

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (ISA)

LABOUR MOVEMENTS Research Committee (RC) 44

August 2000

RC44 in Latin America

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I visited Latin America in May on behalf of RC44. It was a most rewarding visit as evidenced by the Newsletter where we have a briefing on 'labour reform' in Brazil by two of our members with a Spanish translation. We also have an advert for a conference on labour movements and politics in October in Rio de Janeiro. I hope that this edition will lead to a rapid expansion of our membership in this crucial area of labour studies. For the first time, a member from Latin America has sent us his Top Ten most influential books. I hope others will follow; it is important that all the voices in sociology are heard in RC44! Although Suzanne Franzway-president of RC32 on Woman and Society-was unable to attend the panel discussion in Buenos Aires in May, she has contributed a description of her fascinating new book on Sexual Politics and Greedy Institutions. I hope that we will be able to continue to run joint sessions between RC44 and RC32 in Brisbane as Claire Williams and Suzanne Franzway successfully organised in Montreal in 1998. The growth of the service sector has brought the issue of gender into the world of work and trade unionism in a dramatic way in recent years. It is crucial that research in this area be brought into the discussion on work and labour and I hope we will be able to revive the idea behind the panel in Buenos Aires of a three way session between RC30 , RC 32 and RC44 in Brisbane.

We also carry in this edition a briefing from Steven Lopez on his research on social movement unionism in the USA. There has always been a struggle in the USA between two forms of unionism; business unionism where labour is treated as a commodity and social unionism. Here unionism is seen as part of a broader struggle for social justice covering not only those in employment, but also those outside employment. As Lopez shows, the tradition of business unionism is still very much dominant in the US but the impact of neo-liberal globalisation is beginning to reveal the bankruptcy of this narrow model of unionism. We have added a new section to the Newsletter which will focus on the next ISA World Congress in 2002. This will be a regular feature and if you have any bright ideas for Brisbane 2002, please let us have them. In preparation for Brisbane, a meeting of all research committees was held in Montreal at the end of July. The theme of the conference was, 'Social Transformation at the Turn of the Millennium: Sociological Theory and Current Empirical Research'. RC44 was represented by Carla Lipsig- Mumme who presented a paper titled, Recasting Labour Studies and Labour Movements in the Era of Globalisation. She will report on this in the next newsletter.

Eddie Webster

Mission

To encourage international research on Labour Movements, with a focus on their role both in industrial relations and in the political arena. Membership is open to any person engaged in research into Labour Movements or in Labour Movement Activities

Newsletter Editor

Edward Webster
Phone: 27 11 717 4426
Fax: 27 11 717 4469
E-mail: 029edw@muse.wits.ac.za

Newsletter Distribution and Membership

Anthea Metcalfe: antheam@yebo.co.za

Please e-mail/fax all copy and requests for information for this newsletter to the Editor

Membership queries can be directed to Anthea

LABOUR MOVEMENTS**Research Committee (RC) 44****President - Richard Hyman**

Industrial Relations Research Unit
Univ of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 7AL
UNITED KINGDOM
Phone: 44-1203-523840
Fax: 44-1203-524656
E-mail: r.hyman@warwick.ac.uk

Vice-president - Claire Williams

Dept of Sociology, Flinders University
GPOB 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001
AUSTRALIA
Phone: 61-8-82012628
Fax: 61-8-82013521
E-mail: claire.williams@flinders.edu.au

Secretary - Edward Webster

Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP)
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050
SOUTH AFRICA
Phone: 27 11 717 4426
Fax: 27 11 717 4469
E-mail: 029edw@muse.wits.ac.za

Board members**Varkey Jose**

International Institute for Labour Studies
GENEVA
E-mail: jose@ilo.org

Rob Lambert

Dept of Organisation and Labour
Studies, University of Western
Australia, Perth
E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au

Carla Lipsig-Mumme

CRWS, University of York,
CANADA
Email: carlalm@yorku.ca

Regina Morel

Dept of Sociology, Federal University
of Rio de Janeiro, BRAZIL
E-mail: rmorel@ax.apc.org

Pamela Roby

Department of Sociology,
University of California, Santa Cruz,
USA
E-mail: roby@cats.ucsc.edu

International Sociology Association (ISA),

Facultad CC. Políticas Y Sociología, Universidad Complutense 28223 Madrid, Spain

Phone: 34 - 913 527 650
E-mail: isa@sis.ucm.es

Fax: 34 - 913 524 945
<http://www.ucm.es/info/isa>

Visit to ALAST 2000, Buenos Aires

By Eddie Webster

In May I was invited to represent RC44 in a panel discussion at the conference of the Association of Latin American Sociologists of Work (ALAST) in Buenos Aires. ALAST is a professional association formed in 1993 in Mexico. It meets every three years in different parts of the continent. Sociology of Work is a strong area of specialisation in Latin America and there were over four hundred delegates. Papers covered all dimensions of the world of work - labour relations, labour movements, labour markets and the labour process. Clearly, the sociological study of work is being revitalized under the impact of globalisation as enterprises reengineer work in attempting to make themselves more globally competitive. Not surprisingly, the focus of the papers has shifted from labour movements and collective action to the impact of restructuring on the world of work with issues such as outsourcing, casualisation, the informal sector and labour relations 'reform' high on the agenda.

I had been invited to speak at a plenary session on New Perspectives on Work and Labour by the President of RC30 - the Sociology of Work, Alice Abreu. The aim of the session was to identify a research agenda for the study of work and labour in the new millennium. The intention was to attempt to devise new and creative ways of integrating our three research committees, RC30, RC32 and RC44, at the next World Congress in Brisbane. In the International Sociology Association (ISA), two distinct research committees on work and labour have evolved over time. The Sociology of Work - the sociological study of social relations in the workplace - was established in 1970. RC44 - the study of the self activity of workers, their collective mobilisation into forms of organisations such as trade unions - was only established in 1990. Regrettably, the President of RC32, Suzanne Franzway was unable to attend the panel discussion.

Much of the focus of RC44 has been on the experiences of labour movements in Western Europe and North America where industrial relations had been institutionalised and large trade unions exist. RC44 paid little attention to the innovative and militant labour movements emerging in South Africa, Korea and Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, these movements were to generate a new school of labour studies, what Ronaldo Munck called The New International Labour Studies, in a book published in 1988 by Zed Press. At the centre of this approach was the identification of a new form of unionism - what was called social movement unionism - where unions widen their activities beyond the traditional working class to include the new social movements emerging in these countries in their struggles for democracy. These activities have been captured clearly in Gay Seidman's pioneering comparative study, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970 -1985*, published by University of California Press in 1994.

Interestingly, as these movements have declined in militancy in the South, commentators such as Kim Moody have begun to talk of the emergence of forms of social movement unionism in North America. Under the impact of neo-liberal globalisation, organised workers have begun to link to communities and NGOs in their struggles against privatisation. They have also argued for the need to revitalise their organisations to capture the 'social movement' character of old style militant unionism. Of course this is being done in considerably less favourable conditions for mobilisation, but it does suggest the importance of drawing on the experiences of unions from the south.

This was the main reason why I participated in ALAST and I was pleased that we were able to agree on the need to run a joint symposium in Brisbane on *Old Boundaries, New Frontiers: The Study of Work and Labour in the New Millennium*. It was agreed that we should commission two papers: one on the intellectual history of R30 and the other on RC44, where we identify the different theoretical presuppositions that underlay these two committees, the literature cited in the papers delivered, the problems posed and the research methods used. We hope that through this interaction we will achieve a creative dialogue between these two separate, but closely linked areas of investigation. As the world of work is restructured on a global scale, its impact on labour is profound. This can best be understood through the dual lens of these research committees.

Changes in Labour Relations and Trade Unions in Brazil

Regina Morel* and Elina Pessinha **

In Brazil, democratic consolidation and neo-liberal adjustments implemented in the 1990s have led to ambivalent public policies as well as ambiguous reactions from social actors. The origins of the Brazilian system of labor relations, especially its normative tradition, have strongly influenced the country's debate on flexibility and deregulation, initiated in the 1990s. Brazil's system acquired a distinct form in the mid 1940s, ratifying the corporatist bases laid in the early 1930s. Grounded on government interventionism and centralized bargaining procedures this model managed to survive a number of political and institutional changes. More recently, although corporatism has not yet been completely abolished, there is practically a consensus that important changes are occurring both in relations between employers, the State, and the working class as well as in the role played by the State, not to mention changes in the 'entrepreneurial culture' and the culture of the so called 'new unionism'. While not exactly new in Brazil, direct bargaining practices between labor and employers have attracted attention from the media and the public at large. The Brazilian government has strongly stimulated this process both in institutional and legal terms, even pushing for and implementing constitutional reforms.

Fernando Henrique Cardoso's govt has reinforced flexibilization and deregulation of capital/labor relations leaving to employers and workers the negotiation of rights traditionally regulated by the State. A far-reaching reform of the Consolidated Labor Laws (CLT) is the final goal of this process and the changes of greatest impact this far were the laws that instituted the fixed-term labor contract (*contrato de trabalho por prazo determinado*) and "hour bank" (*banco de horas*), an experience of working hour's flexibilization inaugurated by metalworkers from Sao Paulo in 1995. Some other important changes, introduced through "Medidas Provisorias" (presidential decrees), define norms for part-time jobs and for the temporary suspension of labor contracts. Through a constitutional amendment, another measure proposes new rules for the corporatist union's structure as well as the suspension of the Labor Court's normative power.

If, on the one hand, it is true that many unions are bewildered by the new measures, on the other, one cannot say that the the labor movement is imobilized right now. Brazilian unionism shows some signs of vitality and capacity to mobilize, even though the number of strikes has diminished since 1997. Only recently have defensive demands outnumbered the propositional ones, due to high unemployment rates and the increasing number of precarious forms of labor contracts. The unionization rate for urban workers in the formal sector remains around 30%; according to the Labor Ministry, there were in 1996 16,000 unions in Brazil, compared with under 10,000 in 1989, more than half of which are in the service sector. Organized labor has been able to move with some efficiency within the rigid corporatist structure using it to express its specific demands. Outside the formal structure, central unions have played the role of alternative horizontal unions, cross-articulating workers' strategies and perspectives. If the securing of employment is the main issue in periods of crisis, new

demands, for instance, those related to the training and qualification of the labor force as well as workers' participation in enterprises' profits have been included in trade unions' agendas. Moreover, active participation in formal instances to discuss and propose public policies demonstrates a search for new forms of institutional action.

In the non-organized segment of the labor market, however, unionization practically does not exist, union density has been reduced, it is hard to enforce labor laws, and working conditions are authoritarian. To this segment, deregulation and flexibilization of the labor market have been the norm for decades now. This is illustrated by the non-existence of restrictions on the forms of employment arrangements at the disposal of employers as well as the number of workers who are not part of the formal market. At present, jobless workers and those with precarious or un-registered employment outnumber officially registered wage-earners: with an economically active population estimated at 75 million in 1999, only 18 million were officially registered.

This context and the coexistence of strong and weak trade unions are the source of the contradictions mentioned above. Workers' reactions obviously reflect the heterogeneity of their social and working conditions as well as the political values of their organizations. They also point out to a strong ambiguity in workers' expectations towards the State, simultaneously seen as their "protector" but also as the main culprit responsible for the de-regulation of labor rights. Although there is a tendency to accept the end of the principle of the "single union", the end of the compulsory dues of trade unions membership as well as the changes which are being proposed to Labour Court's roles, Brazilian unions show strong reservations towards these initiatives, seen as political strategies to "divide and weaken" labor movement.

Although Cardoso's government seems to have not found so far a final alternative model, all indications suggest that these proposals are meant to "decree away" the corporatist legacy, by-passing the very history of labor relations in Brazil. It is regrettable that innovative initiatives, tried in the early 90s, such as the "collective bargaining agreement" and the "sectoral chambers", are being gradually abandoned to benefit the 'free' play of market forces. It is difficult to talk of a "new era" when a technocratic style of policy-making leaves to some bureaucratic elites the central role in implementing changes, disorganizing the overall system of interest mediations and seriously jeopardizing democracy.

* Department of Sociology, Graduate Program on Sociology and Anthropology, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
E-mail: morelrm@aol.com

** Department of Anthropology, Graduate Program on Sociology and Anthropology, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
E-mail elina@web4u.com.br

CAMBIOS EN EL MODELO DE RELACIONES LABORALES Y SINDICALISMO EN BRASIL

Regina Morel et Elina Pessinha ***

En Brasil, la consolidación democrática y los ajustes neo-liberales realizados principalmente en los años 90 tienen llevado a políticas públicas contradictorias y a respuestas ambiguas por parte de los actores sociales. Sin embargo, el debate reciente sobre flexibilidad y desregulación del trabajo ha sido marcado por los orígenes de nuestro sistema de relaciones laborales, particularmente por su tradición normativa. Consolidado en la mitad de los años 40, este sistema, basado en un padrón intervencionista y en un estilo centralizado de negociación, se ha revelado capaz de sobrevivir a los variados cambios político-institucionales. Se no se dió la eliminación completa del corporativismo, es consensual que, en las últimas décadas, ocurrieran importantes transformaciones no solamente en las relaciones entre los empresarios, el Estado y la clase obrera, como también en lo que se refiere al papel del Estado, y a las culturas empresariales y de segmentos expresivos del "nuevo" sindicalismo. Propuestas de negociación directa entre patrones y trabajadores, aún que no exactamente nuevas, hoy son más destacadas. Los gobiernos han estimulado ese proceso y vienen actuando de modo más agresivo desde el punto de vista institucional-legal, incluso intentando reformas constitucionales.

El gobierno actual, del Presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso, pretende la creciente flexibilización de las relaciones capital/trabajo y de los derechos aún regulados por el Estado. Su objetivo final es la reforma profunda de la presente Consolidación de las Leyes Laborales (CLT), y hasta el momento, los cambios de mayor impacto fueran, sin duda, los que, en 1988, crearon el contrato de trabajo por período limitado y el "Banco de Horas", experiencia de flexibilización de la jornada de trabajo, empezada con los metalúrgicos de São Paulo en 1995. Otros cambios, introducidos por "Medidas Provisorias" (decretos presidenciales), han establecido normas para la contratación de trabajadores por tiempo parcial y para la suspensión temporaria del contrato de trabajo. Igualmente una propuesta de cambio constitucional pretende definir nuevas reglas para el sistema de representación territorial y de soporte financiero de los sindicatos y, de modo complementario, límites al poder normativo de la Justicia Laboral.

Si, de una parte, es verdad que muchas asociaciones laborales se vuelven perplejas frente a tales iniciativas, por otra el movimiento sindical no está enteramente impotente en este momento. Los trabajadores más organizados presentan aún, muchos rasgos de vitalidad y capacidad de movilización (lo número de huelgas cae después de 1997), y solamente en los últimos años se verificó el aumento de sus demandas defensivas - en respuesta al desempleo y a la precarización del trabajo- sobre las más propositivas. En términos relativos, los índices de sindicalización de los trabajadores urbanos en el mercado formal de trabajo se mantienen en 30%; las asociaciones obreras en 1996 eran 16 mil, contra menos de 10 mil en 1989, siendo más de la mitad en el sector terciario. Los trabajadores organizados tienen se movimentado con relativo éxito internamente a la rígida estructura corporativa, creando brechas por las cuales hacen avanzar sus demandas propias. Externamente a la estructura, las centrales sindicales muchas veces logran promover la deseada horizontalidad de las estrategias de lucha y aspiraciones de la clase obrera. Si la cuestión de la defensa del empleo se vuelve prioridad en tiempos de crisis, nuevas cuestiones, como de la cualificación o de la participación de los trabajadores en los lucros de las empresas, se incorporarán a los procesos de negociación. Y más, la participación en organismos que formulan políticas públicas es un indicador de nuevas formas de inserción institucional.

Sin embargo, para el segmento no organizado de los trabajadores, la legislación laboral no se cumple, la densidad sindical es reducida y las relaciones de trabajo son más autoritarias. La flexibilización del mercado de trabajo en estos casos, no es novedad, como demuestran la ausencia de restricciones a los empleadores y el número de trabajadores fuera del mercado formal. Por lo momento, los trabajadores formales pierden para el conjunto de desempleados y ocupados de forma precaria: para una Población Económicamente Activa estimada en más de 75 millones de personas en 1999, solamente cerca de 18 millones son trabajadores con registro formal. Este cuadro diferenciado y los desafíos puestos en función de la convivencia entre frágiles y fuertes sindicatos, están ciertamente en la base de la contradicción ya apuntada. Las reacciones de los trabajadores reflexan, por supuesto, la heterogeneidad de sus condiciones y de las posiciones políticas de sus organizaciones. Apuntan también para una fuerte ambigüedad presente en las aspiraciones hacia el Estado, sea como "protector" o principal responsable por la nueva regulación de los derechos laborales. Mismo lo relativo consenso sobre el término de la representación única por base territorial (la "unicidade sindical") y de la contribución compulsoria de los trabajadores a los sindicatos (via el Ministerio del Trabajo), o aún sobre la reducción de las atribuciones de la Justicia Laboral, viene acompañado de reservas y cautelas, en la medida en que tales cambios se ven como estrategias políticas para "dividir y flaquear" el movimiento sindical. Por supuesto, aún no se presente un claro modelo alternativo de relaciones de trabajo, todo lleva a creer que se intenta abolir "por decreto" toda la herencia corporativa, ignorando enteramente la historia de las relaciones laborales en el país.

Es lamentable que propuestas de innovación, experimentadas en lo inicio de los años 90, de creación de espacios de negociación, como la del "contrato colectivo" y la de las "cámaras sectoriales" (Estado, empresarios y trabajadores de un sector), hayan sido abandonadas en beneficio del "libre" juego de las fuerzas del mercado. Queda difícil hablar del "fin de una era", cuando un estilo tecnocrático de formular políticas atribuye a las élites estatales el lugar central en la elaboración de los cambios propuestos, desorganizando todo un sistema de intermediación de intereses, con serios riesgos para la democracia.

*Profesora do Departamento de Sociologia y del Programa de Posgrado en Sociologia y Antropologia de l' Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, (morelirm@aol.com)

** Profesora do Departamento de Antropologia de l' Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Coordinadora del Programa de Posgrado en Sociologia e Antropologia de l' Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (elina@web4u.com.br)

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Volume 5, No. 1 (April 2000)

Zald, *Social Movements as Ideologically Structured Action*

Klandermans *Mobilization Forum: Comments on Zald*

Diani, *Mobilization Forum: Comments on Zald*

Oliver and Johnston, *What a Good Idea! Ideology and Frames in Social Movement Theory*

Snow and Benford, *Mobilization Forum: Comments on Oliver and Johnston*

Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, *Return of the Repressed: Emotions in Collective Action*

Zwerman, Steinhoff, and Della Porta, *Disappearing SMOs: New Left Clandestinity in Japan, Germany & US*

Lewis, *Transnational SMOs: Conservation Movements in Less Developed Countries*

Book Review Section, David Meyer, editor.

Planned for Volume 5, No. 2 (October 2000)

Tilly, *Spaces of Contention*

Walgrave and Manssens, *The Making of the Belgium's White March: Mass Media as a Mobilizing Alternative*

Titarenko, McCarthy, Augustyn, McPhail, and Crishock, *The Impact of POS on Protest: Minsk, Belarus 1990-1995*

Beckwith, *The Hinges of Repertoire Change: Modularity and Innovation in the 1989-1990 UMWA Pittston Strike*

Van Dyke, *Gendered Outcomes: Gender Differences in Biographical Consequences of Activism* Kitts, *Mobilizing in Black Boxes: Social Networks and SMO Participation*

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RC44 Survey - Top 10 most influential books

1	D Harvey, <i>The Condition of Postmodernity</i>	J R Commons et al, <i>History of Labour in the United States</i>
2	E P Thompson, <i>The Making of the English Working</i>	J D Edelman & M Warner, <i>Comparative Union Democracy</i>
3	E J Hobsbawm, <i>Worlds of Labour</i>	W Form, <i>Segmented Labour, Fractured Politics</i>
4	G S Jones, <i>Languages of Class</i>	A Gouldner, <i>Wildcat Strike</i>
5	G Friedman, <i>Le travail en miettes</i>	J D Greenstone, <i>Labour in American Politics</i>
6	H Braverman, <i>Labour and Monopoly Capital</i>	S M Lipset et al, <i>Union Democracy</i>
7	H Beynon, <i>Working for Ford</i>	R Michels, <i>Political Parties</i>
8	J B Lopes, <i>A Sociedade Industrial no Brasil (The Industrial Society in Brazil)</i>	C W Mills, <i>The New Men of Power</i>
9	L Rodrigues, <i>Conflito Industrial e Sindicalismo no Brasil (Industrial Conflict and the Trade Unions in Brazil)</i>	S Perlman, <i>A Theory of the Labour Movement</i>
10	P Rosanvallon, <i>La question Syndicale</i>	H Wilensky, <i>Intellectuals in Labour Unions</i>

New Book

SEXUAL POLITICS AND GREEDY INSTITUTIONS: UNION WOMEN, COMMITMENTS AND CONFLICTS IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE

by Suzanne Franzway
published by Pluto Press, Australia

This book confronts sexual politics in trade union movements, private life and feminism/s.
Doing something you are committed to... being involved in unions isn't just a job (Therese)

*They ignore me.
(Even though you're Secretary of one of the largest unions?)
Ignored. I think I can safely say that.*(Harriet)

I'm small and young and look young, though daily looking older and older doing this job.(Louise)

Why are women still seen as 'the problem' by most trade unionists and researchers?
Why does men's resistance to challenges to male dominance, in public and in private, go unnoticed? If women in paid work such as full-time union positions, still do the second shift of housework, who looks after the women?

Based on a study of a network of committed and contentious women union officials, this book argues that sexual politics is central to trade union movements and to contemporary feminism. The question is how is sexual politics contested? Traditionally, men are assumed to commit to public institutions, such as the trade union movement, while women are committed to the private family/household. These are greedy institutions that demand strong commitment. New voices describe and reflect on women's everyday experiences of becoming involved and working in unions, of strategic dilemmas, political doubts and pleasures as well as emotional labour, housework and self-care. Sexual politics is not new, but very few texts face up to its strategic and theoretical implications, nor do they draw together the contradictory demands of commitments to public and private spheres. This authoritative and evocative study will be of interest to women activists, trade unionists, women workers as well as students and teachers in the fields of labour studies, women's studies, labour relations, politics and sociology.

Below is an **abstract** of a related article which Suzanne submitted to the journal, **Gender, Work and Organisation**, to be published in October 2000.

Women Working in a Greedy Institution: Commitment and Emotional Labour in the Union

This paper seeks to move beyond the restrictions of limited representations of women's participation in the union movement. Through a focus on the union movement as a 'greedy institution', it is argued that women's union involvement requires complex and dynamic negotiations with its gendered discourses and practices. As a greedy institution, the union movement demands considerable depth of commitment and loyalty, as well as high levels of work and emotional labour. Based on a study of a network of women union officials, this paper discusses the ways women interpret three main aspects of trade union work: commitment, workload and emotional labour. I argue that the strategies the women officials employ do not remain static within a limited frame of gender difference from men. Rather, they must engage with the effects of male dominance of the union movement as well as the difficulties associated with union activism, family, service to members, leadership, and care in order to take up the political opportunities available in this greedy institution.

Suzanne.Franzway@unisa.edu.au

The increased use of grassroots organizing strategies by US local unions represents a welcome sign of life for a movement that has been moribund for decades. Rather than relying on traditional organizing tactics like leafleting at plant gates or holding union meetings, many revitalized locals are using face-to-face organizing techniques to mobilize workers and communities in campaigns emphasizing collective action and social justice. Critical labor observers and union activists have long called for such efforts as the best way to rebuild the labor movement from below. However, despite their promise, the new approaches are not without their difficulties. New forms of union activism must struggle not only against capital but also against organized labor's own history, contending both with the broken pieces of the old industrial relations framework and with the legacies of business unionism. My research on Service Employees (SEIU) organizing campaigns in Pennsylvania suggests that while social movement unionism is possible, it must overcome at least three separate obstacles related to the history and institutionalization of the old labor movement.

First, after a half-century of business unionism (sometimes referred to as the 'bureaucratic-servicing model' of unionism), the *lived experiences* of American workers can lead them to view unions with ambivalence or even hostility. As I discovered while studying organizing as a participant observer, many Rust Belt workers whose lives have been profoundly affected by de-industrialization have concluded that unions are no match for big corporations. These workers question whether a union is worth fighting for. Unfortunately, unions that cling to outmoded and ineffective tactics, strategies, and organizational forms reinforce these misgivings. While conducting participant observation in SEIU organizing campaigns for low-wage nursing home workers and mental health workers, I encountered many former super-market employees. Although they had been represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), they had earned barely more than the legal minimum wage and had not been permitted to ratify their contracts through direct vote. Understandably, these workers were decidedly unenthusiastic about organizing a union in their current jobs, and the resistance of former UFCW members proved to be one of the most important obstacles faced by the SEIU in campaigns that I observed. Unfortunately, the backwardness of Local 23 is not an isolated exception; such locals are still far more common than movement-oriented locals.

Business unionism leaves its legacies not only in the hearts and minds of nonunion workers but also in unions' *organizational structures*. The day-to-day functioning of most unions is still generally geared toward routine grievance-handling rather than toward movement-style organizing and mobilization. Although some unions have tried to push grievance-handling responsibility down to the members, it is difficult – even for social movement unions – to change this orientation toward servicing. The idea of the traditional “business agent” as an expert who solves members' problems by applying his or her knowledge of the contract and of bureaucratic grievance procedures has its appeal both to union staff (who may be comfortable with the traditional role, unsure about the alternatives, and unskilled as organizers) and to existing union members (who have come to expect a certain level of service in exchange for their membership dues). As a result, even movement-oriented unions may continue to rely on traditional representational structures. This leads to tensions between organizing and servicing which surface in different ways. All too often, when unions do make use of grassroots, participatory strategies in order to win organizing campaigns, these efforts are simply grafted onto business-union representational structures.

Finally, social movement unions have to contend with the *legal* legacies of the old framework for collective bargaining. Because firms in the United States are allowed to permanently replace economic strikers, a standard union-busting strategy is to offer unacceptable proposals at the bargaining table in order to push workers into strikes, which are then broken with permanent replacements. Seldom used before the 1980s, in the last two decades this strategy has been deployed with both frequency and effectiveness, making strikes a very high-risk option for unions and workers. Hence, even if grassroots organizing tactics lead to successful unionization drives in new industries, such victories are always vulnerable to counterattack. E.g. in Pennsylvania a decade of social movement organizing by the SEIU between 1985 and 1995 substantially improved the conditions of work for nursing home workers throughout the state. But these gains were not secure: in 1995, Beverly Enterprises (the nation's largest for-profit nursing home chain) attempted to break the union using the approach described above, forcing the SEIU to spend two years fighting for its very survival in the Pennsylvania nursing home industry.

The difficulty of these obstacles may help to explain why there is not more social movement unionism in the United States – but the problems are not insurmountable. In fact, the SEIU has devised at least partial solutions to each of these three dilemmas. First, movement unionism can deal with workers' negative experiences and images of unions by providing *new* experiences through face-to-face organizing and collective action. My research found that the former helped the union deal with many of workers' fears and concerns about organized labor, while the latter inspired workers with a vision of the power of working-class solidarity. Second, although the organizational dilemma is more difficult to deal with, the tension between organizing and servicing does not necessarily prevent unions from mobilizing workers. My participant observation research in a partially revitalized SEIU local found that even when fundamental organizational change is blocked, significant mobilization can occur using a variety of piecemeal organizational solutions.

Movement unionism's third dilemma - how to extend and defend victories won through social-movement organizing within the context of the existing US legal framework – is the most difficult to overcome. How can social movement unions withstand the inevitable union-busting attacks they will face when their organizing successes put them on a collision course with capital? There may not be a single formula for surviving such confrontations, but in its historic struggle with Beverly in Pennsylvania, the SEIU provided a valuable lesson about the importance, and the possibility, of tactical and strategic creativity and flexibility. The union skillfully used shop-floor mobilization to provoke unfair labor practices, which then laid the groundwork for a short unfair labor practice (ULP) strike. Beverly immediately replaced about 400 of the strikers. But the company's action was illegal because -- unlike economic strikes -- ULP strikers are protected by US labor law against permanent replacement workers. The union then turned the replaced workers into a grassroots social justice issue which it could use to move not only the legal machinery, but also to mobilize public opinion and political and economic pressure against the company. Paradoxically, then, Beverly's extreme anti-unionism ultimately represented a source of inflexibility, of ideological rigidity, that the SEIU was able creatively to exploit by combining grassroots mobilization with the protected ULP strike – thus demonstrating that social movement unions can indeed survive union-busting attacks even within the confines of the legal framework they inherit.

Steven H. Lopez

E-mail: shlopez@uclind4.berkeley.edu

Call for Papers

International Conference on Union Growth, Toronto

April 30—May 1, 2001

In honour of Professor Noah Meltz's retirement, The Centre for Industrial Relations, University of Toronto, invites proposals for an international conference on union growth and decline around the globe. Removal of trade barriers, international flows of capital and rapid advances in technology have created unprecedented opportunities for economic growth. However, much less has been accomplished in ensuring broad participation by all segments of the global village in the growing prosperity. Historically, unions have played an important role in ensuring worker protection and welfare in most countries. But unions have not fared well in this era of increasing competition and open borders. We invite researchers to submit papers covering a wide variety of factors that may be linked to union growth prospects.

- * Union role towards their members
- * Union linkages to the political process
- * Union connections with the broader social movement (community groups, NGOs)
- * Union strategies and outcomes in collective bargaining
- * Unions in the international context
- * Internal union structures
- * Strategies to recruit new members

We are particularly interested in papers that compare various national and international jurisdictions and papers that assess the impact of various strategies already implemented by unions. Empirical analyses of the most recent data on union membership and density are also welcome. In keeping with the trend towards globalization, we invite proposals from all over the world. Please send a 1-2 page proposal describing the purpose of the proposed paper and its principal arguments along with a brief description of the data and methods used. Results and conclusions may be included in the proposal if available at the time of submission.

Send a 1-2 page proposal by e-mail, fax or mail no later than September 30, 2000, to:

Anil Verma, Centre for Industrial Relations, University of Toronto, 121 St. George Street, Toronto M5S 2E8 Canada. E-mail: union.growth@utoronto.ca; Fax: (416) 978-5696. Authors will be notified by **October 31, 2000**, whether or not their paper has been selected for presentation. A first draft suitable for presentation at the conference must be submitted by **March 31, 2001**. Papers revised after the conference will be published, subject to a peer review process. More details on the publication process will be available with the second announcement in August. Authors of papers selected for the conference will receive **free registration** at the conference.

Anil Verma, Professor:

<http://mgmt.utoronto.ca/~verma>

E-mail: verna@mgmt.utoronto.ca

Brazilian Association of Graduate Programmes in Social Sciences (ANPOCS)

24th Annual Meeting

23th-27th October, 2000

Petrópolis, Rio de Janeiro

Research Group 18 - Labour Movements and Politics

The ANPOCS Annual Meeting is the most important social science research conference in Brazil. Research Group 18, Labour Movements and Politics (RG18) is one of the oldest and the most active research group within this association. RG18 is composed of members from different Brazilian research centres. To facilitate the exchange of information, the group runs a monthly newsletter and a website where texts are available. Between 1998 to 2000, RG18 has defined as its agenda the debate on the contemporary transformations affecting the world of labour, considering its impacts upon the trade-union movement. Taking into account this subject, just last year six books were published by group participants.

Past themes include "The Trade Unions' Contemporary Dilemmas" (1998) and "The Trade Unions and the Social Policies" (1999). For this year the group has selected "Trade-unions in 21st century".

The full programme for the annual meeting includes three sessions, Trade Unions and Globalisation; 2) Work and Trade Unions; 3) Is there any new trade union agenda? There will be four presentations in each session. A round-table discussion on the future of trade unionism will be included.

For further information:

Iram Jácome Rodrigues (USP) E-mail: ijrodrig@usp.br

Marco Aurélio Santana (UNIRIO) E-mail: msantana@bridge.com.br

Website: www.pessoal.bridge.com.br/sindicalismo

The International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS) ILO, Geneva

The International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS) was established in 1960 as an autonomous facility of the International Labour Organization (ILO). Its mandate is to promote policy research and public discussion on emerging policy issues of potential relevance to the ILO and its constituents - labour, business and government and contribute to policy formulation. As a global forum on social policy, the IILS enables trade unions, employers' organizations and labour administrations to interact informally with the academic community, opinion-makers, and the staff of the ILO. The IILS educational programmes assist governments, business and labour in developing their respective institutional capacities for research, analysis and policy formulation in the labour field.

Programme for 2000

The organizing theme of the Institute's programmes is the notion of "decent work". It focuses on analysing and discussing the implication of "decent work" for economic and social policies and development strategy, at both national and international levels. This research programme is designed to lay the conceptual and empirical foundations of a paradigm of decent work, which could provide a guide for national and international policies to promote "opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity" (Report of the Director-General of the ILO, 1999). There are two components. (1) focuses on the coherence and interface between the components of decent work: employment, remuneration, working conditions, social security, basic rights at work, and industrial relations. (2) examines the role of legislation, regulatory institutions and social policies in promoting decent work in the context of globalization and social change.

Programmes for 1998-1999

1. Business and Society

This programme is completed and comprised of two projects. "Social Transformation and Enterprise Performance", looked at the responses of large international corporations to global competition and the growing pressure for socially responsive business practices. "Employers' Organizations in a Changing Environment", focused on the transformation in the role of employers' organizations and other business associations, now emerging as potentially significant social actors mediating between business and society and serving as conduits for best practice and innovative strategies within the economy as a whole.

2. Labour and Society

Nearing completion, the main project, "Organized Labour in the 21st Century", has sought to identify the approaches and strategies for enhancing the profile of labour as a major actor in society and as a contributor to dynamic and equitable growth.

It addressed three issues: (i) the changing environment of labour and unions; (ii) trade union response to the environment in the 1990s; and (iii) future perspectives in terms of promising approaches for labour in society and the global economy.

The programme was undertaken in collaboration with international and national trade union organizations, international trade secretariats, and technical departments of the ILO. The activities were organized along two tracks: Track I concerned the establishment of an electronic network linking union practitioners with academic scholars; Track II organized comparative research on union responses and strategies in different countries. The output of activities are posted at the following web address: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inst/papers/index.htm#conf>

Some lessons from the programme

The studies, meetings and interactive debates clearly emphasized that the organizational strength of trade unions helped them play a pivotal role in all countries at all times— them to represent the interests of workers, to protect their rights through institutional means, and to emerge as influential partners in industrial society.

Two distinct types of strategies were adopted by unions. They built strong workers' organizations in the manufacturing and service industries for bargaining and for giving voice to workers in enterprises, industries and in society at large. They adopted an inclusive approach to workers outside the union fold, by devising new methods for servicing and so transform the latter into non-competing groups in the world of work.

Unions have nurtured social cohesion in industrial society by embracing a broader agenda, including health care, leisure, recreation, retirement and non-wage benefits for all workers and their dependents. They appeared on new representative bodies and platforms for dialogue, and decisively influenced the content of social policy. The cohesive role of unions is likely to assume greater importance in view of the profound changes taking place in the world of work.

The unions have had a credible performance in responding to the new challenges: they have adapted their structures and consolidated their influence among the constituents; addressed new concerns and requirements of workers, and built a significant base with new members. As a result, union density, it appears, is poised to turn around and register some perceptible growth all over the world, most notably in industrialized countries.

The concentration of workers at the lower end of the labour market, especially in service industries and occupations, provides unions with a unique opportunity to build a new constituency. There have recently been encouraging union initiatives to organize new members and create suitable structures to represent their interests.

Organizing and representing the non-traditional constituents will remain the main challenge before labour unions both in developed and developing countries.

Some observations also point to the tasks ahead for organized labour. First, the prospect of rising income inequalities in all societies calls for a concerted effort both at the national and global levels to prevent a further deterioration of income distribution. A politically important task is to build distributive institutions to defend the interests of workers at the lower end of the market, particularly the vast reservoir of workers in the informal economy. Second, any success in safeguarding the rights and interests of workers has come through the medium of democratic institutions. Only democracy can empower the workers to derive secure income and safe working conditions for all. The above observations point to two lines of activities to be pursued. First, is to target the creation of an enabling environment for equitable distribution of the fruits of economic growth. Here the challenge is to work with social actors in different societies, help them consolidate their political space, and strengthen democratic institutions which in turn will guarantee civil and political liberties for all within the framework of a constitutionally liberal state. Second, is to work on the social policy front and develop new approaches to enhancing the entitlements of all in the world of work. The challenge is to generate consensus around an optimal mix of social policies which can guarantee secure living as well as opportunities for self expression and fulfillment for all in the world of work.

Education and Outreach Programme

This programme aims to develop the Institute's role as a centre for learning, knowledge and policy dialogue and it complements the training activities of the ILO and includes: panel discussions; staff seminars; international fora and virtual conferences; academic partnership; and the ILO Social Policy Lectures. The IILS also offers the *International Internship Course on Active Labour Policy Development* for middle-level officials in labour ministries and employers' and workers' organizations; the *Phelan Fellowship programme* for young researchers working on labour and social issues; the *Visiting Scholar Programme* for academics in the labour field on sabbatical from their universities; and *internships* for graduate students.

More information : <http://www.ilo.org/inst>

AV JOSE jose@ilo.org

Preview

ISA WORLD CONGRESS, BRISBANE, JULY 2002

DATE: Monday July 8 to Saturday July 13, 2002.

THEME: THE SOCIAL WORLD IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY:
Ambivalent legacies and rising challenges

Monday July 8 is the **Presidential Session** titled "*GLOBAL SOCIETY OR FRAGMENTED WORLD: TRENDS IN ECONOMY, CULTURE AND POLITICS*", convened and chaired by Alberto Martinelli.

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday are the days of the "thematic sessions", five of which are running parallel each morning. Each congress theme is divided into three symposia, which run in sequence over the three days.

Specific Themes of the Congress Symposia

I. INEQUALITY AND EXCLUSION: A. Markets and inequality B. Knowledge and inequality
C. Cultures of exclusion.

II. KNOWLEDGE, CREATIVITY AND COMMUNICATION: A. Knowledge and social change in contemporary societies, B. The social processes of creativity, C. New information technologies, communication and networks: towards new forms of communities?

III. SEXUALITY, FAMILY AND FORMS OF INTIMACY

IV. TRAUMA: THE AMBIVALENCE OF SOCIAL CHANGE: A. The evolving theory of social and cultural trauma, B. Traumatic perceptions and experiences, C. Coping with and overcoming traumatic conditions.

V. DIFFERENCE AND POLITICS: A. Towards a sociology of difference, B. Identity and difference
C. Pluralism and difference.

Friday is devoted to "**special sessions**" which accommodate variety of significant topics not immediately related to the Congress theme, but important enough to give them high semi-plenary status and schedule them in the morning hours. There will be six such sessions running parallel on Friday from 9-12p.m. The "special sessions" (to be run parallel on Friday) will have the following topics:

A. FOCUSING ON ASIA-PACIFIC.

B. NATIONAL AND REGIONAL SOCIOLOGIES IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION.

C. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AT THE VERGE OF THE XXI CENTURY: ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEW CHALLENGES.

D. NEW WAVE OF RADICAL MOBILIZATION: ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENTS.

E. LINKING TEACHING AND RESEARCH: INNOVATIVE EXPERIENCES.

F. LEGAL INSTITUTIONS IN CRISIS.

On **Saturday** there will be the second **Presidential Session** devoted to "THE USES OF SOCIOLOGY" convened and chaired by Alberto Martinelli, combined with the closing ceremony and the installation of the new President. If needed, the RC sessions may still be running in the afternoon of Saturday.

Schedule and guidelines for the RCs, WGs, TGs Sessions

- A. *Schedule of the RCs Sessions***— afternoons and evenings will be reserved for the activities of the Research Committees, Working Groups, Thematic Groups and Ad Hoc Groups. However, the sessions of some National Associations will have to be held during the same periods. The RCs, WGs, and TGs sessions will last 1 hour 45 minutes and each will be held at the following times from July 8 to July 13, 2002: 1:30 p.m. - 3:15 p.m. , 3:30 p.m. - 5:15 p.m, 5:30 p.m. - 7:15 p.m, 8:00 p.m. - 9:45 p.m.
- B. *The maximum amount of sessions*** allocated to RCs, WGs, and TGs will be 16 sessions and 2 optional sessions. This includes time for a business meeting and for a RC, WG or TG dinner.
- C. *The number of sessions*** will be allocated based on the number of the ISA members in good standing, according to a scheme adopted by the ISA Executive Committee
With 58 paid up members, RC 44 will be allocated 12 sessions.
- D. *Diversification of the form of RCs, WGs, TGs Sessions***— The Program Committee and the RCC are hoping that the committees will diversify the form of their sessions to enhance the often-monotonous format of the RCs' sessions.
- **Featured or Keynote Speaker**
 - **A session featuring a leading researcher in one of the RCs' fields**
 - **Regular Sessions**
More than four papers in a session tend to be frustrating for the speakers and the audience because it doesn't allow sufficient time for the presentation and discussion. It is recommended that each RC session has four 20-minute presentations, with 20 to 25 minutes of collective discussion (1hr 45mins). Other papers may be listed as distributed papers in their relevant sessions or included in the Poster Sessions.
 - **Special Integrative Sessions**
During his term, Past President Immanuel Wallerstein opened a debate on the fragmentation of our discipline. Even if specialization is unavoidable, it creates "islands" of specialized networks giving rise sometimes to overlapping areas of work and consequently, redundancy in research subjects and findings. The ISA have created more favorable conditions for intellectual exchange among committees working in closely related fields. Several Research Committees already work in collaboration through joint sessions in world congresses or joint conferences. This time, the ISA is encouraging the organization of Special Integrative Sessions connecting three to five RCs around a debate on a common theme.
RCs organizing a session of this kind will be allocated one extra regular session.
 - **Special session on the specific themes** of the Congress. If relevant, RCs organizing a special session focusing on one of the specific themes of the Congress symposia will be allocated **one extra regular session**.
 - **Round Tables and "Author Meets their Critics" sessions.** A stimulating formula might be to have a debate around a current issue of particular importance to the area of research. The debate may also be organized around an important recent publication that could be presented by the author(s) with commentators then opening the floor to the audience
 - **Panel sessions** can accommodate a large number of papers around a special theme.
 - **Poster sessions** allow the participants to present their poster and paper with small groups of persons interested into the subject.
 - **Dinner** of the Committee
 - **Business Meeting** of the Committee.