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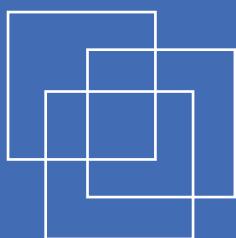


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ACT/EMP Research note

September 2015

A four-country review of labour law reform processes and
accompanying social and policy dialogue



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Acronyms and abbreviations

ACT/EMP	Bureau for Employers' Activities
APINDO	Employers' Association of Indonesia
CMTU	Confederation of Mongolian Trade Unions
EFC	Employers' Federation of Ceylon
EOs	Employers' Organizations
ILO	International Labour Organization
LNCCI	Lao National Chamber Of Commerce and Industry
MONEF	Mongolian Employers' Federation
NLAC	National Labour Advisory Council (Sri Lanka)
NTCLSC	National Tripartite Committee on Labour and Social Consensus

Note on methodology

This Research Note examines current social and policymaking processes in the labour and social domain in the Asia-Pacific region, predicated principally on a review of processes in four countries, namely Indonesia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia and Sri Lanka. The review was supported by the Bureau for Employers' Activities (ACT/EMP) and carried out by a team of consultants who conducted high-level qualitative interviews with senior ministry officials, leaders of employers' organizations, trade union leaders, senior managers of leading firms as well as academics and journalists in each country. The field work was conducted between 2013 and 2015.¹

The four countries were chosen for two specific reasons. First, they offered quite different national contexts, traditions and approaches. Second, they were all either in the process of conducting (or concluding) a major review of the labour code or pressures existed for such a review.²

This Research Note aims to present a brief comparative assessment of the quality of the processes and institutions that underpin reforms in those countries. It seeks to capture shared characteristics and variations as well as to provide an overview of the capacity of employers' organizations to influence such processes. The research collected data on specific national issues that fed into analytical country reports were subsequently developed for employers in each of those countries, namely the Employers' Association of Indonesia (APINDO), the Lao National Chamber Of Commerce and Industry (LNCCI), Mongolian Employers' Federation (MONEF) and Employers' Federation of Ceylon (EFC).

For the purposes of this note, those issues and processes are discussed in general terms. Additionally, this note was not written exclusively through the lens of the four country experience, but takes a wider view based on the ongoing technical work of ACT/EMP on related themes across the region.

Background and context

Across the Asia-Pacific region, a range of diverse forces such as political democratization or transformative global integration have influenced and shaped economies, policy direction and policymaking structures. From the country review we can see these forces magnified.

Until the late 1980s, labour relations in centrally planned economies were tightly regulated and planned, while governments of economies that were more market-based also kept workplace issues in check, as they saw industrial peace as a prerequisite for rapid economic development³. From the late 1980s into the 1990s, democratization and the transition to market economies helped to widen and diversify the labour and social policy space and the actors within it. Legislative frameworks were developed to reflect these realities but they were new and untested concepts. Therefore, none of the four countries in the study have a strong tradition of social and policy dialogue.

¹ Field work for Mongolia was carried out by Elisbetta Vitalia and took place 17–22 February 2014 with follow-up work 29–30 March 2015; field work for the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic was carried out by Elisbetta Vitalia, 22–27 February 2014 with a follow up workshop in July 2015; field work for Indonesia was carried out by Franklyn Amerasinghe and took place 19–26 April 2014 ; field work for Sri Lanka was carried out by Shyamali Ranaraja in the second quarter of 2014.

² The Lao People's Democratic Republic concluded its review process in 2013. In January 2014, the new Labour Law (2013) was formally approved, replacing the Labour Law (2006); Mongolia concluded its review process in 2015.

³ Y. Yoon, 2009: A comparative study on industrial relations and collective bargaining in East Asian countries (ILO).

Legal framework and institutions for social and policy dialogue

Indonesia, Mongolia and Sri Lanka have comprehensive legal frameworks in place for social and policy dialogue and have ratified the ILO Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98). Each of the four reviewed countries has some form of consultative tripartite body in place. Indonesia has established tripartite institutions at both the national and provincial level. Mongolia and Sri Lanka have a number of tripartite committees advising the government in different areas. Tripartite consultation is still in its infancy in the Lao People's Democratic Republic. A Tripartite Technical Committee with a consultative role was formed only after the ratification of the ILO Tripartite Consultation Convention, 1976 (No. 144) in 2010.

Mongolia

The post-communist experience led to the development of a highly centralized and politicized tripartite bargaining system, without corresponding development in collective bargaining institutions at lower levels.⁴ Mongolia has in place a comparatively robust legal framework for social dialogue and tripartite institutions that function reasonably well. In 1999, right after the ratification of ILO Convention No. 144, the Mongolian Government established the National Tripartite Committee on Labour and Social Consensus (NTCLSC), the first institutionalized mechanism for social dialogue and consultations among social partners. The Committee is composed of five representatives from the Government, five representatives from the Confederation of Mongolian Trade Unions (CMTU) and five representatives from the Mongolian Employers' Federation (MONEF). It has a primarily consultative role and deals with workplace relations, minimum wage setting and broader economic and social issues. The NTCLSC issues voluntary (non-binding) recommendations, but issues binding resolutions on minimum wage setting. Every two years tripartite partners establish a joint cooperation agreement, in which they outline all social and labour policy issues to be addressed in the given time period. However even though the NTCLSC has a useful role as a forum for social dialogue, it is not used at its full potential and needs further institutional support and capacity.

Workplace relations and social dialogue in Mongolia take place mostly at a high level, either nationally or regionally, resulting in tripartite pacts, and employers see a need to improve bipartite arrangements (especially at the enterprise level). From the assessment, it emerged that centralized bargaining is viewed by management as a rigid and highly politicized process. Employers prefer to carry out negotiations at the enterprise level to have enough flexibility to compete on the basis of adjustments in relation to pay, working hours and conditions, work organization and labour use. Bipartite negotiations and agreements, however, are exceptional and the arrangements for social dialogue under the Labour Code contribute to this tendency towards centralization and tripartite pacts where the Government is involved in negotiations.

Indonesia

Social dialogue and structures for workplace relations were under-developed after 30 years of tight government control. One of the by-products of the collapse of that system was a more fragmented (and less effective) trade union movement. Indonesia is not alone in that experience: the same occurred in Cambodia.

The labour relations structures and the culture underpinning them are still mostly centralized, even though the Local Government Autonomy law allows provincial government to have authority and responsibility for manpower and employment aspects. The Ministry of Manpower still has a very direct involvement in a range of matters related to workplace relations, which in many other countries might have been left to employers and trade unions.

Since the mid-1980s, the Ministry of Manpower has established several tripartite consultative bodies, namely the National Tripartite Body, National Wage Council, National Productivity Council, National Training Council and National Occupational Safety and Health Council. There are additional consultative bodies, namely the

⁴ Ibid.

Bipartite Cooperation Institution (LSK Bipartite) and provincial level bodies such as the Regional Tripartite Body, Regional Productivity Council, Regional Vocational Training Council and the Regional Occupational Safety and Health Council. In the past, the main function of these regional councils was to advise governors and the heads of the regional office of the Ministry of Manpower.⁵ Regional Wage Councils, established following a decision (No. 226/2000) issued by the Ministry of Manpower, play a particularly important role by giving governors, mayors and heads of districts the power to set minimum wages on an annual basis. Their decisions have to be based on recommendations from local and provincial tripartite forums and wage councils.

The assessment revealed the general scepticism of employers over the effectiveness of tripartite consultations, which are perceived to be carried out to maintain a good public image, rather than for effective policymaking. In the end, decisions are often taken solely by the Indonesian Government on the basis of political priorities, without taking into sufficient consideration the development goals set in the National Plans.

Lao People's Democratic Republic

Despite progress by the Lao Government, some of the preconditions for successful tripartite social dialogue are still not in place, such as full independence of workers' organizations and employers' organizations (EOs); transparency of the decision-making process; a legislative framework regulating collective bargaining; and a well-functioning system of labour courts. However the recent labour law reform process did not meet the necessary conditions set by the Law of Making Legislation of 2012, which requires the Drafting Committee to organize public consultation workshops, carry out an impact assessment and develop a clear explanatory note on the law.⁶

After ratifying ILO Convention No. 144 in 2010, the Lao Government established a Tripartite Technical Committee with a consultative role. Cooperation among social partners at the national level is a very new concept. This Committee deals with issues of labour law reform, minimum wage setting and dispute resolution and is composed of 15 members representing equally the Ministry of Labour, the Lao Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU) and LNCCI. The Law on Making Legislation of 2012, an important piece of legislation, requires the government to organize public consultations, carry out impact assessment of proposed legislation and develop a clear explanatory note for the new law. The Law on Making Legislation was adopted in the context of negotiations for accession to the World Trade Organization in order to increase the transparency of Lao policymaking systems.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has ratified 40 ILO conventions, including all Core Conventions. Sri Lanka ratified ILO Convention No. 144 on Tripartite Consultations in 1994. A large body of legislation has been promulgated to regulate industrial relations and social dialogue, consisting of about 40 statutes and regulations and several decisions of the Labour Courts. However, most of the laws dealing with labour issues were adopted over half a century ago. Employers have repeatedly underlined the need to rationalize multiple pieces of legislation, some of which are obsolete or out of line with the current development goals of the Government.

In Sri Lanka there are several tripartite institutions and consultative bodies. The Social Dialogue and Workplace Cooperation Unit was created within the Ministry of Labour with the objective of implementing strategies and training programmes to encourage social dialogue. Most importantly, a tripartite consultative mechanism with the same objectives was established at the district level through the District Labour Advisory Council. The National Labour Advisory Council (NLAC) was set up in 1989 as a permanent consultative mechanism within the Ministry of Labour. The objective of the Council is to consult workers and employers on social policy and labour law revision. Although initially serving as a reasonably effective tripartite forum, today the NLAC is perceived by employers' representatives as more of a discussion group than a policymaking body. Issues include the lack of a well-structured secretariat and the irregularity of its meetings.⁷

⁵ ILO, 2007: Report on the Survey on Workplace Relations in East Asia, Collective Bargaining in Indonesia.

⁶ It should be noted that the increased interest in social dialogue was related to plans for accession to the World Trade Organization.

⁷ The EFC has expressed disappointment over the slow progress of the NLAC on several occasions. In particular, the EFC manifested its concern because the NLAC retracted its position on two occasions after having reached an agreement that followed long negotiations and discussions. This led to a delay in making urgent and imperative amendments to current employment legislation.

In Sri Lanka employers perceive the major impediment to social and policy dialogue is a lack of political will and commitment of the Government to engage in a revision process. The Ten Year Horizon Development Framework set out Sri Lanka's employment policy in a chapter entitled *Towards a flexible and a globally employable work force*, which spelled out four policy directives: employment generation; skills development and labour productivity; flexible labour laws and regulations; and strengthening employer-employee relations. The Framework also acknowledged the importance of effective tripartite consultations at the national level and the need to give the NLAC formal recognition and strengthen its regional representation, yet little by way of concrete reforms emerged.

Current social and policy dialogue processes

Legislative trends

Overall, the process of regulating and governing labour markets has been much more recalcitrant in the Asia-Pacific region than in other regions. Thus, the region is much less characterized by tripartism and its accompanying machinery. In recent years, however, increased legislative efforts have been witnessed in the labour and social policy domain.⁸

Countries that have carried out comprehensive labour law reforms over the last five years include China (2009), the Lao People's Democratic Republic (2013), Myanmar (2011) and Viet Nam (2012). Cambodia is currently in the process of substantively revising its main piece of legislation governing social partners. A global ILO review of selected aspects of labour law reform during 2008–12 shows that 76 out of 144 countries reviewed either their laws relating to social dialogue institutions and processes, their employment protection legislation or both in some cases.⁹ A review of 40 national development frameworks in 2012 revealed that in 25 countries, labour law reform was on the policy agenda with a view to supporting private sector development or good governance.¹⁰

From an employers' perspective, however mostly the approach and direction of reform efforts has been towards increased protections for workers with less consideration for employers' ability to react to changes in the business cycle.¹¹ There has also been a tendency in the region to look to other more developed jurisdictions for models to work off which has often resulted in labour reforms that are overly ambitious and in regulations with weak applicability. The evidence would suggest that despite much legislative activity, the actual applicability of laws in low and middle income countries is low.¹² While economic theory may be ambiguous about the impact of regulations and interventions when they are properly applied, there is greater consensus that the effects of partial or poor enforcement are negative.¹³ Furthermore, lawmakers in the Asia-Pacific region can tend to be overly prescriptive when drafting labour legislation. For instance, the Mongolian Labour Law is excessively detailed and it attempts to regulate many areas that are often, and indeed should be, left to bipartite negotiations, employment contracts or internal company regulations.

Approaches to policy and social dialogue

In each of the four countries reviewed, current reform efforts evolved in different ways and for different reasons, however, several common issues can be identified.

⁸ World Bank, 2014: East Asia Pacific at Work: Employment, enterprise and wellbeing.

⁹ ILO, 2012: "Employment protection and workplace relations: Recent trends and labour market impact", in World of Work Report 2012: Better jobs for a better economy (Geneva, ILS), pp. 35–57.

¹⁰ Report to the 2013 International Labour Conference on the recurrent discussion on the strategic objective of social dialogue.

¹¹ According to the World Bank's Employment Protection Index, Indonesian workers enjoy more de jure protection than workers in France, Greece, or Portugal (World Bank, East Asia and Pacific Economic Update, October 2013).

¹² According to data from the World Bank enterprise surveys and the World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness surveys, "labour laws" are rarely cited by firms in the Asia-Pacific region as key constraining factors on enterprise development, even in countries with what are perceived to be very rigid regulations, such as Indonesia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. This suggests that businesses in the region are operating around rather than within regulatory frameworks. Sengheon Lee, 2013: Background Note: Changing, where, when and how we work (ILO, November) p. 3.

¹³ World Bank, 2014: East Asia Pacific at Work: Employment, enterprise and wellbeing.

First, rarely if ever is any sort of cost-benefit analysis of proposed legislation undertaken. There are no regulatory impact assessments integrated into policymaking process (even though this is a requirement set by Lao law). Government officials interviewed for this review stated that they did not have enough financial resources or sufficient statistics or data to carry out an impact assessment. From field interviews it is apparent that the preparatory and evaluation phase of proposed legislation was very limited and that the analysis of the effectiveness, enforceability and cost of the draft laws, as well as their consistency with the relevant provisions of existing legislation, was insufficient and was not careful enough. Additionally, Governments rarely seem to set out the purposes and rationale of the legislation in a legislative proposal or plan at the beginning of the process.

Second, often the Ministry of Labour was the only Ministry actively involved in the reform process, and consultations with other Ministries were not carried out (although this is not a universal experience). In Mongolia, the Ministry of Justice played a limited role, while the other concerned Ministries, such as the Ministry of Trade or the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture, were not directly or indirectly involved in the revision. In other countries, other Ministries were formally involved, but their role was limited to ensuring that the proposed amendments of the Labour Law did not contradict legislation adopted by their own Ministries.

Third, the needs of micro-enterprises and small and medium-sized enterprises were not sufficiently taken into consideration during the revision process. In both the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Mongolia, the transition to a market economy gave rise to the establishment of numerous small private business. The new proposed laws did not include exemptions or special regimes to minimise the regulatory burden on them, which is essential because SMEs are more affected by the cost of regulations than their larger competitors.

Fourth, governments can tend to play a dominant, rather than facilitating role in tripartite negotiations. This is especially true in jurisdictions that emerged (or have yet to emerge) into a more democratic form of governance (but not always the case). Governments may be unable to facilitate a meaningful process of consultation and dialogue, which consists of weighing alternative proposals and enacting reforms that are responsive to the issues raised.¹⁴

Fifth, the capacities of social partners to influence policy formulation are equally important in transforming what may otherwise be a formal exercise into a meaningful and effective process. Often the capacity of social partners is simply insufficient to engage in meaningful negotiations.

Finally and critically, while tripartite institutions do exist, they are not used to their full potential. In Mongolia, the National Tripartite Committee on Labour and Social Consensus (NTCLSC) is not a permanent body and has neither a permanent secretariat nor full-time staff, while in Sri Lanka, the NLAC secretariat is understaffed. In all four reviewed countries there is a general lack of commitment from the Government to invest sufficient time and resources in effective dialogue with social partners. Therefore tripartite bodies tend to function more as discussion groups than as policymaking bodies.

The approaches, strategies and the resources used by the four EOs throughout the reform process vary, but in all cases approaches to the process have increasingly been predicated on better research and evidence to support proposals. Mechanisms to improve both consultation and communication with member firms have also been improved. Additionally there are improvements in advocacy and communication strategies.¹⁵

¹⁴ The government's lack of capacity to play a neutral and enabling role in tripartite negotiations is a challenge particularly in Indonesia and Sri Lanka. This is one of the reasons why neither country has begun a formal process to revise their labour laws, despite each government's acknowledgement of the need for reform. In both countries, trade unions and employers asked for a comprehensive revision of labour legislation, but for different reasons and with different objectives.

¹⁵ Much of this has been supported by the ACT/EMP technical programme, which has an increased focus on supporting evidence-based policy development and capacity-building.

Recommendations

Recommendations for governments

1. Government should integrate regulatory impact assessments into the policymaking process and dedicate more time and resources to a pre-drafting analysis

None of the countries in the study carried out regular and systematic cost/benefit analyses of proposed legislation. Carrying out a regulatory impact assessment is a critical element of an evidence-based approach to policymaking. Evaluation of the effectiveness, enforceability and cost of legislation should be treated as an integral part of the law-making process. Usually Ministries and other governmental agencies at the national and local level have neither the human resources nor the technical ability and relevant statistics to carry out large-scale and systematic regulatory review. The use of comparative labour law, which could be an important legislative tool, is also limited.

In general, it appears that governments do not devote enough time and resources to the pre-drafting analysis and design stages. Inadequately prepared or badly drafted legislation reduces its legal certainty and stability, and may weaken its applicability because of textual ambiguities.

2. Governments should engage in meaningful dialogue and be open to social partners' inputs

The four assessments showed a general lack of commitment from the governments to engage in effective dialogue with social partners and accept social partners' inputs, especially on sensitive issues such as minimum wage, outsourcing, severance pay or termination of employment. This is confirmed by the fact that in the four countries, tripartite institutions are perceived by social partners more as discussions forums

than as effective consultative policymaking bodies. Governments should bear in mind that the preparation of legislation should not, in principle, be confined to State bodies nor should it be the sole preserve of Labour Ministries. Substantive discussions with other line Ministries can augment the drafting process and provide new or different perspectives. The legislative process should be transparent and should allow for consultation with social partners, external experts, interest groups and other stakeholders and the public in

general. The involvement of social partners with knowledge and experience in the relevant field will supply the drafters of the legislation with crucial information that may otherwise not be available. This will ensure stronger general acceptance of legislation and lead to a higher level of compliance. The Government must ultimately take the plunge and make reforms when necessary.

3. Governments should have clear objectives and the purposes and rationale of new legislation should be clearly set out

Analytical tracks mapping the coverage, application and effectiveness of existing legislation in terms of protecting workers and keeping enterprises competitive, are often absent. In both the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Mongolia the reform process did not start with a clear articulation of the purposes and goals of the proposed legislation. Neither of the two Governments drafted a legislative plan to set forth the rationale for the proposal and a summary of the envisioned substantive provisions. In Indonesia and Sri Lanka, social partners also have the feeling that the Government lacks a clear vision and goals for the revision of labour laws. Having a well-defined legislative plan in place is helpful to unite the initial audience of the proposed legislation, namely the legislators, and the ultimate audience, namely the workers and employers along with the judicial and administrative bodies responsible for ensuring the interpretation and application of the legislation once adopted.

4. Clearly support tripartism as an operational value

While tripartite institutions are in place and functioning, they need greater capacity. Similarly, consultations with social partners should be based on a foundation with greater legitimacy. There is a clear, shared message emerging from the assessment of institutions in these four countries: tripartite institutions do exist, but they are not used at their full potential. Despite the presence of formal tripartite consultative arrangements in each country the relevance and impact of these structures is mixed. In some instances tripartite forums function as a platform for discussions or they may make

recommendations but they do not have the authority to make decisions or enforce those decisions. Greater weight/respect should be accorded to the recommendations of these forums, but they also should provide a broad representation from each constituency that is capable of decision making. This can be a particular challenge where many unions are active. Tripartism works well when social partners are well organized. While robust unions may require more compromise on the part of EOs, weak and fragmented unions can reduce the predictability of negotiations. Governments need to promote legal environments that, where needed, can lead to cohesive unions, which can better operate as tripartite partners and strengthen the capacities EOs to address labour market challenges and other challenges.

Recommendations for EOs

The four EOs considered for this review, APINDO, LNCCI, MONEF and EFC, implemented different strategies and carried out various activities to make the voice of businesses heard during the process of reforming labour laws. The assessment showed that each of the four EOs experienced issues to different extents with their advocacy strategies. Labour law is traditionally one of the most politically difficult areas of legislation to amend, nevertheless the following actions are recommended.

1. Improve evidence-based advocacy strategies

- a) **Be proactive: have a strategy from the beginning and do not wait until the final phase of the revision**
EOs need to engage in both proactive and reactive advocacy for their members' benefit, seeking to set the policy agenda by voicing the concerns of the business community even before the official start of a revision process.
- b) **Establish links and communication channels with Ministries in addition to the Ministry of Labour**
While each the four EOs are well represented in tripartite bodies and committees related to employment and social affairs, it could be useful to establish regular channels of communication and close working relationships with government officials of other ministries indirectly involved in labour law reform, such as the ministry of finance, the ministry of investment and the ministry of trade. This will enhance the visibility of EOs in their attempt to be recognized as effective advocates.
- c) **Appoint a focal point for advocacy and advocacy related to law reform**
With the exception of APINDO, which has a dedicated Law and Advocacy Committee, the EOs carry out advocacy and related activities on an ad hoc basis. Especially when a law reform process officially begins, having a designated person (or unit, if appropriate) responsible for systematically interacting with relevant Ministries and that could monitor overall process would be useful. An assigned focal point could also be helpful to better understand the processes of government and administration, and to know how to tap into them in an effective and timely way.
- d) **Create links or coalitions with chambers of commerce, foreign chambers or other business organizations**
Advocacy coalitions help campaigns by combining resources and ideas to develop a stronger message and a more compelling public image. In short, there is strength in numbers. When they work well, coalitions add enormous weight to a campaign.
- e) **Follow-up with their members, during the reform process and at its end**
All the four EOs carried out consultation activities to better define their priorities for the labour law reform. There is room for improvement, however, in terms of effective communication with their members. EOs members need to be regularly updated on how the advocacy effort is progressing. Member communication is vital if they are to secure commitment to their objectives and solicit member help in advocacy actions. This could be done through regular member consultations, newsletters and by keeping advocacy information up-to-date on their web site. This should be done not only during the course of the reform process, but also at its end to communicate success and the difficulties encountered.

2. Dedicate more time and resources to analysis in order to elaborate good arguments and create a solid evidence base for positions and counter proposals

Each of the four EOs identified their main areas of interest or concern in the current law or emerging draft laws. They also proposed concrete alternative solutions in comprehensive position papers. Sometimes, however, their reports and papers did not defend their positions using concrete evidence, statistics and examples of legislation from other countries. References to relevant research and indicators of international trends and experiences will be extremely valuable. Getting quality data and conducting thorough analysis of the identify issues is therefore crucial to lobby effectively the government.

3. Develop a regulatory impact assessment model

Regulatory impact assessment is a systemic approach to critically assessing the positive and negative effects of proposed and existing regulations and non-regulatory alternatives. Regulatory impact assessments are rather simple in form, but they can involve substantial analysis and they require reliable data. Even where there is a recognition of the value of regulatory impact assessments and political will to support the initiative, Governments may lack the capacity and resources to systematically analyse regulatory regimes and may react positively if another party does the underlying analytic work for them and presents good data about the adverse consequences of particular regulations.

4. Increase the use of the media and the web

An effective advocacy campaign should have both an internal and external aspect. Writing press releases, providing information online and undertaking media and outreach activities can help mobilize public support and government attention to EOs' positions. Additionally, members will often judge the success of an advocacy campaign by the effort they witness the EOs investing in it and in the volume and tone of media coverage.

Conclusion

This research note underlines that labour and social policies need further attention from policymakers, and EOs should forcefully push this agenda. From an employer's perspective, the aim of advocating change in the labour law space can be challenging as this is one of the most contentious and sensitive areas of legislation. Many governments prefer to embrace a non-interventionist or laissez-faire approach, thus the reform process can be seen as a difficult problem. Employers may be at a disadvantage in the reform process. This is particularly true of those organizations that have an exclusive mandate on social and labour policy issues as they are often not afforded an opportunity to engage on a wider spread of issues that can be construed in a more positive light (e.g. infrastructure or taxation policy) and indeed more likely

