

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (ISA)

Labour Movements Research Committee (RC 44)

<http://www.socsci.mcmaster.ca/globalabour/>

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Mission of RC44

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.

Editor's Notes

This edition of the newsletter focuses on preparations for the International Sociological Association's XVI World Congress to be held in Durban, South Africa, from the 23 to the 29 July this year. In particular, we focus on the activities of RC44 and its programme at the Congress. Eddie Webster's Presidential note reminds us of how far the RC has come since the Brisbane Congress in 2002.

The bulk of the newsletter presents the RC44 programme in detail. As things stand at the moment, we have 75 abstracts organised into 12 sessions. Each session follows a theme and the presenters address it from various angles based on their ongoing research in various parts of the world. A cursory look at the programme shows that we will have participants from about 20 countries, which makes this the biggest ever gathering of labour studies scholars!

In addition, we have included other pieces of information for conference participants – including important ISA deadlines, Congress websites and the draft timetable for RC44's programme. In particular, those participants whose abstracts have been accepted are reminded to submit their abstracts electronically to the Cambridge Sociological Abstracts not later than the 31 March. Details of these and other deadlines appear in the deadlines section of the ISA Congress focus.

Finally, we have included brief notes on a conference and a research programme as well as a profile of the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, USA. We hope that you find these useful.

This is the last newsletter before the July ISA Congress. Therefore, we would like to wish all conference participants a fruitful and enjoyable time in Durban.

I'm sure members of RC44 and others who take an interest in its work will join me in thanking Anthea Metcalfe for her sterling work in running this newsletter and for co-ordinating other activities of RC. It is difficult to imagine how we would have coped without her. Please feel free to convey your appreciation to her directly or through the president and/or secretary of RC44.

Sakhela Buhlungu

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**FROM BRISBANE TO DURBAN:
REDISCOVERING THE POWER OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**

Edward Webster, President of RC44

In my message as the new President of RC44 in November 2002 (RC44 Newsletter, Volume 2, Number 1) I ended by saying that I hoped that when we meet in Durban in 2006 'we will have informed answers to the question of whether labour is at the crossroads. Or better still, some sections of the labour movement will have rediscovered their roots as a social movement and we can devote some of the sessions to the research findings of innovative responses by labour to the dilemmas it faces in the era of neo-liberal globalization'. I am very pleased to report that this, indeed, is the case. In this edition, the last edition before the ISA World Congress, we publish over seventy five abstracts of papers on the theme of Global Restructuring and the New Worlds of Work: **Rediscovering the Power of the Labour Movement**. Furthermore, we have succeeded in meeting the target we set ourselves in Brisbane in July 2002 of over seventy paid-up ISA and RC members and are therefore able to run twelve packed sessions in Durban. Importantly all the papers are research based and many report on the innovative responses by labour to the challenge of globalization.

The trade union strategies identified in the abstracts range from preserving and protecting labours' achievements, to 'modernizing' and adapting, a strategy that stresses the need for unions to accept new production patterns, to more radical attempts to bring informal workers into the trade union movement by organizing in the community. But the point of departure of all the papers is that the terrain upon which labour organizes has changed fundamentally; where the authors differ is whether, and in what way, new opportunities for labour's revitalization have emerged.

We have achieved our objective of establishing RC44 as the hub of a network of exciting intellectual work in the comparative sociology of labour movements. It is now time to consolidate this with a regular high quality academic publication. What will be distinctive in our debates in Durban is that the voices of Southern scholars will be at the forefront of research findings. RC44 no longer reflects the interests of the North only. Although we are delighted with the rapid growth of members from the United States (at twenty eight they are the largest number of members in RC44), the Global South is well represented in the papers to be presented. In particular, we will have African labour scholars presenting papers from Zimbabwe, Uganda, Nigeria, Senegal, Egypt and South Africa. We began in Brisbane to rethink the relation between the restructuring of work, trade unions and social movements, as well as examining the beginnings of a new labour internationalism that is linking worker action in the North and the South. To meet this intellectual challenge involves no less than recasting our theoretical problematic and reaching out to several areas of sociology, as well as other disciplines, from which we have been distant.

I can think of no better place to reconnect the sociological study of the labour movement to the struggle of the labour movement. It was in Durban over thirty-three years ago that workers broke a decade of acquiescence under apartheid, downed their tools and took to the streets, to **rediscover the power of the labour movement**. Power is the ability of individuals, or the members of a group, to achieve their aims or further the interests they hold. The power of labour does not lie only in its organizational strength; it also lies in the ideas it holds, the rationality of its arguments and the moral appeal of its vision. These two dimensions of labour's power came together in Durban in February 1973 in a wave of mass strikes.

I am looking forward keenly to your participation in the July congress and to this opportunity to share our research on the global labour movement with labour scholars from all parts of the world.

Edward Webster: webstere@social.wits.ac.za

**Conference
Report**

**UNION DEMOCRACY RE-EXAMINED
University of Washington, Seattle**

Report by Sakhela Buhlungu

This conference, jointly organized by the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at the University of Washington and the journal *Politics and Society*, explored key questions regarding union democracy. It was inspired by recent research, which calls into question notions that define union democracy narrowly and those that depict unions as oligarchies. In re-examining union democracy, the conference drew on the experience of diverse unions, from the SEIU to the ILWU in the United States, to unions in Latin America, Britain, South Africa and Italy.

In trying to understand the implications of union democracy for improving unions, conference participants addressed the following central questions:

- * Does union democracy help or hinder unions as organizations? And in what ways?
- * Who has a stake in strengthening or weakening union democracy?
- * What does union democracy do for members?
- * What are the factors that make union democracy possible and sustainable?

To try and answer these and other questions, conference organizers brought together scholars of union democracy and unions more generally, as well as labour leaders and activists. One of the highlights of the conference was the keynote address given by Elaine Bernard, Executive Director of the Trade Union Program at Harvard University. Bernard argued that democracy is the most important issue for labour today and that democracy is also about broader social transformation. While unions are about creating community and forging common interests, they have to get into contact with other movements and have to think of a broader constituency than just their members.

In the debates, several other important points emerged. The different case studies brought out different aspects of trade union democracy in different parts of the world. While unions in the US, Britain and Europe are engaged in attempts to revitalize themselves following many decades of oligarchic domination, it was noted that union democracy in developing countries emerged within a context of struggles for liberation and democracy in society as a whole. A crucial observation made by one of the participants was that union democracy is unstable or impermanent and that it needs constant renewal.

The conference and the papers that were presented highlighted an important realisation among activists and scholars of labour studies, namely, that union democracy remains a central component of union renewal or revitalisation. Indeed, in a context where labour is on the defensive against the onslaught of global neo-liberal capitalism, union democracy is a pre-condition for union renewal. The debates also demonstrated the need for a serious dialogue between scholars and activists as these groups stand to benefit enormously from each other.

Finally, there is a dire need for the sharing of experiences and research on localised experiments of union democracy in the new century. In this regard, the Union Democracy Re-examined conference was a commendable initiative that should be repeated and taken forward by activists and scholars of labour studies in other parts of the world.

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PROFILE: HARRY BRIDGES CENTER FOR LABOUR STUDIES
University of Washington, Seattle, USA
By Sarah Laslett, Director

The Harry Bridges Endowed Chair and Center for Labor Studies were created in 1992 as a joint program of the Departments of History and Political Science at the University of Washington. The inspiration for the endowed Chair grew from the desire of members and retirees of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) to memorialize their long time leader, Harry Bridges, after his death in 1989. Those union men and woman undertook the task of raising an initial one million dollars to endow the Chair and subsequently support the Center. The Chair has now been held by five outstanding scholars in Labor Studies: David Olson, Political Scientist, Charles Bergquist, Historian, Margaret Levi, Political Scientist, Michael Honey, Historian, and Daniel Jacoby, Economist and current holder of the Chair. The Chair provides leadership and vision for the Center's activities during his or her tenure and engages in cutting-edge research about key labour issues.

The mission of the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies (HBCLS) has three parts: teaching, research and community outreach vis-à-vis work, workers and their organizations. The Center engages students in Labor Studies through courses and fieldwork. We promote connections between students, faculty and labor communities locally and around the world, and inform policy-makers about issues confronting workers. The Center offers funding for individual research projects by faculty and graduate students, and funding for working groups which form around particular labor topics and which are required to include a member of the Center's "Visiting Committee." This is an advisory group made up of labor community leaders. The two working groups that are currently receiving support are "Race, Radicalism and Labor", which is creating an educational website called the *Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project*, and the "Union Democracy Re-Examined" group which produces educational materials to help train ILWU leaders, as well as having recently put on a major conference on the topic of union democracy. Additionally, in 2005 the Center received funds directly from the Washington State legislature to support research on local labor force issues that can inform legislative policy and practice.

Students receive support from the Center through the Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship for undergraduates, the Martha H Duggan Fellowship in Labor Studies for graduates students who study or practice caring labor, annual prizes for the best graduate and undergraduate paper in labor studies, and a scholarship through the Labor and Employment Relations Association for a student interested in pursuing a profession in labor and/or labor management. The Center has also created a Labor Studies minor for undergraduates, and two core courses, the Intro to the Labor Studies and the Labor Research Seminar are taught every year. In each of these classes, students receive credit for working with local labor and social justice organizations. In addition, the Center has faculty associates from numerous disciplines and departments across the university who teach courses with labor content.

The Chair and the Center sponsor public events both for the academic community and the broader labor community. These include conferences and forums, lectures, and film showings. For example, the Center sponsored a Conference on Caring Labor in the May of 2005, papers from which make up the March, 2006 issue of the journal *Politics and Society*, which co-sponsored the conference. Other recent events include a showing of the film *Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price*, and a talk in our Labor Studies colloquia series by Professor Mark Smith from the Department of Political Science about the role of economic versus non-economic issues in the political message-making of the Republican and Democratic parties in the U.S.

The Chair and Center are committed to the continued development of a vibrant Labor Studies community at the University of Washington, one that reaches beyond the borders of the campus into the broader local, national and international world of work. For more information about the Chair, the Center, and our activities, please visit our website at <http://depts.washington.edu/pcls/>

CALL FOR JOURNAL ARTICLES

Labor, Capital and Society/Travail, Capital et Société

Individual submissions are sought for upcoming issues of the journal on new perspectives relating to labour conditions and labour struggles in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Middle East. Of special interest are changes resulting from globalisation and new organisations of production. We favour a critical exploration of complex social, economic, cultural and political dimensions between modes of development and the actual conditions in which people live and work.

Please consult our web page: www.lcs-tcs.com or Contact us at: journallcs-tcs@smu.ca
Editor: Suzanne Dansereau

What is the New Economy?

How is it affecting working Canadians?

How have governments and labour unions responded?

The “new economy” is more than simply a shift to new technology in the workplace. It has changed the way Canadians learn, live and work, and has fundamentally transformed the social and political landscape. Restructuring Work and Labour in the New Economy (RWL-INE) is a three-year program funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Through thirty-two individual research projects, we consider the multi-dimensional impacts of the new economy on workplace relations, union organisation, family life, education and citizenship. Each of these projects is divided among four domains: Profiling The New Economy, Union Organizing, Bargaining and Alliances, Education and Training, and Social Programs.

RWL profiles the new economy from a human perspective, studying the social, political and economic transformations associated with the new economy, organizational responses to these changes, and the impact of these responses on the social and cultural experience of work within the Canadian context.

The program began with the belief that recent economic transformations are neither good nor bad. Instead, RWL seeks to determine under what conditions economic changes are progressive (facilitating citizenship, justice, social well-being and equality of access for workers) or regressive (constructing barriers to citizenship and equality, and contributing to social malaise). From this point, we are able to provide evidence for the direction of social change and to discuss implications for social policies appropriate for working people and their families within the new economy.

RWL includes an alliance of twenty-two scholars from ten Canadian universities working from the perspective of ten disciplines, nine union-based collaborators, and eleven trade union representatives from private and public sector unions and the Ontario and Canadian federations of labour. Our main goal is gathering new knowledge from our research and direct it towards changes in work structures and policy-making, in order to improve the quality and conditions of work and community life. The research findings of the RWL-INE have already been disseminated through a variety of outlets. They have been featured in op-ed articles written for the Toronto Star and papers have been submitted to such publications as the Canadian Labour and Law Journal and the Journal of Law and Social Policy. Project managers have presented their findings at conferences in Vienna, Austria, Bellagio, Italy and Northumbria, England. Other workshops and presentations have taken place at conferences organized by such institutions as St.Mary's University in Halifax, the Canadian Political Science Association, and Carleton University's Institute of Political Economy

For more information, contact:

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Centre for Research on Work and Society

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RWL website is located at www.yorku.ca/crws/ine

**INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
XVI WORLD CONGRESS DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA, 23 - 29 JULY 2006**

Theme: The Quality of Social Existence In A Globalising World

<http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/>

ISA2006 WORLD CONGRESS DEADLINES

March 31, 2006

Deadline for electronic submission of abstracts of accepted papers to the Cambridge Sociological Abstracts web site, <http://www.csa.com/socioabs/submit.php>, if you want your abstract to appear in the print booklet to be distributed to registrants at the World Congress. In order to submit an abstract, a participant must have registered for the Congress. Registration form available on <http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/congress2006/registration.htm>

May 31, 2006

Registration deadline for all programme participants in order for your name to appear in the Congress Programme Book.

June 30, 2006

Deadline for submitting accepted papers by E-mail to the Congress Secretariat in Durban
E-mail: sociology2006@ukzn.ac.za.

The ISA would also encourage participants to make their complete papers available to Sociological Abstracts' vast user audience. To do so, simply send a hard copy of the complete paper, noting that the abstract has been submitted electronically, to: CSA Sociological Abstracts, Conference Papers, P.O. Box 22206, San Diego, CA 92192-0206, USA **E-mail:** confnc@csa.com
Making the paper available in this manner in no way limits the author's copyright.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Visit the following websites for information on the ISA World Congress and travelling to Durban:

<http://www.ucm.es/info/isa>

<http://www.sociology2006.org.za/>

<http://www.icc.co.za/> (the venue for the conference)

<http://www.durban.org.za>

RC44 PROGRAMME AT THE ISA WORLD CONGRESS, 2006

Theme: Global Restructuring and the New Worlds of Work:
Rediscovering the Power of the Labour Movement

SESSIONS AND ACCEPTED ABTRACTS

SESSION 1: THEORISING THE FUTURE OF WORLD LABOUR

Drawing on empirical cases from different world regions and global industries, the panellists in this session will critically engage with the central theses posed in Beverly Silver's recent book *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870*. The book recasts labour studies in a long-term and global framework, arguing that the "creative-destructive" processes of historical capitalism have led to the recurrent making, unmaking and remaking of working classes and workers' movements in new forms and on shifting (geographical and industrial) terrains; and explores the likely forms that emergent labor movements will take in the future.

Session Organiser: Edward Webster, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
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AUTHOR MEETS THE CRITICS

Book: *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalisation since 1870*
Author: Beverley Silver, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA E- mail: silver@jhu.edu

Panellists:

- Issues raised in Forces of Labor from the perspective of contemporary developments in the USA**
Frances Fox Piven, CUNY Graduate Center, USA E-mail: FPiven@hotmail.com
- Issues raised in FoL from the perspective of contemporary developments in India**
Ravi Palat, Binghamton University, USA E-mail: palat@binghamton.edu
- Issues raised in FoL from the perspective of contemporary developments in South Africa and Australia**
Edward Webster, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
E-mail: webstere@social.wits.ac.za
Robert Lambert, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia
E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au
- Globalisation and Contestation: a Polanyian Problematic**, Ronaldo Munck, Dublin City University, Dublin, Eire

SESSION 2: LABOUR HISTORY IN THE ERA OF NEO-LIBERAL GLOBALISATION

This session complements the theory session, i.e. the significance of labour as a category, and the significance of a labour history at a time when the category of labour is itself questioned. This session also reveals how the history of trade unionism remains rich, diverse and creative. This session showcases cutting edge labour histories both in the north (Europe, North America) and in the south. Comparative history, historiographical papers and those with an historical perspective on contemporary issues are welcome. These histories raise many of the issues grappled with in the various sessions of the RC44 programme, such as forms of organisation; social movements; revitalization; politics.

SESSION ORGANISER: Craig Phelan, Editor, *Labour History*, Department of American Studies, University of Wales, Swansea, UK
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- AFL-CIO Foreign Policy and John Sweeney: Progressive Change or Return to 'Traditional' Labor Imperialism**, Kim Scipes, Purdue University North Central (PNC) Indiana, USA
E-mail: kscipes@pnc.edu

The AFL-CIO has had a long history of engaging in what can be described as "Labor Imperialism". Beginning with the AFL under Samuel Gompers and continuing until 1995, US Labor has harmed the interests of workers and peoples around the world. However, the election of John Sweeney to the Presidency of the AFL-CIO in October

1995—an election victory at least partly the result of rank and file opposition to labor’s foreign policy—and his subsequent efforts, suggested a brand new day for labor’s foreign policy program. Yet, along very positive changes, troubling questions remain unaddressed, including refusing to “clear the air” about past and present overseas operations, active involvement in working with leaders of the 2002 coup attempt in Venezuela, top US labor leaders serving as active members in the US State Department’s Advisory Committee on Labor and Diplomacy, which has been seeking to involve labor in promoting US national security efforts, and a new effort of intervention in Haiti. The question this paper seeks to answer is whether these changes are merely “missteps” in labor’s new foreign policy program, or do they signify a return to “traditional” labor imperialism?

- 2. The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW and the ICU in Southern Africa, 1904-1934**, Lucien van der Walt, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
E-mail: vanderwalt@social.wits.ac.za

The history of labour in southern Africa in the first half of the twentieth century cannot be properly understood within an analytical framework centred on the nation-State. Vast rivers of human migration across the British Empire and across southern Africa created strikingly permeable and transnational working classes. Flows of people provided channels through which activists, ideas and organisational models flowed. Working and poor people drew direct inspiration from movements and struggles in neighbouring territories. At the same time the human rivers of labour tended to flow along separate racial conduits, and the identities, models and movements from which working people drew inspiration were also racially bounded. This paper examines the political and social character of transnational labour activism in southern Africa in the first three decades of the twentieth century by investigating three transnational currents in the region. First, the tradition of White Labourism: forged in Australia in the late nineteenth century, it spread from South Africa in the early 1900s into Southern Rhodesia in the 1910s, and into Northern Rhodesia in the 1930s. Second, revolutionary syndicalism of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): emerging in the United States in 1905, it arrived in South Africa via Scotland soon afterwards, and then spilt over into the IWW movement in Australia. Third, the ICU: formed in South Africa, and influenced by IWW, it spread into South West Africa in 1920, Southern Rhodesia in 1927 and Northern Rhodesia from 1931. When set against the backdrop of regional waves of labour activism, the history of these transnational labour currents provides important insights into the social character of southern African labour movements in the period of the "first" globalisation of the 1870s to the 1930s.

- 3. Trade Union Internationalism and Solidarity in the Auto Industry: Fighting Apartheid and Engaging with Globalisation**, Chris Bolsmann, Aston University, Birmingham United Kingdom
E-mail: c.h.bolsmann@aston.ac.uk

This paper is historical and comparative with the focus being on trade union internationalism and solidarity. It is an investigation into the relationships that emerged in the 1970s and spanned until 2002 between South African and German rank-and-file workers and trade union officials in one German transnational corporation. By analysing the relationships identified during apartheid and later in an era of globalisation, the overlapping and convergence of economic, political and institutional interests are studied. The paper shows how the economic, political and institutional interests of South African and German trade unions, rank-and-file workers, Works Councils, churches, solidarity groups and even the management of the company were able to overlap and converge during the struggle against apartheid. Through the use of in-depth interviews with key informants and archival research, I argue that even in the case of apartheid South Africa the economic, political and institutional interests of the role-players very often dominated the context and terrain of trade union internationalism and worker solidarity. The forms of solidarity and internationalism that are documented have, even in more successful phases, been marked by tensions and limitations. I conclude that solidarity and internationalism can be built out of the articulation and reformulation of interests that workers and unions embrace in specific workplaces, firms and countries. However, this cannot be taken for granted or simply invoked ideologically. Rather they have to be built and rebuilt addressing, reconciling and sometimes challenging existing conceptions of these interests.

- 4. On the making and re-making of class**, David Renton, University of Sunderland, Sunderland, UK
Email: david.renton@sunderland.ac.uk

The paper begins with the formation of a working class in nineteenth century Britain. One of the striking features of the 1840s and 1850s, is the range used by speakers to identify their audience: terms included 'the people', 'labourers' as against 'plunderers', the 'wage' or 'social slaves' as opposed to 'the aristocracy of class government',

'we, the English', 'we Saxons', Marx's term 'the proletariat', Engels' 'working class'. Then and in previous generations, the rich had their own terms, 'the mob', 'and the swinish multitude'. Behind these competing terms were different visions of the rich and the poor, the owners and the workers, and different strategies for struggle, implying different degrees of working-class independence from their rulers. Portraying the first, well-known making of working-class politics as a political, social and cultural choice enables us to see similar process at work in the present. There is no reason why a history of work, written a hundred years from now, would necessarily still choose miners or factory workers as the most representative faces of labour. Why not nurses in the public sector, or call-centre workers, or people working in offices, or at Wal-Mart or MacDonaldis? Each new generation of industrialisation puts people at work in similar roles, so that they may see links between their situation and that of other workers. Class is not about poverty: it is about work. As work changes, classes will continue to be made, unmade and remade too.

5. **Exploring the prospects for trade union revitalisation in post-socialist Mozambique: A historical Overview**, Beata Mtyingizana, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa
E-mail: b.mtyingizana@ru.ac.za

The paper provides a historical overview of trade unionism in Mozambique and draws on a pioneering study of the impact of both economic and political liberalisation on unions in Mozambique. The study demonstrates that trade unions' attempts at taking advantage of political pluralism to influence the wider political arena have not been very successful. Instead, economic restructuring has worked to severely weaken labour's bargaining position, hollowing out the very essence of labour organisation. While unions have managed to win organisational independence and certain legal rights the political pluralist environment has, however, not enabled them to engage in meaningful union action that can directly influence the working conditions of employees. Instead, unions remain incapable of challenging management authority and merely retain a residual shop-floor union presence that is neither capable of effective action nor of redefining their relations with employers, the state and workers. The paper examines lessons from post-socialist countries such as Poland where trade unions have been severely marginalized and workers are presented as passive or inactive by the neo-liberal discourses that seek to justify their exclusion. In Mozambique, however, history has also demonstrated that the preservative character of the transition to democracy and the underlying persistence of structural arrangements associated with the past, curb efforts at building capacity for labour to develop autonomy and develop independent social, economic and political agendas. This 'preservative transformation' has largely worked to marginalize workers in a number of ways and render them ineffective and ill equipped to operate in a pluralist society.

6. **Class Theory and Cheap Labour: a Challenge from South Africa**, Peter Alexander, University of Johannesburg, South Africa E-mail: pa@lw.rau.ac.za

For more than three decades, Harold Wolpe's cheap thesis has provided the principle paradigm through which South African labour history has been understood. It explained the relationship between mining capitalism and rural production, the material basis of racial oppression, the success of the country's economy, and the failure of liberals to predict that success. This paper offers a forthright challenge to his thesis. Drawing on secondary literature, the author's research on the South African coal industry and comparative insights, a number of arguments are made. First, the notion of 'cheap' is ethnocentric, judging black against white South Africans, rather than placing both within a global context. Secondly, it was economically determinist, when, in fact, key aspects of the migrant labour system were driven by public-order concerns. Thirdly, it diverted attention from the significant minority of black workers who settled on the mines (more so away from the gold mines). Fourthly, its lack of nuance missed significant distinctions between induced (South African) and compelled (Mozambicans) labourers. Fifthly, its functionalism inhibited the possibility of detecting contradictions that would contribute to the unravelling of apartheid. Sixthly, it encouraged South African exceptionalism. In responding to Wolpe, the paper makes a more general contribution to discussion on the nature of the working class. It suggests that the free/unfree binary is of limited analytical value, and it argues that Marxism needs to place greater emphasis on the state in understanding class in colonial and semi-colonial settings.

7. **Men are from the Homelands and Women from the Townships: race, gender and leadership in the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Council, 1970- 1979** Nicole Ulrich, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa E-mail: history-workshop@social.wits.ac.za

The 1973 strikes in Natal marked the re-emergence of trade union organization amongst African workers in South Africa. This paper will trace the emergence and development of trade union organization in Natal from 1970- 1979, with a particular focus on the Trade Union Advisory Coordinating Council (TUACC). Much attention has already been given to the role that white intellectuals played in shaping the unions. This paper, however, examines the social composition of the broader union membership, arguing that the TUACC mostly organized unskilled migrants and African women, who entered centre stage as the economy underwent significant change. Unlike other emerging unions that were based amongst semi-skilled and predominantly urban workers, TUACC organized workers who were not only becoming more vulnerable, but who were also unschooled in trade unionism. In spite of these constraints, a layer of African worker leaders emerged. Significantly these included a number of leading women workers, who were also prominent in unions such as MAWU with a predominately male membership. In contrast to the existing literature, this paper argued that these leaders worked very closely with white unionists and played an enormous role in shaping the policies and practices of the new unions.

SESSION 3: GLOBAL CORPORATE RESTRUCTURING AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Economic deregulation flowing from neo-liberalism has intensified global competition, which has resulted in an acceleration of mergers and acquisitions, labour process change, work intensification, internal labour market segmentation, factory closures and waves of investment in the south. The privatisation of the state is a key facet of restructuring, creating new space for global corporations to colonize the state itself. These processes have been accelerated and consolidated by the new institutions of global governance such as the World Trade Organisation, which complements the strategies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The current proliferation of bi-lateral free trade agreements is a key facet of the new global architecture that legitimates and enforces these processes. This session explores these changes and considers their implications for labour movements.

SESSION ORGANISERS: **Rob Lambert**, Organisational and Labour Studies, School of Business, University of Western Australia, Perth, AUSTRALIA E-mail: rlambert@biz.uwa.edu.au
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1. Trade Unionism meets Neoliberal Globalisation: Canada & Australia Compared

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In the past two decades, the complex of forces broadly known as neoliberal globalisation has transformed the environment for work, labour regulation and trade unionism in developed countries. While it is generally assumed that the changes are far-reaching, the impact of those changes on trade unionism and workplace citizenship are not yet fully understood. In this paper, we explore the impact of neoliberal globalisation on labour relations and trade unions in Australia and Canada, two mid-sized semi-peripheral countries. We argue that the challenges facing trade unions have their origins in forces deeper and older than the current wave of globalization, in the neoliberal turn that has transformed the environment for labour action over the past 20 years. In both Australia and Canada, the national labour movements have struggled to maintain political authority to safeguard the regulation of the labour market, while crafting strategies to recruit the next generation of workers and protect the older. In both, they face internal and external challenges to return to social movement forms of action. But in Australia, the decline in union density has been vertiginous. In Canada that challenge has been less dramatic. This paper asks four questions: what is the impact of neoliberalism and regional globalization on trade union action in the two countries; how have workers' conditions changed over the past 20 years; how have trade unions responded; how can comparison between union response aid in understanding the limits and possibilities of trade union representation.

2. The Restructuring of Essential Services in the South, Rob Lambert and Janaka Biyanwila, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au

The privatisation of essential services (public goods – water, electricity, transport) is a key strategy of neo-liberal globalisation. Along with the deregulation of labour markets, privatisation of essential services directly undermines unions in workplaces, while increasing costs and risks of caring for families. Privatisation is aimed at commodifying goods and services, by creating institutional (capital markets, private property regimes) and cultural conditions (consumerism and competitive individualism) for the operation of markets. The processes of privatisation are described as commercialisation, corporatisation and more recently Private-public partnerships

(PPPs). A central component of the privatisation is the re-organisation of the state, or the "internationalisation" of the state. The global framework for this is established by the WTO and the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services). Under the GATS, all member countries are committed to the "progressive liberalisation of all services". So, the states now actively promote an economic order driven by global economic forces. The narrowing of public interest to market forces is central to what Collin Leys calls "market driven politics" (Leys, 2001). This paper explores this restructuring in key countries in the global south.

3. **Free Trade Agreements as Conditioning Frameworks with Far Reaching Implications for Labour and Culture**, Linda Hancock, Deakin University, Australia E-mail: Linda.hancock@deakin.edu.au

Free trade agreements may be seen as globalised conditioning frameworks for re-structuring labour relations and cultural integrity reference points at the national level. This paper reflects on Australian research as part of an ARC Discovery project (Hancock, Lipsig-Mumme, Lambert and Mc Bride) on the impact of two aspects of the US-Australia Free Trade Agreement- Trade in Services (community services) and cultural integrity (Australian media content rules). Aside from the controversy surrounding the lack of community consultation and parliamentary or governmental scrutiny of the agreement prior to its implementation, this study analyses covert impacts, cross-referencing with trade and intellectual property and other inhibiting parts of the agreement, the limits to Australian capacity to institute wind-back in policy areas covered by the agreement without risking challenge and longer term trends in both community services and media content that constrain national autonomy. With the increased use of bilateral agreements, the alternative advantages of multilateral agreement forums is being lost; to the detriment of national autonomy.

4. **Relevance and Potential of Global Production Systems for new cross border Strategies of the Labour Movement**, Verena Schmidt, International Labour Office and the Global Union Research Network (GURN)
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Global production systems make global corporations highly dependent on transport and the movement of goods. Various key companies were deregulated in transportation such as cargo handling imports, rail freight, air cargo rules and express road delivery services. The move towards just-in-time delivery of products has considerably worsened the working conditions of transport workers and resulted in cuts in conditions and benefits, very high levels of work intensity and new forms of casualization and social dumping. There is a potential for Global Union Federations to join forces and to use global production systems strategically in their fight for better workers' rights. The paper examines global production systems and their impact on working conditions from a buyer driven point of view, i.e. focuses on the power of distributors, warehouses, retailers and also consumers rather than the supply driven side which would focus on from where raw materials are procured. Possible contradictions between purchasing practises and compliances with International Labour Standards, Labour Codes and Codes of Conduct should thus play an important role in the analysis. The paper will critically examine to what extent the international labour movement can use "old" institutions of global governance such as the ILO to implement International Labour Standards along global production systems and to include the respect for International Labour Standards in the "new" institutions of global governance such as the WTO. The paper will present the preliminary results of a common research project between the ILO's Bureau for Workers Activities and the partner organisations of the Global Union Research Network (www.gurn.info).

5. **How could we explain the power and powerlessness of anti-privatisation movements in developing countries?** Katrin Uba, Graduate Student of Political Science, Uppsala University, Sweden
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This paper focuses on the social movements' response to one of the recent neo-liberal reforms - privatization. The aim of the study is, first, to provide the picture of mobilisation and strategies of anti-privatization struggle in Asia and South America. It presents clear intra- and interstate differences at the level of mobilisation and tactics of anti-privatisation protests. Furthermore, it is possible to detect various cycles of protest during the period of last 20 years. Secondly, the paper analyzes the activism and impact of the anti-privatisation movement by using the theories of social movement outcome. The quantitative comparative analysis uses data from news-agencies coverage of protest events, and primary and secondary sources on anti-privatisation movements. Results indicate that in addition to public opinion support and existence of political allies, the movement related factors like protest characteristics, also help to explain the varying impact of the anti-privatisation movement on policy-making. However, the effect of these variables is closely related to the political and economic context for the struggle.

SESSION 4: CHANGING WORLDS OF WORK

Labour restructuring in the current period has reinforced old divisions and generated new divisions in the workforce. One important fissure concerns the employment contract. It divides full-time permanent waged work from other forms of employment such as casual, fixed-term and agency work as well as varied forms of 'dependent' self-employment. Outside the many officially recognized categories of work lies the informal sector, which embraces large numbers of workers in the south. A new more casualised workforce is growing in numbers in several countries, as part of a broader set of changes in wages and working-time conditions. This session will explore the implications of these changes for the structures and strategies of labour movements.

SESSION ORGANISER: Iain Campbell, Centre for Applied Social Research, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia E-mail: Iain.Campbell@rmit.edu.au

1. **Flexible rights, flexible contracts and union action: a comparative study of the white goods appliance industry**, Angela Araújo, University of Campinas, Campinas, Brazil Email: araujo@unicamp.br

The paper will focus on the consequences for workers of recent changes in the system of industrial relations and in HR management strategies in different plants of the white goods appliance sector in four countries: Brazil, China, South Korea and Turkey. It will try to draw the links between changes in the labour market regulation, through the flexibilization of labour rights, union structure and strategies and the companies' management policies related to employment contracts, wages and working time conditions. The study is based on preliminary data, collected between 2002 and 2003, in 6 plants of the most important global corporations of the white goods sector: two in Brazil, two in Turkey, one in China and one in South Korea. The research showed that the flexibilization of labour rights, including changes in working time, wages and new types of contract impacted more on the workers of the two Asian countries than on those of Brazil and Turkey. These differences are due mainly to labour market regulation and to union action. In the two plants researched in Brazil, the workers have the better labour conditions. The political orientation and strategies of the Metal Workers Union which represent the workers of those two plants, compared to the kind of union structure and strategies of the three other countries, constitute an important distinction that can explain, in part, the difficulties faced by these companies to impose more flexible employment conditions to their workers.

2. **Trade Unions and Precarious Work: A Global Challenge and some Australian Responses**, Iain Campbell and Robyn May, RMIT University, Melbourne Australia
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Non-standard employment is expanding in almost all advanced capitalist societies, as a result of a complex of causes, including government actions, new employer demands and new workforce needs. This expansion poses a major challenge to trade unions, which have traditionally relied on a model of standard work, defined as full-time permanent waged work. This expansion can be seen as both a threat and an opportunity. Though the element of threat is clearly dominant, signalling a danger of increased precariousness in contemporary labour markets, it is important not to neglect the opportunities that have been opened up. This paper builds on case study research of some recent campaigns undertaken by Australian unions to organise non-standard workers, including many casual workers, in sectors such as education, contract cleaning and electrical maintenance. By means of the case studies, we aim to develop a typology of different approaches. Broadly, unions can respond to non-standard work via regulation or representation. The two strategies are not mutually exclusive. Representation is often most effective when it extends beyond bargaining over wage gains to encompass distinct regulatory strategies. On the other hand, regulatory strategies are most effective in meeting the needs of all workers when they are informed by the ideas and initiatives of non-standard workers.

3. **Wage Labour, Precarious Employment and Social Citizenship in the Making of South Africa's Post-apartheid Transition**, Franco Barchiesi, Ohio State University, USA E-mail: barchiesi.1@osu.edu

The first post-apartheid decade in South Africa has seen the permanence of entrenched social inequalities and the rise of new class disparities. The democratic government led by the African National Congress has adopted an approach to poverty and inequality that prioritizes fiscal discipline and public spending thrift in accordance with conservative macroeconomic frameworks. As a result, policies of inclusion and social citizenship have emphasized the promotion of productive waged employment. The centrality of wage labour in South African policy discourse is reflected in the work ethic that pervades policy interventions in many spheres, from housing to healthcare, to

social security. This very policy discourse is, however, questioned by changes in the world of work and in the provision of social services. Spiralling unemployment, the growth of vulnerable, atypical and informalized occupations, and the deepening commodification of social services and utilities are mirroring a crisis in the capacity of waged employment to enhance social citizenship. Facing the expansion of precarious employment, wage labour is losing its ability to provide access to social provisions like healthcare, retirement benefits and unemployment insurance. Discussing such shifts in the social position of wage labour, this paper, based on my doctoral dissertation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and on interviews with approximately 280 workers in the East Rand region, interrogates the validity of core assumptions in South Africa's policy discourse and assesses the underlying ethical-political imperatives based on the promotion of wage labour as the main alternative to social exclusion.

4. **"Us, we are just nothing": Contracting out and the increasing marginalisation of South African casual retail staff**, Bridget Kenny, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
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This paper will consider the effects of contracting out of former casual employees of three branches of a major supermarket on the East Rand, South Africa. I conducted research with retail sector workers in these stores between 1998 and 2000, and have described the processes of casualisation of labour of these service workers elsewhere. Since then, the casual staff of these stores have been contracted out to one labour broker just as new sectoral labour legislation brought 'casual' employees under basic conditions of employment. Based on new research (2005-2006) with these workers, the paper will examine the effects of contracting out on forms of control, workers' wages and conditions, and workers' sense of collective political identity. It will focus on workers' expectations and formulations of political inclusion in South Africa's emergent democracy after exposure to multiple and serial processes of changing employment contract. Finally, it will explore the implications of these experiences for labour organising.

5. **Re-privatizing Work, Re-segmenting the Labour Market - New Spheres of Work, New Challenges for South African Unions**, Melanie Samson, York University, Toronto, Canada.
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To date the growing literature on the re-segmentation of the labour market in post-apartheid South Africa has focused almost exclusively on non-public sectors such as manufacturing, mining and retail. This paper seeks to address this lacuna by focusing on the implications of the privatisation of municipal waste management services for labour market re-segmentation and union organising strategies. The paper begins by noting that whilst delivery of waste management services during apartheid was highly unequal, services in both black and white areas were provided by workers employed directly by municipalities. Whilst some privatisation occurred during the 1980s, it has become widespread since the adoption of GEAR. Private companies have assumed responsibility for the delivery of profitable aspects of the service. However, in working class areas where non-payment levels are high service delivery is being shifted to non-profit development and voluntary initiatives. Workers employed in these initiatives are cast as "beneficiaries" and "active citizens" and are either largely or completely excluded from the provisions of labour laws. Privatisation of municipal services is thus adding entirely new layers to the labour market which extend beyond the traditional public sector/private sector divide. It is creating a new hierarchy of worker rights, and new segmentations in the labour market based on the sphere (public, private, development or voluntary) within which the worker is employed. The paper concludes by reflecting on some of the key challenges faced by unions in recruiting and servicing workers in these new spheres, and the implications if they fail to do so.

6. **'Concerned about 'All the Workers'? Contemporary Labour Market Reforms and Union Renewal Strategies in South Africa**, Marlea Clarke, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
E-mail: clarkemj@sympatico.ca

The focus of this paper is the changing structure of South Africa's contemporary working class, 'regulated precariousness' and the trade union movement's response to labour market restructuring. Set against the backdrop of globalisation, international trends in employment and workplace restructuring, and related changes in trade union organising, this paper will examine employment shifts and rising precariousness in post-apartheid South Africa. In particular, it will explore employment and occupation changes in the labour market, the impact of restructuring on traditional forms of organising and representing workers, and COSATU's adoption of an "organise the unorganised" approach to address some of the challenges linked to employment and occupational

shifts. Based on this approach, organisational renewal strategies and union organising initiatives are aimed at reversing declining membership and strength in some sectors by increasing union membership among women, casual workers and hard-to-organise sectors. Drawing on concrete examples from primary and secondary research in several sectors, the first section will discuss two major sets of changes: (1) changes in sectoral employment shifts and occupational structure; and (2) the re-organisation of work and employment, particularly the growth of informal and precarious work. The second section critically engages with the labour movement's response to these changes. It will argue that COSATU and its affiliates' response to labour market restructuring and rising precariousness are an insufficient basis for a renewed labour movement capable of tackling the many challenges posed by globalisation and the changing socio-economic climate in the country. Instead of strategies aimed at "organising the unorganised", it calls for a more rigorous re-examination of established trade union structures, strategies, and mobilising tactics.

SESSION 5: GENDER AND LABOUR

This session will focus on the gender implications of the restructuring of work and the responses of labour to these changes. In addition, gender relations within the labour movement will be examined, particularly with regards to the role played by women in union revitalization. Globalization has led to the massive growth of the economy, in particular the service sector. The session will explore whether and how forms of managerial control in these new sectors are gendered and what this implies for collective organization.

SESSION ORGANISER: Suzanne Franzway, Gender Studies Unit, University of South Australia, Magill Campus, Magill, South Australia, AUSTRALIA E-mail: suzanne.franzway@unisa.edu.au

1. **Mopping Up the Labour Shortage - The Marketization of Waste and Gendered Work Reorganization**, Melanie Samson, York University, Toronto Canada E-mail: melanie_samson@rogers.com

This paper is based on a case study of the privatised Pikitup waste management utility in Johannesburg, South Africa. It establishes that in order to understand the gendered nature of work reorganization ensuing from privatisation it is necessary to explore the continuities and disjunctures that arise with privatisation, the consequences for men and women workers in the workplace and the home, and the effects of men's gendered privileges. Prior to the formation of Pikitup, due to an entrenched gender division of labour women were already ghettoized within non-revenue generating street cleaning services. With privatisation, the pressure to generate a profit led Pikitup to gender the sector itself by creating a dualistic hierarchy in which revenue-generating commodifiable services (such as waste collection) were prioritised over non-revenue generating collective public goods (such as street cleaning). Whilst resources dedicated to masculinized revenue-generating activities were therefore protected, expenditure on the non-revenue generating sections was substantially reduced. In particular, the street cleaning section was forced to absorb a massive cost-saving workforce reduction. This led to dramatic forms of work re-organization that compromised street cleaning workers' autonomy, control over their work, sense of solidarity and safety. Although men employed in the street cleaning section experienced many of the same objective transformations in work organisation as their female counterparts they were less compromised by these changes due to the power associated with their masculinity in both the workplace and the home. Work reorganization resulting from privatisation therefore exacerbated existing gender inequalities within the workforce.

2. **Gender and Patriarchy: A Case of Mica-manufacturing Industry of India and Women Workers Therein**, Molly Chattopadhyay, Indian Statistical Institute, Giridih India E-mail: molly@isical.ac.in

The main objective of this study is to examine the conditions of women workers in mica-manufacturing industry spread over three provinces of India namely Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Jharkhand. Our assumption is that the interrelationship between capitalism and patriarchy results in marginalisation of women workers in waged work. The study of mica-manufacturing industry clearly shows that segregation of women workers by function is very high. The findings indicate that sub-contracting system helps in depressing daily wage rate for both male and female workers. In the presence of patriarchal values, unskilled jobs are reserved for women; consequently, women workers are awfully underpaid than male workers in the industry. It is found that both male and female workers are subject to violation of Minimum Wages Act and non-wage benefits (ratio of actual wage to minimum wage is 0.70 for male workers and 0.35 for female workers). The role of trade unions in lessening the deprivation of workers is questionable. The women workers felt that unions catered to male workers of large production units, who are more easily organized. The findings indicate that gender theories provide the most compelling explanations for the sex segregation of occupations, its subsequent effect upon wages and non-wage benefits for

women workers. The solution to this situation lies in increasing women's participation in decision-making bodies and in creating gender-sensitivity programmes among industrialists and local trade- union leaders as well.

3. **Hitting the Wall: Worker Representation in the Bangladesh Garment Industry after the Multi-Fibre Agreement**, Shahidur Rahman and Carla Lipsig-Mumme, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
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Within the context of neo-liberal globalisation, Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable of countries. From the early 1980s, the Bangladesh economy became entirely dependent on access to foreign markets for the garments it produced; as well as dependent on foreign investment for the development of a domestic industrial entrepreneurial class. During the 1980s and 1990s, garment production played the central role in the export sector of the country. However the phasing out of the Multi Fibre Agreement from 2005, which gave Bangladesh preferential access to markets in the global North, is a disaster. The end of the MFA has had an impact on a whole range of social changes, including opportunities for women through industrial employment; and possibilities for worker representation. This paper focuses on the question: how will the threat posed by the ending of the MFA affect worker representation in the Bangladeshi garment industry? It is based on field research carried out in Bangladesh in 2003 and 2004, on worker representation, employer, government and union strategies in the garment industry in the face of the end of the MFA. Through interviews and observation at one company widely recognised as enlightened in its practices, as well as interviews with a range of domestic and international actors and researchers on the Bangladesh garment industry, we look at how welfare committees are being used in the industry to co-opt worker voice, and the ways in which the welfare committees and the trade unions compete for representation now, in this next stage of externally dependent industrial development for Bangladesh.

4. **Informalisation of Women's Labour and New Types of Labour Organisations**, Ercüment Celik, Albert Ludwigs University Freiburg, Germany E-mail: ercuc@mynet.com

Informal economy has recorded an unprecedented growth particularly in the developing countries in the era of new global restructuring. Informalisation and feminisation of labour has become one of the most crucial aspects of the new labour system, which has transformed through decentralisation of capitalist production and the new international division of labour. These processes have simultaneously created new dimensions in defining and organising labour. The exploration of the new patterns of work and accordingly, the emergence of new types of labour organisations, organising the informal workers, became crucial for the future of the labour movement. In this paper, the emergence of new type of labour organisations is considered as a response of the informal workers- being one of the marginalised groups- to the new global restructuring. The role of women both in the informal economy and in the new type of labour organisations is at the centre of this paper. The concept 'informalisation of women's labour' is used in order to emphasise the informal character of women's labour force participation. The emergence of new types of labour organisations is elaborated by an attempt to redefine the 'worker' and to explore the new ways of organising through the transformation of the labour movement. The cases of Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, and Self-Employed-Women's Union (SEWU) in South Africa are studied within this context. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the debate on how to put the informal workers and their organisations into the entire labour movement.

5. **Gender, Labour Market Inequality and Organising Efforts in South Africa: Union Renewal for Whom?** Marlea Clarke McMaster University Hamilton, Ontario, CANADA E-mail: mjclark@mcmaster.ca

Equity legislation has been at the forefront of the South African government's strategy to remove unfair discrimination in the workplace. Strongly modelled on pay and employment equity policies in Canada, the African National Congress (ANC) government introduced the Employment Equity Act (EEA) in 1998. The EEA is the most prominent policy initiative designed to achieve substantive equality between workers. At the same time, COSATU, the country's trade union federation, has focused increased attention on eradicating gender discrimination in the labour market and in the trade union movement itself. For example, gender policies and gender structures have been introduced by COSATU in an attempt to address ongoing discrimination within the trade union movement, and high levels of inequality and exploitation in the labour market. Despite these important initiatives, gender discrimination is continuing, even deepening, with the growth of casual, informal and precarious work through processes of informalisation, externalisation and casualisation. Rising unemployment, workplace restructuring, and changing patterns of employment are eroding some of the gains made by women and black workers over the last two decades. Within this context of labour market restructuring, rising precariousness and continued

segmentation, weaknesses in the union movement's gender policies and union renewal strategies are become increasingly apparent. This paper will explore how restructuring is undermining equality by (re) stating apartheid-era gender based divisions in the labour market. In doing so, it will examine the convergence of eroding employment conditions with the simultaneous emphasis on employment equity.

SESSION 6: LABOUR AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This session will examine the impact of neo-liberal globalisation on labour movements as well as the responses of labour movements to these global challenges. In particular, the session should explore whether (and how) labour movements are finding common cause with other working class movements who are facing marginalisation and social exclusion. We face many of the same employers, but they and we operate within different economic, social and political contexts. Will economic and workplace restructuring and the consequent exclusion of large sections of the working class create conditions that will lead to 'the next upsurge'? What sort of model does labour adopt – a business union orientation, a focus on electoral politics, internal mobilization, or connection with other movements? How broadly or narrowly does labour define its goals and mission, and how does this interact with internal structure and external alliances? What accounts for greater and lesser degrees of success?

SESSION ORGANISER: **Dan Clawson**, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA
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1. **A Coalition's place is in the Community: Using the term community to explore effective labor union-community collaboration**, Amanda Tattersall, University of Sydney, Australia
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Union-community collaboration is an increasingly common practice in industrialised nations where union power and density have declined. This paper proposes a framework for evaluating union-community coalition practice, through a definition of the term 'community.' The paper defines the term community in three discrete but mutually reinforcing ways. First, it means (community) organisation, second it means a local neighbourhood or place and third it means common interest or common identity. The term is used to outline a series of indicators for effective coalition practice. The paper argues that coalition practice is most effective when coalitions balance trusting interdependence while respecting organisational autonomy and interest. This balance between unity and autonomy is conceptualised through the three frames of community. Successful coalition practice requires organisational elements (coalition structure, bridge brokers and coalition offices); common interest elements (common interest operates as mutual direct interest of organisation and members), and the element of scale (where success increases as they operate at multiple scales such as the local, as well as the scale of government and/or business decision makers). I explore this framework drawing on campaigns in Sydney and Chicago. The Public Education Alliance in Sydney demonstrates the importance of place and mutual direct interest as important elements of success. The Grassroots Collaborative in Chicago reveals processes for building trust and mobilisation for successful coalitions practice.

2. **Transforming the Political Field of Unionism: Social Movements and New Labor Organizing in South Korea and the United States**, Jennifer Jihye Chun, University of British Columbia, Berkeley, USA
Email: jchun@berkeley.edu

In response to the shifting basis of worker power under globalization, crisis-ridden labor movements are refashioning their organizational priorities and strategies. After previously neglecting and even scapegoating more vulnerable sectors of the workforce, peak labor organizations in countries as different as South Korea and the United States are now linking their institutional survival with the ability to organize peripherally-employed workers, including the growing ranks of (im)migrant and women workers in low-wage, insecure and non-standard jobs. To understand what propelled a transformation in the political field of unionism in each country, this paper examines inter-movement dynamics between the organized labor movement and social movements. The paper argues that social movements, specifically the U.S. civil rights and immigrant rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s and the South Korean democratization and women workers' movement in the 1970s and 1980s - escalated a "crisis of representation" for organized labor movements that failed to address the growing intersect between economic exploitation and social discrimination along race, gender, and immigration. Two factors were crucial to this process: 1) the cultivation of an "oppositional consciousness" that articulated the social value and urgency of organizing traditionally disadvantaged groups of workers and 2) the adoption of new "organizational repertoires" with which to organize economically, socially and politically marginalized workers. Variation along three dimensions – the type of social movement, the relationship between vulnerable workers to the labor movement,

and the temporal trajectories of change – shape the nature of the transformation in the political field of unionism in each country.

- 3. Struggling with Informality: A New Class Movement in India**, Rina Agarwala, Princeton University, USA E-mail: agarwala@princeton.edu

The liberalization era has resulted in an increased proportion of workers who do not receive secure wages or social benefits either from employers or the state. This study examines how the informal nature of employment affects workers' collective action strategies in India, the largest democracy in the world. Based on data drawn from three cities in India, I find that informal workers are organizing along class lines to improve their livelihoods through demands for state-supported benefits. Their informal employment conditions have, however, altered their mobilization strategies to create a new form of unionism (as compared to formal sector unions) that appeals to the state, rather than the employer, for increases in welfare (such as support for health care, education, and housing) rather than workers' rights (such as minimum wages and job security). In addition, because their employers change frequently, informal workers organize around the neighborhood, rather than the shop floor. As a result of these efforts, the state plays a more central role in informal worker strategies than it does in formal sector workers' strategies. Given the growing rhetoric about the decreased welfare state and demise in workers' power, these findings are surprising and reveal important insights into what strategies are available for marginalized groups to express their political voice, even as state policies erode their material circumstances.

- 4. Global Logistics and the Opportunity for Building an International Labor Movement**, Edna Bonacich, University of California, Riverside, USA E-mail: edna.bonacich@ucr.edu

Global production, in the form of networked contracting systems, requires a complex system of transportation and warehousing. Global logistics is developing rapidly to increase the efficiency of the entire supply chain, linking sales to production and distribution in a smooth and rapid flow. The rise in importance of global logistics increases the strategic importance of transportation and warehousing workers, who provide the essential labor for keeping the circulation moving. Nodes in the system, such as major container ports, can become the focus of targeted union action that can represent the interests of all workers in the supply chain. This paper explores some of the unionizing efforts that have been happening, or that could be developed around the ports of Southern California (Los Angeles and Long Beach), which serves as the major gateway for manufactured imports from Asia, especially China. Given the strategic economic importance of the ports to the United States, one can anticipate that any serious effort to organize around this location will produce fierce governmental response, which can only be countered by a united community resistance. Already unions and environmentalists have forged a successful coalition around some specific issues like port and truck pollution, getting legislation passed, while fostering union credibility. But there is a long way to go. The central question is: Can community-supported supply chain campaigns be developed that are able to resist government shutdown?

- 5. Korean 'social movement unionism' as a response to neo-liberal restructuring?** Kevin Gray, Durham City, United Kingdom E-mail: Kevin.Gray@durham.ac.uk

The role of organised labour as expression of social resistance to neoliberal economic globalisation has attracted increasing interest. It has been argued that with globalisation and the end of the Cold War, there has emerged an environment in which organised labour is better positioned to overcome the tradition of bureaucratic national unionism and transform itself into a more internationally-oriented 'social movement unionism.' By examining the case of the South Korean labour movement, I argue that such analysis focuses on only one aspect of the labour movement at the expense of its larger historical context. The experience of the Korean labour movement is in fact contrary to the social movement union hypothesis. This is not simply because of unique characteristics of the Korean case, but rather is intimately related to Korea's status as a both a newly industrialising and a newly democratising country. Since the 1980s, the Korean labour movement has undergone a transformation from a militant and almost revolutionary movement, to being bureaucratized and co-opted into the hegemonic political system, as the processes of democratisation have completely transformed the ideological terrain within which labour operates. Thus, whilst global neoliberal restructuring may have a homogenising effect on national economies, we cannot assume that there will be homogenous form of social or labour resistance, without considering the specific historical contexts of national labour or social movements.

6. **Old and new social movements in Turkey: Continuity Or Break?** Mustafa Kemal Coskun, Visiting Scholar, University of New York At Binghamton, USA E-mail: coskun_mkemal@yahoo.co.uk

There are two main approaches to relations among old and new social movements (NSMs). The first approach puts forward that there is a “break” among these movements and emphasizes the differences among old movements and NSMs. According to these approaches, NSMs replace the class movements and therefore class struggle is transcended. In this paper, these approaches will be called “cultural approaches”. Conversely, the second approach emphasizes the similarities among these movements and argues that there is a “continuity” among new and old social movements. New contradictions and antagonisms are in reality mediations of labor/capital conflicts. In this paper, the second approach will be called “political approaches”. This study is a sociological attempt to analyze the possibility of the old and new social movements’ alliance. In the light of the approaches mentioned above, the relations among trade unions and NGOs in Turkey have been examined. For this purpose, the organizational structures, the goals and the values of the movements, and education levels, the class structure of the participants of both new and old social movements have been examined comparatively. This study challenges the characteristics attributed to NSMs that have been taken for granted. The findings obtained in this study have been compared with the findings of other studies. Overall, the findings of this research show that there is a ‘continuity’ rather than a ‘break’ between the new and old social movements in Turkey, and there are some significant similarities among these movements.

7. **La Construcción De Una Alternativa Al Neoliberalismo Desde Los Trabajadores: La Experiencia De La Central De Los Trabajadores Argentinos** Isabel Rauber, E-mail: rauber@enet.cu

The construction of an alternative to neoliberalism by workers: the experience of the organization of the of Argentine Workers

In Burzaco in 1991, during the boom of neoliberalism, took form-in the shape of the Congreso de los Trabajadores Argentinos-the belief that another country is possible, if the workers took into their hands the responsibility of building and developing it. The CTA is the first Latin American workers organization born in the bowels of the neoliberal model, in opposition to the infamous delivery of the country to voracious imperialism. Radically differentiated from the business unionism of the Confederación General Del Trabajo, the unions that form the CTA propose not only to build an organization for all workers-employed and unemployed-but rather they argue to consolidate and expand it through federations, youth, women, children, etc, through articulating with other socio-political actors to build a political and social project, backed up by a different Argentina. On this basis it drew a differential line in relation to trade unionism: political unionism was strongly revived, with the tradition of struggle in the Argentine workers' movement in the twentieth century, now taken up again-recreated-as a characteristic of the new unionism supported by the CTA.

8. **The Local in the Global: rethinking social movements in the new millennium** Kim Voss, University of California, Berkeley, USA E-mail: kimvoss@berkeley.edu and Michelle Williams, UC Berkeley/Wits E-mail: WilliamsM@social.wits.ac.za

In this article we discuss the failure of social movement theories to adequately understand the proliferation of locally based, grassroots social movements like the Brazilian landless workers movement, “peoples planning” in Kerala, and living wage movements in the US. These movements came to the attention of most social movement analysts only when the activists came together in the streets of Seattle or international forums like the World Social Forum. For social movement analysts, it is the transnational character of these forums that have excited the most attention. The local and generative aspects of these movements have received much less consideration. Yet, it is the local struggles, especially the ways that they have created new institutions of civil society through extending and deepening democracy that may be the most significant aspect of recent social movements. They have received less attention for two reasons. First, they are less immediately dramatic than the kind of protest that erupted in Seattle. Second, and most importantly for our purposes, they are less well understood by dominant social movement theories, which tend to focus on higher profile protest events. In this paper, we argue that the old theories of social movements do not help us understand the local and generative dynamics and processes of these new movements because they reflect a particular configuration of relations between the state, society and the economy. But the 1990s threw up new possibilities as the old configuration was increasingly challenged by market fundamentalism and the erosion of state intervention. We illustrate the importance of the local and generative aspects of recent social movements by examining the landless workers movement in Brazil and living wage movements in the United States.

SESSION 7: MODELS OF UNION ORGANISATION

Models of unions maintaining high levels of mobilisation and membership involvement in union affairs have continued to elude union movements across the world. Furthermore, the changing nature of work as well as the changing composition of the workforce calls into question the existing models of union organisation. This session will explore new ideas about existing and emerging models of union organisation. Exciting research is emerging out of the UK and the US about trends towards the 'revitalisation' of union organisation, but such revitalisation is not necessarily about going back to organising strategies of the past. On the other hand, some significant movements in the South did not go through similar levels of bureaucratisation as their counterparts in the North. How are they facing up to the challenges of a globalising world?

SESSION ORGANISER: Sakhela Buhlungu, Department of Sociology and Sociology of Work Unit, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA E-mail: buhlungus@social.wits.ac.za

1. Democratic Unionism under Stress: The case of the NUM in South Africa

Andries Bezuidenhout and Sakhela Buhlungu, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa E-mail: BezuidenhoutA@social.wits.ac.za

From the beginning the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) sought to follow the model of unionism then favoured by most the emerging black unions, namely, representative democracy with a strong element of membership participation. Using the case of the NUM this paper examines the evolution of unionism in the mining industry in South Africa, in particular, attempts to build a particular model based on membership involvement in union governance. It discusses the context in which this unionism developed, how membership solidarity was constructed and the form that relations between the membership and the leadership took. The paper shows how the changing economic and political context is resulting in the erosion of the basis of this form of democratic unionism, also known as worker control among the South African unions. In particular, it explores how the changing nature of employment in the mining industry and processes of rapid upward social mobility and individualism in the new society are undermining this model. The paper concludes by considering the implications of these developments for theory on worker solidarity and union democracy in post-colonial societies.

2. Why Careerists Have No Chance in the Austrian Transport Labour Union, Daniela Jauk,

University of Graz, Austria E-mail: dani.jauk@uni-graz.at

The proposed paper is based on findings of a broad qualitative inquiry investigating semi-professional and professional union activists during all career stages within the Austrian railway transport union (*GdE, Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner*). Firstly the general Austrian situation should be sketched: Within the overall tendency of declining union membership and decline of the Social Democratic Party in general the GdE is the union with the highest organization rate in Austria. It is characterized by a peculiar model of double functions, which means that individuals are trained in the union as well as in the party system within comparatively long professional socialization periods. While studying this interwoven and particular "biotope" one exciting fact emerged in the narratives of the interviewees aged 16 to 56: With increasing professional rank narratives of individual career concepts were completely disappearing, respectively denied. Based on elaborations of theories by Merton and Hughes I explain why this particular secret is necessary within the role set of a position between peeks and pikes and argue that this coping strategy is the "social glue", which is able to balance the contradicting demands of the different reference groups around the central concept of "availability" in union (political) careers.

3. Compliance and Resistance of Workers to Trade Union Autocracy in Turkey, Nadir Sugur, Anadolu

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This paper examines a particular formation of autocratic trade unionism in Turkey with special reference to Turk Metal. Findings of this study are based on fieldwork undertaken in four metal firms that were unionised by Turk Metal. This paper particularly looks at ways in which this autocratic union operates in workplaces. As is known, general arguments and assertions about the inevitable oligarchic nature of trade unions are of long standing in the social sciences. It is from this standpoint that the case of Turk Metal is examined in this paper. Turk Metal is none the less the biggest union in the metal industry, which is of major importance to the Turkish economy and its export performance. As a trade union, it embodies the worst aspects of the corporatist ideology and practices in Turkey. Turkey has witnessed a rise of trade union autocracy in big firms in the last two decades. In the metal industry, big firms have seemed quite content to let Turk Metal operate in such a way that workers have little or no control over union matters. This study reveals that there has been strategic awareness, compliance and resistance of workers to Turk Metal's autocracy at these workplaces.

4. **Differential Trade Union Strategies In A Mega Aluminium Project In The State Of Pará (Brazilian Amazonia): A Comparative approach (1985-2005)** Diana Antonaz, Federal University of Pará, Brazil
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This article seeks to examine how and to what extent 'global restructuring' has brought about changes and disruptions to trade union life, as well as to explore some of the concurrent factors influencing these changes. These aims in mind, I turn to the results of an empirical research study which we can take as an exemplary case. Here I analyse the trajectory of two trade unions representing metal and chemical workers at the Albrás-Alunorte complex in Barcarena (Pará), owned by transnational groups. The relationships between workers, company managers and union leaders are generated within a complex production context constituted by a variety of elements: the use of advanced technology, the successive application of production restructuring processes, the local and extra-local political hegemony exerted by industrial enterprises, and the frequent use of environmental and social responsibility discourses. These elements make up a scenario within which the leaderships of the two unions have developed very different modes of action. The present analysis describes the internal logic of each case – and their key figures – and looks to comprehend the specific conditions determining these different modes. The results of this research project enable us to draw more general conclusions. Categories such as 'globalization' and 'global restructuring,' which are often reified and used to explain different phenomena around the world, may involve simplifications that conceal more effective principles for explaining social change. This is particularly important in terms of comprehending the changes now being experienced by trade unions.

5. **The Changing World of Work: Trade union and non-union responses in Post-Apartheid South Africa,** Karl von Holdt National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) and Edward Webster, Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP), South Africa E-mail: karl@naledi.org.za and webstere@social.wits.ac.za

This article is based on data drawn from 17 case studies of the changing workplace order in South Africa, ranging from globally integrated companies to informal sector street hawkers and rural enterprises. It finds that corporate restructuring and the reorganisation of work are leading to a differentiation of work into three distinct zones: a core of stable formal employment in which authoritarian management strategies predominate, a non-core zone of insecure casualised and externalised work, and a periphery of informal work and unemployment. The paper investigates trade union responses to these changes and concludes that unions have generally failed to extend representation to the non-core or peripheral zones. We also examine case studies of trade union and non-union initiatives to organise the informal sector, namely street hawkers and rural enterprises, and assess their successes and failures. The nature of the demands, the basis of solidarity, concrete commercial practices, individual and collective identity, and the negotiating counterpart give rise to the distinctive organisational strategies, structures and culture. We conclude that there is considerable scope for the trade union movement to extend organisation from the core of stable employment to the non-core zone of casualised and externalised work by leveraging organisational strength in the core zone. On the other hand, the conditions and potential in the informal sector vary considerably from those pertaining in the core and non-core zones, which renders trade union structures and strategies inappropriate. We argue that the nature of the informal sector requires very different organisational strategies.

6. **Irregular migration as a challenge for the international labour movement. An international comparison** Verena Schmidt, ILO, ACTRAV and Helen Schwenken, University of Kassel/Germany
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Irregular Migration is an increasingly important issue in national and international policy debates including within trade unions. Some unions proactively organise irregular migrants, others are more reluctant or even hostile. However, there are some success stories regarding irregular migration and the implementation of Labour Standards, the improvement of living conditions as well as their organising in trade unions. So far, there is a lack (and at the same time a need in the labour movement) in systematising and analysing these challenges and experiences. We put forward the hypothesis that those unions who see migrant workers, including irregular migrant workers, as a chance to fight with them against the levelling down of labour standards will be most successful in reducing the informal/ shadow economy of their country. At the same time, one of the main challenges for unions is to create class solidarity within the labour movement beyond ethnic groups and to proactively integrate (irregular) migrant workers without alienating their domestic workers. Based on empirical research we examine to what extent different forms of union organisation impact on the different responses to new challenges and the issue of irregular migration. The aim of the contribution is to categorise different approaches by trade unions to deal with irregular migrants and which approaches are most successful in organising them.

Session 8: Transnational Organising

This session will focus on the limits and possibilities of current attempts for transnational organising. It will take an historical perspective of transnational organisation of the labour movement in different parts of the world. The session will also explore whether or not globalization presents new opportunities for transnational organizing that avoid reproducing relations of inequality between labour movements of the global North and those of the global South. Relations between national and international labour organizations and social movements, which fall under the broad category of the “anti-globalisation movement”, will also be examined. Papers examining links between labour movements, on the one hand, and organizations that enforce ‘fair globalization’ are welcome in this session.

SESSION ORGANISER: Peter Evans, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, USA

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- 1. The Anti-Sweatshop Movement and the Rise of a New Labor Internationalism: Lessons from Cross-Border Organizing Campaigns in Global Apparel Factories in the Americas and the Caribbean,** César A. Rodríguez-Garavito, Universidad de Los Andes, Bogota, Colombia
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Based on comparative ethnographic research on the 25 cross-border organizing campaigns undertaken by transnational advocacy networks (TANs) in the apparel sector of Mexico, Central America and Caribbean since the 1990s, this paper seeks to contribute to the academic and political debate on the potential and limits of labor internationalism in contemporary globalization. The paper thus brings together the literatures on transnational social movements, legal mobilization and counter-hegemonic globalization. With regard to strategies of cross-border organizing capable of exploiting the vulnerabilities of the apparel global commodity chain, the study offers three main lessons. First, transnational advocacy networks are most effective when they 1) are numerically dense and include a broad range of unions and labor support organizations, 2) have a clear coordinating node, 3) put pressure at every geographical point of the commodity chain, 4) combine adversarial and collaborative strategies, and 5) pursue the tactics of accountability politics by using institutionalized rules (e.g., international codes of conduct) to which target actors have committed. Second, cross-border coalitions must ponder the degree of vulnerability of target actors—i.e., manufacturers and suppliers—in order to maximize the effectiveness of their strategies. Supplier factories are most vulnerable when they have made a considerable investment in equipment and technology, and when the manufacturer targeted by the coalition is one of its major clients. Manufacturers are most vulnerable when they are image-dependent and their consumers are organized. Third, coalitions will be most effective when they combine different organizing strategies—namely consumer pressure, international union solidarity, the building of broad coalitions, and clandestine on-site organizing.

- 2. South-South Relations in Transnational Social Movement Coalitions: The Case of the Hemispheric Campaign Against the Free Trade Area of the Americas,** Mark Herkenrath, University of Zurich, Switzerland
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Social movement coalitions struggling against corporate-led globalization have gained increasing political influence. Yet, critics point out that decision-making processes in these coalitions tend to be dominated by powerful groups located in the global North. In the case of the Campaña Hemisférica de Lucha Contra el ALCA, co-ordinated in the offices of the Brazilian labor organization Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT), these charges are unwarranted. In semi-structured interviews with activists and movement leaders, Northern support is reported to be unconditional and not imply new forms of dependency. At the same time, Northern support seems to be of minor importance when compared to the resources provided by labor organizations such as CUT and Argentina's unofficial union, the CTA, as well as by the Venezuelan and Cuban government. Accordingly, the coalition's mobilization frames reflect Latin American experiences rather more than North American experiences. However, relations among Latin American groups themselves turn out to suffer from precisely those inequalities that are usually ascribed to North-South relations. International meetings, for instance, where participants decide on the Campaign's frames and strategies, are attended by those who can afford the plane ticket. To the degree that quota and other 'affirmative' regulations are absent, these meetings become plutocratic, whereas local grassroots movement feel increasingly alienated from the Campaign.

- 3. Transnational Filipino Migrant Organizing: A Case-Study of Migrante International,** Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, Rutgers University, New Brunswick-Piscataway USA
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Migrante International is an important case study in transnational Filipino migrant organizing in three key ways. First, though exclusively comprised of Filipino migrants, it integrates transnational networks into its organizational

structure to mobilize Filipino workers around the world. Second, Migrante International's "homeland" struggles demonstrate how migrants, often marginalized in their host societies from labor and other political organizations or unable to make international human rights claims, draw upon their Philippine citizenship to mobilize themselves transnationally and ensure that their rights are protected by their home state. Finally, Migrante International provides a glimpse of the possibilities of other forms of "anti-globalization" struggle.

4. **Transnational Labor Linkages: Great Expectations but Slim Prospects?** Anna Wetterberg, University of California, Berkeley USA E-mail: anna_w@berkeley.edu

The literature on worker resistance in the Global South emphasizes transnational linkages as a potentially powerful response to the global reach of corporations. Drawing on Silver's (2003) methodology, a database of press reports of worker protests between 1998 and 2003 contrasts with this narrow focus in the literature. By comparing empirical evidence of transnational collaboration with both the literature and the overall landscape of worker protests in the Global South, this analysis shows that the emphasis in the literature is misplaced. First, transnational collaborations are rare and distinct from the majority of cases of labor protests in the Global South. While the literature and the 3% of database cases that involve transnational linkages are concentrated in manufacturing, service sector workers account for the largest proportion of protests. Further, protests generally are most common in Asia and Africa, but cross-border collaborations are most frequent in Latin America. Rather than a generalized phenomenon, transnational linkages thus occur only under specific institutional circumstances. Second, the literature fails to capture the scope of transnational protests. Protests involving migrant workers and state actors from their home countries are virtually invisible in the literature, which focuses instead on links with activists in the Global North. These findings suggest a measured attitude towards the prospects for transnational labor linkages and a need for explanations for why such collaborations are not more widespread. Further, the results should prompt attention to other forms of resistance practiced by workers in the Global South, involving alternate actors and locally rooted strategies.

5. **Managing Insurgency: Hong Kong, Transnational Activism, and the Emergence of the Labor Movement in China**, Eli Friedman, University of California, Berkeley, USA Email: elidf@berkeley.edu

The question of whether it will be possible for Chinese workers to create a labor movement that will enable them to significantly raise their wages and improve their working conditions during the coming years is one of the most important questions facing the global labor movement. One key aspect of this question is whether and how transnational labor activism might be useful to the efforts of Chinese workers to create an effective labor movement. In addition to being of fundamental importance to the evolution of the global political economy, this case poses interesting challenges to the existing literature on transnational social movements. Although the social movements field has produced a small body of work on transnational activism over the past few years, few have sought to problematize the relationship between North benefactors and South beneficiaries.

Drawing on ethnographic research in the export processing zones of South China, this paper argues that while the knowledge-based and material resources provided by Hong Kong and Western activists has been critical in the emergence of the Chinese labor movement, this relationship is not without its difficulties. Specifically, the evidence suggests that divergent interests between local and transnational activists may in fact serve as a brake on the development of a strong grassroots movement in China. While this case provides excellent support for the claim that social movements have increasingly spread beyond the borders of the nation state, it will also serve to complicate current notions about power distribution and strategy in the appearance of transnational movements in the developing world and in non-democratic regimes. In doing this, it will also call into question the viability of "consumer campaigns" and factory monitoring in terms of improving conditions on the ground for workers in the global South.

6. **Transnational organising by informal workers: the politics of multi-scalar agency**
Ilda Lourenço-Lindell, The Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden E-mail: ilda.lindell@nai.uu.se

Informal income activities have become a common way of earning a living in African cities. Informal 'workers' increasingly organise collectively, sometimes beyond the local and national arenas. Indeed, the growth of unprotected and unregulated work globally is giving rise to global movements concerned with the rights of informal 'workers'. Emerging international networks of groups of informal workers face both new possibilities and new challenges. In addition to opening opportunities for influencing international institutions, participation in

such global movements appears to strengthen informal 'workers' in their local struggles. These 'glocal movements' thus pursue agendas at a variety of scales. This multi-scalar agency however gives rise to new contradictions that act as centrifugal forces and thus require negotiation. Transnational coalitions congregate a great diversity of groups who are shaped by place-specific cultures and who may have different priorities and ideologies. These tensions become evident both between and within participant groups. This politics of multi-scalar agency is illustrated in the paper with a clash between divergent gender ideologies. More generally, the paper argues that different scales of collective agency are not independent from each other, rather are mutually constituted. This challenges analyses that portray global movements as being detached from the local level and notions of 'global' and 'local' as dichotomous scales of activity. The argument is illustrated by a study of an informal vendors' association in Mozambique and of a global network of street vendors of which the association is a member. Both the association and the global network entertain close relations with trade unions.

Session 9: Trade Unions and Politics

How do trade unions relate to party politics? How is this relationship affected by economic restructuring and neo-liberal globalisation? In some countries, a strong link exists historically between unions and social democratic parties. Is this relationship redefined towards more independent trade unionism? In post-colonial societies, unions have often been subordinated to strategies of 'national development'? What happens to the unions when such strategies become more neo-liberal? Are unions defending welfarism and national development against globalisation? Are they capable of developing a political alternative? How are political alliances and relationships to political parties redefined?

SESSION ORGANISER: Bjorn Beckman, Politics of Development Group, PODSU, Stockholm University, SWEDEN
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1. **Union Autonomy or Party Affiliation? Senegalese Trade Unions in the face of economic and political change**, Alfred Inis Ndiaye, Universite Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, Senegal
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Accelerated privatization and the reduction in public expenditure have reinforced the opposition of Senegalese trade unions to government policies. Simultaneously, the 2000 elections and the change of government have prompted unions to reconsider their political alliances and to assert increasing autonomy. How have economic liberalisation, changes in political alliances and the move towards greater autonomy interacted? How have they affected the party-union link? Historically trade unions have been closely allied to political parties. The ousting of the ruling party in 2000 therefore had a dramatic impact. The new government was first helped by union grievances but alienated the workers by accelerating economic reforms. In resisting the new neo-liberal policies, unions have organised two general strikes. The paper looks at union debates over how to influence policy. Should they fight from a basis of greater trade union unity and autonomy or should they seek political alliances that ensure access to the policy makers?

2. **The Labour Movement and Democratization in Zimbabwe**, L.M. Sachikonye University of Zimbabwe and Lovemore Matombo, ZCTU, Zimbabwe. E-mail: sachi@zol.co.zw

The Zimbabwean labour movement has been engaged in a broad democratization process for nearly two decades as well as has been associated with party politics in the past six years. This proposed paper will first assess the imperatives of the movement's engagement in broad democratic alliances with other organizations in civil society before and after the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The engagement related to struggles for constitutional reforms well as for basic freedoms such as those of assembly, association and expression. The paper will then assess the role of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in the formation and subsequent development of the MDC as well as weigh the internal debates on the ideological and policy orientation of the party. This evaluation of the labour movement's role in broad democratic struggles and narrow party politics is against the background of deepening state authoritarianism particularly from 2000 onwards. The authoritarianism has taken the forms, amongst others, of direct assault on the ZCTU leadership, arson and attempts at fomenting fragmentation in the labour movement.

3. **Labour and Party Politics in Nigeria**, Björn Beckman, Stockholm University, Sweden and Salihu Lukman, Nigerian Labour Congress, Nigeria E-mail: bjorn.beckman@statsvet.su.se

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has a long history of involvements with political parties, including its support for the ill-fated Social Democratic Party that had M.K.Abiola as its presidential candidate in the aborted 1993 elections. An earlier effort to establish a Labour Party was also aborted by the Babangida regime, incorporating labour as a minor segment in a presidentially prescribed two-party system. Largely as a result of its support for Abiola, the NLC was banned by the military government in 1994 and was only reconstituted in 1999 after the demise of the Abacha regime. Since the return to civil rule, there have been repeated confrontations with the Obasanjo government, especially over the prices of petroleum products. On each occasion, labour has been able to draw on wider popular support for its campaigns and concessions have been wrestled from the government. Partial withdrawals, however, have been followed by renewed price increases at a later point. Clearly, resistance is not enough. Labour is currently making fresh efforts to link the petrol price issue to wider strategies of popular mobilisation. The regime in turn seeks to suppress labour's capacity to lead a popular opposition by manipulating labour legislation. The contribution focuses on the successive attempts to establish a Labour Party and how they relate to the efforts in the labour movement to build wider political alliances in society.

4. Organised Labour and the Political Space, Olle Törnquist, University of Oslo, Norway
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This will be an attempt to discuss in theoretical and comparative perspective the problems of organised labour to make an impact with regard to democratisation, with special empirical references to the two different contexts of Indonesia and the Indian state of Kerala. The basic argument is that it is destructive politics that stands in the way. There is a lack of political alternatives that are based on fundamental interests and ideas among people themselves, not just the elite. In Indonesia this has come in three phases: first the top-down political domination under the 'old order'; second, the political repression and lack of an alternative under the 'new order'; and third the polycentric combination of what may be called 'labour puritanism' and post-industrial civic action' under the present neo-liberal 'disorder'. Kerala has avoided the repressive second phase but faces huge problems of divisive political and union clientelism on the one hand and less class-based popular attempts at participatory people's planning from below on the other. These regional tendencies may be related to the general problem of neglected political representation.

5. Trade unions, alliance politics and the developmental state: a case study of Cosatu and the tripartite alliance in South Africa, Devan Pillay, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
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Can Cosatu and its other alliance partner, the South African Communist Party (SACP), effectively synthesise a working class interest such that the African National Congress (ANC) government makes decisive inroads into poverty and inequality? The failure of neo-liberal policies globally and in South Africa to address poverty and inequality has opened up space for debate around a 'developmental state' that intervenes in the economy in the interests of the working class. The ANC has begun to flirt with the idea of a developmental state in recent years – but has thus far confined the discussion to a narrow interpretation of the East Asian experience, focussed exclusively on economic growth. Cosatu, in its responses, has remained on the terrain of the East Asian experience, and not broadened the debate to include other conceptions of the 'developmental state', such as the democratic developmental state focussed on redistribution in Kerala, India, or recent developments in Venezuela, where the state has consciously intervened on behalf of the poor. Have Cosatu and the SACP effectively used the space that has opened up to rebuild the Left within the Alliance, or have they squandered this opportunity by linking a Left project to the fortunes of the former deputy president, Jacob Zuma? Indeed, is Left renewal within the ANC possible, or should Cosatu and the SACP forge links with groups outside the alliance? To what extent is the failure of Cosatu to articulate a radical alternative a reflection of a changing membership that increasingly resembles a 'labour aristocracy', in the context of rising unemployment and the growing informalisation of labour? These questions will be explored through an analysis of a survey of Cosatu members' attitudes, interviews with key Cosatu and SACP officials, and other primary sources.

6. The Paradox of Party Political Affiliation: Central Trade Unions and Coalition Politics in India, Michael Gillan, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia E-mail: mgillan@biz.uwa.edu.au

India's central trade union organisations (Centre of Indian Trade Unions= CITU; All-India Trade Union Congress= AITUC; Indian National Trade Union Congress= INTUC; Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh= BMS) have played a

prominent role in opposing neoliberal reform programs (deregulation, removal of trade barriers, promotion of foreign investment, reform and sale of public sector enterprises) pursued by several different governing coalitions in India. India is unusual in that national political parties (Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India Marxist) all have affiliated national trade union wings. While the strategic significance of trade union-party political relationships has been noted in other national contexts this structural feature of labour relations in India has been the subject of limited investigation. This paper will outline, and critically evaluate, the impact of the political activities and national campaigns mounted by central trade union organisations between 2001 and 2005 and the implications of their linkages to national parties. The timeframe encompasses both the launch of a labour policy reform drive by a Bharatiya Janata Party-led national coalition government in 2001 and the reconfiguration of political relationships and coalition politics in India after the election of a new Congress party-led national government in 2004.

7. **Trade Unions, Liberalisation, and Politics in Uganda: 1986-2006**, J-J Barya, Makerere University, Uganda
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The paper will try to address the nature of the relationship between state and trade unionism under the NRM, later Movement (1995) type of government that claimed to be a "no-party democracy". However a backdrop to trade unionism in the post-independence period will be necessary both under the UPC-Obote I and UPC-Obote II regimes which were interrupted by the Amin dictatorship. In this regard, the politics of NOTU formed in 1974 as the sole national trade union centre will be examined during the Obote II period and the state-union accommodations and conflicts under the Museveni regime in the following areas:

1. Conceptual differences over the role and functions of unions;
2. The impact of liberalisation, privatisation and the retrenchment of the state on union organisation and relevance;
3. The relationship between NOTU and unions on the one hand and the government of the Museveni one-party/Movement state;
4. The struggle for more space and rights in the reforms of Labour Laws waged from 1989 to date;
5. The impact of international forces on labour-state relations particularly ILO, international union federations and some governments particularly the US;
6. The future of union-state relations under a multiparty system that has from this year, 2005 been accepted by the Museveni regime.

8. **Democracy's Defenders? - Trade Unions and the Promotion of Democracy in Southern Africa: A Comparative Examination of the Experiences of Trade Unions in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland**, Johann Maree and Rushil Ranchod, University of Cape Town, South Africa
E-mail: maree@humanities.uct.ac.za and ranchod@humanities.uct.ac.za

Trade unions have emerged as fundamental actors in explaining the success of democratic transitions in southern Africa. The potential contribution of trade unions to promote, and indeed consolidate, democracy lies in their ability to stabilise popular expectation through social bargaining; by bringing actors closer to the political process; developing a normative civic environment; and restraining potential abuses of power.

Through a comparative examination, this paper argues that in spite of an analogous colonial heritage, trade union movements in the four countries have played markedly different roles in defending or promoting political democracy. In the immediate post-transformation period, South African trade unions were prime agents in helping to create social cohesion through participatory structures. In Namibia and Zimbabwe, the trade union movement was distinctly less successful in its attempt advance democracy despite legislation that claimed to bolster social corporatism. This was due in part, to the lack of organisational strength of the union movement and the dominance by liberation movements once they seized the levers of state power. Swaziland represents an 'aberrational' case, as the monarchy established itself as a traditionalist authoritarian regime and in the process curtailed the role of institutions and practices associated with the establishment and advance of democracy.

Whether incipient or advanced, the countries under consideration each display characteristics of democratic 'recession.' While regional trade union solidarity has not significantly challenged the thrust of authoritarian rule, it is nevertheless still important for trade unions to offer signs of hope for a resurgence in the defence and promotion of democracy in southern Africa.

SESSION 10: THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF POWER

In the past decade or so, industrial relations scholars have become more interested in issues of space and spatiality whereas human geographers have begun to pay greater attention to the nature of working class life and industrial relations. The result has been the emergence of what some have come to call "Labour Geography". Specifically, Labour Geography seeks to analyse the relationship between space and power. It is an approach that sees space not simply as a stage upon which social action plays out but rather, as a social product, which can be shaped and struggled over by various economic and political actors. Put slightly differently, it recognises that the geography of capitalism is something which is actively struggled over and which, in turn, can have dramatic impacts upon how practices of industrial relations and labour politics play out. Thus, how labour movements come to terms with the ways in which local communities are linked to the global economy or how the particularities of place mean that organising strategies, which are appropriate to one place, may not be for another have important consequences for how the geography of global capitalism is made. Taking the position that spatial relations are both constituted by, and constitutive of, social practices, through specific case studies this session will explore how the power of geography can shape the geography of power, and vice versa.

SESSION ORGANISER: Andrew Herod, Department of Geography and International Affairs, University of Georgia, Athens, USA E-mail: aherod@uga.edu

1. **Here come the Space Cadets: Industrial Relations and Space**, Al Rainnie, Monash University, Australia, Susan McGrath Champ (University of Sydney) Andy Herod (University of Georgia)
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The paper divides into three sections. In the first, we put forward our argument as to why place and space are more important than traditionally industrial relations literature has allowed. In the second section, we outline an approach to theorising space, place and locality. In these two sections, and following Herod et al (2002) we want to argue that geography matters. In particular, we want to emphasise a number of concepts, specifically the '*space-economy*', the '*socio-spatial dialectic*', the '*spatial fix*', and the '*politics of place*'.

In the final section, we draw on four pieces of work to illustrate our argument. We have deliberately chosen not to draw on our own work in this area. Instead, we draw firstly, on work of geographers (Pike et al) who argue that the changing nature of the spatial fix is demanding that trade unions take more seriously issues and organisation above and below the level of the nation state. Secondly, we look at the work of geographers (Sadler & Fagan) who are applying the approach we have outlined in theoretical terms so far to industrial relations. Thirdly, we examine Phil Taylor and Peter Bain's work on relocation of Call Centres to India. Finally, Ralph Darlington's work on Merseyside's militant history to illustrate some of our approach but this time by means of a rich piece of IR work that does not overtly draw on the spatiality approach, but rather implicitly suggests its necessity.

2. **Spaces of Hope: Fatalism, Trade Unionism & the Uneven Geography of Capital in White Goods Manufacturing**, Rob Lambert and Mike Gillan, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia
E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au and mgillan@biz.uwa.edu.au

Through engaging the '*politics of scale*', labour geography challenges the fatalism and consequent passivity that pervades much of the labor movement. Similarly, new forms of labor internationalism and union organisation offer the *potential* to create '*spaces of hope*' to confront corporate power and intervene effectively in restructuring processes. This paper examines these theoretical and organisational innovations through a study of restructuring and patterns of investment in the global white goods industry, with particular reference to trade union responses to restructuring in Australia. The research design is longitudinal to capture the process of change and is based on formal and informal interviews with managers, union organizers, shop floor delegates, factory workers and community leaders in Orange, a rural town in New South Wales. The research highlights the contradictory and complex process of agency in which fatalism and commitment to change co-exist. In analysing the structural and ideological domination of capital and the passivity it produces as well as determined resistance to restructuring, we capture agency embedded in these contradictions, thus countering critiques of the voluntarism of some leading exponents of labor geography. In the latter stages of the research, a modified version of Alain Touraine's sociological interventionism was adopted in order to explore the capacity of traditional nationally focused unionism to address the question of scale and the geography of power. We argue that the style of unionism and labor internationalism is critical to such engagement with the politics of scale.

3. **Restructuring and the politics of space: A South African perspective**

Edward Webster and Andries Bezuidenhout, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa E-mail: webstere@social.wits.ac.za and Bezuidenhouta@social.wits.ac.za

Throughout the history of capitalism, the restructuring of work has closed down opportunities for labour and opened up new opportunities for organising. Work restructuring in South Africa increases non-standard employment and limits the size of formal employment. This entrenches the uneven penetration of settler colonialism and creates enclaves of inclusion and exclusion. We show how unions are responding to these changes through new spatially-sensitive organising. We examine three case studies: (i) The appliance manufacturing industry in Southern Africa is drawn on to explore the politics of space. We trace the emergence of the union in a factory in Durban in the 1970s, and how the firm responded by moving some of its operations to rural KwaZulu and the Ciskei, two of apartheid South Africa's 'homelands'. With the incorporation of these areas in a post-apartheid labour regime, the spatial fix was regionalised to include Swaziland, Africa's last remaining absolute monarchy. (ii) We examine the emergence of informal street traders and the attempts to organise these self-employed workers through the Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU). Strategies employed by the union are analysed and their attempts to overcome the obstacles of non-traditional union organising evaluated. (iii) Finally, we examine the attempts by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU) to organise 'home-workers' in Cape Town. Working under highly unfavourable conditions as 'outsourced workers', we examine the attempts by SACTWU to draw them into the regulatory framework created by South Africa's new labour regime.

4. **Restructuring local labour markets, remobilising retail workers: The changing East Rand (South Africa) and retail workers' geographies of militancy**, Bridget Kenny, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa E-mail: KennyB@social.wits.ac.za

This paper explores changes to the East Rand as a 'local labour market' (Peck 1996) of retail sector workers between the 1970s/1980s and the present. It does so in order to explain changing geographies of worker militancy over this period. In the 1970s South Africa's first massive hypermarkets located on the East Rand as retailers saw this region as the ideal emerging market, bolstered by growing white working- and middle-class residents, and a small but expanding black working class market. This consumer market related directly to the development of the East Rand as the centre of South African manufacturing by the 1970s. The independent retail union was one of the most militant unions in the region at the time, joining manufacturing workers in what became known as South Africa's 'social movement unionism'. By the 1990s, the local economy had changed with de-industrialisation and the spread of mass retailing developments. Region-wide militant organisation that spearheaded workers' struggles under apartheid devolved to fragmented, localised battles at the workplace. The paper explores several reasons for this shift: sectoral changes, increases in contingent employment, corporate retail restructuring, increasing social reproductive vulnerabilities, and changes in the institutional role of the trade union. While the story of the demobilisation of trade unions in South Africa follows the trajectory of democratisation, the local labour market also becomes crucial to explain workers' changing collective political imaginations and actions, which in turn condition the "geographies of power".

5. **Becoming Jinja: The Production of Space and Making of Place in an African Industrial Town**, Andrew Byerley, Stockholm University Sweden E-mail: andrew.byerley@humangeo.su.se

At the end of WWII, there was almost no planned African urban housing and few industrial jobs in Jinja, Uganda. By the mid-1950s an 'industrial complex' had been assembled which comprised a dam, industrial work places, housing estates, and associated physical and social infrastructure/institutions. All of this in a town and in a territory that, in the very estimation of the creators of what I term this 'model-modern' project, had little going for it in terms of the perceived viability of manufacturing industry. What ideas was this project produced from and in relation to? How were populations to be socially and spatially canalized and their relations re-coded? The town of Jinja is approached in terms of having constituted a strong point with shifting functions in a series of contested diagrams of power. Certain agents and spatial enclosures are examined in terms of having risen/fallen in terms of deemed efficiency in actualising specific lines and modalities of power; the "African" housing estate, the "Asian" and the "Chief" being important among these. Drawing from the theoretical work of Foucault and Deleuze/Guattari, and based on lengthy ethnographic fieldwork, I analyse the colonial production of space and the making and becoming of place. This is channelled through a historical and spatial analysis of the Walukuba 'African' Housing Estate, built between 1949 and the mid-1950s. I examine this estate as having been a key disciplinary space in the transition from the pre-W.W.II sovereign diagram of power to a more disciplinary and bio-political diagram in the post W.W.II era. More recently, the nascent neo-liberal diagram of power (privatisation, decentralisation etc.) has eventuated new becomings for the estate and its residents.

6. **Urban Labour, Livelihood and Land in South Africa & Nigeria: Workers' reproduction relations and their politics of production: Nigerian field studies**, Gunilla Andrae, Stockholm University, Sweden
E-mail: Gunilla.Andrae@humangeo.su.se

The presentation will report on a project in progress concerning the agrarian land link in the livelihood provisioning of industrial workers and its implications for workers' bargaining power in relation to employers in production. I depart from workers' livelihood provisioning of current actuality in the South African context and compare the missing land relations of urban industrial workers in previous bantustan areas in KwaZulu Natal with the nature of such links pertaining in other parts of Africa. I will return to previous studies of workers in the textile industries in the northern Nigerian cities of Kaduna and Kano (published in 1998), put focus on the place specific reproduction/production nexus in the political economy of these particular locations, and also bring in a spatial dimension in discussion of the changing power relations in the comparative study of modes of provisioning for urban populations in different contexts. The paper will treat the Nigerian case, based on fieldwork in 2006. Market pressures from global competition in African printed cloth is by now offering challenges to the traditionally strong textile workers unions in warding off factory closures and defending workers' rights to collectively agreed compensations. Rising levels of education among workforce and unionists alike are found to supplement the remaining strong land link as factors of worker strength. The effects of industrial closures on alternative urban livelihoods however make the situation precarious.

7. **Competing Geographies of Welfare Capitalism and its Workers: Kohler Village, 1920-2000**, Kathy Oberdeck, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA E-mail: kjo@uiuc.edu

Planned as a welfare-capitalist company town and showcase for the household plumbing fixtures manufactured by the Kohler Company, the village of Kohler, Wisconsin illuminates case the contradictory geographical identities at play in welfare capitalist labor management. While the company touted its model town worldwide, workers in the Kohler plant were expected to confine their interests and affiliations locally. From the 1930s to the ultimately successful 1950s strike, dissatisfied Kohler workers took on as a significant part of their struggle a remapping of their own allegiances. Union affiliation meant to them the expansion of work-oriented affiliations beyond the local confines of the company's model village. Though successful in the 1950s, however, these class contests over the geography of corporate and class identity changed in shape as Kohler production itself expanded nationally and globally in the post-WWII period. The village was transformed from a showcase of worker homes to a luxury golf-and-spa resort while the factory spread across national regions and international borders in search of cheaper labor. This paper will use Kohler's case to illuminate wider tensions in geographical visions of the welfare-capitalist company town over the course of the twentieth century.

8. **The new labour geography of seafaring labour: A case study of the transformation of the global labour market for Filipino seafarers in the merchant navy**, Shaun Ruggunan, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa E-mail: ruggunans@ukzn.ac.za

Between 1975 and 1982, a period of less than 8 years, the global labour market for seafarers restructured beyond recognition. The scale and pace at which this change occurred remains unrivalled and is unparalleled in the history of the modern industrial world. This article investigates the factors that contributed to the creation of these new labour markets from 1970. It specifically investigates local and global factors that led to Filipinos dominating this labour market by 2002. Through a review of empirical data, this article argues that the creation of this specific labour market for Filipino seafarers is a result of a series of simultaneous reconfigurations of global shipping capital and local Filipino state and labour strategies. The article contends that the state, labour and capital are active agents in the process of globalisation and the creation of labour markets, even if these labour markets are uneven. This paper, through a case study of Filipino seafarers in the merchant navy, contends that seafaring labour is an equally powerful agent in influencing the contours of the global labour market for seafarers. In so doing, it adds to the emerging literature on labour geography and helps make the shift from geography of labour to a labour geography.

Session 11: Trade Unions and NGOs: Surviving the Future

Papers exploring the links that have existed (and continue to exist) between unions and a wide range of non-governmental organisations are invited for this session. With the dominance of the neo-liberal policy agenda worldwide and the resulting effects on union density and scope, forging links with NGOs has become one possible union revival strategy to pursue. Similarly, NGO movements have benefited from the support of the labour

movement. The seminal partnering between the 'Teamsters' and 'Turtles' in the Battle of Seattle is one illustration of this dynamic. Yet, there undoubtedly exist challenges in managing this relationship stemming from the different frames of reference that may be adopted by unions and NGOs. The core questions being pursued in this session are: what are the possibilities for the union/NGO alliance in pursuing common change action agendas? What are the common issues between these organisations and unions? How do the contradictions play themselves out? Can these contradictions be managed so that both unions and NGOs achieve their objectives? Considering these question is undoubtedly an intellectual project, and thus not only are case study, descriptive papers encouraged; but papers that seek to provide a broader intellectual contribution are also encouraged.

SESSION ORGANISER: Donella Casperz, Organisational and Labour Studies, School of Business, University of Western Australia, Perth, AUSTRALIA E-mail: dcasperz@ecel.uwa.edu.au

1. Coalition building? Trade Union dialogues with NGOs, Eberhard Schmidt, University of Oldenburg, Germany Email: eberhard.schmidt@uni-oldenburg.de

Trade unions embark on coalition building with NGOs for numerous different reasons. Yet, the fact should not be overlooked that cooperation between trade unions and NGOs does not, at the outset, appear likely to yield great success. Both actors are indebted to very different traditions. Over time, they have devised different organisational cultures and forms of action, which make cooperation, seem often difficult. As conditions of success for coalition building between trade unions and NGOs, some factors may be identified: The fundamental condition is the availability of appropriate partners, something which does not go without saying. Next comes mutual acceptance of the different social roles in agreeing on the basic goals, which is of great importance. Confidence-building processes frequently require communication over long periods of time. The limits of coalition building are apparent not only where the above-mentioned conditions of success are not met or are present to an inadequate degree. In addition, the different organisation goals, fields of action and role definitions represent non-negligible curbs on the requisite cooperation. Trade unions – unlike NGOs – usually combine within their membership ranks both the winners and the losers of globalisation processes. Whenever they take decisions, they have to consider the consequences for their membership.

2. Women Workers in Free Trade Zones: Steering alliances and movement politics, Janaka Biyanwila, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia. E-mail: janaka@biz.uwa.edu.au

In exploring alternative union strategies, this paper looks at an alliance between a women's NGO and a union in the Free Trade Zones (FTZs) or 'export-processing zones', in Sri Lanka. As an outcome of the alliance between the ITGWU (Industrial and Transport General Workers Union) and the Women's Centre (WC), the Free Trade Zone Workers Union (FTZWU) was launched in 1999. In a context where unions are essentially banned, the FTZWU organises workers by extending beyond the workplace, while building their capacities to engage as civil society actors. This paper focuses on the significance of alliances to the successes of the FTZWU strategies. In particular, this paper explains how specific alliances have reinforced the movement dimension of unions, depicting a social movement unionism orientation. In fostering alliances with diverse NGOs, the FTZWU's strategic orientation combining movement politics with representative politic, suggests new possibilities for collective struggles of women workers.

3. One for All or All for Themselves? Trade Unions, NGOs and Migrant Labour in Southeast Asia, Michele Ford, Flinders University, Australia Email: michele.ford@flinders.edu.au

Over the last two decades, the needs and concerns of temporary international labour migrants in Southeast Asia have overwhelmingly been the concern of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) rather than trade unions. However, in recent years trade unions have been increasingly forced to acknowledge migrant workers as a potentially important trade union constituency. It is not an easy task for unions to accommodate migrant workers even in receiving countries, given their uncertain status as non-citizens and the temporary – and in the case of domestic workers, informal – nature of much contemporary employment of migrants. The challenges faced by unions in sending countries are even greater, as the workers they seek (or do not seek) to organize are employed outside national boundaries, and therefore outside the boundaries of traditional union activity. This paper proposes a theoretical framework with which trade union involvement in migrant labour issues in four countries in Southeast Asia can be analysed.

4. **Surviving the 'New World Order': Forging Relationships Between Trade Unions and Non Trade Union Organisations** Donella Caspersz, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia Email: Donella.Caspersz@uwa.edu.au

Forging relationships with those outside their 'inner circle' is a strategy that many trade unions attempt to counter the effects on their continued existence wrought by changes to the world of work post 1960 and the increasing dominance of American neo-liberal rationality in most governments worldwide. Referred to as social movement unionism (Waterman, 1993), pursuing this route has however revealed many challenges for unions not least of which have been reconciling differences in both *raison d'être* and *modus operandi* between themselves and non union organisations. In addition, levels of declining union membership signal a further challenge for unions; and that is the continued support of their own membership. The aim of this paper is to discuss these issues and implications for unions by drawing on empirical material with both union movements and workers to consider whether instead of a model of social movement unionism, unions should instead be forging 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger, 1991). It is suggested that because social movement unionism relies on accommodation at an organisational level, this route may trigger more, rather than resolve less differences, and may therefore result in marginalizing unions and union issues further. Because communities of practice instead forge relationships at the level of individual interests, does the possibility exist for unions to deploy this strategy instead as a way of harnessing a broader base of collective support?

5. **Workplace HIV/AIDS Peer Educators and the Unions: Prospects for Aligning Individual and Collective Responses to the AIDS Epidemic?** David Dickinson, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa
E-mail: dickinson.d@wbs.wits.ac.za

The AIDS epidemic represents a major challenge in South Africa. A key grassroots response to the disease is peer education – in which lay people seek to educate their peers and change behaviour. Peer education is now widespread in larger companies. Workplace HIV/AIDS peer educators operate within company-sanctioned programmes, however their activity is a bottom-up, rather than management driven, response. While unions have articulate demands on HIV/AIDS within collective bargaining, beyond securing treatment they have struggled to engage effectively with a disease. Both peer education and unions are largely working class in composition, but there is a noticeable gap between them. Peer educator activity focuses on changing individual behaviour in order to overcome stigma and fear and to change sexual practices. The unions' normal *modus operandi* – collective action against clearly defined social injustices – is largely impotent in the face of challenges rooted in individual behaviour. This paper, drawing on extensive research in five South African companies, examines the gap between workplace peer educators and trade unions and explores ways in which common cause could be established. Socio-economic conditions that help fuel the spread of the epidemic provide an obvious area of commonality, as does the vulnerability of 'atypical workers' who are often excluded from workplace-based social protection. Both peer educators and unions have common concerns in regard to how socio-economic conditions and the multiple-vulnerabilities of atypical workers undermine their respective larger projects.

Session 12: Labour in Transitional Societies

The aim of this session is to systematically examine labour's role in transnational societies. For purposes of this session, we are defining transitional societies as those societies that have experienced rapid political and economic change over the past two decades. To what extent is labour facing similar challenges in these societies? Is there a convergence of strategies towards labour by government in these societies? Is the drive for labour market flexibility leading to similar attempts at labour law reform? Is it possible to speak of a transitional model of labour relations or are the differences between these societies of such a magnitude that no common patterns can be identified?

SESSION ORGANISER: Edward Webster, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
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1. **International labor standards and radical labor law change in Australia** Julian Teicher, Monash University, Australia

In December 2005 the conservative coalition government in Australia passed new industrial relations laws, which completely marginalise unions and force workers onto individual workplace agreements. The award system that governed wages and conditions is being gutted. The paper explores the nature of these changes and how this new regime contradicts international labor standards. The response of the Australian trade union movement is analysed.

2. **Changing Worlds of Work in Global Mining: Labour migrancy re-examined**, Suzanne Dansereau, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada E-mail: sedemc@ns.sympatico.ca

Along with the restructuring of investments and the expansion of geographical penetration by global mining, there has been a significant restructuring in modes of production and especially the organisation of work that is reducing distinctions in the lives of mineworkers and their families between mines operating in the North and South. The distinctions originate from different organisational models introduced in the North and South. A northern organisation of work is exemplified by Canadian mining, organised around mining towns in which skilled workers earn relatively high wages and live permanently with their families, often in houses they own and where they remain after retirement. A southern model is best exemplified by the organisation of mining in Zimbabwe and South Africa, initially shaped by *chibaro* in which semi-proletarianised mineworkers lived in single-sex mine hostels, earned low wages, in low skill categories, travelling to their families in rural areas, where they are required to supplement low wages by engaging in subsistence agricultural production. The paper will show how global mining's search for greater flexibility and desire to reduce investment in non-core activities has led to a mining workforce with more in common. It is fully proletarianised though more flexible and mobile with a growing similarity in their disconnect between mine site and community. This was made possible by the greater use of contract labour, engaged in fly-in/fly-out mining in the North and while workers in the South are fully proletarianised, they also retain an important disconnect between worksite and community.

3. **What is the reserve army of labour? Who and where is it? Work and worklessness in South Africa**, Claire Ceruti, University of Johannesburg, Soweto Campus, South Africa E-mail: clairec@rau.ac.za

In preparation for our 2006 survey of class in Soweto, we have been examining theories of class and their application. How are we to classify the 30% to 40% of working age people without jobs and in informal work like street vending, traffic light hawkers, home shops and roadside repairs? Labour process studies are one angle from which to approach these questions. We want to approach them from the perspective of class.

Marx presents the 'surplus population' as, for the most part, that section of the working class which is not needed by business at any given time and is left to fend for themselves or carried by the working population. "In fact it is capitalist accumulation itself that constantly produces... a relatively redundant working population, a population which is surplus to its average requirements for its own valorization." (Marx, Capital Vol. I) This reserve frees capital to expand, contract and restructure without waiting a generation to reshape the labour force. The 'surplus population' is, together with the actual workforce, constantly reshaped and created anew, depending on the economic demands of the day. Is Marx's concept helpful in any of the debates produced by the resegmentation of the working age population in South Africa? Is it structurally accurate? What does it mean practically for identity, organization and how people act?

4. **The changing nature of labour relations in Brazil during the 80s and 90s**, Walter Arno Pichler, Brazil E-mail: walter@FEE.TCHE.BR

I am concerned with the nature of the evolution of industrial relations in Brazil during the 80s and 90s. The specific question I address is to what extent collective bargaining has developed and what its significance is. I draw the conclusions of this study from the analysis of a varied set of data collected in Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil. The main sources of information are the records of the Ministry of Labour and of the Labour Courts, as well as collective agreements established in a segment of the engineering industry of the Greater Porto Alegre region. I also use statements collected in interviews held with union and employer associations' officials, with regional representatives of the Ministry of Labour, of the Labour Courts, and of a union consultancy agency. The outcome of my research is that Brazilian industrial relations could no longer be characterised as a state corporatist system, and neither could it be defined as a pluralist system. Moreover, I have also concluded that neither was the system in transition towards pluralism or towards neo-corporatism. I rather decided that it should be called statutory-bargained system. The change in the nature of the system is expressed in the strengthening of collective bargaining. I show that during the period of analysis employers and employees became less dependent on the state in solving their labour disputes in relation to the past. This fact indicates that unions and management increased their role in the regulation of the employment relationship through collective bargaining.

5. **Russian Model of Labor Market: Prospects for the Labor Movement**, Simon Zhavoronkov, Programme Director of the Institute for Globalization Studies, Moscow Russia E-mail: strategie@yandex.ru

Forming of the new economy elsewhere is impossible sans effective and transparent labor relations. After fifteen years of social, political and economic reforms in Russia it's appropriate to speak about specific Russian labor model, which has risen out of the spontaneous process of separate decisions of authorities, employers and workers. The evolution of labor relations in the "european" (EE) countries corresponded to primary expectations, accompanying post-socialist reforms. They hadn't enough financial, professional and know-how resources to "copy" institutional framework of stable labor markets. But they remained committed to the western model. Initially nothing predicted another scenario for Russia. However, having got new institutions, the Russian model remained a soviet institutional framework, which resulted in a specific transition model of labor relations, characterized with:

1. Quite stable employment.
2. Gradual and less explosive growth of unemployment.
3. Decrease in length of working time.
4. Cut in salaries at about 60% in 2001-2004. Premiums and bonuses disappeared.
5. High social differentiation in incomes.
6. A 50% factor of circulation of labor force.
7. Spread of non-typical forms of labor.
8. Strike activity at a level of 13 working days a year per 1.000 workers.

But this transition model is being substituted by new forms of labor relations nowadays -more stable legal and human framework. Thus new approaches should be adopted at political and grassroots' levels primarily. I.e. the role of leading institutes in the field of field relations should be transmitted to new social movements, alternative trade unions and forms of untraditional integration with authorities. This experience of public awareness in labor process should be shared under international solidarity strategy and in view of neoliberal challenges.

6. The Challenges facing the South African Labor Movement: Mobilization and Solidarity in a changing Political and Economic Context, Geoffrey Wood and Pauline Dibben, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom
E-mail: g.t.wood@sheffield.ac.uk and p.dibben@sheffield.ac.uk

There is a growing body of critical literature on the role and impact of unions in the developing world. A central concern of such debates is whether there has been a convergence in practices toward "high road" functional flexibility" or "low road", numerically flexible workplaces. Drawing on the findings of a nationwide survey of members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, this article explores the extent to which solidarity as a source of union strength has persisted into the post-apartheid era. COSATU has enjoyed unprecedented political influence as a result of its affiliation to the now-ruling African National Congress (ANC). However, it has struggled to prevent the ANC's conversion to neo-liberalism and has to contend with membership losses following job shedding in core areas. The survey revealed a vibrant organizational life: the overwhelming majority of COSATU members regularly participate in union affairs, there is a deeply embedded culture of democratic accountability and recall, a high instance of participation in collective action, and a strong commitment to the labor movement. The South African experience demonstrates the successful outcomes of the real strategic choices faced by organized labor in that country, reflected by the strength of shop floor organization and grassroots democracy. However, the survey results also suggest a certain level of unfinished business, with some degree of variation between different categories of union members in terms of participation in union affairs, even if overall levels remain high.

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DRAFT RC44 TIMETABLE FOR ISA2006

| 2006 | 9:00-12:00 | 13:30-15:30 | 15:45-17:45 | 18:00-20:00 | 20:00 till late |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------------------|
| Sunday 23 July | | Arrive in Durban | | Opening Ceremony Reception | |
| Monday 24 July | Presidential Session I Prize Giving Session | Session 1 Edward Webster | Session 2 Craig Phelan | Session 3 Rob Lambert and Robert O'Brien | |
| Tuesday 25 July | 5 Parallel Symposia 2 Parallel Sessions on African Themes 2 Parallel Integrative Sessions RC/NA | Session 4 Iain Campbell | Session 5 Suzanne Franzway | Session 6 Dan Clawson | RC44 Dinner |
| Wednesday 26 July | 5 Parallel Symposia 3 Parallel Sessions on African Themes 2 Parallel Integrative Sessions RC/NA | Session 7 Sakhela Buhlungu | Session 8 Peter Evans | RC44 Business meeting | |
| Thursday 27 July | 5 Parallel Symposia 2 Parallel Sessions on African Themes 2 Parallel Integrative Sessions RC/NA | Session 9 Bjorn Beckman | Session 10 Andrew Herod | | |
| Friday 28 July | 6 Parallel Symposia 3 Parallel Sessions on African Themes | Session 11 Donella Casperza | Session 12 Edward Webster | | ISA Beach Party |
| Saturday 29 July | Presidential Session II And Installation of New President | Depart for Joburg midday | | | |

TIMETABLE OF ISA ADMINISTRATION MEETINGS

| | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|--|
| Sunday 23 July | 09:30-11:30 | Research Council (1st meeting) Business meeting |
| | 13:00-15:00 | Council of National Associations (1st meeting) Business meeting |
| Wednesday 26 July | 20:00-22:00 | Assembly of Councils Election of President and Vice-President |
| Thursday 27 July | 17:00-19:00 | Council of National Associations (2nd Meeting) Election of 8 members of the ISA Executive Committee |
| | 20:00-22:00 | Research Council (2nd Meeting) Election of 8 members of the ISA Executive Committee |
| Friday 28 July | 16:30-18:30 | Training Session for the Steering Boards of Research Committees |
| Saturday 29 July | 13:00-15:00 | New ISA Executive Committee Meeting |

Join the ISA Research Committee on Labour Movements (RC44)

What is RC 44? It is the Research Committee on Labour Movements of the International Sociological Association (ISA), the largest academic forum for those engaged with sociologically related issues of enquiry.

Mission of RC44: 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.

Benefits of joining RC44:

- An opportunity to engage with interdisciplinary academics/researchers with similar interests. Current membership includes international academics/researchers from Africa, Asia, North and South America, Europe, Oceania and Asia.
- Regular newsletter featuring international articles on labour, reviews of new books, profiles of research units, conference proceedings, comments on recent publications on cutting edge research, conference and doctoral programme announcements, call for papers and more...
- Opportunity to participate in the RC44 session programme at the next ISA World Congress in Durban, South Africa in July 2006.
- Cost: 20 US Dollars for four years

For more information on RC44 visit: <http://www.socsci.mcmaster.ca/globallabour/>

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Join the ISA & RC44 at <http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/>

Benefits of joining the ISA

- Reduced ISA 2006 in registration fees at ISA World Congress, Durban, South Africa 2006
- Receive *International Sociology* (the official quarterly journal of the ISA)
- Receive *the ISA Bulletin* (the ISA newsletter) and the *Directory of Members*
- Discounted subscription to ISA journal, *Current Sociology*
- Over 60 years of age qualifies for life membership of the ISA
- Receive *Isagram*, the ISA electronic newsletter containing announcements of forthcoming conferences, calls for papers and manuscripts, prizes, competitions, etc.
- Reduced subscription rates to journals offered by various publishers.