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International Symposium for Employers on
THE FUTURE OF WORK

Symposium international des employeurs sur
L'AVENIR DU TRAVAIL

Coloquio internacional de empleadores sobre
EL FUTURO DEL TRABAJO

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ILO Symposium for Employers on the Future of Work
Geneva, 5-6 December 2013

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The objective of the symposium was to consider how work was changing as a social and personal activity, and to begin thinking about managing the change in order to benefit everybody. It was not intended to produce definitive recommendations, but rather to take note of the evidence and to consider the next steps to better understand the changes taking place before addressing the policy alternatives.

This report summarizes the interventions that took place, as noted by the ILO staff responsible for the meeting. The responsibility for any errors lies with them, and not with the speakers to whom the interventions are attributed.

Opening session

The Symposium was opened by Deborah France-Massin, Director of the ILO Bureau for Employers' Activities. She welcomed participants and outlined the background and purpose of the event. The world of work had changed, and it was important to understand what others observing it were seeing. The worker of today was more educated than the worker of even twenty years ago. There were major changes taking place in the way work was distributed around the world, in the way it was managed and the way it was performed. There were many factors driving the changes, far too many to be addressed in one symposium. The symposium would therefore focus on two significant trends: the polarization of jobs and the decline of the permanent employment contract; and one very important driver of change: technology, which impacted work in many ways. If those trends continued along their current trajectories and nothing was done to manage the transition, the consequences could be very destabilizing for society. Employers often expressed the need for flexibility to allow them to operate in highly dynamic and competitive markets, while workers wanted more stability and predictability in their lives. Whatever solution was found had to reconcile the needs of enterprises and workers, because no societal system was sustainable without the support of the majority of society.

Roberto Suarez Santos, Deputy Secretary-General of the International Organization of Employers, welcomed the symposium organized by the Bureau for Employers' Activities. It was very relevant for four reasons. Firstly, it would enable the ILO to anticipate the debate on an important subject in a positive manner. Secondly, it was relevant for employers' organizations and their member enterprises. While continuing to play their role as wealth and job creators, enterprises were now in a constantly changing environment, and the process of creative destruction was intensifying. Enterprises' needs should be taken into account when looking for ways to manage transitions in the world of work. Thirdly, it was important to look at the future of work from a global perspective, which the ILO could provide. Fourthly, it was necessary to move beyond the discussion on the increasing precariousness of work relationships and look at the overall issues. The proposal of the Director General to set up a panel on the future of work as one of his centenary initiatives for the ILO was welcome in that regard.

In his keynote address, Raymond Torres, Director of the ILO Research Department, provided a context for the discussions by describing changing patterns in employment and incomes, underlying factors behind those observed patterns and policy issues that arose as a consequence. The incidence of "non-standard" employment, including temporary, part-time and own-account work, had continued to grow since the early 1990s. Informal employment had grown in developing countries and some developed countries. New technology had increased the demand for high-skilled labour, while substituting capital goods for routine jobs requiring average skills. Outsourcing had led to fragmentation of production processes, and increased inequality and the incidence of non-standard employment. Developing countries involved in global value chains sometimes faced low-productivity traps. The growing role of external shareholders in the management decisions of large firms resulted in pressure to achieve short-term returns, and destabilizing capital flows, affecting productive investment decisions and the creation of stable jobs. There was a positive correlation between investment volatility and the incidence of involuntary part-time and temporary work. Investment in physical assets and research and development had decreased, while dividends as a share of gross profits in major companies had more than doubled in the past ten years. He highlighted the need for policies to the tackle destabilizing trends while seizing the benefits of change, adapt labour market institutions and social protection, and take advantage of the opportunity for international action.

The impact of technology on jobs

In a TED Talk video screened at the symposium, Andrew McAfee[1] explained how the impact of technology was currently very different from the way it had changed the world in the past. Machines now demonstrated skills they had never done before, and they were still acquiring new skills. They would soon be doing things that only humans could do now, and they would be capable of creating abundance and freeing humanity from drudgery and toil. However, this new technological capability would also present two major challenges: economic and societal. Modern economies relied on a prosperous middle class. One effect of rising technological capability was to induce polarization in the economy, with median income decreasing, threatening the middle class. The societal challenge was that reduced job opportunities, and people moving down from the middle class, were associated with a self-perpetuating pattern of behaviour typified by broken homes and

[1] Principal Research Scientist at the Center for Digital Business at the MIT Sloan School of Management

disengagement with society. Guaranteed minimum incomes and, especially, education, would be important measures to take to meet those challenges.

David Dorn[2] explained two different hypotheses relating to the impact of technological developments on work. On the one hand some scholars, like Andrew McAfee and Erik Brynjolfsson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pointed to the accelerating pace of change and the growing capabilities of machines leading to the end of work. On the other hand Robert Gordon of Northwestern University questioned the assumption that economic growth based on technological development was a continuous process. He suggested that the rapid progress made over the past 250 years was a unique episode in human history, and indicated that growth in per capita GDP had been declining overall since a peak in the middle of the 20th century. Reviewing technological progress in the textile industry, Professor Dorn showed how predictions of technology-induced long-term unemployment had, thus far, consistently been proven wrong. History showed that technological change (and increased trade) did not inevitably create long-term unemployment. However, they did affect the composition of employment, leading to a decline in routine middle-wage occupations and an increase in employment in low-wage "manual" and high-wage "abstract" occupations. Not all displaced workers could easily move to new and attractive jobs. A proactive school and training system should foster the competencies that were least threatened by computerization and trade, such as creativity, problem-solving and communication.

Responding to the debate that followed his presentation, Professor Dorn considered too pessimistic the suggestion that eventually workers displaced by technology would become permanently dependent on unemployment benefits. He acknowledged that labour cost was an important consideration that affected the pace at which technology was adopted to replace human labour. However, relative prices of labour and technology were different in different economies. In developing countries human labour often cost less than machinery.

Job polarization: what the evidence tells us

Maarten Goos[3] explained that in the past, technology had lessened inequality and led to skill-upgrading — farm labourers had become machine operatives; demand had increased for clerks, supervisors, and managerial, technical and professional staff in manufacturing and services. Investment in skills was a major driver of growth, and the rapid expansion of the education system had resulted in decreasing inequality. Since 1980, however, the computer revolution had been leading to job polarization and increasing inequality. The data showed that there was a clear drop in middle-skilled workers as a proportion of the total workforce as routine tasks were automated, while the proportion of both high-skill jobs and unskilled service jobs rose. Also, as compared with the past, the impact of technology on economic growth had been less strong. It was likely that the relative demand for skilled workers would continue to increase. More rapid investment in education and on-the-job training was needed to provide the necessary skills in order to benefit from the change.

[2] Associate Professor of Economics, CEMFI Madrid
[3] Associate Professor of Economics, University of Leuven

Although it was not possible to present data covering developing countries in general, Haroon Bhorat[4] explained what the data from South Africa showed. South Africa was a middle-income emerging economy with high unemployment and income inequality. It had been affected by global events such as the Great Recession, which had cost it about a million jobs that had yet to be recovered. Two historical trends taking place were a decline in the share of primary sectors such as agriculture and mining in GDP, and a shift within each sector from low-skill to high-skill jobs - despite the excess supply of labour in the country. Employment in mining had declined because mines in the country tended to be very deep, making mining machinery-intensive. Overall, during the period from 2001 to 2012, the share of agriculture and mining of total employment fell from over 15 per cent to just over 7 per cent. Interestingly, while employment in agriculture had declined, productivity had increased; agriculture had thus maintained its relative share of GDP. In the tertiary sector the number of high-skill and middle-skill jobs had increased, while jobs that did not require skills had decreased during the period in question. Over the same period manufacturing had not grown, unlike in most other emerging economies, but employment in the tertiary sector had grown by 108 per cent, led by important increases, especially in community, financial and business services. Community services consisted of public services such as education and health care. Business services included many non-standard forms of employment. The introduction of a minimum wage had been a factor in the shift of farm workers to other sectors. Automated or routine jobs had experienced drops in wage levels and some had been affected by off-shoring. On the other hand, there had been employment gains in high- and medium-skill occupations. The data from each country might indicate different explanations for shifts in the composition of employment – the changes were not always caused by technology, although technology often played a significant part.

Gijs van Houten[5] reported that EUROFOUND, using a different methodology, had come to the same conclusions as Professors Goos and Bhorat with respect to wage polarization in Europe both before and after the Great Recession. However, the reasons for polarization were different before and after the crisis point. Before the recession the polarization had been principally caused by rises in the proportion of low-wage and high-wage jobs as compared to middle-wage jobs. Since the recession, polarization had been mainly due to job destruction in the middle range, with high-paid jobs being more resilient. However, EUROFOUND research also found that while earnings experienced polarization, there was a marked increase in the quality of employment, defined as intrinsic job quality (skills and discretion, physical and social environment, work intensity), and job prospects. This could be partly accounted for by the fact that the biggest job losses had occurred in construction and manufacturing, where wages were high, as compared to other sectors where job quality was better. The most successful transitions when technology induced job destruction or job transformation had occurred when workers were involved in planning and implementing the transition and made full use of their tacit skills. Workplace innovation, involving employees and managers at all levels, had led to new products or services, new processes and improved marketing and communications methods. Teamwork, including autonomous teamwork, was an important feature in enterprises that had successfully carried out training for new tasks or implemented variable pay, flexible working arrangements or performance appraisals.

[4] Professor of Economics, University of Cape Town and Director of the Development Policy Research Unit.
[5] Research Officer, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (EUROFOUND)

Responding to the discussion that followed the presentations, Professor Goos agreed that the focus on skills and education, rather than tasks or competencies, needed to be reviewed. Skills had mattered more before the 1980s, but now competencies were more important for life-long learning. While the economy was growing and churning out jobs, polarization of the workforce did not matter very much. However, since the crisis, jobs were being lost and not replaced, leading to social tension in several countries. The welfare costs of job polarization were, therefore, much higher when growth was low and the total number of jobs was not rising. In such cases retraining or income support were necessary for workers who had lost their jobs. Professor Bhorat explained that new literature showed that the impact that minimum wages would have was unclear. In developing countries the impact could be determined by the level at which minimum wages were set and employers' responses (for example, keeping costs the same by making cuts elsewhere). In a growing economy increases in minimum wages could be sustainable, but lack of enforcement could also make it difficult to determine the real impact on jobs and employment. With respect to the free flow of labour, the global literature showed that there was an optimal level of migration of skilled labour at about fifteen per cent of the labour force, beyond which it was negative for the sending country. He identified the entry of large capital-intensive companies into the manufacturing sector as an important cause of the displacement of workers into the informal sector and large disparities in wages in developing countries. He also endorsed the recognition of competencies as being more important than skills, and called for a supply side response by educational institutions to improve the situation. Mr van Houten pointed out that while computers could eliminate some tasks they would not replace workers entirely. Work processes needed to be designed to match technology, and involving employees, making use of their tacit knowledge, was key to successful outcomes.

The decline of the standard employment contract

Katherine V.W. Stone[6] showed evidence that since the 1980s, the standard contract of employment, usually featuring strict protection against termination, a generous social security package and other statutory employment rights, had gradually been giving way to non-standard forms of employment, such as temporary employment. It had ceased to be the paradigm that informed labour law policy, and regulatory reform today sought to allow for more flexibility. Trade liberalization, technology development, globalization, increasing competition and austerity policies were causing the change. Laws, collective agreements and social security systems that in the past had protected the standard contract of employment needed to be reformed accordingly. The disconnect between existing labour law and the reality of the world of work had led to greater instability for workers and a weakening of trade unions.

At the same time, there had been a change in employee expectations. Young people now expected to change jobs more frequently, and often did not desire to stay with the same employer. Employability was valued more than employment security. However, there was a "regulatory vacuum" with respect to this new behaviour, and workers were faced with increasing instability and uncertain income opportunities. Combined with declining union density and collective bargaining

[6] Arjay and Frances Miller Distinguished Professor of Law, University of California at Los Angeles School of Law

coverage, the effect was to exacerbate the income inequality caused by technology and globalization.

However, some countries were engaging in policy experimentation to address the situation. There were a number of "green shoots" emerging to redress the negative effects of the deregulation process, such as:

- New forms of employment contracts to which at least some protection was linked (e. g. Italy: some 40 types of employment contracts)
- Flexicurity (particularly in Nordic countries; working time accounts)
- Redesign of unemployment insurance and severance pay (aimed at facilitating transitions between jobs)
- New forms of income-smoothing social safety nets to facilitate transitions (no longer connected to a job, but paid for from general taxes, e. g. in Australia, and social drawing rights in Europe)
- New regional labour market institutions (e. g. employer cooperatives to pool and train workers, in France and Italy)
- New modes of workplace dispute resolution (individual, not collective, such as the new tribunal introduced in Japan in 2004)
- New forms of collective bargaining (opening clauses in Germany)
- New forms of employee organizations (providing services and promoting labour-friendly policies, but not engaging in collective bargaining, such as the community unions in Japan)

It was not yet clear if the new approaches adequately addressed the problems and were sustainable. Often they did not address all the problems being faced. However, transnational learning and policy transplantation were easier today than ever before; there was, in fact, increased cross-border learning on possible new approaches.

Sangheon Lee[7], responding to Professor Stone's paper, was not convinced that standard employment had really come to an end. There were limits to flexibility, even from the point of view of employers. Any employment contract needed to reflect a sharing of the risks involved. It was not always clear what kind of flexibility firms required, and different kinds of firms were likely to have different needs. As for what workers might want, his research showed that with increasing prosperity workers tended to value high incomes less, but job security remained important across all income groups. If employment or income security could not be provided solely through the employment contract, it would need to be financed through some other mechanism. The need for an "income floor" could become greater. From a macro-economic perspective, there could also be a squeeze on wages, leading to constraints on the consumption share of aggregate demand. It was critically important to look for "green shoots", but he had doubts about the sustainability of some of

[7] INWORK and Research Department, ILO

those presented. New forms of regulation, such as local activism and community-based approaches, also needed to be tried. Finally, with respect to developing countries where the standard employment contract had never been the norm, there was a need for both “standardization” and “flexibilization”.

Participants insisted on the importance of flexibility for sustaining enterprises, and felt that the presentations did not adequately take account of the enterprise perspective. Small enterprises, in particular, needed flexibility. The flexibility needs of enterprises were diverse, even within the same sector. The Danish model of flexicurity was too expensive even for other Nordic countries. Regulations needed to be adapted, and so did collective bargaining. It was not job security that workers sought, but rather income security, career development, interesting work and a harmonious working environment. The future role of business associations, and indeed of the ILO, was uncertain.

The data showed that other than in Denmark and the United Kingdom amongst developed economies, the percentage of the workforce in temporary employment had increased, sometimes dramatically, between 1985 and 2010, while the percentage in permanent employment relationships had declined. The share of workers who had kept the same jobs for ten years or longer, another indicator of the permanency of jobs, had declined everywhere. Trade union membership had also been declining, while inequality was increasing. The standard open-ended employment contract, which had become the norm in the last century, had provided stability and predictability to workers and improved their standards of living in many countries. Workplace regulations, and many social benefits, were still premised on the existence of such a relationship. However, it was not likely that the permanent open-ended employment relationship would regain its lost status. Instead many different types of relationships would exist, and new approaches to labour market regulations were needed to protect workers in the new context. It was encouraging that many experiments were taking place, such as new forms of employment contracts; flexicurity; redesigned unemployment insurance and severance pay; and new types of social insurance, labour market institutions, modes of dispute resolution and collective bargaining. Those were promising green shoots. Some would succeed and some would fail, but what was important was to encourage transnational learning from the experiments.

The changing world of work: seizing opportunities and resolving concerns

Denis Pennel[8] presented four main trends and expectations:

1. Companies needed to adapt: more flexible production models were needed
2. For individuals the main trend was individualization of employment relationships
3. The society we live in was flattening – we needed to adapt to the blurring of work-life boundaries
4. Employees wanted to have flexibility and be recognized as individuals

[8] Director-General CIETT (International Confederation of Temporary Work Agencies)

For Mr Pennel, the future of work was already here. Since the 1970s, the third industrial revolution had impacted workers and employment relationships. The world of work had never been so diverse; therefore, more flexibility was needed in work relationships. In the past, social protection and labour law had been based on the “standard” employment relationship. Now, social protection needed to be reinvented. The nature of work had changed from standardized to customized. Jobs were increasingly interaction-oriented, and self-employment was becoming more prevalent. The length of the employment relationship was shortening, and growing numbers of workers were outside of an employment relationship. Enterprises were focusing more on core activities and using agencies to obtain the skills they needed less constantly. The workplace had to adapt to a diverse workforce. The type, length or status of employment contracts did not matter as much as they used to. With casualization of work and increasing self-employment, intermediation would have a more important role in the labour market. Employment agencies would need to provide stability. Creating and adopting new safety nets was crucial, as was inventing social protection models centred on individuals.

Roland Schneider[9] insisted that it was necessary to respond to polarization and the disappearance of the middle class. Global competition between workers necessitated policy changes. Technology was a driver of change, but there were also other forces (intensification of global competition, increased mobility of capital etc.) to be considered. It was imperative to focus on education and training strategies, and on competencies rather than skills. The challenge was that most enterprises failed to make use of the skills available. Employers had scaled down investments in workforce development, and no longer took responsibility for it: there was a need for more policies on the design and implementation of the full range of contextual factors affecting skill development. More serious debate about the cost of flexibility in the employment relationship was essential. There was more to competitiveness than simply labour costs. Open-ended contracts were not detrimental to flexibility. The trade unions’ strategy to change the current situation consisted of four policies:

1. Change of legislation in order to limit certain precarious work
2. Collective agreement with the aim of improving precarious work
3. Organization of workers in precarious work
4. Development of initiatives challenging business models that led to precarious work

Participants suggested that unions could use temporary work agencies in their fight against unemployment and precarious work. The standard contract was a “master-servant” relationship, which included an element of control. New relationships should be flexible and negotiable. Intermediation, to reconcile flexibility with the control element in contracts, was important. New types of organizations, such as fusions of workers’ and employers’ organizations, would develop new safety nets. Similar organizations had existed in the past in the form of guilds. New forms of guilds were needed to meet the requirements of today’s labour markets. Outsourcing was a model for many major multinational companies, and the weakest people were not protected in the labour market.

[9] Trade Union Advisory Council of the OECD

Mr Schneider responded that firms focused on the quality of products and services, but neglected the quality of jobs – they were now under significant pressure, however, and that situation would change (e.g. with regard to health and safety issues). Some workers would reflect the vision presented of the modern worker – those who could “shop around” with their skills and change jobs frequently. However, that model would not work for many workers, and neither was it what companies wanted. Temporary work was not a stepping stone into a standard employment relationship. Trade unions were not against temporary work per se; it depended on how companies used it in their operations. There was concern about exploitation in different regulatory regimes. There needed to be fair competition, and temporary workers and standard workers must have the same benefits. Lowering wages was not a solution to unemployment. Unemployment was due to lack of aggregate demand – therefore, trade unions had responded by negotiating agreements with employers. Mr Schneider questioned whether, with respect to education as a means of addressing change, employers and their organizations would share responsibility with the State.

Mr Pennel opined that standard work at the global level was informal work. A major global trend was the rise of the middle class: since 2001 the middle class had grown by 400 million as a result of globalization.

General discussion[10]: Policy implications for business and society

New forms of work were a challenge to all concerned. They called for institutional and regulatory responses, as well as attitudinal change on everyone’s part. The pace, nature and impact of changes in the way work was done were different from country to country, even within the same region and development category. It was important to keep those differences in mind when considering policy responses.

There were many structural and secular factors driving the change, including technology, globalization, demographic transitions, climate change and the continuing economic situation, which appeared to be more than cyclical. The factors interacted with each other in various ways, affecting the behaviour of authorities, producers, workers and consumers. Some groups tried to deny change, calling for a restitution of the situation they were used to. Some governments tried to restrict or slow change by tightening the regulations governing work. Such reactions would only make change more painful. The challenge was managing change so that enterprises would have the flexibility to engage with global markets, using the most appropriate means and responding quickly to changing circumstances; but also so that everyone had stability, predictable access to material and social needs and the opportunity to realize aspirations.

Participants’ comments and suggestions for further work are summarized below under the following three themes:

[10] This is the summary of a discussion held in a private session using the Chatham House rule, so the speakers are not identified. The different interventions reflected in the summary are grouped according to theme, rather than in a sequential order.

a) further research to be done
b) the search for solutions
c) the need for leadership

Research

Evidence-based: The future of work was incredibly complex, and there were many features yet to be studied. Further research to track and better understand the nature of the changes to work in different economic and social contexts was urgently needed. The research should monitor the drivers and features of change, as well as how it influenced behaviour in the labour market. It was vital that the research be evidence-based and rigorous.

Data coverage: Most of the data relating to changes in the nature and distribution of work, and the forces at work behind those changes, came from developed countries. It was very important to conduct evidence-based research in developing and emerging economies, including small island states, in order to better understand the phenomenon at the global level.

Themes: Technology was perhaps the most significant driver of change affecting jobs and labour markets, and needed to be continually monitored. However, there were many other factors, such as:

- demographic transitions
- concerns about climate change, protecting the environment and conserving natural resources
- rising educational attainment and the ability to create and exploit technology in all countries
- mobility of capital, goods and services, and greater connectivity between markets
- transition from mass production to mass customization
- the impact of regulations on employment relationships

That was not an exhaustive list; those, and other issues, needed to be studied objectively in order to better understand each factor's role. The resulting data must then inform essential discussions on policy responses.

Finding solutions

General considerations: It was clear that the era of rigid employment contracts would not return. Solutions would provide protection and income stability to people without such contracts, while allowing enterprises the flexibility to adapt to complex market situations.

There was no standard solution that would meet the needs of all labour markets, and a decentralized approach was required.

In each situation, participative processes should consider the specific needs to be met, and all the various ways in which that could be done. Evaluations of existing "green shoot" attempts at solutions must take into account the needs they met, as well as the design and contextual factors that contributed to their effectiveness. Every policy choice involved trade-offs, and agreement on what those should be was crucial.

It was necessary to recognize that any policy should prioritize the needs of enterprises, since it was they alone who ensured that there was enough work to go around, and determined the nature of that work.

Identifying needs: It was especially important, when identifying needs, to consult young employers, entrepreneurs and workers. Each new generation had its own behaviours, preferences and priorities, and it was not safe to assume that established values would always have the same relative importance. Policies should fit people who were entering the world of work today, not those on the point of leaving. A recent consultation in one country revealed that young people wanted jobs based on tasks and not on time; they wanted to work from home; they wanted pay that matched the quality of their individual work; they wanted flexibility.

It was noted that a degree of stability was a human need. In today's debate, employers tended to focus on flexibility, leaving stability issues to the unions. Both aspects needed to be taken into account.

Regulations: Labour legislation in many countries was still modelled on a labour market that had now changed considerably. Accordingly, legislation needed to be reviewed and modernized, and new systems needed to be adopted that protected workers without necessarily linking such protection to specific types of work relationships.

Social protection: Social safety nets were an important part of the solutions, but in order for them to work, it would be important to set them at affordable levels and agree on how they would be financed. Social protection should not be tied to employment contracts.

Education and training: Education and training were key to facilitating the transition from traditional work patterns to emerging and new forms. In the past there had been more time between the introduction of new technologies and the transformation that ensued. Today it happened much more rapidly, and our means to prepare people to benefit from the changes, rather than lose out on account of them, had to match that pace. Employers would probably have to take on a bigger share of the responsibility of educating people, through apprenticeship schemes, for example. It could be necessary to design apprenticeship programmes for people to join at a younger age. However, the responsibility for fundamental and technical education, as a social objective, must rest with the State.

Managing workers: The new forms of employment presented many challenges to human resource managers. Talent management was becoming very complicated. Ways needed to be found to keep people who were not in standard employment motivated and connected to an organization.

Employment as a risk: Enterprises had to feel confident that providing employment was not an unacceptable risk. It was important that they hire as many people as possible. The freedom to deploy a variety of employment contracts was suggested as a means of "de-risking" in that regard.

Leadership

The issues relating to the future of work were not getting the attention they should be, given their potential for disruption. There was an urgent need for leadership on the future of work at both global and national levels, in order to ensure that current trends did not lead to instability, and that instead we profited fully from the advances in human knowledge and ingenuity to benefit all of society. Business and its representative organizations should assume a leadership role.

ILO: The ILO should assume leadership at the global level, and the proposal of the ILO Director General in his report[11] to the 102nd International Labour Conference (2013) to focus on leadership as a centenary initiative was noted with appreciation. Future of work conferences and seminars should be facilitated by the ILO at regional and national levels for tripartite consideration of the issues. Unions appeared to be seeking security of employment through regulation, without considering the changing context of work. The ILO should take the lead to facilitate a better understanding of the issues on all sides.

IOE: Also at the global level, the International Organization of Employers should address those issues in its policy committees, to help its members to share information and thinking that could assist them in their efforts at the national level.

National level: The decisions with the most direct impact would have to be made at the country level. Business must provide leadership, through its organizations, to propose the policies needed in each country. It must engage in dialogue with all partners to raise awareness of the issues and get support for solutions. Workers, employers, governments and policy-makers should share a common understanding of the issues and the scope for action. Policies needed to be comprehensive and coherent across all spheres.

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[11] ILO: Towards the ILO centenary: realities, renewal and tripartite commitment, ILC.102/DG/1A, Geneva, 2013