for ongoing dispute resolution at the enterprise as well as higher levels of negotiations. On the other hand, collective bargaining aims to monopolize wages and to extract them from the unilateral control of employers (Freeman and Medoff, 1984). These goals can be achieved in different ways that characterize different sorts of social structures. One type that will be discussed in this article is the corporatist industrial relations system, comprising centrally governed trade unions and employers' associations (often called 'the social partners'), which, together with dominant state involvement, creates central bargaining institutions and wide coverage of sectoral or national collective agreements (Schmitter, 1974). Alternative types take a more pluralist-liberal form, emphasizing more fragmented collective bargaining, concentrated at the enterprise level (for a comprehensive review, see Ferner and Hyman, 1998; Traxler et al., 2001).

The corporatist industrial relations system is based upon the organization of workers and employers and the delegation of their political-economic power to a coordinated and centralized structure – at the sector, occupational or national level – thus creating encompassing forms of representation and bargaining (Hyman, 2001). This centralized bargaining structure depends on the social partners' ability to win their constituents' legitimacy to form encompassing interest-representation, usually based upon industrial sectors (Baccaro, 2000; Bechter et al., 2012; Crouch, 1993; Ebbinghaus and Visser, 2000). In turn, through centralized bargaining, the social partners promote equality amongst bigger class-based groups that monopolize certain parts of the labour market, thus wielding greater means to affect the distribution of wealth and capital profits. The centralized bargaining structure also allows greater control over labour market measures and outcomes, such as labour costs, working time, income inequality, occupational flexibility, etc., supported frequently by the state (Traxler, 2003). Besides collective bargaining, centralized social partnership creates an institutional opportunity to promote the social partners' wider joint interests through the direction of power to other political and economic fields (Koukiadaki et al., 2016; Marginson et al., 2014).

Whilst centralization allows for widening the scope of collective agreement coverage and effects in the labour market, it often comes with a corresponding decline in the representational capacities of trade unions. By allocating power resources from the level of the company to the level of the sector/occupation or to the national (peak) level, trade unions face the risk of reduced representational capacities and functions that can lead to losing their bottom-up legitimacy resources (Baccaro, 2003; Grinberg, 1991; Streeck, 1982).

The tension described here, between monopoly (created through centralized bargaining) and voice (created through the direct representation of constituents), stands at the heart of many industrial relations systems (Baccaro, 2000; Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Streeck, 1982). In several cases, these tensions are dealt with through mechanisms of coordination that promote constant negotiations between agents at different bargaining levels (Baccaro, 2000; Baccaro and Locke, 1998; Iversen, 1996). These mechanisms of coordination, designed to concert between

different needs and bargaining levels, induce cooperation between different actors and the cohesion of the sectoral/national industrial relations system (Ebbinghaus and Kittel, 2005; Kjellberg, 2000). By doing so, unions attain greater ability to create and maintain central governance over the labour market while preserving significant workers' representation (Kjellberg, 2000). Combined with company-level mobilization and an equity-tilted representational bias, efficient coordination efforts often strengthen the legitimation for centralized (sectoral/national) bargaining and promote forms of 'representational justice' (Briskin, 2014b). 'Representational justice' seeks to improve the representation of women's (as well as other underprivileged social groups) interests, in trade unions and in the process of collective bargaining, as a means to emphasize social and economic equality in both the labour market and the industrial relations system (Briskin, 2014b).

Without the overt emphasis on coordinative dialogue between bargaining levels and promotion of 'representational justice', this alleged trade-off can lead industrial relations agents to compromise the diversity of their constituents' interests—either by aiming for a general common ground, through representation of the imaginary 'average member' (Bryson et al., 2011), or by acting against the interests of weaker, more vulnerable social groups (e.g. ethnic minorities, women) in favour of maintaining central control, thus reproducing the existing social stratification (Briskin, 2014a). This process, focusing on wide class-based representation, can lead to the segmentation of the allegedly unified corporatist structure on the basis of existing social divisions, thus reducing its prospects for social-economic change (cf. Grinberg, 1991). As Holgate et al. (2006, cited in Alberti et al., 2013) have argued, 'a sole focus on class, to the exclusion of ethnicity or gender sometimes fails to uncover the myriad of social processes that positions workers in the labour market and the workplace'.

Within the analysis of labour market segmentation, the intersectionality of social 'positions' has drawn growing attention to forms of precarious employment and the link they have with socio-demographic features (e.g. Tatly et al., 2012).

Since the late 1980s, scholars have pointed at the intersection of gender and race characteristics with precarious employment and demonstrated that precarious work is more common among women, ethnic minorities and other socially marginal groups (Acker, 1999; Benjamin et al., 2010; Tapia et al., 2017; Williamson and Baird, 2014). The linkage – between gender, race and class – creates labour market segmentation (Brown and Misra, 2003), often institutionalized as 'inequality regimes' (Acker, 2006). These 'inequality regimes' are both a universal and particular phenomenon, affected by the universality of gender/race discriminatory appropriations, by their local expressions (and intersections with class) as vulnerable positions, as well as by unions' strategic capabilities to address labour market marginality (Briskin, 2006, 2014a, 2014b; Kaine, 2017; Tapia et al., 2017).

As will be argued also in this article, the intersection of gender, race and class functions as an oppressive mechanism and a 'control matrix' (Collins, 1998) that better explains the design of modern class structure and division of labour, as well

as the design of industrial relations systems and their social-economic effects (Healy et al., 2006). Although it occupies a rather marginal place in traditional industrial relations research (Holgate et al., 2006), the intersections of gender and race (as well as other vectors of disadvantage) have gained some important ground in the research of recent changes taking place in many industrial relations systems (Healy et al., 2006). This research trend can be divided into two streams – (1) analysis of (new) representation models and (2) critical evaluation of collective bargaining results. In the first stream, research has demonstrated the creation of new models for the representation of disadvantaged workers' groups, such as women (Briskin, 2006), migrants (Alberti et al., 2013; Lillie and Greer, 2007) and the elderly (Kainer, 2016). In the second stream of research, one can find critiques of unions' capabilities and an emphasis on adopting what Briskin calls 'gendered social unionism', actively promoting the interests of multiple disadvantaged groups in the labour market (Briskin, 2014a; Grimshaw et al., 2017; see also 2013). These works demonstrate that when agents in industrial relations systems lack strong coordination mechanisms (based on multilevel organizing and bargaining) and political obligations to promote equality and inclusion of marginal social groups, the system's institutions often do not eliminate the effects of social-economic vulnerability in the labour market, but rather reproduce them.

Focusing on the importance of an intersectional perspective on union representation and collective bargaining, Briskin (2014a, 2014b) offers trade unions two different models of work – the 'gender social unionism' and the 'representational justice' paradigms. Insisting that 'union movements can use collective bargaining to advance an alternative vision generated by and for an increasingly diverse membership' (Briskin, 2014a), Briskin elaborates a complex critique of union representation and its ability to address existing 'inequality regimes'. Through an analysis of 'union revitalization' strategies, Briskin stresses both the insufficiency of unions' actions towards social-economic vulnerability and inequality and the liberating potential of new approaches. Together with recent research on 'union revitalization' (cf. Ibsen and Tapia, 2017; Murray, 2017), these critics join an increasing trend to combine insights from intersectionality theories and industrial relations research in explaining current trends of reproduction and change in inequality.

Combining these theoretical insights and industrial relations socio-historical analysis, this article will track the ways in which gender, race and class intersected in the development and regulation of cleaning work and in the process of its outsourcing. Highlighting the gender–race–class intersections that exist in the Israeli labour market, specifically in the cleaning sector's collective representation and outsourcing process, this article will suggest new insights regarding the institutionalization of the 'inequality regime' – through its incorporation into the structure and logic of the industrial relations system and into its agents' strategic choices. Lacking sufficient coordination mechanisms and an obligation to provide 'representational justice', the Israeli industrial relations agents chose to regulate the employment conditions in the cleaning sector through its agreed outsourcing. Thus, these agents institutionalized their control over the sectoral labour market

while reproducing its segmentation, manifested in the workers' marginality and the neutralization of their potential agency.

### **Israel – industrial relations history and gender/race marginalization**

Under the influence of the then-prevalent Ghent system, Israel's industrial relations were modelled as a corporatist system, based upon a monopolist trade union (the General Histadrut, henceforward 'the Histadrut') with high rates of membership and broad coverage of collective agreements (Haberfeld, 1995). Even before statehood, and later in formalized fashion with the legislation of the Collective Agreements Law (1957), bargaining was recognized at multiple levels (Mundlak, 2007). Public-sector bargaining was (and remains) centrally coordinated to a large extent, being conducted with multiple employer entities in the public sector and backed by strong government–union connections (Grinberg, 1996; Mundlak, 2007). Private-sector bargaining was more fragmented to begin with, but nonetheless featured similar central institutions emphasizing sectoral collective bargaining. Sector-level bargaining was the main bargaining instrument that developed at different periods, for different sectors, and also declined unevenly for different sectors of the economy.

In both the public and private sectors, industrial relations peak governance was highly coordinated between the three pillars of the corporatist industrial relations system – the Histadrut, the government and (in the private sector) the private employers' associations. This coordination was based first and foremost on political party affiliation (which, until 1977, was congruent in the Histadrut and government), but also on mutual interests – in a centrally governed labour market as well as in reproducing institutional power. But lacking intra-sectoral coordination mechanisms, central governance was never perfect. The tensions were always there, expressing uneven contentment from bargaining centralization and wage levelling (Grinberg, 1996; Mundlak, 2007). These tensions, between central institutions and company-level organization, were not evenly distributed throughout the labour market and the industrial relations system, but rather sectorally segmented. While public-sector and industrial workers were more strongly inclined to battle centralized bargaining structures, other sectors demonstrated much less rank-and-file activism and conflict. This variegation as regards independent activities and conflict with centralized institutions was based upon socio-historical constructs as well as the economic significance of the sector. Consequently, differences in the economic value of sectors and in their workers' social capital led to difference in their 'voice' capacities, both inside and outside the formal institutions and in their ability to resist centralized coordination and control.

Alongside corporatist institutions and a centrally governed wage policy, the Israeli labour market features significant measures of ethnic and gender discrimination. Despite significant progress in many socioeconomic arenas, the Israeli labour market is usually depicted as being based on the 'legend of equal

opportunities' – making it possible to imagine gender/race equality in the face of a discriminatory reality (Izraeli et al., 1999). Gender and race intersect in the Israeli labour market through employment and professional segregation, increasing wage gaps, and a gendered division of labour (Bernstein, 1983; Izraeli, 1979). Many researchers agree as to the ongoing reproduction of a heavily racialized/gendered labour market, reflected in educational/vocational training, professional segregation, as well as employment forms (traditional and stable vs new and precarious) (Benjamin et al., 2010).

The massive waves of immigration, which shored up the Israeli state through its first decades of existence, strengthened the social link between gender, race and class position. Despite significant state investment in women's inclusion in the labour market – also demonstrated in the high proportions of women workers in the public sector – racialized women, mainly of Mizrahi (North African and Middle Eastern) origin, were heavily discriminated against. As many Ashkenazi (European and North American) women entered the public sector during the 1950s and 1960s, Mizrahi women became concentrated in private-sector services, which during the period under investigation here were highly labour intensive and paid low wages (Bernstein, 1983; Swirski and Bernstein, 1993). Private-sector services, comprising cleaning, security, hostelry and retail, offered low-skilled and demeaning jobs (with low social capital) and consequently attracted workers from marginal social groups.

Due to the low social capital – of the occupation and the workers – these service sectors drew little social attention, from either public discourse or labour market institutions. Operating in the margins of the labour market and employing marginal workers, they were characterized by a comparatively low union membership rate and consequential low collective agreement coverage rate, usually associated with low wages and social benefits. While Ashkenazi women, both veterans and newcomers, were mobilized in the labour market, Mizrahi women (as the Israeli 'women of colour') had relatively lower prospects for mobility. Mizrahi women's presence in the public sector was miniscule, their areas of residence were often in the geographical periphery (resulting in fewer work opportunities), and their education level was much lower than that of their counterpart Ashkenazi women (Bernstein, 1981). Accumulating marginal positions characterized these women's location in the 'Inequality Regime', as it developed in Israel since the pre-statehood period (Margalit-Stern, 2006).

### **Bargaining for outsourcing – the creation of subcontracted cleaning work in Israel**

The place of the cleaning sector in the Israeli industrial relations system has some unique aspects that originated with the Histadrut's struggle against its very existence as an independent sector, which is based on subcontracted cleaning services. This struggle, which in some ways is still taking place under the banner of 'The Struggle for Direct Employment' (Amos and Baharav, 2012), was directed



by the Histadrut through the 1950s and 1960s. But in the face of centralization processes in the industrial relations system and the gradual organization of the service sector employers, the Histadrut's approach to the cleaning sector and its common subcontracted employment relationship changed from struggle to compromise. The next part of the article will present the socio-historical analysis of this process and its consequences for the sectoral industrial relations system.

From the start of the Jewish political-economic organization in Palestine/Israel of the 20th century, and even more so since the foundation of the Histadrut in 1920, gender- and ethnic-based discrimination existed in the Israeli labour market (Bernstein, 2008; Shalom-Shitrit, 2003). Gender-based discrimination in the young Israeli labour market and in the labour movement institutions has been researched by several scholars, who have depicted some harsh marginalization processes from professional segregation (Izraeli, 1979) to political silencing (Bernstein, 2008) and co-optation (Izraeli, 1983). Similarly, ethnic discrimination in both the labour market and the labour movement has been described as originating in institutional policy and discourse and leading to similar professional segregation (Bernstein and Swirski, 1980; Shalom-Shitrit, 2003). Despite the attention paid by research to the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity and class in Israel, their mutual contribution to industrial relations segregation and vulnerability has rarely been addressed (but for a few exceptions, see Lurie, 2013, 2014, 2017).

Nonetheless, recent research shows that the cleaning sector in pre- and post-statehood Israel was considered to be a low-status and low-wage occupation and was populated mainly by women – newcomers as well as veterans, many of them of Mizrahi origin and from the social and geographical periphery of Israeli society (Bernstein, 1981; Margalit-Stern, 2006; Tabibian-Mizrahi, 2012). As one newspaper records:

there has been wide resistance among the women to this work [in cleaning], before statehood and right after statehood . . . educated women were aggressively opposed to service work which they saw as an inferior and demeaning job . . . wage level was very low . . . [and it] changes in accordance with the worker's age and ethnic origin. (*Davar HaPoelet*, August–September 1950)

In the face of growing numbers of females entering the public sector, and as part of the larger mobilization of women in early-statehood Israel, the cleaning sector was gradually painted in ethnic colours. In contrast to other workers in the public service, whose working conditions were based on joint state regulations and central collective agreements, the cleaning workers were not directly represented by a general or local trade union or covered by a collective agreement, and were only randomly considered amongst the regular civil service. Without a clear directive concerning the employment of cleaning workers, each bureau and institution in the public service developed different employment methods and conditions for them. Diverse employment conditions characterized the fundamental precariousness of cleaning work in the Israeli public sector, and its subjugation to local and changing

staff, policy and management. Thus, a cleaning worker could have been a permanent 'insider' civil servant in the Ministry of Health or employed in a fixed-term or temporary contract in some other administration or governmental institution, as well as a self-employed worker.

This diversity of employment conditions was unique in the Israeli public sector of the 1950s, where the large majority of workers were covered by central collective agreements (Mundlak, 2007). But like many Mizrahi women in 1950s Israel, cleaning workers were not considered to resemble 'normal' public-sector employees, as stated explicitly in the internal correspondence of the civil-service commissioner:

most of the workers originate from uncivilized social strata, their demands are often exaggerated, there are many social cases amongst them, frequent pregnancy situations, extremely low work discipline, and there's a need to consider their work after regular working time and the supervision is almost impossible. (Internal correspondence of the civil-service commissioner, 1953; Tabibian-Mizrahi, 2012)

The socio-demographic origin of the cleaning workers, which allegedly affected their morality, professional abilities and discipline, prevented their incorporation as regular public-sector employees. Such allegations were repeatedly made throughout the 1950s and 1960s, providing 'reasoning' for the inferior labour market position of cleaning workers. This discourse was adopted also by union officials, as quoted in a monthly labour movement women's magazine:

The institutional cleaning workers' problems often look weird and exceptional; they are incomprehensible to other workers... [in everyday life there isn't any] practical connection between the cleaning workers and the other workers. The social distance also creates alienage for cleaning workers' special problems. (*Davar HaPolet*, 1959)

Despite the formal decision in the civil service with regard to unifying the conditions of cleaning workers, many state and governmental agencies still employed them under diverse and changing employment forms and conditions.

In this situation, with a centrally governed industrial relations system and continued workers' marginalization, Histadrut action was required – to represent the workers and bargain collectively for their employment conditions in the public sector. But instead of promoting 'representational justice' (Briskin, 2014b), emphasizing workers' interests' representation and the regulation of workers' conditions on a professional basis (similar to other professions in the public sector), the Histadrut produced a unified top-down 'occupational' wage rate (combined with mutually funded social benefits), subordinating them to the centrally governed industrial relations system without giving the opportunity for their direct representation and collective voice. This top-down wage directive was a first step in the evolution of Histadrut strategy in the sector – excluding the cleaning workers from public-sector collective agreements and confining them to special and distinct wage rates.

Due to the external regulation of wages (which remained unenforced due to lack of workplace activity), workers' marginality was reproduced. Under the high unemployment rate, which persisted in Israel throughout the first decade of its existence, continued low and unenforced wages did not pose any major problem for the public-sector employers, as the available labour force was sufficient. But following the inception of full employment in 1959, a growing labour shortage became evident in cleaning work, which led to public-sector management's first attempts to externalize the entire occupation through outsourcing. Through the beginning of the 1960s, numerous public-sector entities chose to outsource cleaning work, but not being centrally regulated, the process encountered the Histadrut branches' objection, expressed through formal and informal labour disputes. In sharp contrast to the previous disregard of cleaning workers under public-sector employment, the introduction of outsourcing practices into the public sector was perceived as a declaration of war upon organized labour and provoked significant resistance. The Histadrut branches and locals reacted fiercely – condemning outsourcing processes and exerting industrial action in the face of any attempt to do so.

One example of this kind of resistance occurred in the new campus of The Hebrew University in Tel Aviv in 1962:

Evacuating trash is banned...as the Tel Aviv workers' council [the Histadrut local offices; A.B.] demands status recognition and employment rights for cleaning workers and rejects the transfer of the work to a cleaning subcontractor, creating a shutdown threat to the local campus. (*Davar*, 20 May 1962)

As a consequence of campus management's intention to outsource cleaning work to a private subcontractor 'that will carry the burden of 7 extra workers' (*Davar*, 20 May 1962), the Histadrut local office declared industrial action demanding the cancellation of the outsourcing attempt. Throughout the Tel Aviv campus struggle, the two institutional actors (the Histadrut and the public employer) were very active – managing the campus-based campaign against outsourcing – but the workers were not to be heard anywhere. These were 'The most unprivileged... [the] weakest workers in the labour market... originating from transit camps and occupied with many children' (*Maariv*, 21 June 1962). The local workers' council carried the banner of the industrial action, holding a 6-week strike of all campus services, which drew press attention and sparked major outrage among both students and university staff. The former even tried to break the strike themselves (*Davar*, 25 May 1962).

Similar struggles went on in different public institutions against the new trend of outsourcing cleaning work in their establishments, fuelling a widespread public-sector workers' protest and struggle. Local workers' committees and Histadrut branches led organized industrial resistance in the face of outsourcing, but without mobilizing and actively organizing the cleaning workers or integrating them in local collective agreements. On the contrary, in all cases the local struggles went on without central coordination and with no intention of amplifying the workers' voice and no consequential representation by local Histadrut institutions.

Thus far, it might seem that the strategic choice of industrial relations agents dictated the cleaning workers' silence in the face of an ongoing battle for a good cause – against outsourcing; but the archival material discloses a somewhat different picture. While Histadrut branches were fighting their battle against outsourcing of cleaning services 'above the cleaning workers' heads', the workers chose a different path. By conceding public-sector direct employment and the consequent social benefits, cleaning workers were able to draw higher wages as well as more flexible working arrangements working through subcontractors. A central (female) Histadrut official described the issue in a special report:

There's a [new] situation where governmental offices and other public institutions cannot get cleaning workers from the [public] employment service because they rather work... [through] private institutions (free wages) [nonregulated wages with no social benefits; A.B.]. ('Women Workers Section Report', 1965, Histadrut Archive – IV-217-2-556)

Confronted by institutionalized conflict regarding the mere possibility of outsourcing, the workers demonstrated an independent will and chose their immediate interest – in higher wages – against the Histadrut's top-down wage/social benefit rates. This choice was described by Histadrut officials as a 'catastrophe [deriving] from workers' lack of consciousness as to the importance of basic social benefits and from... a short-sighted perspective' (Histadrut Archive – IV-217-2-556).

Without central regulations on subcontracted employment, cleaning workers were able to 'exchange' the social benefits that were given in the public sector (derived from the Histadrut's occupational wage rate) for higher basic wages, and as demonstrated by the union functionaries' remarks – this was an appalling trade-off. The workers' active support of subcontracted employment that yielded better wages (at the cost of no social benefits) looks counterintuitive at first glance. But preliminarily, it needs to be remembered, the basic discrimination against the workers under public-sector direct employment had been ignored by representative institutions. As the labour conflict conducted by the Histadrut against outsourcing was detached from the workers' interests and will, they perceived individualist resistance as more efficient. Without sufficient bottom-up legitimation for central representation and governance, and no intra-sectoral dialogue or concertation that could have contained workers' interests in central collective bargaining, cleaning workers chose individualist resistance to direct employment and to Histadrut wage/social benefits rates. As will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs, this 'difference of opinions' leaned upon one of the basic Histadrut foundations as the owner of pension funds.

In the face of growing employer pressures for outsourcing cleaning work during full employment (Tabibian-Mizrahi, 2012), 'core' workers' resistance grew, joining a general trend of workers' dissent in Israel during the first half of the 1960s (Grinberg, 1996). This trend created a threat to the Histadrut's central wage policy as for the whole industrial relations system, which was based upon centralized bargaining and wage moderation. For example, in the face of 3% wage

increases, implemented in the 1961–1962 peak-level bargaining round, actual wages rose by 15–20% as a result of company-level ‘subversive’ bargaining and wildcat strikes (Bank of Israel, 1963; Grinberg, 1993). In the face of this real threat, peak-level corporatist agents decided to suppress the spontaneous bottom-up organizing and striking drives and reform centralized governance in the industrial relations system. Suppressing independent workers’ militancy was achieved by economic recession (deliberately initiated by the state and supported by the Histadrut), which started in late 1965, and led to a sharp rise in unemployment from 3% in January 1965 to 12% in January 1966 (Bank of Israel, 1967). The unemployment facilitated achieving the original goal – to suppress workers’ independent militancy and recentralize the industrial relations system under peak-level policy – but also led to a change in the policy of industrial relations agents towards the cleaning sector.

With the Histadrut facing threats to its central governance capacities from company-level organizing and striking drives, its peak-level agents withdrew support for the public-sector workers’ struggle against outsourcing. With no workers’ representation attempts (and constraints), the Histadrut wanted to neutralize industrial conflict as well as to address public employer needs. In order to consolidate internal and external legitimation for a new policy – banning company-level resistance to outsourcing – the Histadrut’s leadership appointed a special committee (composed of the services’ union officials) that was

certified to meet with the civil service commission, in order to discuss arrangements for the operation of cleaning work in governmental offices using subcontractors, to try to come to an arrangement with them on the matter and to bring the results of the fact-finding mission and proposals to the [trade union] department. (Histadrut Archive – IV-217-2-68)

This committee demonstrated the major change that the Histadrut approach to outsourcing underwent following the suppression of workers’ militancy, as it sought to settle the cleaning sector’s ‘outsourcing problem’, as stated in the summary of the committee’s report:

the committee thinks that in public institutions the work must be done by the institution’s directly-employed workers... [but] in institutions that coexist in the same building with other institutions... where the cleaning work is done by a subcontractor – they are allowed to connect with the same subcontractor for the cleaning work. On one condition, namely that this subcontractor has a collective agreement with the Histadrut. (Histadrut Archive – IV-217-2-68; see also *Davar*, 8 May 1968, 5 March 1969)

While a few Histadrut locals as well as affiliated workers’ committees still resisted the outsourcing of cleaning workers, the committee’s conclusions – only partially approving outsourcing – paved the way for a subsequent (formal) corporatist agreement among the state, Histadrut and private employers.

This corporatist sectoral pact – which began with the committee’s conclusions and recommendations to allow outsourcing of the cleaning work under the conditions of central regulation – continued with the implementation of agreed terms for completion of the process. Following the Histadrut leadership’s approval of the committee’s recommendations, Histadrut and state officials agreed upon an institutional threshold for the entrance of subcontractors to the public sector in the form of a signed collective agreement – formally ensuring basic wage rates and social benefits. Following this conclusion and the consequent national agreement (with a major employer in the sector), the Histadrut’s central committee ordered all local branches to adhere to this agreement and make efforts to implement it through similar collective agreements with cleaning subcontractors in their region. In a rather short period during 1968–1969, the Histadrut went from a declared war against outsourcing to full acceptance of it and denunciation (and restraint) of any other resistance attempts.

Following the violent ‘solution’ to the workers’ unrest and independent struggles (i.e. the calculated recession of 1965–1967), separating the cleaning workers from the public sector (by negotiated outsourcing conditions) became the easiest and preferred way for the industrial relations agents. In the face of no bottom-up organization of the cleaning workers, low levels of political mobilization, and agreed bargaining between the social partners, the weak workers were forced to acquiesce to top-down representation and a separate ‘industrial relations regime’ (Schulden et al., 2008). As the state (represented by the civil service commissionership), the employers and the Histadrut officials all wanted to gain central control over the sector – in order to control wages, representation, as well as economic resources – they acted in concert to establish an employers’ association of the cleaning subcontractors, in order to negotiate and implement a general and extendable collective agreement. Absent any attempts to promote ‘representational justice’ (Briskin, 2014b) through organizing the weak and peripheral workers, organizing the employers was the best way to regulate the employment conditions of outsourced cleaning workers and exert control over them (interview with Histadrut service-union official, Gershon Herpanes, 20 May 2011).

Soon after an employers’ association was established, a sector-level bargaining round began. Detached from the rank-and-file cleaning workers, top-down collective bargaining had no backing of workers’ power resources and resulted in a lean, ‘minimum plus’ collective agreement – ensuring the minimum wage (agreed upon in peak-level agreements), and encompassing pension rights (in funds owned and managed by the Histadrut) and the obligatory deduction of union dues. In return, the employers and their association won a peace clause ensuring the end of the struggle against outsourcing together with other benefits, deriving from the central coordination of employment conditions, that is, the elimination of inter-employer competition (as the collective agreement became an integral part of the public procurement of cleaning services), as well as similar obligatory dues collection (from non-member employers).

As concluded in the first ‘corporatist deal’ on the outsourcing of cleaning work in 1969, the collective agreement’s conditions became an obligatory demand in public-sector procurement, creating a distinguished ‘industrial relations regime’ (Schulden et al., 2008), separated from public-sector centralized bargaining. But absent workers’ mobilization and company-level union activity, the enforcement of basic employment conditions was hit and miss, thus sustaining the formally regulated sector while the workers remained neglected. Once the instrumental goals of the sectoral partners had been achieved, they abdicated from their formal responsibility and public roles and let workers and employers manage the local employment relationship. Having made mutual gains politically and economically, this sectoral social partnership went into hibernation. Without any coordinating mechanisms to concert between sectoral agreements and company-level interests and enforce the sectoral collective agreement, the workers were continuously deprived of their rights. Having no intentions to promote direct organization and representation of the cleaning workers, the strategy chosen by the industrial relations agents (especially the Histadrut representatives) for the regulation of the sectoral employment conditions reproduced the workers’ marginality and neutralized any potential for resistant agency.

## Conclusion

In 1955, a labour movement-affiliated magazine quoted one of the (women) Histadrut functionaries about her role as a representative of cleaning workers as saying that ‘with no appropriate population wanting to work in this profession, we are obliged to satisfy the great demand with occupationally and culturally incapable [female] workers’ (*Davar HaPoelet*, October 1955). It is from that perspective that cleaning workers were perceived by the monopolist trade union’s agents during the formative period – in which cleaning work became an independent sector, subject to a distinct ‘industrial relations regime’ (Schulden et al., 2008). The importance of the agents’ perspective – internalizing and reproducing the cleaning workers’ social-economic vulnerability – was demonstrated in this article through its contribution to the union’s strategy. Utilizing the structure of the Israeli corporatism, based on central control and low intra-sectoral coordination capabilities, the union’s agents promoted the creation of authoritarian governance over the sectoral industrial relations system through its collectively agreed outsourcing. The socio-historical process depicted in this article thus demonstrates the way union agents’ agenda promoted the institutionalization of cleaning work as precarious employment, perpetuating the intersection of class, race/ethnicity and gender.

In analysing the social and structural marginalization of a specific segment of the Israeli labour market, this article has demonstrated how the industrial relations agents’ representative work subjected cleaning workers to what Acker (2006) calls an ‘inequality regime’, based on the intersectionality of class, race/ethnicity and gender. Looking into the socio-historical creation of the cleaning sector

as a separate, collectively agreed structure, the article has demonstrated the importance of actors' structural constraints and strategic choices in the institutionalization of workers' marginality. In the absence of bottom-up organization and intra-sectoral coordination mechanisms that could have supported 'representational justice' (Briskin, 2014b), the union agents' strategies promoted the percolation of workers' social-economic vulnerability, from the labour market to the central bargaining processes. This process manifested in multiple sites and phases that led to the outsourcing of cleaning work: in the Histadrut's separate representation of the public sector's 'core' and 'periphery' workers; in the Histadrut branches' struggle against outsourcing that was conducted – with no organization or representation of the workers and their interests – in the early 1960s; in the cleaning workers' individualist resistance to regulated, public-sector employment; and finally, in creating a separate 'industrial relations regime' (Schulden et al., 2008), controlled by a sectoral social partnership with independent political-economic interests and no enforcement abilities. This distinct regimentation of collective representation and bargaining, separate from the public-sector workplace and built upon the intersection of social-economic disadvantages, expressed in low collective representation and rights'-enforcement activities.

By structuring a distinct sectoral 'industrial relations regime' in the cleaning sector, the corporatist partnership did not increase workers' representation but rather internalized the workers' multiple vulnerabilities, thus fragmenting the public-sector industrial relations system. By internalizing existing forms of social inequality, the industrial relations agents gradually developed legitimacy for the restructuration of the cleaning sector, institutionalizing the intersection of gender, race and class with form of employment. This 'inequality regime' in the Israeli labour market was further developed with the penetration by Palestinian workers (Israeli citizens as well as those from the 1967 Occupied Territories) of the cleaning sector during the 1970s and 1980s, adding 'nationality' as another vulnerable position of the workers, that supported their continuous marginalization.

In highlighting the importance of actors' strategic choices in the design of an 'inequality regime', this article has offered a dynamic approach towards the contribution of industrial relations agents (in particular union agents) to the development of subcontracted employment and its effects on the reproduction of social-economic vulnerabilities. By internalizing existing vulnerabilities and inequalities, the union's organizational and representational strategies affected workers' agency, on both a local and a sectoral basis. Subjected to a separate 'representational' structure, aimed at strengthening central governance over the labour market, the sectoral actors (workers, employers and their representatives) had little room for intra-sectoral coordination (between local and sectoral representation) and for independent agency. This differentiation and distancing reproduced the workers' marginality and institutionalized the segmentation of the corporatist industrial relations system on the basis of social-economic intersectionality.



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