

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (ISA)

Labour Movements Research Committee (RC 44)

November 2002

Vol 2 No 1

Inside	Page
Profile of new RC44 Board	2
Message from the new President of RC44	4
Message from the Secretary	5
ISA World Congress, Brisbane, July 2002	5-9
Business meeting minutes President's report (1998-2002) Newsletter & Membership Report (1998-2002)	
RC44 Session Programme	10-13
RC44/ACTU Workshop, Melbourne, Australia July 2002	14
Cutting edge research on labour in the era of globalisation	15
New Doctoral Programme	16
Conference Announcement AIRAANZ 2003 (Assoc of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand)	16

Mission

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

Editor's Notes

Greetings to all members and prospective members of RC44! This is the first of nine newsletters until July 2006. The bulk of this edition is dedicated to reporting on the RC44 Programme at the ISA World Congress held in Brisbane, Australia from 7 to 12 July 2002. This will keep members informed about the activities and developments in our RC and provide a platform for you to communicate with one another and become involved in the RC's intellectual activities. Firstly, we introduce the new Board members elected to serve from 2002 to 2006, by highlighting their current research interests and teaching areas. This board is representative of virtually all regions of the world and we hope that this will serve to strengthen and broaden the RC44 network by ensuring that colleagues in all these regions are involved. Secondly, the message of the new President highlights some of the key intellectual debates and research questions arising out of our sessions in Brisbane.

Thirdly, we present documents from the RC activities at the World Congress, namely, a message from the outgoing President, Richard Hyman, a report from the Newsletter and Membership Co-ordinator, Anthea Metcalfe and the minutes of the RC business meeting. Some notes from a workshop held in Melbourne on 13 July between ACRWS and officials from the ACTU are included. These are important documents, which constitute the official record of the activities of RC44 in Brisbane. We hope that you will take time to read them and raise any issues that you believe require action. We also present summaries of key debates and issues in all our sessions as well as a list of all the papers presented in each session. These lists provide an indication of the wide range of research being undertaken by members of RC44. However, more importantly, we hope that these lists will help members link up with colleagues who work in the same areas as themselves with a view to collaborating or sharing insights.

Finally, the Newsletter presents regular sections and contributions. We will carry more of these in our next edition. We have introduced a new section in this edition, namely comments by RC44 members on recent publications on cutting edge research. In this comment, Chris Bolsman discusses recent publications on the growing debate around the new labour internationalism. We plan to run this as a regular feature in the Newsletter and invite members to contribute a short comment on any area of current scholarship that focuses on key debates on comparative labour studies.

I am pleased to inform you that Anthea Metcalfe will continue as the membership and newsletter co-ordinator until the next ISA World Congress in Durban, South Africa in July 2006. All communication regarding the Newsletter should be sent to Anthea and myself.

Sakhela Buhlungu

RC44 BOARD MEMBERS 2002-2006

President: Professor Edward Webster

E-mail: 029edw@muse.wits.ac.za

Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA

Research interests: Restructuring of work in post-apartheid South Africa; changing nature of work and forms of worker responses in the South; Impact of liberalisation on employment/unemployment in South and Southern Africa; the emergence of new social movements and their relationship with the labour movement.

Teaching: Teaches courses on the sociology of work, industrial relations and comparative labour movements.

Vice President: Professor Carla Lipsig-Mumme

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Australian Research Centre on Work and Society, Deakin University, Melbourne, AUSTRALIA

Research interests: Young workers, education and the labour movement; the internationalisation of higher education and union response. Australian labour and the dilemma of globalisation.

Secretary: Associate Professor Rob Lambert

E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au

Organisational and Labour Studies, School of Business, Uni of Western Australia, Perth, AUSTRALIA

Research interests: New labour internationalism and on the globalisation of manufacturing. He is currently involved in a major project on the restructuring of white goods manufacturing. He is the Coordinator of SIGTUR and played a key role in the movement's inception.

Teaching: Asian business; social psychology of work and globalisation and labour.

Treasurer: Dr Donella Caspersz

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Department of Organisational and Labour Studies, University of Western Australia, Perth, WA, AUSTRALIA

Research interests: Asian industrial relations, examining export processing zones and the status of labour; Resistance and how workers are able to stage acts of resistance within the confines of neo-liberal management strategies; the role of neo-liberal government and questions of agency by workers; the use of teams as a teaching and learning strategy and the role of government in stimulating industry development.

Teaching: Australian and international industrial relations, Asian business and industrial sociology

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Department of Sociology and Sociology of Work Unit, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SOUTH AFRICA

Research interests: Work restructuring, trade union organisation, comparative labour movements and social movements.

Teaching: Work restructuring, trade union organisation, comparative labour movements and social movements.

Executive Board members

Kwang-Yeong Shin

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Department of Sociology, Chung-Ang University, 221 Huksuk-Dong Kongjak-Gu, Seoul, KOREA

Research interests: Structural adjustment and job mobility, globalization and the transformation of the production regime in East Asia

Teaching: Comparative sociology, social classes and inequality and welfare.

Mona-Josée Gagnon

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Department of Sociologie, University of Montreal, CP 6128, Succ. Centre-Ville, Montreal, QUE H3C 3J7, CANADA

Research interests: Relations between labour movements and civil society, relations between North and South labour movements in the Americas and empirical problems regarding social control in workplaces.

Teaching: Sociology of trade unionism, of work and of education.

Bob Carter**E-mail: bc20@leicester.ac.uk**

Department of Sociology, University of Leicester, Leicester, ENGLAND

Research interests: Class and labour process theory, the nature of contemporary trade unionism, and public sector restructuring.**Teaching:** Theories of class, work in contemporary capitalism, and comparative US/UK labour movements.**Varkey A Jose****E-mail: jose@ilo.org**

International Institute of Labour Studies, ILO, Geneva, SWITZERLAND

Research interests: New forms of workers' organizations in developing countries; Integrated programmes for employment and social protection among developing countries.**Teaching:** Currently organizing the preparation of teaching materials on the four components of ILO's Decent Work Programme: Employment, Social Protection, Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and Social Dialogue.**Suzanne Franzway****E-mail: suzanne.franzway@unisa.edu.au**

Gender Studies Unit, University of South Australia, Magill Campus, Lorne Ave, Magill, SA 5072, AUSTRALIA

Research interests: Greedy institutions and caring labour (aged care and child care); globalisation and the trade union movement; casualisation in higher education; women, change and engineering. Post-graduate theses supervision on Aboriginal workers and trade unions, social policy and the state, class and gender and wine industry, women and wine industry, workers in aged care**Teaching:** Undergraduate gender studies as well as sociology on work, family, state, labour movements, and feminist theory.**Angela Araújo****E-mail: araujo@unicamp.br**

Department of Political Science, University of Campinas, Campinas, BRASIL

Research interests: Unionism, corporatism and collective bargaining; economic restructuring in manufacturing and banking, (currently doing research in the white goods industry), Labour and gender relations.**Teaching:** State Theory, Unionism and Politics, Globalization and Labour.**Robert O'Brien****E-mail: obrienr@mcmaster.ca**

Department of Political Science, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, CANADA

Research interests: Labour internationalism, international economic institutions, global governance, global social policy, workers and social cohesion in Canada**Teaching:** International Political Economy, International Economic Institutions, Global Governance, Globalisation**Lee Pegler****E-mail: pegler@iss.nl**

Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, The Netherlands

Research interests: Specialist on labour, unions and factory level change, particularly in the context of globalisation and the White Goods Industry. Expertise in Brazil and other parts of Latin America but also in Australia, UK, Japan and Sweden. Currently working as Post Doc Research Fellow, ISS, on a project entitled - 'Localised and Gendered Impacts of Incorporation in Global Value Chains', from which a number of developing country, sub thematic (e.g. labour rights) and sector studies are emerging".**Anthea Metcalfe****Newsletter and Membership Co-ordination****E-mail: antheam@yebo.co.za**

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Message from the new President of RC44, Edward Webster

Labour at the Crossroads?

I was very pleased with the intellectual excitement generated during our sessions at the ISA World Congress in Brisbane in July 2002. I look forward to working with you in ensuring an even better programme at the next World Congress in Durban in 2006. Eleven sessions were hosted around the theme of Unions at the Crossroads. Attendance was good, averaging twenty at the first session, to fifty at the last. Only one session had to be cancelled, as the presenters were unable to obtain finance to travel to Brisbane. More importantly, research based written papers were presented at all the sessions and discussions were lively and informative. Many participants remarked on the intellectual coherence and engaged nature of the sessions.

Appropriately, for an academic programme, there was no agreement at the end of the last session as to whether unions were indeed at the crossroads. Michael Richardson (University of the West of England) presented the results of research undertaken on partnerships between unions and management, while Kim Scipes (University of Illinois) spoke of his research on two types of unions in Chicago, business unionism and what he called, social justice unions. Varkey Jose (International Institute of Labour Studies, ILO) reported on the results of his global research on unions. He had no doubt that unions were at the cross roads arguing that they were products of industrial society and for large sections of the world industrialisation has not yet arrived. He argued that unions in the developing world needed to reinvent themselves as social movements concerned with social policy, civil liberties and building a global social floor of standards.

The discussion that followed these presentations did not resolve the debate but sharpened it further. Nalini Nayak of the International Collective in Support of Fish Workers in India spoke of how conventional trade unions had failed the millions of artisanal fish workers in the South. What was needed, she said, was a labour movement that responded to the needs of women fish workers in the informal sector in the South. Sakhela Buhlungu took the point further when he said the terrain on which unions organised had changed from mass production to increasing numbers of small enterprises, home workers, casual workers and outsourced workers. New forms of organisation were needed, he said, as we were at a turning point because of the changing nature of work. Karl von Holdt disagreed, what is new, he asked provocatively, labour is always saying it is at the crossroads!

Of course Karl is right; the history of labour is replete with examples of predictions that labour is about to disappear. In 1932 in the United States, solemn pronouncements were made by august labour experts heralding the death of the labour movement. These dire predictions were, as Dorothy Sue Cobble has reminded us, issued literally on the eve of the dramatic upsurge of labour organising that began in 1933 ('Lost Ways of Unionism: Historical Perspectives on Reinventing the labour Movement', in *Rekindling the Movement*; labour's quest for relevance in the 21st century, 2001, Edited by Lowell Turner, Harry C Katz and Richard W Hurd, ILR Press Cornell University, Ithaca.) However, the question remains unanswered; is the nature of work changing in a way that fundamentally changes the terrain on which labour organises? What impact is the growing informalisation of work having on traditional forms of trade union organising? How, and who, is to represent these new types of workers?

Is organised labour beginning to find allies among the new social movements emerging in the anti-globalisation activism prominent since Seattle? Surely new models of unionism will have to be invented, models appropriate for a mobile, service oriented, and knowledge-based economy in which women, immigrants, and people of colour are in the overwhelming majority in the world?

These are the kinds of research questions that are beginning to inform our agendas and to which we need answers as a research community. Above all, those active in labour movements worldwide are searching for answers to these questions and are increasingly finding allies in their search among research communities such as RC44. To help to provide answers to these questions we have begun to cross traditional boundaries within the International Sociological Association.

In Brisbane, we organised a joint session with RC48 on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change. We hoped to organise a session in Brisbane with RC30 (Sociology of Work) but this did not work out. I am hoping that we can organise many more joint sessions in Durban. We will be making a start in formulating our research agenda at the proposed interim RC44 workshop in Brazil in 2003 discussed by Rob Lambert on the next page. It is important that as many members as possible attend, as it was a similar event in Johannesburg in November 1999 that defined the research theme of the Brisbane programme.

We also crossed new frontiers in Brisbane by electing a more representative Board. For the first time, East Asia is represented on the board through Kwang-Yeong Shin from Seoul University. The only part of the world that is not represented on the board are the ex socialist countries of Eastern Europe and Russia. We need to find ways of overcoming this gap and ensure the active participation of scholars on comparative labour from this crucial area of research. My intention is to become a more proactive president of the research committee than has been the practice in the past. I would like RC44 to become a leading forum for the exchange of research findings and information on labour movements worldwide. To achieve this aim board members and ordinary members of RC44 need to become more active. I am trying to spread the tasks around a bit, so that RC44 becomes a 'working research committee'. I have already suggested a division of labour to all board members and I am keen to hear of ways in which we can ensure a more active research network.

At the Business meeting, it was decided that we should explore the idea of publishing an edited collection of papers around the theme of Unions at the crossroads. I will be exploring this with colleagues. We also decided at the Business meeting to explore the idea of a new journal on comparative labour movements produced in conjunction with SAGE. I will report on these two initiatives in the next Newsletter. I am keen to keep in touch with all members of RC44 and hoping that by the time 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 social movements and we can devote some of our sessions to the research findings of innovative responses by labour to the dilemmas it faces in the era of neo-liberal globalisation.

Message from the Secretary of RC44, Rob Lambert

Future Directions

The focus of the week in Brisbane, Trade Unions at the Crossroads, was pertinent and led to lively debate. A high percentage of those attending the RC 44 sessions did so for the whole week. This ensured an interesting continuity in the discussions that seemed to develop and evolve as the week progressed. There was a strong input from the south (South Africa, Brazil, Korea, China, India). We will need to work hard to ensure a stronger turnout from the north at the next ISA in South Africa. If we can achieve this balance, we are likely to advance the debate over the future of trade unionism quite considerably. That is a key organisational challenge for RC 44.

The denial of trade union rights in the south continues unabated with widespread repression against those organising independent unions in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Indonesia, Thailand and Korea. In the north and south, union power is undermined by lean production restructuring and unions do not seem to have imagined new ways of organising the newly casualised workforce. A social movement orientation liberating unions from subordination to political parties committed to neoliberal globalisation is weak at present. It is difficult to identify a country where unions are making unambiguous advances at present. In different ways, this context shaped and coloured the debates at ISA as we covered a range of areas. I see the RC 44 newsletter developing in a way that we can share and exchange our research contribution to this unfolding predicament of unions, now trapped in an increasingly violent and unpredictable world.

In Brisbane, we decided to organise a workshop in Brazil in August 2003. Angela Araujo from UNICAMP in Brazil offered to host the workshop to coincide with the 7th Congress of SIGTUR, which will be hosted by CUT. As things stand at the moment, the election of Lula as President of Brazil may alter this timetable. RC 44 will keep you briefed via the newsletter.

ISA WORLD CONGRESS, BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA, 7-13 JULY 2002
RC44 BUSINESS MEETING
THURSDAY 4 JULY 2002

MINUTES

Present: Twenty-three, sixteen paid up members (including the secretary and three board members) and seven additional participants.

1. The secretary, Edward Webster, welcomed members of RC44 to the meeting and said he would be chairing it, as the President, Richard Hyman, was unable to attend because of a back injury.
2. The minutes of the RC 44 Business meeting held in Montreal on 29th July 1998 were adopted.
3. **Presidents Report: Richard Hyman**
A short report by Richard Hyman was circulated. The report raised a number of issues pertinent to the evolution of RC44 and this was read to the meeting. The report is to be published in the next Newsletter. It was resolved that Richard should be thanked for his contribution. The meeting hoped that he would continue to play an active role in the research committee, especially in the area of strengthening the links between north and south.
4. **Newsletter and Membership Co-ordinator report: Anthea Metcalfe** The report was circulated and discussed in detail. The report is to be published in the next Newsletter. The meeting noted the positive development of the geographic spread of the membership, which was roughly equal between those from the north and from the south.
The meeting agreed that there was a need to actively recruit new members if we are to build influence and create new opportunities for future ISA Congresses. It was reported that the ISA Council of Research Committees had agreed to a new scale of grant allocations for RCs.
If you have the following paid up ISA members:

- 40-54 members = \$450
- 55-69 members = \$600
- 70-84 members = \$750

The following recommendations ensued from the discussion:

- Target 70 members by 2006;
 - Maintain the \$20 fee structure;
 - Develop a flyer to encourage greater membership;
 - For those outside the academic structure, who cannot draw on Institutional support, recommend that they only join RC44 for \$20;
 - Academics should be encouraged to take out full ISA membership. This will ensure that we attain space in the program
5. A specially prepared document containing **all nine RC44 Newsletters** was circulated. The Newsletters had grown in size from six pages to sixteen. It was agreed to continue to distribute it electronically although some members said they had difficulty in reading it in its present format. It was decided to ask members for specific feedback. It was noted that it would not have been possible to produce these editions without the work of Anthea Metcalfe and it was agreed that funds had to be found to continue to pay her a small honorarium.
6. The recently established **RC44 Website** was noted and Shireen Ally thanked for designing and updating it. It seemed as if few members were aware of it and it was agreed to advertise its existence to members.
7. A unanimous and enthusiastic vote of thanks was given to Anthea Metcalfe for the outstanding contribution she had made both to the production of regular Newsletters and maintaining regular contact with members. Members felt that this was one of the major reasons why the programme had worked so well in Brisbane.
8. **Proposal to produce an edited volume out of the RC 44 Congress papers:**
The proposal to explore a publication was based on the successful volume put together by Marino Regini in 1992 (The Future of Trade Unions), which was based on the papers presented at the World Congress in Madrid in 1990. Forty-one papers were presented during the twelve sessions of the RC programme in Brisbane. There was general agreement that the papers presented were of a high standard and that the theme of the programme, Unions at the Crossroads, developed in a coherent way. The attendance at each session averaged between thirty and fifty people.
The meeting decided that the office bearers should communicate with each other to debate and decide whether we have a potential publication in the form of an edited volume. The alternative of a special issue of a journal will also be considered.
9. **Proposal for a New International Journal on comparative labour studies:**
The Research Committee was encouraged to consider this venture by approaching Sage. Comparative labour studies warrant greater scholarly recognition. Such a venture would cross-traditional scholarly boundaries. The focus would be labour in the era of globalization. This necessitates the crossing of boundaries. This would be a global journal seeking to understand labour on a comparative basis. The journal would be based on strong themes and rigorous editing. The point of departure is that submissions would have to be comparative. It was agreed in principle that we should pursue the idea. The board will discuss the idea and report to members on progress on this idea. The newsletter will be used as a vehicle to keep members up to date.
10. **Nominations and Election of Board Members:**
Refer to Page 2 of October 2002 Newsletter
11. **Future Activities:**
- RC 44 Interim meeting, Brazil September 2003. It was agreed that RC 44 would organize a one-day workshop to coincide with the forthcoming SIGTUR Congress hosted by CUT in Brazil in September 2003. Members will be informed as soon as the dates are confirmed.
 - The next World Congress is to be held in Durban in July 2006. The newly elected President said he was looking forward to seeing an even larger representation of RC44 members and followers at the first world congress of sociology to be held in Africa.
 - As part of the attempt to establish contact between RC44 and trade unionists, Carla Lipsig-Mumme arranged a workshop in Melbourne on Saturday 14th July with the leadership of the Australian Congress of Trade Unions, (ACTU) to coincide with the launch of her new Centre for the Study of Work and Society at Deakin University. Four members of RC44 had been invited to participate in the workshop.

PRESIDENT' S REPORT: RICHARD HYMAN (1998-2002)

First, I must express my great regret that I cannot be present at the RC44 Business Meeting and the ISA Congress as a whole. For the last two years, I have suffered intermittently from a slipped disc, and soon after I registered for the Congress the trouble flared up again. The medical advice was clear: the long flights to and from Australia would almost certainly make the problem far worse, and I reluctantly decided to cancel my participation. On the Tuesday of the Congress, I turn 60, and though most of the time I feel half that age, there are times when my body tells me otherwise. RC44 has made steady progress in terms of membership during the past four years, in particular consolidating its presence outside Europe and North America, where it originated. Much of this is due to the efforts of Eddie Webster, very ably assisted by Anthea Metcalfe. We have had regular Newsletters (far more frequent than when I was Secretary), a web site, and at Brisbane, an excellent programme. In the next four years, RC44 is in a position to build on its achievements to date.

I see three main challenges:

- expand our membership where we already have it, extend our coverage to areas where we remain unrepresented
- win a reputation as the hub of a network of exciting intellectual work in the comparative sociology of labour movements
- demonstrate our relevance to those whose activities we research, make them co-participants in our research agenda.

In my paper to the session just ended, I considered some of the options and obstacles. We have to grasp the issue of language: there is much innovative research, as well as valuable academic-trade union links, in French- and Spanish-speaking countries. Anglophones cannot, in the main, undertake the task of transforming our language base; but we can make clear that colleagues working in other ISA languages are welcome to develop their own interchanges under our umbrella.

Most of us recognise that intellectual activity is a political process: scientific rigour is not incompatible with practical engagement, and indeed any idea of academic detachment or neutrality easily becomes an alibi for acceptance of existing patterns of domination and exploitation. Critical sociologists cannot simply be research arms of national and international trade union movements; but we can demonstrate our value to both official representatives and less official activists. We should, again, make it clear that we welcome opportunities to share our particular expertise with trade unionists who are seeking to fashion a strategic response to immense global challenges. With a clear mission and a fund of enthusiasm, we will be in a position to undertake that most important task of all labour movements: turning card-carrying members into agitators and propagandists. Around the world, there are large numbers of scholars working on and for labour movements, whether or not they define themselves primarily as sociologists; and in scholarship as in the world of labour more generally, unity is strength. There are signs that RC44 is transforming itself from a four-yearly forum of discussion into an agency of continuing interchange and collaboration. If this process can be sustained and reinforced, our future will be bright indeed.

NEWSLETTER AND MEMBERSHIP COORDINATOR' S REPORT: ANTHEA METCALFE

Introduction

I became involved with RC44 while working with Eddie Webster at the Sociology of Work Unit, at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, on his return from the ISA World Congress in Montreal in 1998 where he was elected secretary. Initially, we proceeded through trial and error and a minimum of resources, trying to find opportunities to promote the idea of an international research network amongst persons engaged in research into Labour Movements. I went back home to Cape Town in October 1999 (after an absence of fourteen years) and agreed to Eddie's suggestion that I continue working on RC44 from there. He approached the government-funded International Scientific Collaboration of the National Research Foundation for a grant to sponsor the continued work on this project. We are grateful for the financial support and enthusiasm we have received from the Director, Dr Robert Krige. A special thanks to Eddie for the commitment he has shown to achieving the goals we set four years ago. Through increased use of the Internet and e-mail and a greater practical commitment from all members to the mission of RC44, there is scope to develop this network more broadly over the next four years until the next world congress in Durban, South Africa.

1. RC44 Membership

In September 1998, RC 44 membership was 46. Over the next three years the membership increased steadily and by November 2001, RC44 had 67 members. Three are members of the RC only, and not of the ISA. As of the end of June 2002, RC44 has 55 members; two are members of the RC only.

Approximately twelve memberships have lapsed since January 2002 and these people will be canvassed to renew their membership after the Congress. The membership figures show that people tend to renew their membership to the ISA in the year of the World Congress.

1.1 Geographical breakdown of members

Africa - 12, mainly from South Africa

Asia - 4, Korea and Japan

Australia - 6

Europe - 12, most countries

North America - 16 - USA and Canada

South America - 5, Argentina, Brazil and Columbia

We are pleased to report that we have succeeded in our objective of increasing our membership in the South. The North/South spread is roughly equal.

1.2 Membership fees

The easiest way to join RC44 is via the ISA website. Payment options include an international postal order and Personal cheques or bank drafts in US dollars, drawn on USA bank/branch as well as by credit card (charged in Spanish pasetas). ISA membership fees are divided into three categories according to the GNP of the country of residence.

Category A - US\$255

Category B - US\$105

Category C - US\$ 25

The fees cover a 4-year period (January-December) and include a subscription to *International Sociology*, a quarterly membership journal of the ISA, and to ISA Bulletin, a newsletter, and Directory of Members. ISA members in good standing are also entitled to preferential fees when attending World Congresses. Potential members from all categories have declined to join the ISA because of the cost. Two have opted to join the RC only.

The Research Committee requires a joining fee too, US\$20 for RC44. This money is transferred electronically to RC secretary by the ISA secretariat in Spain, every two years. This money can be used in the way that the RC sees fit. In the case of RC44, it has gone towards the costs of producing and distributing the newsletter. This joining fee can also be paid directly to the RC.

The joining fees of the 53 ISA Research Committees range from US\$20 to US\$ 180, most RCs average about US\$30 - US\$50. I would like to propose that we change the structure and costs for the RC44 joining fee according to country of residence:

Category A - US\$ 50 Category B - US\$ 30 Category C - US\$10

This would mean increased funds for the operation of the RC, which will translate into an improved service for members, providing value for money. This cross-subsidisation across country categories may encourage more people from developing countries to join the RC. This would suit those scholars who prefer not to join the ISA too. They can always join up with the ISA if they decide to attend the 2006 ISA World Congress.

1.3 Membership Coordination

Through E-mail, membership coordination was not a complicated task although the database required regular updating. Thanks to those members who responded to requests for information. Five members do not have access to e-mail and receive the newsletters via the post. The only frustration in coordinating a cyber network is when members change e-mail address without informing me. A search on the Internet usually finds the person.

1.4 Membership Recruitment

During the past four years, Eddie has travelled extensively around the world for his work and to address a few meetings in his capacity as secretary of RC44. On his return to South Africa after these trips, I would contact the people who he met with and e-mail the latest newsletter to them. Our new members have come from these ranks. After the Congress is an excellent time to follow up with these potential recruits and hopefully increase the membership to 70 by 2006. It is also hoped that the non-members who are presenting in the RC44 sessions in Brisbane are encouraged to join for the next four years.

2. Newsletters

Initially, we were uncertain as to the format and content of the newsletter. However, as time went on the newsletter grew in length from six to 16 pages. The expansion of the newsletter would not have been possible without Eddie's enthusiasm and commitment, those members who voluntarily sent information and members (and others) who responded to individual requests for short articles and other contributions. Initially, members received the newsletters via post but this proved to be costly. The last four editions were distributed electronically in MS Word Format to all our paid up members and this cost-effective method seems to work well. This has enabled us to reach scholars with shared interests from around the world. We continue to post newsletters to four members who do not have access to e-mail. All nine newsletters have been sent to the ISA secretariat.

The newsletter aimed to keep members updated on the latest developments in Labour movements research and labour movements activities. These include calls for papers for journals and conferences, profiles of research institutes and new doctoral programmes, new book announcements, book reviews, reports on trade union developments in different countries, conference reports, short articles on current global issues and a regular update on the deadlines, procedures and the development of the RC44 session programme for participation at the World Congress.

The feedback from members on the nine newsletters has been minimal. It is hard to assess their value without feedback. Some key questions to be answered to assess their relevance:

- Do members actually read the entire newsletter?
- What do they think of the content, format and distribution?
- Do they accurately reflect the research the international trends in research of labour movements and labour movement activities?
- How can the newsletters be improved?
- Is it acceptable to members that they are published in English only?

2.1 Website

RC44 recently set up a website which is hosted at the Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP) where Eddie Webster is the Director. **RC44 website:** <http://www.wits.ac.za/fac/arts/swop/home.htm>.

Shireen Ally, a South African sociology graduate student at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, USA, has designed the site and will update it after the World Congress. Shireen kindly maintains it for us in her spare time. Her support is appreciated enormously. We are agreed that this site could play a more effective role in promoting RC44 as an international research network.

3. RC44 Session coordinator, World Congress, Brisbane, 2002

This has been a rather challenging task owing to the fact that the Congress organisers got their act together rather late in the day. According to feedback from some participants, the registration and confirmation processes were inappropriate, and many queries were not responded to, particularly when people wanted to register early to qualify for discounted fees. Potential participants found it impossible to register online without submitting credit card details. After numerous attempts and request to the organisers about this, they decided to withdraw from the RC44 programme.

It is important that we do not allow this to happen again as it certainly affects the quality of the programme. Some people were unable to make the trip to Brisbane because they did not manage to secure the funding they hoped for or did not raise enough money to cover all their costs. Australia is not a cheap destination for members, particularly those from developing countries.

My experiences with the conference organisers were similar. Particularly frustrating were the repeated requests from the programme coordinators for information in various formats, the lack of response to repeated queries about all aspects of the Congress and non-confirmation of receipt of information. In the last two months, the organisers made enormous efforts to keep the congress on track. They have achieved a considerable degree of success in this regard.

Thank you to the session convenors for planning their sessions appropriately and to those presenters who responded to requests for information, kept me informed of their progress in getting to Brisbane, met the ISA deadlines for the submission of abstracts and papers to the ISA (with copies to me) in good time. Your efforts in making the task of coordinating the RC44 Congress programme easy, are appreciated. I hope that all RC44 participants enjoy the conference and that all the sessions run smoothly. Let us hope that travelling to South Africa in 2006 will be more affordable for more people.

ISA WORLD CONGRESS, BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA

RC44 SESSION SUMMARIES & PRESENTED PAPERS

7-13 JULY 2002

Session 1: New labour internationalisms

Chair: Robert Lambert, Organisational & Labour Studies, School of Business, Uni of Western Australia, Perth, AUSTRALIA
E-mail: rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au

Summary: This session launched our weeklong discussions on trade unions at the crossroads. We made a good start to the week for this session was certainly characterised by lively debate on possible future directions for the trade union movement. At the core was the burning question of how should unions respond to the workplace restructuring imposed by neoliberal globalisation? The restructuring has engendered a deep crisis in unions as memberships fall. This raised the issue of a broader, social movement orientation that embraces a broader agenda of change and challenge to the logics of globalisation.

Presentation papers:

1. **Labour's Options in Engaging with International Economic Institutions**, Robert O'Brien, Department of Political Science, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
2. **What is 'new' in the new labour internationalism?** Rob Lambert and Edward Webster
3. **Trade Unions in a Globalised World: A Case-study of the International Transport Federation (ITF) and the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU)**, Debby Bonnin and Shaun Ruggunan, University of Natal Durban, South Africa, Geoffrey Woods

Session 2: Unions and the organising of young workers

Chair: Carla Lipsig-Mummé, Professor and Chair, Sociology, Deakin University, Melbourne
E-mail: carlalm@deakin.edu.au

Presentation papers:

1. **Beyond Complacency: Problematising Young Workers and Unions in the Australian Context**, Carla Lipsig-Mummé and Judith Bessant
2. **Australian trajectories for youth: Do Mac jobs lead to good jobs**, Linda Hancock

Session 3: Globalisation, Manufacturing & the Labour Movement

Chair: Lee Pegler, Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, The Netherlands **E-mail:** c.vink.pegler@inter.nl.net

Co-chair: Andries Bezuidenhout, Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SA
E-mail: 029ajb@muse.wits.ac.za

Summary: This session brought together four researchers who have done research on the restructuring of the household appliance (white goods) manufacturing industry in different countries. The aim was to consider the nature of such restructuring under globalisation, and to consider the responses from the labour movement. Lee Pegler presented an overview of changes in the industry globally, and Rob Lambert, Angela Araujo and Andries Bezuidenhout presented case studies on Australia, Brazil and South Africa respectively.

Presentation papers:

1. **The Global Re-organisation of Production: Implications of Recent Developments in the White Goods Industry**, Lee Pegler
2. **New Management Strategies and Labour: A case study in the Brazilian White Goods Industry**, Angela Araujo Department of Political Science, State University of Campinas, Unicamp, Brazil
3. **Global developments in white goods sector in Australia**, Rob Lambert
4. **Industrial restructuring and the white goods manufacturing industry in SA**, Andries Bezuidenhout

Session 4: Woman and trade unions

Chair: Suzanne Franzway: Gender Studies Unit, University of South Australia, Magill, Australia

E-mail: Suzanne.Franzway@unisa.edu.au

Summary: We began with high hopes as a number of terrific papers were suggested – from UK, Africa, India and Australia, but the costs became impossible especially when the secretariat would only accept credit cards, I believe. In the event, mine was the only paper but a good audience came and I believe we all enjoyed the discussion that took up all the time available. (It was certainly very useful for me to discuss the work with such a group of stimulating and thoughtful colleagues.) The paper was, Union women making progressive politics: what possibilities? The paper discussed contemporary political activism in a particular greedy institution, the trade unions, based on an ethnographic study of committed women union officials and activists. 'Greedy institutions' demand high levels of commitment not only to do the job well, but a commitment to particular sets of values (Franzway, 2001). (The family is also a greedy institution.) I looked briefly at the dominant meanings of 'the political' in trade unionism and in feminism, and used two examples:

1) new forms of union organising and 2) representations of sexuality

I argued that we need to recognise and encourage these strategies and alliances that are being created by progressive activists.

Reference: Franzway, Suzanne (2001) *Sexual Politics and Greedy Institutions: Union Women, Commitments and Conflicts in Public and in Private*. Sydney: Pluto Press Australia.

The idea of a one session paper worked very well and it was felt that we should introduce a least one session along these lines in Durban in 2006

Session 5: The Dilemmas of Political Exchange: Governing in a Liberalising World

Chair: Sakhela Buhlungu, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

E-mail: 029sak@muse.wits.ac.za

Summary: Four papers were presented, all grappling with new dilemmas for political exchanges between trade unions and progressive political parties in the era of neo-liberal globalisation. The presentations were based on four case studies, namely, South Korea, Zambia, South Africa and the Durban Dock Labour Scheme in South Africa (by Simon Stratton). Although the papers arrived at different conclusions, all of them pointed to increasing tensions in relations between unions and political parties. Thus, the political exchanges and social consensus that were possible in the era of state welfarism have become difficult to achieve under neo-liberalism.

Presentation papers:

1. **Trade Unions and Political Participation in Post-Colonial Zambia**, Miles Larmer: Department of International History, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK
2. **The Contradictory Balance between Industry Restructuring and Industrial Relations Reform: The Case of the Port of Durban and the Dock Labour Scheme**, Simon Stratton
3. **Civilian Government and Labor Movement in the Post-Authoritarian Regime: the Case of South Korea and Taiwan**, Kwang-Yeong Shin: Chung-Ang University in Seoul, Korea
4. **Union-party Alliances in The Era of Market Regulation: The Case of South Africa**, Sakhela Buhlungu

Session 6: New strategic directions and rank-and-file democracy: Complementary or Contradictory?

Chair: Franco Barchiesi: Department of Sociology, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa

E-mail: 029frb@muse.wits.ac.za

Summary: The papers in this session dealt with the changing nature of work and union responses to these changes. Barchiesi focussed on the deindustrialisation of the East Rand in South Africa and the change from militant unionism in the eighties to a situation where unions no longer represent the poor as regular employment has declined. Jean Faniel presented a very different situation in Belgium where 85% of the unemployed workers belong to unions. The advantage of such a situation is that unemployed workers keep in touch with the union and the union's membership does not decline under the impact of unemployment. Lee Pegler presented the results of his research in Brazil where he argued that the identity of the union had changed under the impact of modernisation. He identified three types of union responses: political unionism, strategic unionism, and moderate unionism. Jennifer Chun concluded the session with a fascinating paper comparing homeworkers in California with golf caddies in South Korea. She argued that under the impact of globalisation unions were beginning to organise among the low wage, non-standard and socially marginalised. The session was well attended and a lively debate followed on the both the similarities and the differences in these four case studies of labour in the era of globalisation.

Presentation papers:

1. **The Impact of Deindustrialization on Trade Unions' Membership Trends and Grassroots Strategies: A Case Study of the East Rand (SA)**, Franco Barchiesi
2. **The unemployed: actors or instruments of the Belgian trade unions?** Jean Faniel: Centre d'étude de la vie politique de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels-Belgium
3. **Factory modernisation and union identity: New challenges for unions in developing and 'transitional' economies**, Lee Pegler
4. **'Invisible no More and 'Stand firm as a Worker': Organizing low-wage, non-standard and socially marginalised Homecare workers in California and Golf caddies in South Korea**, Jennifer Chun: University of California, Berkeley, USA

Session 7: Trade unions and casualisation

Chair: **Bridget Kenny:** Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
E-mail: 029bkenn@muse.wits.ac.za

Summary: The session dealt with the impact of the casualisation on workers' conditions and on trade union organizing strategies. Issues raised included new initiatives to regulate casual employment, efforts by unions to organise new types of employees, the problems of organizing campaigns across different contexts, efforts at defining better rights and benefits of different categories of employment, and debate about new forms of organization which focus around contingent employees at work and in communities. Such issues as the problem of accessing workers in disparate sites, the difficulties of creating a sense of union identity, which includes vulnerable employees and a more heterogeneous workforce, and how to maintain union membership given a high turnover within casual employment, were also raised.

Presentation papers:

1. **Casual Employees and Trade Union Representation in Australia**, Iain Campbell: Centre for Applied Social Research, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia
2. **Casualised employment, insecure households, and isolated subjects: Labour market flexibility in South Africa's retail industry and explorations of resistant possibilities**, Bridget Kenny
3. **Unions at the crossroads: Challenges from restructuring/ deregulation and privatization in telecommunications**, Sonia Larangeira: 284 Harvard Street, Apt 45, Cambridge, MA, USA
4. **Building unionism in non-standard service industries: the case of homecare organizing in Australia and the United States**, Jess C. Walsh: Australian Liquor Hospitality & Miscellaneous Workers Union, Haymarket NSW, Australia

Session 8: State restructuring and the implications for labour

Chair: **Bob Carter**, Department of Sociology, University of Leicester, UK

Summary: Bob Carter began the session with a discussion of the 'union renewal thesis' and discussed it against the background of the National Union of T

teachers in the UK. He argued that the introduction of a 'new managerialism' required a new kind of unionism. Robin May discussed the legacy of liberalisation on New Zealand unions. He concluded that over the last two years, there had been a 9% increase in union membership and that union density was now 22%. Partly due to the strong leadership of the Congress of Trade Unions were quite optimistic. Donella examined the impact of neo-liberalism on worker status suggesting that it led to an 'enterprise mentality' and 'cultural corporatism'. She distinguished between direct (coercion, fear) and indirect (teams and quality circles) governance. Karl von Holdt discussed the attempt at restructuring of the railways in South Africa (Spoornet) and the successful attempt by the union to impact on the process. His paper raised the question of whether this 'victory' for workers was generalisable and how lasting would it be? The discussion focused on the possible contradictions in neo-liberalism and the need to recognise the variety of responses to workplace restructuring in the state sector.

Presentation papers:

1. **State sector restructuring & union contestation: 2 case studies from SA**, Karl Von Holdt, NALEDI, Johannesburg, SA and Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg,
2. **State Restructuring and Union Renewal: Some Evidence from Teaching**, Bob Carter,
3. Global Governance, State power and Worker Status, Donella Caspersz
4. **And Still creatures of the State? The state, central organisation and the fall and rise of New Zealand unions**, Pat Walsh and Robin May, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand

Session 9: Unions and labour law reforms in a comparative perspective

Cancelled - most of the presenters were unable to travel to Brisbane

Session 10: Crossing frontiers and redefining boundaries: The Sociology of Work and Labour Movements in the New Millennium

Chair: **Edward Webster**

Summary: Six papers were presented in this session and one was tabled. There were over fifty participants and a lively discussion took place around three broad issues:

- that the restructuring of work and neo-liberalism is profoundly changed the context within which the self activity of workers takes place. On the one hand there are new forms of work - such as the call centres examined by Rahmat Omar from South Africa- that draw on information technology. On the other hand, neo-liberal ideology, Donella Caspersz from Australia showed from her research in Malaysia, enabled management to construct new non-class identities, which muted worker resistance. Mona-Josée Gagnon made a similar point showing how workers in Montreal resisted neo-liberal ideology.
- the paper on East Asian firms in China by Young-Jin Choi led to a debate around labour conditions and labour action in China. Participants mentioned that this was the only paper on labour in China in RC44 and, bearing in mind that

China has the largest workforce in the world (761 million), this was a major neglect in our attempt to have all the voices of labour heard in RC44.

- discussion also took place on the implications of the above two points for our research agenda. This was pursued in the papers by Richard Hyman and Carla Lipsig-Mummé/ Eddie Webster. It was argued that sociologists need to cross the boundaries between those who study the new social movements and those who focus on the sociology of work.

Presentation papers:

1. **Worlds of Labour, Worlds of Sociology**, Richard Hyman: London School of Economics, London, UK - Tabled
2. **Recasting labour studies in the new millennium**, Edward Webster & Carla Lipsig-Mummé
3. **Subjectivity and worker responses under neo-liberal governments** Donella Casperz & Rob Lambert
4. **Working in the Call Centres of Telkom (SA): Trade Union responses**, Rahmat Omar: Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa
5. **Trade-unions struggle against unregulated globalisation: practical and theoretical consequences**, Mona-Josée Gagnon: University of Montreal, Canada
6. **Sci Fi, IT and the National Lampoon – society without an economy?** Rock Chugg: Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia
7. **Relative autonomy and the Institutionalization of Labor Relations: East Asian-Invested Firms in China**, Young-Jin Choi: University of Hawaii, Hawaii

Special Session 1: Relationships among parties, movements, labour and ethnic organisations in pursuit of social change

Joint session with RC5 (Ethnic, Race and Minority Relations), RC 18 (Political Sociology) and RC48 (Social movements, Collective Action and Social Change)

Chair: Tova Benski, College of Management, Israel

RC44 representative: Carla Lipsig-Mummé

Tova Benski began the session by pointing out that in the hey-day of research on social movements, there was antagonism towards political parties but recent work has blurred this distinction. She suggested the need to speak of a 'movement party' and used the movement of earthquake victims in 1984 as a case study. Micka Pykhusen used anti-racist and pro-migrant claim making in Europe as her case study. These two presentations from RC48 were followed by two South African case studies. Dunbar Moodie used a narrative structure to show how the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) emerged as a social movement on the Vaal Reef mine. Karl von Holdt, drawing on his research on a steel mill, argued that the concept of social movement unionism tended to be prescriptive and normative and cited the work of Peter Waterman and Kim Moody to illustrate his argument. In the discussion the role of NGOs was raised. Debate took place around whether social movement unionism was a useful concept and examples of this type of unionism in Korea and the Philippines were cited in the discussion.

RC44 Presentation Papers:

1. **The rise and decline of Social Movement Unionism in South Africa: Socio-Political dimensions of union formation**, Karl von Holdt
2. **The interplay of race and ethnicity in South African social movement unionism: A case study of 1986 struggles on Vaal Reefs gold mine**. Dunbar Moodie: Dept of Anthropology and Sociology, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, New York, USA

Special Session 2: Unions at the Crossroads: Ambivalent Legacies and Rising Challenges

Chair: AV Jose, International Institute for Labour Studies, Geneva, Switzerland **E-mail:** jose@ilo.org

Summary: This session discussed and disseminated the findings of an Institute for Labour Studies Project: "Organized Labour in the 21st Century", that was concluded in 2001. The session provided a unique opportunity to publicize the work of the Institute on Organized Labour and to receive guidance from academic specialists on new directions for research. (Refer to the message from the new President for details of this session).

Presentation Papers:

1. **The Patterns and Processes of Partnership at Work in the UK**, Mike Richardson, Centre for Employment Studies Research, Bristol Business School, University of the West of England, Bristol, UK
2. **Union self conceptualisation and progressive social change: Laying the groundwork to build relations with parties, movements and entire organisations**, Kim Scipes, University of Illinois, Chicago, USA

Notes from the ARCWS/ACTU Workshop
Australian Research Centre on Work & Society (ARCWS)
Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)

Melbourne, AUSTRALIA
13 July 2002

On July 13, the new Australian Centre for International Research on Work and Society (ARCWS) co-hosted a workshop with the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the collaboration of RC 44, to kick off the Centre's work. The workshop, titled '**Not Your Usual Suspects**', was limited to 30 participants. In the event, 38 trade unionists and academics from around Australia, as well as Europe and Quebec attended, spoke, and signed up for membership.

The ARCWS is a research centre based at Deakin University in Melbourne, newly founded in 2002. Its mandate is to resource and research with trade unions both in Australia and elsewhere in the world, identifying research needs, crystallising projects, and bringing academics to work on research that makes a difference in the volatile world of work.

The July workshop was chaired by Sharan Burrow, President of the ACTU. Trade unionists from 14 unions attended, as well as activist intellectuals from the ILO, South Africa, Quebec, and a number of Australian universities. The goal of the workshop? To create a 'free space' for delving further into four issues that arose out of the impact of globalisation on work, workers, social movements and the marginalised.

These issues are:

1. How are trade unions changing to work with social movements? Mona-Josée Gagnon of Quebec, former Research Director of the Quebec Federation of Labour and presently Director of Graduate Studies for Sociology, Université de Montréal, spoke on this subject with particular reference to the anti-free trade demonstrations in North America.
2. How are the relationships between human rights and workers rights evolving? A.V. Jose of the International Labour Organisation spoke on this with particular reference to the emergence of non-traditional alliances.
3. What kind of labour internationalism for the South? Eddie Webster of SWOP, the Sociology of Work Research Unit of the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa, contrasted types of labour internationalism, supported by interventions by Rob Lambert of the University of Western Australia. A lively debate ensued, dividing participants as to whether they felt Australia was part of a 'South'; whether the ICFTU's regional organisation was sufficient to create new internationalism or new forms needed to be created. The debate also focused on the contested meaning of the 'South' and the need to avoid romanticisation of the very varied trade unions operating across regions and within individual countries.
4. Young people, work and unions: The campus as an organising site, was presented by Carla Lipsig-Mummé, ARCWS' director. The thesis of this presentation was that there is no longer a school to work transition; that university and TAFE campuses are large, relatively free sites for the introduction of unions to working students, and that unions have ignored the potential of the campus to their peril. Several ideas for unions on campus were presented, including the establishment of Working Students' Centres; Employment Units; and the need for unions to move beyond their own internal rivalries.

The workshop ended with a canvassing of issues for further workshops, and a discussion of the best format for bringing busy trade unionists together for the free flow of ideas. Subsequent to the workshop, ARCWS has been receiving membership sign-ins from around the country.

Carla Lipsig-Mummé
Director: ARCWS
E-mail: Carlalm@deakin.edu.au

Trade union internationalism is an increasingly important terrain of study, with numerous authors attempting to formulate positions and responses for labour, in an era of globalisation.

In Robert O'Brien's (2000) *Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement* he maintains that the international union movement is being changed from a supporter of US capitalism, to one that restricts neo-liberalism, and possibly proposes alternative mechanisms in alliance with other social groupings. O'Brien's analysis is restricted to the ICFTU and the ITSs where 'the possibility of radicalization exists because of the encounter between official international unionism and other groups...' (2000: 534). The end of the Cold War and the emergence of neoliberal globalisation, has resulted in structural changes allowing for the reconsideration of the role of international union movement. In considering the activities of the international union movement, it is firstly, confronted with three forms of industrial relations: social democratic, neoliberal and authoritarian. Moreover, O'Brien maintains that 'the task for the international union movement is to counter efforts at undermining the social democratic model and to create opportunities for it to prosper in the face of competition from other models' (2000: 541). Secondly, the roles of the ILO, IMF and WTO have been high on the agenda of the ICFTU, to campaign on a social clause that 'will help keep markets open by strengthening the political authority of the WTO' (2000: 543). Thirdly, multinational corporations have provided opportunities for the international union movement to attempt to create multinational collective bargaining, and to consider codes of conduct. O'Brien argues that by engaging with MNCs, an 'interchange with other social movements which are also trying to challenge neo-liberalism' has occurred (2000: 548). This has been manifested in social movement opposition to labour standards, as illustrated by the meeting of the ICFTU and the Third World Network (TWN). For O'Brien, 'of all the new or alternative social movements, the women's movement is likely to have the most far-reaching effect on the international union movement' (2000: 550). He continues by arguing that the ICFTU is 'being pulled in the direction of cooperation with other social movements' (2000: 552). However, there are structural differences with contending organisational practices. In conclusion, three implications exist for studying international relations. Firstly, contributions can be made to the body of work considering the role of the MNC in the international economy. Secondly, scholars of new social movements and global civil society reflect on the role of old social movements i.e. labour. Thirdly, 'the international union movement and its interaction with other social groups is a prime candidate for continued research by those seeking sources of change in the global economy and global order' (2000: 555).

O'Brien, R. 2000. 'Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement', *Review of International Studies*, 26, 533-555.

2. Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick's (2000), *Globalisation and the Dilemmas of International Trade Unionism* argues for the reorganization of the ICFTU and ITSs in particular. Gumbrell-McCormick maps the state of the international trade union movement, and the historical basis for the division, by considering the ideological divisions that have separated the confederations. Yet, other 'types and layers of organisations' such as the ITSs play important roles (2000: 31). Moreover, she maintains that 'while international trade union organization has been present over the past 100 years, this does not mean that international trade union unity has been a given' (2000: 33). Gumbrell-McCormick considers the attempts to control MNCs in the engineering industry, where 'car workers, with a strong potential for concerted international action' advocated trade union responses. With the advent of world company councils, initial enthusiasm was replaced by a realisation of the limitations ITSs had in attempting to counteract MNCs dominance. This resulted in the ICFTU becoming more actively involved in attempting to regulate the MNCs in form of 'neo-keynesianism...in order to protect national sovereignty and avoid a global "race to the bottom"' (2000: 236). Moreover, Gumbrell-McCormick asserts that codes of conduct had little success within MNCs, bar those operating in South Africa. In the 1990s, 'trade unionists began to call for new collective and international strategies to respond to globalisation, and the question of regulation of the world economy returned to the center of trade union thought and action' (2000: 38). Many trade union centres began to oppose trade agreements and rejected the 'ICFTU granting such agreements any legitimacy by tacking on what appeared a largely ineffectual social clause' (2000: 38). Gumbrell-McCormick refers to the importance trade union unity, but acknowledges the ideological and organizational divisions. Moreover, she pertinently asks 'what *in the end* is its purpose?' and that 'it is up to the labour movement to decide what form of unity would be best suited...' (2000: 40) (Emphasis in original).

Gumbrell-McCormick, R. 2000. 'Globalisation & the Dilemmas of International Trade Unionism', *Transfer*, 1, 29-42.

In contrast to the above articles, Peter Waterman's (2001) *Trade Union Internationalism in the Age of Seattle* critiques traditional labour internationalism, and specifically the role played by the ICFTU. His concern revolves around 'whether nationally or industrially based internationals or something rather different are most appropriate for a new *union*, *labour* or *general* internationalism in the era of globalisation' (2001: 9) (Emphasis in original). Waterman considers two important concerns with the ICFTU: firstly its hierarchical and

inter-state institutional orientation shackling it to nationalist politics, and secondly, the 'virtual *invisibility*' in the global media (2001: 11) (Emphasis in original). He continues by arguing that the ICFTU and the ITSs, 'will inevitably add new elements to the old model of international trade unionism' (2001: 11). In the attempt to conceive of a new labour internationalism, Waterman suggests that a new social unionism is necessary that moves beyond his original contribution of social movement unionism. A new labour internationalism would, in turn, 'have to see itself as part of a general global solidarity movement' (2001: 13). Moreover, a new term is needed in an era of globalisation, and he suggests 'global solidarity' (2001: 15). This concept is explored in more detail, with reference to the role that 'networking' can play and to 'a radical-democratic style of communication... [called] global solidarity culture' (2001: 23). This idea is central to his proposal of moving from space to cyberspace, in which networking, communication and dialogue occur. For Waterman, 'international trade unionism has to either surpass its reductionist self-definition or remain invisible in the international media arena...' (2001: 24).

Waterman, P. 2001. 'Trade Union Internationalism is the Age of Seattle', *Antipode*, 33 (3): 312-36. The specific edition of *Antipode* has also been published in book form: Waterman, P. & Wills, J. (eds). 2001. *Place, Space and New Labour Internationalisms*. Oxford: Blackwell.

These three articles are important contributions to the ongoing and intensifying debate on the possible role for international trade unionism. They represent divergent contributions that argue for overlapping and different responses to globalisation.

DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS:

SOUTH AFRICAN/SOUTH KOREAN LABOUR AND GLOBALISATION

Two doctoral fellowships are available as part of a project titled, '*Labour Autonomy and Globalisation*' led by Dr. Robert O'Brien at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. His project is one element of a large Major Collaborative Research Initiative (MCRI) on Globalisation and Autonomy, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Further information on the MCRI project: the website of the Institute on Globalisation & the Human Condition, McMaster University: <http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~global/gaa.htm>.

Dr. O'Brien is conducting research on organised labour's interaction with global governance organisations. He seeks one doctoral student to write a PhD thesis on labour and globalisation in South Africa and one student to write a thesis on labour and globalisation in South Korea. Applicants should have an outstanding academic record and a Master's degree in Political Science, International Relations, Development Studies, Labour Studies or a discipline related to the research topic. They must meet McMaster's English language requirement and be able to work and communicate in English. Previous knowledge of, or experience with, the South African or South Korean labour movement is highly desirable. Successful candidates will register for a PhD in Political Science at McMaster University in September 2003 and write a dissertation on either the South African or South Korean labour movement's engagement with the process of globalisation. It is anticipated that the fellowship holders will spend two years in Canada completing their coursework, preparing their research proposal and participating in the many activities of the MCRI project. Years three and four will be spent conducting research in South Africa or South Korea and completing the PhD in Canada. Fellowship holders will be expected to write at least one working paper and a joint book chapter for the MCRI project. Funding details are being finalised, but fellowship holders can expect approximately \$17,000 (CDN) per year for four years. Fellows may also receive a foreign students fees waiver (depending upon academic qualifications and financial need) and a teaching assistantship. The total financial package will be finalised at the time an offer of admission is made which will be in March or April 2003. Applicants are strongly encouraged to pursue additional funding opportunities in their own countries.

Interested applicants should request application materials from the Graduate Secretary, Political Science Department, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4, Canada. E-mail polisci@mcmaster.ca. The application deadline is 1 February 2003. Further details about Dr. Robert O'Brien and the Department of Political Science can be found at: (<http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/~polisci/>)

AIRAANZ CONFERENCE 2003

Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand
Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia 4th - 7th February 2003

'REFLECTIONS AND NEW DIRECTIONS'

Convened by Associate Professor Julian Teicher, Department of Management, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
Email: Julian.Teicher@BusEco.monash.edu.au **Deadline for the refereed papers: 18th November 2002**
Please check the Conference website for details of paper submissions: <http://www.monash.edu.au/oce/airanz/>
AIRAANZ Website: <http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/depts/sml/airanz/conferenceinformation.asp>