
Executive Summary

CODETERMINATION 2035 – FOUR SCENARIOS

Invitation to the debate on the future of worker participation in Germany

What will the working world of tomorrow look like? Under what conditions will worker participation actors negotiate, for example, digitalisation issues? The Codetermination 2035 scenarios explore four possible paths along which the working world might develop in Germany by 2035.

A project of the Hans-Böckler Stiftung's Codetermination department in cooperation with the Institute for Prospective Analyses (IPA).

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The project “Codetermination 2035”

It is already evident that the future of work and of working life is set to undergo dramatic changes. And what concerns the future of work, of course, also concerns the future of codetermination. For that reason we asked ourselves at the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung what we need to prepare ourselves for at work as the future unfolds. What kind of environment are we likely to encounter? What will be demanded of us in the future with regard to consultancy, practical support, qualification activities, new knowledge and further development of the legal and political foundations of codetermination? In what ways will we have to prepare ourselves for the future through further training and changes in our work?

We would also like to prepare ourselves for the future of codetermination in our own professional interest. We would like to improve our work providing practical support for codetermination and put it on a more secure footing. ‘Closer to the supervisory board members – closer to the political arena – closer to the trade unions’ by means of the ‘organised voice of labour’, based on research and practical knowledge: that was the mandate given us by the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung board. Our scenarios are intended as a substantive contribution to this.

We in the codetermination department have set out here and now: lawyers, economists, labour experts, desk officers and other colleagues. With the help of the experienced team of moderators Sascha Meinert and Shiva von Stetten of the Institute for Prospective Analyses, we have been on a one-year journey of exploration into the future. A total of 25 people have pooled their experience and knowledge to investigate not only one but several possible future scenarios for codetermination. Our aim in all this was not to predict the future but rather to develop and describe imaginable and plausible development paths for codetermination in transformed working and corporate environments. The time horizon for this exploration was the next two decades.

Throughout the year our corridor and cooperation resembled a workshop. A core team comprising Irene Ehrenstein, Oliver Emons, Melanie Frerichs, Norbert Kluge, Ute Lammert, Michael Stollt and our pair of moderators have kept the show on the road. Sometimes many hours were spent discussing whether what we had written adequately expressed what our colleagues had said – a strenuous, exciting and rewarding process for all those involved!

Now we would like to share our findings – with everyone who would like to maintain the social organising principle of codetermination and to further develop and expand it into every imaginable future of society, the world of work and the corporate domain. The aim is to give dependent employees the tools they need to enable them, through participation in the workplace, to have a say in their working conditions and the circumstances of their lives. However, there is no way that the tools of codetermination can re-

The Hans-Böckler-Foundation is the co-determination, research and scholarship funding organisation of the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB). In all of its fields of activity, it is committed to codetermination as a basic principle of a democratic society. It promotes this idea, supports official representatives in codetermination functions and advocates the extension of codetermination rights.

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main the same as we know them today. They will need to be adapted and extended to meet the new circumstances.

We talk about what can already be imagined today in the four scenarios: COMPETITION, RESPONSIBILITY, FAIRNESS and STRUGGLE. We also invite you to explore these four 'alternative futures for codetermination' with our online tool (www.mitbestimmung.de/mb2035 – German language only).

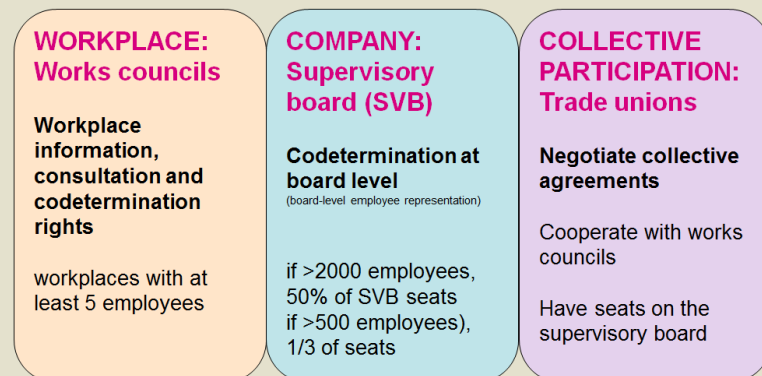
The future of codetermination is open. Codetermination will never be 'completed'. And of course that was always the case. We therefore have to ponder possible scenarios and discuss and reflect on them together in relation to changes in the world of work, the economy and society.

We would be delighted to receive reports, suggestions and feedback!

Co-determination in Germany

Codetermination defines a set of rights that give employees the possibility of actively participating in the shaping of their working environment. This includes legally stipulated codetermination rights, company agreements devised in conjunction with collective agreements, as well as informal possibilities that have arisen from codetermination practice.

Codetermination in Germany: 'Communicating vessels'



Further information:

[Codetermination – A beginner's guide \(pdf\)](#)

[Why codetermination? – A collection of good arguments for strong workers' voice \(presentation, pdf\)](#)

[Information on codetermination on the HBS website](#)

www.mitbestimmung.de (HBS webportal for practitioners)

www.worker-participation.eu (country section on Germany)

What are scenarios?

Scenarios cannot predict the future. However, they can help us to cope better with the uncertainties of an open future. We can get a better idea of how the decisions we make today will affect work and life tomorrow.

Scenarios are stories about the future, but their purpose is to make decisions better in the present.

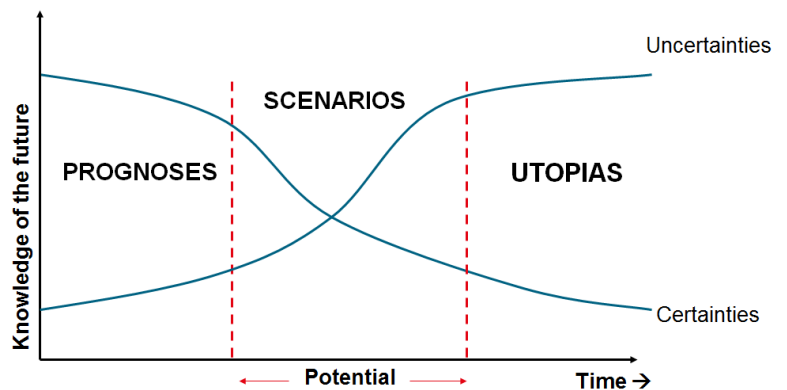
Ged Davis

We still don't know how the world of work in Germany will look in 2035. We cannot predict the future; it is open. But the good thing about that is that it gives us the opportunity to influence how things turn out. On the other hand, that means that we're always to some extent in the dark when making decisions and acting, not knowing how today's decisions and actions will turn out in the fullness of time. Frequently, we have a limited view of the future and our options for affecting it. All too often we are overwhelmed by haste and multifarious everyday demands, a narrow view of the evidence and the mere extrapolation of current trends. Only when people's backs are up against the wall does anything get done and even then only reactively and under pressure. Using scenarios we can extend our gaze to take in longer-term opportunities and risks and thus to integrate our activities more closely. Good scenarios are plausible, but at the same time also novel and challenging. They open up new perspectives.

It is already evident that scenarios are not about predicting the future. Apart from anything else, the fact that there are several possible scenarios for every question distinguishes them from forecasting. Scenarios also differ from utopias, which are usually played out in 'a distant land at some indeterminate time'. This is because scenarios take the present day into account, as well as the path dependencies that go with it and thus establish a clear link to the present situation. They lie somewhere between what we already know about the future in all probability and what is still entirely unknown.

Instead of giving an unambiguous answer to the question about the future, like a forecast, key uncertainties are identified. What factors will exert a

Distinguishing the scenario approach from prognoses and utopias



Graph inspired by Ulrich Gölüke:

decisive influence, even though today we can scarcely imagine how they will turn out in the future. Which causal connections could bring about one development or another? What would be the relevant effects in that case? An important aspect of all this is that one is almost compelled to think about what really counts with regard to the underlying question. After all, we have to simplify reality in order to be able to act. The question is, therefore, what do we take into account and what do we leave out? It is not a matter of completeness but of relevance – and that means of our mental models, with which we (unconsciously) explain the world. By tackling these questions intensively various theories arise concerning the fundamental alternatives harboured by the future.

The scenarios arising from this approach illustrate the development alternatives we have identified, with their respective challenges. This is for the purpose of exploration, sounding out and evaluation. Seeing how scenarios play out equips us better to cope with different developments. Louis Pasteur already knew that ‘Luck favours the prepared mind’. Scenarios help us to pass from passive mode – ‘hopefully nothing terrible will happen’ – to an attitude that puts room to manoeuvre centre-stage: what are our options if this or that happens? Or: what can we do to promote or hinder this development?

In the scenario overview a frame of reference therefore emerges, a ‘time map’, which also serves to enable constructive exchange with others. Communication with and about scenarios is also favoured by the fact that it generally involves stories that address not only our analytical understanding but our emotions. Scenarios are multi-layered and ambiguous and have both light and shade – like real life. Scenarios can easily be distributed; people pass them on.

The scenarios on codetermination in 2035 are thus to be understood as an invitation to dialogue; to reach an understanding with others concerning what will be of decisive importance for the future of codetermination in Germany; what kind of future we would like to have; and what we have to do today to make it happen.

CODETERMINATION 2035 FOUR SCENARIOS



COMPETITION

An orientation towards growth and increasing pressure to maintain competitiveness lead to the marketisation of employee representation. Codetermination has to have a ‘pay off’.



Society has, generally speaking, been depoliticised. The early 2020s are characterised by a retreat into the private sphere, an orientation towards one's own concerns and a decent standard of living. Flexibility and mobility are the order of the day. In a range of career networks people nurture their occupational profile by proactively showcasing their qualifications and continually adapting themselves in accordance with the results of their individual market research.

Diversity continues to increase within company workforces, as do the various forms of contract, which, generally speaking, are negotiated directly between employer and employee. People who are motivated and bring added value – at least that's what most people believe – are also well paid for it, have some sort of say in their working conditions and have a chance of promotion. Increasing inequality is regarded as expressing diversity within the world of work and unemployment is often equated with personal failure.

In an increasingly transnationally networked corporate world it becomes more and more difficult for the established structures of codetermination in Germany to exert influence – all too often there is simply no counter-party. On top of that, political backing for codetermination has grown weaker. It is also becoming more difficult to reconcile the short-term demands of the capital markets for high turnover and profit margins with sustainable company development.

The number of companies operating exclusively with freelancers increases constantly, above all in the service sector and in the creative branches. Even in manufacturing, however, people are increasingly employed on a contract basis – regardless of whether they are involved in developing the next generation of products, maintenance, cleaning production facilities or janitors.

Trade union density rates go into freefall. Only in large companies in some branches and in the public sector do the trade unions manage to obtain industry-wide collective agreements. In other branches only the trade unions and interest-representative organisations that offer their members discernible added value remain viable.

Individual occupational groups organise themselves in trade unions that are small, but possess clout in order to assert their interests better. In more and more sectors such unions pull out all the stops in competition for members. The losers in this development are those with little negotiating strength. This is because whatever an influential group can attain for itself within a company must generally be at the expense of other segments of the workforce or supplier firms, if the company is to remain competitive.

Instead of uniform solutions across the board pragmatic solutions at workplace level are gaining ground. Works councils ever more frequently have to negotiate on wages and working conditions. As a result, relations between works councils and the central management become more conflictual in many places. Works councils also come under pressure from falling support within the workforce.

The fewer the number of functioning structures of collective codetermination that are available, the more people are compelled to assert their interests in working life themselves. And the more things people have to handle themselves the more they are involved in taking care of their own affairs and less time and energy are available for collective commitments. This development thus takes on its own momentum.

Germany is still among the most prosperous states by global comparison and it has a lot to be thankful for in material terms. The prospect of a high standard of living also continues to attract many people from abroad – here people can become someone in life and have career opportunities. . However, the divide has widened between rich and poor, between people with and without educational opportunities, between participation and exclusion. And a fair number of people have to find out for themselves that the line separating individual freedom and mere isolation is narrow.

The world of work has become harsher and more demanding – but that applies in general to interpersonal relations in society. There is simply no energy left for grand social designs, solidarity or joint action for a better future.

In 2035 more and more people in Germany are asking themselves ‘am I strong enough and will I remain so?’

Key questions for the COMPETITION scenario

What are the consequences if codetermination is valued only in terms of economic utility (for the company) or individual cost-benefit analysis (for individual workers/trade union members)?

How does one cope when the interests of members or company employees for whom one is negotiating come into conflict with the interests of the employees in other companies or in general?

In the face of an increasingly complex and transnational corporate structure: How can one exert influence on company decisions? How does one obtain access at the levels at which the really important decisions are taken (for example, at the group headquarters abroad or with the principal client rather than the sub-sub-contractor)?

What are the effects of the increasing competition and the growing rivalry on cohesion within the workforce and how can the employer be prevented from playing workers off against one another (for example, core workforce versus temporary workers or location A versus location B)?

How can people work together at the transnational level if, at the same time, they are in direct location competition with one another?

How can solidarity be organised in a highly individualised world?

What can the individual do when effective collective systems of interest representation and social support are no longer available in his or her life - or working world?

RESPONSIBILITY

Negotiation processes become more personal, but are conducted within a framework protected by the state; more individual participation and responsibility.



The diversity of employees' life plans and needs continues to grow. Accordingly, the design of contractual employment relations becomes more diverse – at the start of the 2020s scarcely any employment contracts are alike. In the face of such diversity it becomes increasingly difficult for codetermination's traditional structures and actors to represent individual interests collectively. Direct forms of participation in the workplace become more and more important and, indeed, seem to be in accordance with most employees' needs. At the same time, this is not a world of specialists, stars and 'personalities'. Most tasks call for team players and the ability to take responsibility and deploy one's strengths in a larger whole – in other words, people have to possess connectivity.

Although inequality is definitely recognised as expressing social diversity, a certain bandwidth applies that takes into account individual performance and ensures personal participation and self-development. The legislator increasingly assumes tasks that were previously in the hands of the social partners and were also – as in the case of the minimum wage, which applies to all sectors and forms of employment – actively called for by the trade unions. At EU level likewise there is a change with regard to labour market policy. With the reregulation of many areas more importance is attached (once again) to the influence of the state. A solid basic income and reliable norms for the world of work ameliorate a further major structural transformation in the direction of a form of environmentally sustainable economy.

Above all, works councils, but also trade unions benefit from higher state standards. Thus, among other things, potential labour relations conflicts diminish. At the same time, they experience insecurity because de facto their decision-making clout has diminished and they have to reinterpret their role. A new division of labour gradually asserts itself.

Works councils ensure that legal standards are adhered to in everyday working life. Besides that, individual company agreements gain ground – solutions become more diverse. Furthermore, works councils develop and organise new forms of project-like endeavours that sometimes extend far beyond the workplace. In this way companies' social embedding is also enhanced.

The trade unions continue to perform their consultative role in relation to proposed legislation. With regard to issues affecting conflicts of interest between groups of employees and workforces at different companies trade unions increasingly function as mediators, for example, in the event of relocation or restructuring, even across borders. Another mainstay of their activities is the representation of employees in smaller companies at which there is no works council. While the specialist sections of trade unions have

become more important, participation in elections for voluntary trade union bodies has continued to decline,

In 2035 the working world in Germany is characterised by diverse forms of company and employment relations. Overall, the level of workers' qualifications has risen substantially, which, together with demographic change and economic stability, has helped to improve employees' negotiating positions. Relations between employers and employee interest representatives have become more cooperative. Decentralised decision-making structures have strengthened direct participation in the workplace. For example, employees in many companies can decide for themselves which project team they want to work in or choose their superiors for a fixed period. Work has undergone a twofold transformation of values: on one hand, towards more individual responsibility in the detailed working out of work processes; on the other, activities outside the sphere of paid employment but no less important for a dynamic and healthy society become more highly valued.

Generally speaking, work means team work, carried out in varying constellations, but in more or less stable networks. Fluctuation between periods of life in and out of employment is relatively significant. The latter is no longer stigmatised as unemployment and personal failure, but regarded and used as »recreational time out«. Participation in projects and initiatives in the area of work organization, as well as for a better working atmosphere function as much as a 'career bonus' for the next area of responsibility assigned to one, as community involvement outside the firm.

The high level of flexibility in the labour market is facilitated and accompanied by a general basic insurance in connection with a high – by international standards – level of state labour regulation. By 2035 competitiveness in Germany is no longer underpinned by cost-cutting, but rather by well-trained workers, mutual trust and people's incentives to promote good work.

Key questions for the RESPONSIBILITY scenario

How can the desire for more individual autonomy and self-determination in working life be achieved in practice?

How do employers satisfy the need of many employees for more direct participation? How can direct and collective forms of worker participation complement one another in the right way?

What do people need in a world of work characterised by a high level of autonomy and self-determination in order to feel secure and to play an active part in processes of change? How can the right framework conditions be created and individual capabilities be enhanced?

How can networks be reinforced in which employees and employers cooperate to tackle conflicts constructively?

How does one mediate between the different needs and interests of a 'diverse workforce'?

How can it be ensured, in the case of decentralised negotiations, that performance is rewarded properly and fairly?

How can the state establish reliable and adequate standards to ensure a decent level of protection for individuals? And in what areas of working life are such standards required?

FAIRNESS

The world of work is becoming more democratic. Collective interest representation is (re)gaining importance in order to increase individual room to manoeuvre and ensure fair working conditions.



In the early 2020s growing inequalities have increasingly been reinforcing people's desire for change. Many committed actors in the trade unions and works councils, too, are no longer willing to put up with the hollowing out of codetermination rights and increasingly uncertain and poorly paid employment. It is time to come off the ropes.

Because trade unions and works councils have proved to be important partners in recent economic crises political support for strong codetermination has increased. Free collective bargaining, the principle of one collective agreement per workplace and social partnership have been reinforced by legislation. Works councils and employee representatives in supervisory boards obtain more of a say in restructuring processes within the firm, in the event of company relocations or job outsourcing. Furthermore, the legal framework for the establishment of works councils in small and medium-sized enterprises is improved. Trade union competences are also extended; among other things, they obtain the long-sought right of associations to take legal action so that they can crack down on grievances within the firm.

One key aspect of development is a broad conception of solidarity among employee representatives. This does not stop with the interests of the core workforce, but also encompasses the concerns of groups outside the world of work, as well as the objective of sustainable development. Due to this opening up and codetermination's coming to the fore in the social policy debate it gains ground as an important level of democratic life, but also because of the positive experiences of many workers with codetermination at various levels in their everyday working lives.

The transformation increasingly takes shape. As a consequence of the equal participation of men and women in employment the partnership model becomes the norm in the domestic sphere and in child rearing. The relatively easy availability of child care – often organised in the workplace – is a key factor in the rise of the employment rate among both men and women to around 80 per cent. For most workers the general trend – underpinned by collective agreements – is towards shorter working time. In most sectors, average weekly working time is now 30 to 35 hours.

More and more companies recognise their interest in properly functioning labour relations and collective agreements, with a view to keeping the workplace conflict-free. Good personnel policy has gained ground in an effort to hold on to well motivated workers. Part and parcel of this are changes in what people mean by 'good work': parental leave rather than company cars, further training instead of bonuses. Furthermore, investors and rating agencies now take a close look at how companies treat their employees and whether they involve their workforce in company decision-making or not. A scandal involving poor working conditions or an attempt to

hinder the establishment of a works council can rapidly cost a firm valuable points and discourage potential investors.

While in the past the European legal framework for codetermination was rather feeble it is now becoming an important integration project. This has led to much closer coordination of collective bargaining over national borders – for example, through the synchronisation of negotiations, the participation of foreign representatives and concerted European campaigns on particular issues.

The division of labour between works councils and employee representatives, on one hand, and trade unions, on the other, works well and clarity of roles has been established. Codetermination is firmly embedded and there is consensus among employees that their interests as such can best be represented collectively.

The previous variety and strong differentiation of contractual employment relations has diminished. Equal treatment and simple, transparent standard contracts are the rule. Although individualisation and choice are still to the fore, at the end of the day most people's desires are fairly straightforward: a decent income, a secure job, not being forced 'to do more with less', recognition, interaction with colleagues, predictable working hours and sufficient time for other needs and areas of life. Fairness and security in working life are highly valued. Academics and freelancers, too, are now keen to join trade unions.

In 2035 codetermination is a pillar of democratic togetherness in Germany because many people actively assert their rights to decent work and sustainable company management. Notwithstanding increasing diversity, social cohesion has been enhanced. Working together, it has been possible to reconcile sustainability and economic activity and to shape structural change without too much social upheaval.

How will the next generation handle this legacy?

Key questions for the FAIRNESS scenario

How can the world of work be democratised effectively? How can the interest in participation in the world of work be consolidated as a key element of our democracy?

What is fairness? How can agreement be reached on what is fair? How can the involvement of older people be improved? How can codetermination contribute to ameliorating and channelling conflicts of interest between the generations?

What can be done about the major economic differences within the EU? How can we – nevertheless – achieve identity and solidarity across Europe?

How can people organise across Europe on an everyday basis (European works councils and employee board-level representation in European Companies)?

How can trade unions improve their function as connective hubs for (other) social movements? How can they become more attractive as platforms and interfaces for a range of other actors?

What kind of contribution can trade unions and codetermination actors make to corporate sustainability? What does economic, social and environmental sustainability mean?

How can codetermination in the supervisory board be implemented effectively for the purpose of embedding social aims more firmly in company decision-making, for example, with regard to the sustainability of products and services?

STRUGGLE

Crises and increasing distribution disputes lead to conflictual labour relations. Alternative forms of economic activity and new forms of solidarity emerge.



'Rather a bad job than no job at all!' Labour and codetermination standards are made even more flexible and social benefits are further reduced in the 2020s. In this context it scarcely matters which government happens to be in power. Given global competitive pressures, recurring crises and substantial overcapacity in various industries, not to mention increasingly overburdened social insurance systems and tight state budgets these measures have come to be regarded as unavoidable: There Is No Alternative (TINA). The world has changed and it appears that even collectively almost nothing can be done to counteract the forces unleashed in a borderless and crisis-prone economy. Most people long ago lost faith in politics. And few still believe that anything can be changed in this country merely through democratic elections.

Although structurally codetermination and its institutions continue to exist, in fact trade unions, works councils and employee representatives in supervisory boards have less and less influence. In the global economy, the dynamic economies in the Far East set the pace in more and more sectors. The job losses that go hand in hand with digitalisation are historically unprecedented. Companies take the opportunity to shrug off any responsibility for cushioning the social impact of this rampant structural transformation. More than one-third of workers are now on low wages. At EU level, austerity programmes and so-called 'structural reforms' – and, as a consequence, perceived national self-interest – come increasingly to the fore. Even qualified workers lose negotiating clout in these turbulent times. Anyone trying to assert their colleagues' concerns in trade unions or works councils runs a high personal risk.

Trade unions and works councils nevertheless brace themselves against the increasing deterioration of working conditions with all the resources at their disposal. Collective bargaining is becoming more antagonistic and the number of strike days is rising. After four decades of membership decline trade union ranks are swelling once again. Even though there is little one can do, at least in this way people can meet others in similar circumstances and who share the same concerns: 'together we are less alone'.

Demonstrations against cuts in social services and the systematic infringement of workers' rights are becoming more and more frequent. Violent confrontation is becoming a regular occurrence around demonstrations and rallies. For the first time since the 1980s companies are resorting to lock-outs in response to strike action.

Reactions vary to precarious working conditions, job losses and lack of opportunities. Many people seek relief in cheap anti-depressants or immerse themselves in the virtual worlds of their avatars. Others respond with rage in their initial frustration at being discarded; after all, they have done nothing to deserve their fate, they can no longer offer their children any oppor-

tunities and they recognise that more and more people are finding themselves in the same boat. And thus new communities emerge.

Initially, people join together locally. The issues involved are often fairly prosaic: for example, legal advice for proceedings before the labour court, running a neighbourhood canteen or setting up a local meeting place. However, bigger projects emerge from such initiatives and associations. Solidarity-based forms of economic activity and cooperatives are developed and become associated through such networks and platforms. And whatever works soon proliferates. For example, cross-border and sometimes even Europe-wide or global networks increasingly emerge from local communities and initiatives. Not only that, but fears concerning the collective assertion of interests start to recede. 'Together we can make things happen!' The first successes supersede mere hope.

By 2035 the trade unions have long ceased to regard their main task as collective bargaining, but as a driving force for social change. The aim is to proactively pursue change and to realise it wherever possible. Employee representatives in the workplace exert pressure to tackle abuses. Creative collectives explore new sustainable forms of doing business. Social networks increasingly acquire influence on the political stage through protest and initiatives. This way, a diverse political movement arises from more local anger about the existing state of affairs and efforts to improve things on the ground, made up of people who take to the streets for better living standards and working conditions and for a fairer society.

More and more people are questioning the entire system. They know what abuses they would like to eliminate – but the scope of the 'new we' and what forms the 'greater togetherness' will take as a form of society can be discerned only in vague outline.

Key questions for the STRUGGLE scenario

How can social achievements and codetermination rights be asserted even in economic downturns ('We can't afford that at the moment')?

If the pressure increases and labour relations become more confrontational what do we have in the toolbox to fight for essential workers' rights? Who could be our allies?

When we speak in collective terms, how big is our 'we'? Who is part of it and who is not?

How is sustainable solidarity possible in times of economic, political and social tension? What can be done about increasing feelings of helplessness and resignation and how can people be mobilised to do something to improve the situation?

What can trade unions and works councils do for people who are no longer in contact with the 'normal' world of employment? How can they be reached if you can't approach them at a workplace?

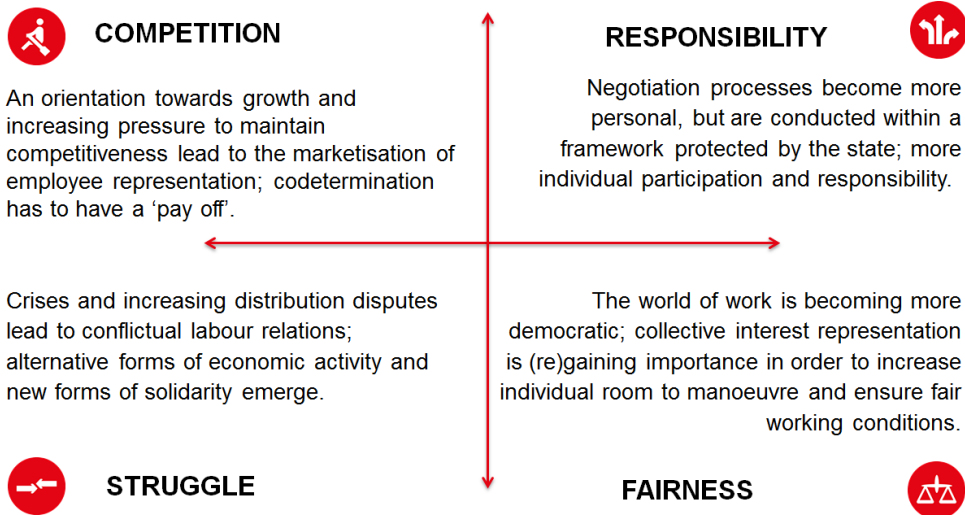
What can one do about it when more and more people see violence as a legitimate means of asserting their interests – and act on their belief?

What opportunities are available for workers seeking to create their own workplaces? What conventional models (for example, cooperatives) and what new ones are conceivable?

To what extent does codetermination still offer an appropriate roof for participation and social balance? What might new collective forms of togetherness look like?

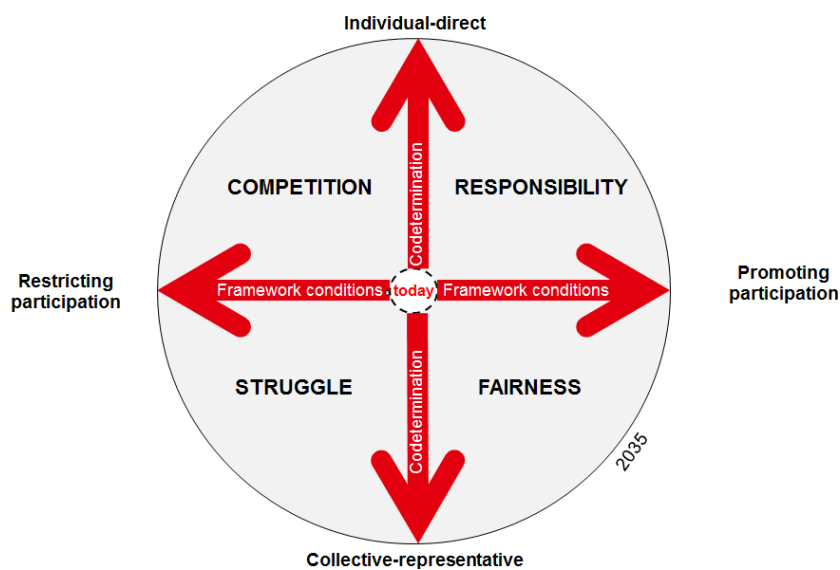
Annex: Charts

Codetermination 2035 – Scenario overview



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Codetermination 2035 – Scenario matrix



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For further information on »Codetermination 2035« see:

www.mitbestimmung.de/mb2035

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