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CONFINDUSTRIA, FREE SWABS, AND THE GREEN PASS LEGISLATION

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Master of Science in Strategic Communication 2020/2021

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1. Introduction

In this case it is analyzed how Confindustria was affected by the approval of the 21st of September 2021 (n.127) decree-law. The main topic is the public discussion around the question on who should pay Covid-Swabs of no-vaccinated workers. In the analysis are pointed out the difficulties that Confindustria faces up, before, and during the implementation of the regulation, which is expressing the mandatory exhibition of the Green Pass. In conclusion, it is provided a public affairs suggestion that Confindustria could implement to keep the government follow its interests.

2. Presentation of the organization

Confindustria is the main association representing manufacturing and service companies in Italy. The headquarter is situated in Rome where it is possible to find 225 locals and trade associations. Confindustria's foundation finds its roots in 1910. Its mission is to tackle the new economic challenges and constantly seek solutions for Italy and its production chain. The main activity is aimed at guaranteeing the central importance of companies, which are the main drivers of Italy's economic, social, and civil development. Moreover, Confindustria contributes to social well-being and progress, and this attitude guarantees more diversified, efficient, and modern services. To carry out its business, the association constantly confronts itself at different levels with international organizations and with local and national Bodies, Institutions, and Authorities. This is to respond to the needs of companies, analyzing and interpreting competitive scenarios, to support them in a path of growth, innovation, and business culture.

3. Analysis of the issue

With the entry into force of the decree-law of the 21st of October 2021 is established the obligation of the Green Pass to have access to the workplaces, under penalty of work and salary suspension but without dismissal.

Non-vaccinated workers must have either a negative molecular swab every 72 hours, or an antigenic swab every 48 hours, and pay the low price of 8 euros for underage and 15 for adults.

The decree formalizes that the payment of the buffer is not supported by the companies. In terms of time, the issue is actual and institutionalized, as the position on it is clear and there is no other way to propose an alternative view on it. In terms of type, when it is related to Confindustria, it is a corporate issue, as it influences the entire company system; when we refer to the general matter it is societal, as it is referred to a global health issue.

The issue is linked to the current pandemic situation, and with the need to contain workplace infections, given the serious economic consequences of the 2020 lock-down. It is also related to the decree of the 23rd of July 2021 (n.105), which regulates the obligation of the Green Pass for the entrance to determined closed public places. The extension of the obligation to the workplaces has been taken into consideration also for this decree but then it was postponed to October. The issue is considered as a part of a recursive-cyclical issue lifecycle as the case has been examined more than once and reinterpreted even after positions have been established (Bigelow, 1993).

The issue has not yet had an actual evolution as, only right now, it is claimed that, for added security, it would be necessary to have a swab every 24 hours.

The position of Confindustria on this fact has changed over time. Initially it matched the opinion of the CGIL Union and argued that the Government should bear the costs of swabs for non-vaccinated people. After, Confindustria thought that the best solution was to make those who did not want to vaccinate pay for their swabs. The reasons are multiple: the vaccination will be encouraged, the industries should not take on additional investments, and prices will be spared to citizens, who would otherwise end up with higher taxes.

4. Main stakeholders' analysis

The most relevant affecting stakeholders are the CGIL Union, the parties Fratelli d'Italia, Movimento 5 Stelle, Lega, and the affected ones are the non-vaccinated employees.

As expressed by Ormrod's theory (2020), stakeholders can affect the achievement of the organization's objectives. By analyzing Confindustria's stakeholders, it is possible to outline how they are direct stakeholders due to their narrow scope.

The first opinion differences occur with CGIL. It argues that the payment of swabs should be a responsibility of the industries, so to avoid burdening workers' salaries.

Maurizio Landini highlights a contradiction: The Government's decision to oblige the presentation of the green certificate, does not mean that it is mandatory to be vaccinated, but it is enough to present a negative swab. So, imposing a cost to exercise the right to work in a low-wage country is wrong, and can be counterproductive.

Even if the Union sought a dialogue with both Confindustria and Draghi it didn't obtain favorable results. Landini didn't want the mandatory Green Pass at work, the sanctions for workers without green certificates and the swabs to be free but no request was accepted.

The position of the Fratelli d'Italia, Movimento 5 Stelle, and Lega parties is also different as they would like the swabs be financed by the Government to not burden businesses.

According to Fratelli d'Italia, the decision to ask for the mandatory green certification represents a unique worldwide case. Giorgia Meloni, pointed out that the Constitution defines Italy as a Republic founded on work. The Government should therefore intervene to avoid chaos and discrimination, which is why the costs of swabs should be covered by the State or stretched the validity toward 72 hours. On the same wavelength is moving the party Lega with Matteo Salvini. The Movimento 5 Stelle party has not a unique view on the case. Some people are completely against the existence of the Green Pass, others, like the leader Giuseppe Conte, declare to be in

favor of the anti-covid vaccine, and the Green Pass. Beppe Grillo proposed another solution: free swabs paid in advance by the firms, and then paid by INPS after being adjusted at the end of the year. The gratuity was based on people's annual income, with ISEE below a certain threshold. For now, till the decree is valid, they push to make the Government pay for non-vaccinated people swabs. Anyway, all stakeholders do not exclude the mandatory vaccine as the main solution to get out of the pandemic.

5. Identification and discussion of the different arenas

The discussion that raised on the issue and on the consequences, is developing in all three different arenas, political, economic, and social and the issue develops on a national scale, as it is present only in Italy and it influences certain Italian stakeholders.

The discussion development speed began at the political level when the government took action to formulate the decree-law of the 21st of September. Then it spread to the economic arena when Confindustria and the Trade Unions, including CGIL, were involved in relation to the question of the swab's payment. Of course, the news leaking from the political and economic arena were immediately received by the media. Therefore, is reached the entire public, including unvaccinated workers. The subjects of the social arena discuss the problem with the media by participating in television or radio broadcasts, expressing their opinion on social media, so influencing the Government's decisions. Indeed, as it is argued in Peter Koeppl, 2000, the political decisions are based on information coming from the society.

The discussion raised by the "no Green Pass" protestants, has extended to other topics, such as: the doubt of being part of a democracy, the violation of constitutional freedoms or the violation of privacy. Craig S. Fleisher 2017, names Baron in his book, who explains that the political, social, and legal arrangements, structure the outside interactions and affect differently every industry at different levels.

6. Identification and discussion of law

There are two decrees that regulate and govern the issue right now. The first one, published on the Gazzetta Ufficiale is the decree-law of the 23rd of July 2021, contains urgent measures to deal with the epidemiological emergency and for the safe exercise of social and economic activities. The state of emergency is extended until the 31st of December 2021, and there is the access to activities and areas only in possession of the Green Pass. The certification is mandatory from the 6th of August 2021. On September 1 it was required also for school and university staff, and for long-distance travels on trains and airplanes. The last decree, of the 21st of September, extends the obligation to public and private workplaces from the 15th of October until the 31st of December 2021.

The employee who declares to be without certification is considered unjustified absent thus losing his salary until he adapts to the new legislation. Employees ignoring the limitation, are subject to an administrative penalty ranging from 600 to 1,500 euros, with the consequence to be replaced if they work in a company with fewer than 15 employees, for a period of 10 days, extendable for other 10. Even the employer who does not carry out the checks, risks a penalty between 400 and 100 euros. The checks can be carried out by using the VerificationC19 App.

The two decree-laws are interrelated and the entry into force of the second didn't replace the first. For this reason, the latter is not outdated but is only extended in terms of regulations. This policy has impacted Confindustria in terms of guidelines to be provided to the companies which it represents. The main issue is about the misleading and not complete indications from the Government's decree, on how to organize and set up controls. Confindustria needed more precise indications to not fall into undiscovered lands and misunderstandings and to allow the decree to have the effect it deserves.

Confindustria, in a *position paper*¹, suggests companies to start sensibilization activities to prevent possible damages. The unjustified absence of an important employee may cause relevant damages that may be not covered by the decree itself, and then not backed up by the Italian State. For this reason, Confindustria reminds that companies are allowed to ask for damages' compensation.

7. **Public Affairs solution**

The communication methods that Confindustria uses to share its position are interviews with journalists, conferences, webinars, and the substantial activity it has on social media. An interview by Maurizio Stirpe, in which he reaffirms the position of Confindustria on the issue, was shared on all the social networks except for Instagram. A similar situation occurred when the 24th of April 2020 protocol, to combat and contain the spread of the Covid-19 virus in the workplace, was published. Confindustria shared it on its channels the measures to implement, and affirms the full adoption of all anti-contagion rules, by arguing that it will allow to overcome this crisis, and to prepare for economic recovery.

The employers' associations in Italy, therefore the reference industry, present different visions. Confcommercio, for example, is on Confindustria's side, while Confartigianato proposes to carry out the swabs directly in the company and to support their price, since not all workers can or want to get vaccinated and to avoid other production "stops". Confapi, instead, proposes the swabs to be paid by the "bilateral bodies", that is the network of companies that revolve around the companies

¹ Position paper: L'estensione del Green pass al lavoro privato Commento al Decreto legge DL 21 settembre 2021, n. 127

<https://www.confindustria.it/wcm/connect/cf28baf4-909d-4fed-bbd1>

<e13788db11d5/DI+127+2021+Nota+di+aggiornamento+27+settembre+2021.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&attachment=true&CACHE=NONE&CONTENTCACHE=NONE>

themselves to provide services.

The Trade Unions claim to cut the price of swabs, and the companies to anticipate the costs. The communication of all these visions takes place through official pages, newspaper interviews, and participation in conferences.

Some private companies decided to pay the swabs on their own. NaturaSi, through a press release, expressed its willingness to pay the swabs to the No-Vax present in the company, claiming individual freedom. Ex-Ilva instead, introduces the willingness to apply the layoffs. Other companies, like the Emilian packaging district and the Metalworking companies in Veneto, argue that they cannot afford to be late on order deadlines, and that it is not easy to replace those who stay home without a salary; therefore, the problem is solved by paying the swabs. All bodies and associations agree on one issue: the need to achieve a vaccination obligation.

For the interests of Confindustria, it is important that the Government decides either to maintain the current law, or to create a new law on the mandatory vaccine. Confindustria must have, as its first objective, the improvement of its social media method of communication and therefore to carry out an effective social communication campaign that will be valid for both solutions.

The process differs at the strategy implementation. An information strategy can be used to keep the current law in force, by communicating results from statistics, data on the validity of the Green Pass and the swabs for the unvaccinated workers. A constituency-building strategy, on the other hand, can be used to gain more popular support and to ensure that the Government enacts a law on the obligation to vaccinate.

The communication campaign must start from Confindustria's Facebook official page because it is constantly updated and has a great resonance due to the number of followers.

As Anne Whitesell (2018) explains, the use of social media would help to better disseminate information than just using the website. Facebook can help to shape the public debate, making it

even more widely salient. With a proactive approach people will be persuaded and the public attention will be reached. The next step is to spread the campaign on all other Confindustria's communication channels.

At this point it is necessary to take into consideration the Golden Rules by De Bruycker, 2019 to implement the two strategies and to define for both the SMART objectives and KPIs, that will serve as an evaluation method for the outcomes achieved (Hillman et al. 2004).

The information strategy used to maintain the already on force decree-law, has the aim at providing information to the political decisions-makers with lobbying activities, research projects, results, and position papers or technical reports. The language must be direct, scientific, and simple and, to reach the goal, the message must offer a framing of attributes (Mahon & Waddock, 1992). To increase the salience of message, and to be best understood, it is relevant to emphasize its framing to the main target (Matthes, 2012). Then, it is important to use the voice channel, which helps to influence decision-makers, and then to create political content storytelling (Breidl, 2013). There are two different approaches to implement the corporate public affairs strategy, one short-term and one long-term (Hillman & Hitt, 1999). In this case Confindustria needs to use a transactional approach (short term) as the issue is already framed and politicized, and to apply an individual entrepreneur participation level to keep taking stance on Confindustria's position.

The alternative and the best strategy is the Constituency-Building one (Hillman & Hitt, 1999), which it is used to make the Government decide for a mandatory vaccination decree-law and has the aim at gaining public support by leveraging on the high reputation and social authority that the company has (Meznar and Nigh, 1995). This is reached by applying an indirect constituent support to the political decision-makers through advocacy advertising, press conferences and political education programs. Language should be professional, savvy, and scientific by offering an interpretation of framing of action (Mahon & Waddock, 1992). To implement the strategy, also here

can be used a transactional approach as the issue, in this case, is at an early stage of formation. To exploit a collective participation through a possible coalition, will be used the leader participation level (Mahon & Waddock, 1992), which helps in the coalition with the other parties agreeing on the mandatory vaccination need. With this tactics, Confindustria assumes responsibility for what it says and discloses on its social media, despite the media, experts, and public opinion (G.Keim, 2005). The social campaign will end with the measurement of the impact that the tactics and the strategies had on the target for both messaging strategies.

8. Implications of the Public Affairs solution

If the implementation of Confindustria's strategies will be successful, the company will reap all the benefits by reaching decision-makers more effectively and successfully.

If Confindustria applies the first strategy the situation will not change so much but can be obtained only a more effective and right diffusion of the information, and maybe a larger consensus from stakeholders. In the case Confindustria implements the second strategy, encouraging the mandatory vaccination, the only affected stakeholders will be the un-vaccinated workers and No-Vax, who are fully against the vaccine. Since the Government is considering new hypothesis to reach the highest number of vaccinated people. If Confindustria is able to create a coalition with the other parties, they could reach the biggest consensus and probably obtain the mandatory vaccine legislation.

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