

Fifth International Conference on Strikes and Social Conflicts in the 21st Century

22-24 June 2022, Rotterdam

Programme



FNV Regionaal Vakbondshuis Rotterdam | Pegasusweg 200 | 3067 KX Rotterdam

[How to get there](#)

Day 1, June 22

09.00 **Arrival and registration**

09.30-11.00 **Welcome** and Opening by Eddie Cottle (conference organising committee, University of Johannesburg)
Restaurant

Keynote address by Niek Stam (FNV Dockers' Union), shortly introduced by Sjaak van der Velden, *Put the Money Back. How the Rotterdam dockers won back 688 million euros in stolen pension funds.* (1)

11.00-13.00 **Parallel sessions**

Session 1, Long Cycles of Class Struggle
Room 1 and 2

Dave Lyddon, Keele University, *Three Hundred Years of British Strikes* (2)

Jenny Jansson, Uppsala University, Sweden, *Cycles of Labour Protests: Public and Private Sector Unions' Contentious Actions* (3)

Lori Hanson, University of Saskatchewan, Canada, *Nicaraguan solidarity over the long term: Internationalists asleep at the wheel* (4)

Session 2, Strike Violence and Organisation
Room 3

Robert Ovetz, San Jose State University, *When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921* (5)

Ralph Darlington, Emeritus Professor of Employment Relations at the University of Salford, *Strikers versus Scabs: Violence in the 1910-14 British 'Labour Unrest'* (6)
Stephen Bouquin, University of Paris Saclay, *Conflict beyond the law and regulation. From the Gilets Jaunes uprising to the spontaneous strike wave in Italy in the early stage of the pandemic.* (7)

13.00-14.00 **Lunch** Restaurant or in the neighbourhood

14.00-16.00 **Plenary: Round Table A**
Room 1 and 2

Robert Ovetz (San Jose State University), Henry Fowler, Gifford Hartman, Maurilio Pirone, Patrick Cuninghame, *Workers' Inquiry: Tactics, Strategies and Objectives* (partly online) (8)

16.00-17.00 **Special meeting**
Restaurant

Rosa Kösters, Jens Aurich and Catherine Simpson (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam), *Meet up: Future of the Global Hub Labour Conflicts* (9)

17.00 Drinks offered by the International Institute of Social History, and Closure

Day 2, June 23

09.00-11.00 **Parallel sessions**

Session 1 Capitalist development and class struggle
Room 1 and 2

Annamaria Artner, Milton Friedman University, Budapest, *Social movements and anti-imperialism – Perspectives of the Global North and the Global South* (10)

Josep Maria Antentas, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, *Internationalism today: global overview and challenges* (11)

Padmini Sharma, Università Degli Studi di Milano, *Changing Class Dimensions in Platform Capitalism* (12)

Session 2 Strikes and Protest
Room 3

- Alpkan Birelma, Ozyegin University, Istanbul, *Working-class Protest Under Authoritarianism: The Case of Turkey, 2015-2020* (13)
- Tosin Yemi Oke, Faculty of Law Baze University Abuja, Nigeria, *The right to strike of health workers and the right to health in Nigeria: complementary or contradictory* (14)
- Theodore Nikias, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (EKPA), *Between steel and fire: The nine months strike of the metalworkers at Hellenic Steel* (15)
- Moses Ogenyi (Centre for the Study of the Economies of Africa (CSEA), Nigeria) and Karim Nchare (African School of Economics, Benin), *Ethnic Inequality and Anti-authoritarianism in Sub-Saharan Africa* (online presentation)

11.00-13.00 **Parallel sessions**

Session 1 Trends in strike action
Room 1 and 2

- Eddie Cottle, University of Johannesburg, *Industrial Action in South Africa (2000-2019): Reading strike statistics qualitatively* (16)
- Denise Vesper, Universität des Saarlandes, Germany, *Strikes in France and Germany* (17)

Session 2 *Social conflicts in India*
Room 3

- Jan Breman, University of Amsterdam, *Strikes in India's informal economy* (19)
- Bijayani Mishra, University of Delhi, New Delhi, *Gender, Violence and Subjectivity in India's Maoist Movement: A Sociological Analysis* (20)
- Kishore Bhirdikar, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, *Strategies of Social Movements for Social Change : A Critique* (21)

13.00-14.00 **Lunch** Restaurant or in the neighbourhood

14.00-16.00 **Plenary: Roundtable B**
Room 1 and 2

1851-2020: Findings from the Global Protest Data Base

- Rishi Awatramani, Juan Grigera, Minhyoung Kang, Sahar Savas Karatasli, Sefika Kumral, Smriti Upadhyay and Beverly J. Silver (Johns Hopkins University), *Labor Unrest, Social Revolts and Revolutions* (22)

17.00-19.30 **General meeting** in Theatre 't Kapelletje (near city center). Introduction Sjaak van der Velden (Conference Organising Committee).

Keynote speaker Panagiotis Sotiris, Hellenic Open University, *Social movements as laboratories of dual power*

20.00 **Conference dinner** (own expense)

Day 3, June 24

09.00-11.00 **Crisis and working-class responses**

Room 1 and 2

Kabogoza Joseph (Giving Children Hope Initiative and Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda), *Internal-displacement and immigration provoked by oil mineral exploration in the Albertain region in Uganda (research by speaker and Lubega Haruna, Ssenyomo Benard, Kabasuga Evelyn Ivy, Matovu Geoffrey)*. (23)

Ana Cláudia de Cima Henriques, Contemporary History at FCSH, Lisbon, *Strikes, revolts and revolutions: what can we learn from Saramago's novels?* (24)

Emmet O'Connor, Ulster University, *Social Partnership in the Republic of Ireland, 1987-2009: a positive or negative experience for trade unions?* (25)

11.00-13.00 **Plenary: Roundtable C**

Room 1 and 2

The public meaning of inquiries on burnout and working conditions in Portugal
Raquel Varela, Universidade Nova de Lisboa; Roberto della Santa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa; Duarte Rolo, Université de Paris (26)

13.00-14.00 **Lunch**

Restaurant or in the neighbourhood

14.00-16.00 **General discussion** Is there a future for the trade union movement?

Restaurant

Marcel van der Linden, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, *Dissecting a very long cycle* (27)

16.15-17.00 **Closing**, The future of the IASSC

Restaurant

Raquel Varela (Conference Organising Committee)

In brackets you find the number of the short introduction to the respective contributions (see below).



1 In 2014 Dutch port workers and insurer Aegon reached a settlement following a seven-year dispute about reserved assets of the former pensions provider and commercial life insurer Optas Pensioenen. In 2007, Optas Pensioenen was acquired by Aegon from Optas Foundation in a €1.5bn transaction. Although the reserved assets – €770m at the time, and included in the deal – were earmarked for pensions, there was no legal obligation to spend the assets. Employers and workers have jointly worked to reclaim the pension assets from Aegon.

2 From the 1721 tailors' strike to current university strikes (2022), British strike experience has been deeply affected by state and employer policies towards trade unionism, against an ever-changing industrial and occupational structure. State policy in western Europe generally moved from repression to toleration (full legality but no positive action to support unions) to recognition (positive rights, within a supportive framework). In Britain, there has been some regression from this schema. Apart from wartime restrictions, only from the 1870s to the 1970s were strikes generally free of legal constraints: criminal before 1875, civil after 1980. Strikes have always involved a breach (not suspension) of individual contracts of employment, with employers exploiting that vulnerability. Before the mid-19C, strikes were usually small-scale, reflecting local labour markets and locally-based unionism. Wider movements involving several employers would periodically result in lock-outs, in an attempt to drain union funds. A long-standing union tactic was one employer being struck at a time (usually at district level), with levies to sustain the strikers. Employers turned the tables by major lock-outs (especially in the 1890s) where the price of industry-wide (national) recognition of unions was adherence to disputes procedures weighted against the unions. Strike waves in the early 1870s and late 1880s saw surges in unionization and a 'contagion' effect beyond the hitherto local focus. But it was not until the 1910–14 unrest that the general gains made in strike waves were not immediately lost in the next economic downturn. State-sponsored industry-wide wage bargaining (especially in manufacturing and transport) during the First World War led, in the 1920s, to broadening many wage and other disputes to the industry level. Hence the rash of big national disputes until the early 1930s. Industry-wide arrangements left plenty to be decided at workplace level. From about the mid-1930s to the mid-1980s, the small-scale, single-workplace, 'unofficial' strike (started without union permission) was the dominant form of action, known as the 'British disease'. Until the mid-1970s, soft product markets and a strong labour market facilitated workplace union organization and the predominance of (usually short and small) unofficial strikes. Employer assertiveness, then aggression, took advantage of industrial contraction in the 1980s, so that

(apart from pockets) unofficial strikes shrank markedly and official strikes became dominant by the early 1990s. Public-service strikes started in the post-war years; national industrial action, which developed (along with unionization) in the 1970s, followed the pattern of private-sector industry-wide strikes from the 1950s in avoiding ‘trials of strength’ (common in earlier periods) (Lyddon, 1998). ‘Discontinuous’ (not indefinite) strikes harbour union resources, limit the effects of less than 100% participation, keep the public more onside (especially for strikes in public services, utilities, transport), and can be more disruptive. Since 1984, pre-strike ballots have been required for official strikes. Discontinuous action has been favoured in both public and private sectors, taking advantage of the deadlines caused by the various balloting and notice requirements. Since March 2017 there are turnout barriers. Recent research (Lyddon 2021) shows that unions generally surmount these barriers; most ballots (and strikes) are still small; ‘disaggregated’ ballots (each workforce balloting separately) avoid losing big industry-wide public-service ballots. Strike pay is now used more extensively. The ‘tertiarization’ of strikes has particularly brought the large numbers of women in public services into wide-scale industrial action, a major change from earlier periods when women were mainly part of the community support for strikes, less commonly being strikers themselves.

3 This paper sets out to examine the cycle of labour protests in Sweden, comparing the contentious actions of trade unions in the public sector and in the private sector over forty years. Prior studies have shown that industrial conflicts are declining. However, less is known about other forms of protest mobilized by trade unions. While analysing the long-term perspective on a broad set of protest repertoires by unions, a more complex picture of mobilization and contentious action emerge. We apply the grievance and political opportunity theories of social movement research for explaining the cycles of labour protests and differences between sectors in Sweden. We examine all protest events mobilised by all trade unions in different sectors over forty years (1980-2020). The unique protest event data is combined with official strike statistics. The research period includes the globalisation of the economy as well as two economic crises. The analysis shows that unions mobilize protests when the government proposes cutbacks in the welfare state or anti-labour policies. Public sector unions protest more than the private sector ones, but only when we account for strikes. Swedish unions have not replaced strikes with another protest repertoire. Instead, the trend seem to be that strikes as well as other forms of contentious actions have declined over time, suggesting that unions are less active in mobilising contentious action.

4 This session will begin by discussing an organic and heterogeneous set of uniquely Canadian ideas, strategies, practices, and agents that were mobilized by humanitarian impulses and broad political affinities and that coalesced in the creation of a national campaign in support of the grand twentieth century experiment that was Nicaragua’s Sandinista revolution. *Tools for Peace* was born as an idea of the Canada-Nicaragua solidarity movement sparked by members of the International Longshoreman’s and Warehouse Union (Canada), and then spreading out through unions, churches, schools and community halls to create a decade-long national campaign of material aid with a distinctly political mandate. Fast Forward: After T4P and indeed the whole edifice of Canadian and international Nicaragua solidarity ended in the 1990s, some unions continued to support Nicaraguan workers in particular sectors. But recent events in the country including union silence on a brutal crushing of the 2018 Nicaragua student uprising that imprisoned some of those same workers and union leaders, and union support for the regime despite its operation as a police-state using fraudulent elections to stay in power – beg many questions. How did initial understandings of Nicaragua-Canada solidarity create the conditions by which Canadian unions are now choosing silence in the face of an evolving dictatorship that threatens and silences workers? How and why do the politics and ideology underlying engagements in international solidarity matter? What can be learned in current interpretations of internationalism by the longue durée of Nicaraguan solidarity movements?

5 When *Workers Shot Back* (Brill, 2018/Haymarket, 2019) proposes a trajectory theory of political violence to illuminate why class conflict between 1877 and 1921 was frequently characterised by violent armed struggle, as well as the conditions, factors, and balance of power that can confidently assess not only its use but also the potential responses to it. The period of 1877 to 1921 was an exceptionally tumultuous and bloody time in American history, not merely because capital resorted to

political violence in an attempt to assert its dominance, but because its power was being contested while the balance of power shifted dramatically. Trajectory theory illustrates how faced with a closed political system dominated by elites, judicial, police and military repression, and efforts to deflect, divert, and co-opt their struggles, workers escalated their tactics to deploy violence to achieve their objectives. Violence was used tactically as a means to overcome blockages, to counter threats of repression, diffusion and co-optation, to exploit the weakness of elite power, and to achieve short-term goals. How workers self-organised depended on the composition of class forces at the time. Workers had to successfully recompose their class power by deploying the appropriate tactics and strategies to disrupt capital accumulation and obtain the necessary leverage to extract concessions and achieve their objectives. In response to workers who successfully recomposed their power, capital would seek to decompose their power by cooptation, diffusion, and repression while simultaneously reorganizing work and the workplace to bring about a new composition of capital, thereby tilting the balance of class forces to restore control and accumulation. When *Workers Shot Back* combines class composition theory and trajectory theory to rethink six phases of the tumultuous cycle of struggle between 1877 to 1921. Rather than seeking to uncover new historical documentation of these insurgencies, this book seeks to use the existing documentation to rethink why workers were more likely to deploy violence as a tactic. Rather than an episodic focus on the ‘big strikes’, *They Shot Back* explores why and when workers deployed certain tactics according to the composition of class forces at the time. When *Workers Shot Back* is a case study of how the recomposition of working class power can set the tempo for the danse macabre of class conflict that can spiral off into destructive violent struggle or a peaceful takeover and democratic reorganisation of the economy, and direct democratic control of all of society. The outcome of class struggle was unknown during this era and it remains so today.

6 Classic Marxist historical analysis of militant strike activity has tended to pivot around two dimensions of militancy - the antagonism between workers and employers and conflicting interests between rank-and-file strikers and union leaders. But arguably another important dimension, albeit often downplayed or ignored, needs to be added, namely the conflict between strikers and non-striking ‘scab’ or ‘blackleg’ (sic) labour. This relates to the way in which one of the important functions of a picket line is to act as a moral and physical deterrent to recalcitrant workers from going into work - and is thereby aimed directly against other *workers* as much as employers - with those attempting to cross picket lines and undermine the effectiveness and solidarity of collective action subject to scorn, contempt and abusive language, which can escalate into intimidation, obstruction, and even sometimes physical violence and assault. For example, in Britain over the last 200 years there have been frequent examples of assertive, aggressive and sometimes violent mass picketing aimed at stopping ‘blackleg’ labour, either of workers internally defying the strike call or those imported externally by employers. In the process, pickets have often been confronted by the mobilisation of large concentrations of police - and on occasion of troops - to ‘maintain law and order’. At the same time there have been a series of legislative measures designed to restrict so-called ‘coercive picketing’ that goes beyond peaceful persuasion by violating individual liberty and rights. Yet remarkably little detailed attention has been given within the field of industrial relations to the contributory causes, characteristic features and broader implications of this violent dimension of the strikers/scabs relationship within industrial militancy. This paper attempts to fill the gap, focusing on one of the most intense and graphic illustrative time periods, the pre-First World War ‘Labour Unrest’ involving mass strikes of seamen, dockers, miners, railwaymen and many others. The paper draws on an extensive range of secondary industrial relations and labour history literature, and deploys new archival material (including Home Office and parliamentary reports, trade union records, and numerous different local and national newspapers) to foreground hitherto neglected aspects, reveal fresh insights, critically challenge some existing interpretations, and provide a systematic analysis that draws out some comparative historical and contemporary implications. Findings suggest most violence was a product of the extensive use of ‘blackleg’ labour brought in by employers, and exacerbated by the partisan actions of police and army in attempting to defeat workers’ struggles; whilst it was overwhelmingly spontaneous and impulsive, the influence of leading militant strike leaders could also be an important factor; violence as a form of active defence (‘collective bargaining by riot’) was widely viewed as both legitimate and necessary if victory was to be achieved; in challenging the

legitimacy of public order and state power it led to deep levels of social polarisation; women strikers were influenced and emboldened by the militant direct action of the women's suffrage movement during the period.

7 not available

8 Robert Ovetz will describe the method of workers' inquiry and how it relates to class composition theory. Robert will examine the critically important role worker's inquiries are and can play in reenergizing class struggle and union organizing around the world. He will discuss some of the nine workers' inquiries from four continents in his edited book *Workers' Inquiry and Global Class Struggle: 1 Strategies, Tactics, Objectives* (Pluto Press, 2020). He will then facilitate a discussion among the panelists who are using workers' inquiries in Mexico, the US, and Italy. Robert Ovetz, Ph.D. is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at San Jose State University, labor movement scholar, and Membership & Organization Chair of his union the California Faculty Association SJSU Chapter. He is the editor of *Workers' Inquiry and Global Class Struggle: Strategies, Tactics, Objectives* (Pluto Press, 2020), author of *When Workers Shot Back: Class Conflict from 1877 to 1921* (Brill 2018/Haymarket Press 2019), and Book Review Editor of the *Journal of Labor and Society*. He is co-founder, with labor scholar Immanuel Ness, of the Wildcat How We Organize! webinar series. He can be reached at rfovetz@riseup.net

Supply Chain Worker Inquiry This Supply Chain Worker Inquiry is an interactive workshop where participants will brainstorm ways for solidarity to follow supply chains and model ways for worker resistance, community solidarity, and direct action to support strikes and other disruptive actions that stop production. The goal is to demonstrate how working class solidarity can help class struggle spread and strengthen. Our power as workers increases when everyone acts in unison; it expands exponentially when solidarity actions spread down the chain, crossing sectors, reaching new communities, and even spanning continents. Our goal is gaining a greater understanding of commodity chains as they presently exist and how we can better connect struggles along them locally and globally. We hope this will point to the importance of workers' inquiries in the current era, especially in adjusting to the many changes the COVID-19 pandemic has wrought, exposing the weaknesses of just-in-time production chains spanning the planet and changes to class composition, and encouraging new forms of workers' struggles along ever-changing value chains. We will provide maps of supply chains and flowcharts of the links between work sectors, and other necessary materials.

Gifford Hartman is a founding member of the Global Supply Chain Study/Research Group, which tries to build working class solidarity among all the sectors along commodity chains stretching across the planet. He has worked in adult education in various settings: for trade unions, at worker centers and nonprofits, and in the public sector. He is a working class historian and has been a rank-and-file militant in the ILWU and IWW; he is a certified online tutor and local trainer of the Global Labour University's Online Academy, as well as serving as international solidarity coordinator for Railroad Workers United. He has helped organize workshops and conferences with rank-and-file workers on three continents.

Platform Capitalism and New Forms of Unionism: The Evolution of the Riders' Movement at Global Level The image of the platform generally indicates a new type of enterprise based on sharing, aggregation of offer and demand, horizontality of exchange. It is, generally, a business model that is radically transforming the labour market, the organisation of the production process and the forms of consumption. We should also note the close relationship between many of the companies described as platforms and the urban dimension. On the one hand, the city is increasingly identified in a re-productive space in which activities linked to circulation, consumption and care are central. On the other hand, a new figure of productive subject seems to emerge, that of the urban entrepreneur who valorises some of his/her property related to his condition as a city user (the house, the means of transport) and his/her soft skills. At the same time, however, it is clear that strong inequalities are created where platforms seem to be able to impose themselves as a winning business model, while digital workers often complain about a lack of protection in terms of rights and salaries.

2 In this presentation I will focus particularly on the evolution of food delivery riders' movement at global level. Together with an historical outlook, I will consider both the forms of workers' organization and struggle as well as the definition of industrial relations and legislative initiatives.

Maurilio Pirone is Post-Doc Fellow at the University of Bologna for the H2020 Project PLUS (Platform Labour in Urban Spaces). His investigation is focused on new forms of unionism and workers' organization in platform capitalism. He is also member of the editorial board of *Work*

Organisation, Labour and Globalisation Journal and Into the Black Box collective. Among his most recent publications there are the book (co-editor) *Capitalismo 4.0. Genealogia delle rivoluzioni digitale* and the article (co-author) *Platform Battlefield: Digital Infrastructures in Capitalism 4.0. The Class Composition of the Mexican Multitude: The CNTE Dissident Teachers' Strike Movement Against the 2013 Education Reform*. This paper will analyse the class composition of the Mexican CNTE dissident teachers' movement from 2012 to the present day. I will approach the subject from the theoretical perspective of the multitude, which can be seen as a "plurality of diversities", incorporating many segments of the Mexican, as well as the global working class. It includes the precarious urban proletariat trapped in the informal economy, and the industrial working class, some of which has formed quasi-independent trade unions or self-organized into cooperatives in the "solidarity economy," and the growing service sector of highly qualified but low paid "cognitariat." We can also include the rural working class such as the indigenous landless peasantry and agricultural day workers forced off the land and into neo-slavery or migration by agribusiness and transgenic corporations like Monsanto, but which form the class composition of one of Mexico and Latin America's most important social movements, the EZLN. It is also necessary to include the increasingly insecure and proletarianised urban middle classes, hit by stagnation since the 2008 global economic meltdown. Using the Autonomist Marxist theory of "multitude", this paper examines the CNTE dissident teachers' strike movement against the 2013 education counter-reform, which has involved different sectors of the recomposed urban and rural multitudes engaged in resistance against the violent imposition of neoliberal education policy. Patrick Cuninghame has been a senior lecturer in History and Sociology at the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana (UAM) in Mexico City since July 2008. His current research project is on "The praxis of autonomy and self-government by Peoples of Origin. A historical comparison of Mexico, Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador". He has many academic publications edited in several languages. His most recent publication was: "Negri a Francoforte: la polemica tra la Teoria Critica ed il Marxismo Autonomo", in *Machina*, an online Italian magazine, in December 2020. He was a member of the editorial committee of *Argumentos*, the quarterly magazine of the Division of Social Sciences and Humanities of the UAMXochimilco from 2009 to 2012. He was also a member of the editorial committees of *Capital & Class* (1997-1999). He was a member of the executive committee of ISA-RC30 (Sociology of Work) from 2006 to 2010. He received an M.A. in History from the University of Edinburgh in 1983 and a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Middlesex, London, in 2002, with a thesis on Italian autonomous social movements of the 1970s.

9 In 2015, the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam launched the Hub Global Labour Conflicts. The goal of the Hub is to develop a collaboration for the collection of data about labour conflicts through time and space. By doing this, the Hub hopes to enable researchers to conduct comparative analyses and link information about labour conflicts. At the moment, 56 different datasets with data on strikes and work stoppages have been published, while the network connects more than 120 scholars working on labour conflicts. During this meetup, we will discuss the current status of the Hub and present an ongoing data collection project based on digitised historical newspapers. What is the future of the Hub Global Labour Conflicts?

10 The theoretical foundation of my presentation is the world system theory, based on Marx, and enriched by Wallerstein, Arrighi, Amin, Fanon, among others, as well as the class struggle theory that has also been elaborated by Marx and has developed by revolutionaries such as Lenin, Mao, Guevara and their followers. This means that, for me, the discussion over strikes and other social conflicts can only be settled into international and historical context. Only from this perspective can we understand the biases of the working-class movements that led to their weakening. Similarly, only the international-historical context can enlighten the differences of the movements of the Global North and that of the Global South as well as the reasons if these differences. The aim of the presentation is to contribute to the problem-solving discussion about the preconditions of increasing the efficiency of the social movements for a better life of the working people everywhere in the world. In the course of the discussion the presentation seeks answers to the questions, what the relationship is between labour strikes and the revolts and revolutions of the early 21st century, and whether trade unions, social movements or political parties of the labour movements can play a leading role in the fight for a

radical political change globally. With this in mind, the presentation first will outline the hierarchy of the global capitalism, and the consequences of this hierarchy regarding the possibility of catching up and achieving indigenous and pro-population economic development. In this section the logic of global accumulation and its uneven effects on the centre and the periphery will be analysed. Secondly, the objective reasons for the present international turmoil will be touched by describing the decay of capitalist world order and its hegemon – the United States of America. The falling rate of profit and the concomitant endeavour of the global capital to increase the rate of exploitation and oppress sovereignty-seeking resource-rich nations will be scrutinized, among else. Thirdly, based on the above world-scale analysis, the difference of the viewpoints of the Northern and Southern working classes will be presented. In this context, the poverty of Eurocentrism – the theory of imperialism, as called Amin – will be discussed. This will be followed by the examination of the effects of this well fabricated racist ideology on the struggle of the working class in the centre as well as on the state of working-class internationalism and solidarity. Lastly, the possible way of changing the world will be outlined by directing the attention to the movements and cooperation in the Global South on local, national, regional and international level. The presentation will conclude that the class struggle against capitalism can only be successful if based on anti-imperialism. The movements of the Global South, with the leadership of the Communist Party-led China and its infrastructure development projects, together with the strengthening efforts of many states in Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence from the imperialist centre have the potential to interweave these two threads of the historical social fight. The European working class must join the struggle of the Global South instead of protecting the rule of the global capital by protecting its own short-sighted interest using, and hereby strengthening, the very socio-economic structures both on national and global level that capitalism has constructed since the era of colonialization.

11 Internationalism can be understood as a project of solidarity between classes and subaltern groups (Waterman 2006). In historical terms, it has had different motivations and moments of boom and bust. It experienced a brief heyday during the 1990s and the early 2000s with the global justice movement. The latter was conceptualised as a new internationalism (Bensaïd, 2003, Waterman, 2006) or a new transnational activism (Tarrow, 2005) and constituted a transnational movement (Della Porta, 2003). But it lost momentum in the second half of the 2000s and, although some of its structures such as the World Social Forum were still in place, by the time of the Wall Street crisis in 2008 it no longer existed as a visible socio-political actor on a global scale (Antentas, 2015a and 2015b). A new cycle of protests began in 2011 with the Arab spring, the indignados and Occupy, which continued with outbreaks in the following years and had new iterations in 2019 (Chile, Nicaragua, Algeria, Lebanon, Sudan, Hong Kong...). The post-2011 phase did not see the birth of a transnational movement but of a transnational wave of protest (Flesher Fominaya, 2014): a set of protests limited in time, of a national-state nature but that share an international political and economic context, and that have a high degree of international dissemination of the strategies and speeches used. The post-2011 cycle has had a weaker internationalist dimension than the global justice movement phase. The main reason is that the magnitude of the social outbursts and the crisis of legitimacy of domestic political systems "nationalized" the logic of the protests, even though they were the result of very similar policies implemented by states (with different rhythms and accents). Also, the gap between the big challenges of domestic political situations and the organizational weakness of many social organizations absorbed almost all energies in everyday domestic activity. In the long decade since 2011, however, there has been a diffuse and ambient internationalism as a consequence of the mutual identification and inter-influence between many national struggles. Some national outbursts have been defined by a national logic (i.e. Black Lives Matter in the US), others have combined national and global framing (Tarrow, 2005) (i.e. the resistance to austerity in Greece, with the Troika singled out as one of the adversaries). In this context, there have also been, laterally, practical experiences of international solidarity. They can be classified according to their nature: · Campaigns closely related to the legacy of the global justice movement (i.e. the campaign against the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in 2015). · Attempts at international articulation of resistance against austerity policies: joint mobilization (i.e. mobilizations of Blockupy Frankfurt in May 2012 and subsequent years) or exchange of experiences (i.e. the Plan B meetings started in Madrid in 2017, subsequently

replicated in other cities). · Coordinated international action on problems that emerged as international crises, albeit mediated by disparate state responses (i.e. international mobilization days during the “refugee crisis” that broke out in Europe in 2015; the emergence of the movement against climate change since Copenhagen in 2009). · International networking and coordination of struggles in contexts where internationalisation was perceived as a basic pre-condition for success (i.e. trade union experiences in MNCs such as the Amazon Workers International network). · Development of inter-influenced national movements with some degree of coordination i.e. the international rise of feminism since the Women's Strike in 2017 in Argentina and in 2018 in Spain that constitutes a new historical wave of feminism that has developed through national movements but with elements of international coordination and the March 8 day as a common action framework. · New truly and relevant transnational movements: i.e. the movement against climate change around Fridays for Future (FFF), and to a lesser extent Extinction Rebellion (XR) that organized the most relevant transnational protests since the anti-Iraq war movement in 2003. Two reasons explain their development as a transnational movement: a) the easy perception of climate change as a global problem b) the management of the problem through centralized international negotiation (COP summits). However unlike the global justice movement FFF and XR have not built relevant international organizational (virtual or physical) bodies where initiatives and strategy can be effectively discussed. This general overview shows how the national-state and supranational arenas, and the domestic national agenda and global issues, are combined in complex ways. This creates a complex terrain for social movements in which different scalar levels intersect. The concept of the sliding scale of spaces, defined by Daniel Bensaïd (2008), is useful for capturing the scalar complexity of the action framework of contemporary movements and for thinking about how they can move from diffuse and/or sideways internationalism of the last decade to a strong practical (joint action), theoretical (spaces for elaboration) and strategic (a central part of the activity of social movements) internationalism.

12 The development of platform capitalism is restructuring social relations across the globe by altering traditional hierarchical structures, internal labour relations and their micro-political interactions. Digitally mediated platforms appear to be changing relational dynamics, contributing to a growth in individualisation among the workers. The platform economy represents an emerging capitalistic regime that is breeding a working class with often contradictory class locations and class positions. The digital models dwell on enormous data and algorithmic programming to coordinate and control activities among the workers. As Kitchin (2016) highlights, working lives are being ‘mediated, augmented, produced and regulated’ via software-enabled technologies that run on algorithms. These digital relations being profoundly managed via data, algorithms, and their programming, implies more an arrangement of subjugation rather than mutual co-determination (Doorn and Badger, 2020; Moore and Joyce, 2019; Bucher et al. 2021). Moreover, despite the rationale, workers are increasingly raising concern over the algorithm’s logic in deciding work activities, task allocation or compensation among the workers (Kalleberg and Dunn, 2016; Veen et al. 2019; Aloisi and De Stefano, 2021). As the class dimension in the existing literature concerning platform workers has been less critically approached, this research intends to use classbased theorisation to analyse capital-labour relations in platform mediated services in Global North and Global South. The research intends to look specifically at platform-to-consumer food delivery services as these on-demand services are seen to be witnessing regulatory attention and significant worker-led mobilisations across the globe. Hence, in the attempt to analyse the social structure in the platform capitalism, this research looks at capital-labour relations in these services (Brenner, 1988; Carchedi, 1989; Lukacs, 1968; Poulantzas, 1975; Wright, 1979, 1985, 2005); to gain an insight into the emerging digital class structuration and its influence over workers’ consciousness and collective practices. It should be remembered that class relations are essential in workers’ lives in providing a means to critically comprehend the resonance of the broader working-class movements in advanced capitalism. Ossowski (1963) notes that, as social reality changes, it needs an alteration in the conceptual apparatus to enable critical reflection on the novel phenomena and create hypotheses taking both the old and novel experiences into account. The changing social relations in platform capitalism demand new assumptions, concepts and approaches to analyse the emerging class relations and interests. The class dimension in the literature gives insufficient attention to addressing the increasing differences in workers’ interests within the same class, opposing consciousness among workers in the same class location or heterogeneous strategies used across class

actions. Even Englert, Woodcock & Cant (2020) observe that research on platform workers should not merely emphasise the connection between technical and political composition but also their social composition. This paper analyses the interconnectedness between the workers' strategic class locations and the manner in which the different classes organise themselves based on their interests. The approach is to construct a regional comparative analytical framework to explore cross-national variations and similarities in examining how platform-based technologies influence labour relations across distinct tech hubs in Global North and Global South. As this research intends to construct a crossnational analysis in context to the Global North and the Global South, Italy and India have been selected to analyse the platform-to-consumer delivery workers working in these respective contexts. In context to the selection, India has been taken up as the initial context against which a comparable Northern context had to be selected; the reason to start with India was mostly due to its huge market penetration in the platform economy, secondly, its local platforms are expanding to acquire multinationals both within and across territories, and thirdly, despite such huge advancement, not much research has gone into it especially, in context to the datafication and algorithmisation. The reason behind selecting Italy as against the other global markets like the United Kingdom, France or Germany lies foremostly, due to the vast differences between the Anglo-Saxon and the Continental models in comparison to the Indian political-economic regime. Hence, this research seeks to build a model that emphasises selecting countries to capture diversity within a common framework and thereby, retain the fine-grain differences in comparing Global North with Global South while also ensuring transnational differences. Nevertheless, as some highlights, these countries being compared should be 'commensurable but not necessarily identical'; as there is no point to compare extremely different countries as it makes it difficult to derive any commonality whereas, neither should it be so similar that little difference of interest is found (Pickvance, 2001; pp. 17; Lor, 2016). This research has used interviews and focussed group interviews to collect the data from 120 workers across India and Italy. Each interview has been transcribed verbatim and analysis is being done within each case and across the cases (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003) using the statistical software MAXQDA to store, code and thematically analyse the data. This qualitative data analysis is being initiated with a preliminary data exploration through reading the transcripts and writing memos; secondly, the data has been segmented and labelled through specific codes; thirdly, the similar codes have been aggregated together to create distinct themes; thereafter, both connecting and interrelating themes within a case, as well as, distinct themes across cases are evaluated and discussed. Through this phase, the researcher seeks to produce a cross-thematic matrix and a visual model of multiple case analyses. To ensure credibility (Creswell, 1998; Creswell and Miller, 2002; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009) the researcher will ensure triangulating different sources of information, extend a thick description across cases and review disconfirming evidence if encountered. The purpose is to critically reflect on the emerging paradoxes in the platform economies and also highlight the causal mechanisms and the inter-linkages.

13 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/blog/2022/03/02/is-labor-making-a-comeback-the-2022-strike-wave-in-turkey/>

14 2020 was unprecedented. The covid-19 pandemic ushered in a global health crisis that rocked the foundations of health care services. The reminder of global healthcare inequity and the need to promote universal health coverage was highlighted by the pandemic more than ever. While strikes by health workers in Nigeria is not unusual. Equally unprecedented was the record high spat of strikes by health care workers in Nigeria during the surge of the pandemic. Inability of health systems to provide ongoing essential health services have been identified as one of the ways covid-19 crisis is directly and indirectly causing morbidity and mortality.[1] The current wave of industrial actions within the health sector coupled with the wave of Covid- 19 and other health issues such as cardiovascular diseases has put a strain on the limited resources in the health sector in Nigeria. The right to strike is a right statutorily provided for in Nigeria. Although it seeks to promote social justice for workers through collective bargaining, the adverse effect of the exercise of this right by health care workers on the right to health in Nigeria is a topical issue especially in the light of Covid-19 pandemic and increased demand for health care services. Industrial actions within the health sector had resulted in denial of health services to members of the public who cannot afford the services of private health service providers in contravention of the right to health. While the right to health is a progressive right,

the maximum available resources is to be deployed to realize this right. Unless there are strong justifications, states cannot justify retrogression of the right to health. Strike by health workers will constitute an unjustifiable retrogression to the right to health. The need to promote employment rights of health workers and principles of universal health coverage should be holistic. This paper will examine the right to health of citizens and the right to strike of healthcare workers and concludes that the employment protection with the health sector in Nigeria is flawed. The first part of the paper will discuss the context of international right to health and the significance of health workers in the attainment of this right. Policy and legislative framework on the right to health in Nigeria will be analyzed. The right to strike and the conditions for a lawful strike will be highlighted through national laws. The concluding part of the paper make recommendations on how the right to strike could complement the right to health to achieve a balance between labour right of health workers and the right to health of the citizens. [1] U.N. Policy Brief: Covid 19 and Universal Health Coverage. (Oct. 2020). Pg 3.

15 In October 2011 Greece was in the midst of the economic crisis. The first austerity measures have already been adopted and the International Monetary Fund and the Greek government were planning further burdens to the economic and social life of the people as a means to overcome the bad situation for the Greek economy. These changes actually were overturning basic labor rights which had been gained for the employees as a result of the trade-unions' struggles and the political decisions of the previous decades, especially during '70s and '80s. Redundancies, wage reductions, streamlining of labor relations against the workers were common strategic solutions for the employers during the years of economic crisis. All these accompanied with provocative and cynical blackmail towards employees to accept the changes in order to retain their jobs. In this framework, the same dilemmas were posed in the middle of October 2011 in the metal factory of "Hellenic Steel" where the employer sent a provocative ultimatum to his employees to accept wage reductions otherwise dismisses would start. From 31st October, a massive strike had started in Aspropirgus's metal factory "Hellenic Steel". A strike of nine months (273 days) was the longest strike in the history of modern Greece and probably one of the longest generally in the history of working-class movement. During the days of strike three governments changed in Greece. Both, the workers and their bosses were not willing to back down. The workers ended their strike on 30/7/2012 when the riot police intervened and suppressed the strike. Trials of workers followed in the coming years. In my presentation, I will examine the most crucial events of this strike, looking mainly into the newspapers and the documents of those times. I have also available some oral interviews by the steelworkers. Furthermore, few books about these days had already been published and that could be an extra help to my research. I will address the tactics of both employers and employees and the impact of the strike on other metal factories and on the workers in the area. Of course, through these questions other aspects will emerge, such as the development of class solidarity shown by other workers to the strike, the evolution of the workers' demands, the fatigue of the long-term struggle, the role of the steel workers' women, the lessons and the influence of that strike over the workers and the trade-unions, nowadays.

16 This paper analyses strike statistics over the last twenty years in South Africa to have a concrete understanding of the state of labour (organised and unorganised). An important aspect of the paper is to show how one can use the quantitative method to assist in reading the qualitative aspects of worker mobilisation, an aspect which is markedly absent from contemporary analysis of labour. By utilising the quantitative method, the presentation will show whether the labour movement as an agent of social change is withering away; who the leading sections (per industrial sector) of the labour movement are and the shifts over time; including the relative performance of blue-collar workers to white collar workers. The trends over the last twenty years indicate that there has been a demonstrable qualitative shift in strike dynamics in South Africa.

17 Despite their close economic ties, France and Germany differ in strike behavior and strike regulations. However, comparative research on their attitudes and willingness to strike is missing so far. Thus, we had two aims with this study: First, we wanted to test whether justice sensitivity (subdivided into victim and observer sensitivity) would generally predict strike attitudes, willingness to strike and non-normative strike behavior and whether these relationships would be mediated by

either anger or empathy. People with high scores in victim justice sensitivity often feel that they have been treated unfairly. Observer justice sensitivity captures the perspective of the observers who are not directly affected by injustice. Our second goal was to compare the samples from these two countries in their strike attitudes, willingness to strike, and non-normative strike behavior. We hypothesized that the French sample would exhibit higher values in all of these measures. We collected 498 participants via an online survey. Of these 498 participants, 257 were German and 241 were French. We found that victim justice sensitivity did not predict significantly either of the outcomes in both samples, and hence, no mediation with the mediator anger was conducted. Regarding the observer justice sensitivity, we found that it significantly predicted negative reactions towards strikes in the French sample. This was not mediated by empathy. Furthermore, observer justice sensitivity predicted legitimacy of strikes and support of strikers in both samples. This relationship was mediated by empathy in the French sample. Observer justice sensitivity also predicted willingness to strike and non-normative strike behavior in both samples. The results regarding our second aim, indicated that German participants reported a significantly higher willingness to strike, significantly fewer negative reactions towards strikes, more legitimacy of strikes and more support of strikers compared to the French sample. Hence, not supporting our hypotheses that French participants would report higher values in these measures. German participants did not differ significantly in their non-normative strike behavior compared to the French participants. Thus, our results indicate that victim justice sensitivity is not an important construct regarding relevant strike behaviors and attitudes, whereas observer justice sensitivity can positively predict willingness to strike, strike attitudes and non-normative strike behaviors in both samples. The significant differences between German and French participants in willingness to strike and strike attitudes warrant further research assessing what lies beneath these differences.

18 (will not show)

19 My presentation starts with the collapse of what was one of the biggest trade unions in India when the small part of the industrial workforce in the formal economy became informalized towards the end of the twentieth century. This is followed up by a short discussion of the Self-Employed Women's Association which is one of the few trade unions in India's thoroughly informalized economy.

20 Throughout the history of revolutionary upsurges women have actively taken up various roles. They have relinquished the traditionally assigned roles of wives, mothers, and sisters by taking up leadership roles going beyond just rendering support to male combatants. In the different liberation wars of Africa, Latin America and Asia, women have proved to be brave fighters. The Maoist movement in India has attracted a number of women cadres, over the years. Women combatants have outnumbered their male counterparts in some of the crucial military operations. The Maoists' publication titled "*Women martyrs of the Indian Revolution*" (2006:1-2) highlights that, "women from the most oppressed sections, join in large numbers". Both young girls and women of different ages actively participated in the Maoist movement. They have proved themselves as professional fighters in the Peoples' War as espoused by the Maoists and a few have attained crucial leadership positions at various levels. Besides direct military roles, they have engaged themselves as propagandists, organizers, espionage workers, logistics suppliers, nurses, and cultural activists, cadre managers, and as a human shield to combatants. This paper is based on the ethnographic account of 42 women respondents that conducted over sixteen months on the role of women combatants in the Maoist Movement of Central India. It attempts to address the agency and motivations that led these women to join the movement. It also focuses on the debates regarding how women's experiences in the movement changed their viewpoints regarding gender discourses in the society. It is usually seen that common criminal never gets his social prestige or acceptance in the same society where she initially belonged to. This study tries to explore if the same stands true for the Maoist women cadres who attempt to go back to their society with the twin labels of being charged with criminal and violent activities and that of being a Maoist?

21 This research attempts to address the conference questions on extent to which have the protest-oriented forms of participation have led to major political change and question on the impact on the capacity of social movements to conduct struggles, the key observations and lessons learnt. The proposal draws from field work at Ambujwadi (henceforth site) situated in Malad region of Mumbai city, India. The site provides housing to approximately 40,000 households. A social movement was formed at the site in response to a large scale demolition carried out by the state in the year 2004-05 to clear illegal housing and has been active since then. I conducted interviews with activists, participants and staff of NGOs associated with National Alliance of Peoples Movement (NAPM), an alliance of peoples' movements across India connected to the the social movement at the slum site. Constituency of the social movement at the site is not politicised on the terrain of labour as the social movement participants are involved in diverse labour without a recognised workspace such as a factory. The social movement participants do not recognise themselves as a labour force involved in production together. In such a situation, forming a collective on the idea of agents of production is rendered difficult. The claim around labour is related to the labour put in making the land livable when the participants first came to the slum site, or the claim that the city gets its labour from the slums and this labour runs the city. Drawing on the insights from the fieldwork, it can be argued that the electorate/citizens as the agents of general strike can demand and stake claims on the terrain of labour also and argue that issues of citizenship and labour are tied together. The data from the site also conveys a perspective which argues that caste and religious practices are internal to a community and these boundaries should not be broken. These divisions within the constituency restrict the scope of what a social movement can do politically through identity politics. The internal dynamics result in highly unequal power distribution in the constituency. There is also a divide owing to differing nature of ownership as some people have proofs to the land and housing and some don't. In spite of challenges, social movement is a very important political process at the site as it gives some voice to the marginalised. Over the years, people at the site are trained and have developed abilities to organise and raise their demands for their rights. The social movement at the site is also attempting to create permanent structures at the site for getting the movement recognised and sustain it. The participation of people at the site in different social movement meetings also proves to be an important part of education and learning about people caught in similar circumstance. Further, these exchanges are an important source of networking to fight for everybody's rights. I suggest the politics of social movements needs to re-think about education and draw from different resources that suggest education not necessarily only centred on protest and resistance. Mere literacy and voting according to once choice does not necessarily lead to social justice as as several other processes of development and promise of development (Developmentalism) influence our choices. Development itself gets used as tool of political economy for furthering power and controlling citizens. I argue that this necessitates a re-thinking on possible transformations in social movement strategies. I suggest that rethinking of social movement strategies is needed on a new terrain of education. The process of resistance through social movements needs to be supplemented with education on reading and thinking differently.

22 The Roundtable will present findings from a major new dataset on global social protest from 1851 to the present created by the Global Social Protest Research Working Group at the Arrighi Center for Global Studies (Johns Hopkins University). This project both updates and extends the analysis carried out in Beverly Silver's (2003) *Forces of Labor*. We will introduce the methodology used for the data collection process (including select country-level reliability studies), as well as present key findings on the long-term world-scale patterning of labor unrest, with a particular focus on the inter-relationship between major waves of labor unrest and economic/geopolitical crises over the past two centuries. We find that years in which mass social/labor unrest is taking place simultaneously in many countries are rare, and that hegemonic crisis/breakdown periods are disproportionately represented among these years. Moreover, we argue that the rise and spread of social unrest over the past decade (since around 2010) has been intertwined with the current crisis/breakdown of US hegemony—a period which is in many ways analogous to the early 20th century crisis/breakdown of British world-hegemony. Our panel will analyze the similarities and differences between the first decades of the 20th century and first decades of the 21st century, in order to draw lessons that could help inform labor movement strategies today.

23 Extraction and transportation of mineral resources today presents an increasing social crisis, leading to environmental degradation and the infringement of human rights. In addition to economic, social and political controversies, it caused population displacement on a large scale. The social costs of oil production illustrate asymmetric power relationship between transnational capital and the populations of developing countries. Crude oil extraction also leads to massive environmental devastation, which clearly affects the living conditions of local communities. Access to oil has been a common cause of conflict, which obviously has affected the scale of evictions in the Albertain region. Protests against the expansion of mining, oil exploitation and environmental destruction has led to violent clashes with police and forced evictions of entire communities. Authorities have often forced the violent displacement of local communities, sometimes involving many thousands of people. Displacement associated with the extraction of oil has been a unique and interesting issue. The multidimensional nature of the problem breaks the general division of internal displacement into: conflict-induced displacement, environmentally-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement, and development-induced displacement. Oil-induced population displacement has occurred profoundly in Uganda as a failed states and conflicted laden country with poorly-established principles of democracy, ethnic antagonism or practices of discrimination against indigenous and tribal people of Bunyoro, and low efficiency in the institutions of legal protection. The environmental consequences of oil extraction are becoming a growing social problem in Uganda. The widespread deforestation of the Rainforest is, in fact, preparing a place for subsequent ecological devastation: the extraction of mineral resources and inappropriate agricultural practices. Unfortunately, according to many scientific studies, oil production in developing countries almost never contributes to improving the situation of local communities. Loss of land leads to loss of economic base functioning of the whole community.

24 José Saramago, a Portuguese author awarded with the Nobel Prize, represents in literary fiction the dissonant voice in the neoliberal current scenario. His main characters are common working-class workers who live the dilemmas of every poor person diminished by the power of markets and capital. It is our goal to bring Saramago's novelistic imagination to the field of class struggle at a time of capitalistic structural crises. This text seeks to explain how the author's work was able to transcend the ideological limits of his time, providing an understanding of social dynamics, values and feelings, which are only accessible through literature. Thus, the author's work becomes a privileged source to study the social struggles during the transition from the 20th to the 21st century. The big question of this research comes from Saramago's provocation: according to him, the current political system works independently of the will and participation of the people, therefore it cannot be considered as a real democratic system. In this sense, the author questions the social contract theory and problematizes the role of strikes, struggles and revolts in a system dominated by organizations that were not elected by citizens. Through Saramago's Marxist philosophical background, social scientists can debate the logic of the State's governance with a focus on the market's interests and also discuss what strategies are used to maintain oligarchic power. Consequently, what is the real influence of protests and what directions should they take to be accountable for social progress? Through the novels "Raised from the Ground", "Blindness" and "The Tale of the Unknown Island" in light of theoretical texts by authors such as Karl Marx, Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, we intend to discuss the importance of recognizing the need to understand the relationship between working-class forms of struggle and social progress.

25 Between 1987 and 2009, industrial relations in the Republic of Ireland were conducted through seven social partnership agreements. Each fixed pay norms and restricted strike action. The departure had long been promoted by those saying that Irish industrial relations should move away from the inherited British model of free collective bargaining to forms of concertation adopted in other smaller European democracies like Sweden and Austria. It was also affected by Irish membership of the European Community and an ambition to join the European Single Market in 1992, and by two more immediate anxieties: a deep economic crisis in the Republic and trade union concern that Ireland might follow Mrs Thatcher's legislative programme on industrial relations in Britain. The Irish version of social partnership was a semi-corporatist form of concertation involving, initially, the government, the employer bodies, the Irish Farmers' Association, and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which

represents over 90% of trade unionists in Ireland. A ‘social pillar’, the term borrowed from the Netherlands, comprised of groups representing the socially excluded, was introduced into the negotiations from 1997. Partnership collapsed suddenly in December 2009, chiefly in consequence of the banking crisis. A limited form of partnership was re-introduced into the public service in 2011. Though broadly popular in its day, partnership was strongly criticised by trade union activists, especially those in British-based unions, which still represented some 15% of Irish trade unionists. They complained that it discouraged unions from criticising state policies, tied their hands in industrial relations, created a culture of collaboration between union leaders and employers and politicians, and failed to arrest the continuing decline in union density. Supporters of partnership argued that it led to a significant improvement in Ireland’s economic performance and the phenomenon known as ‘the Celtic tiger’. They also pointed to the fact that trade unions in Britain and Northern Ireland were facing greater problems under free collective bargaining and appealing to the Blair government to adopt a form of partnership. Strike activity remained higher in the Republic than in the United Kingdom during this period. Though encouraged by the novelty and temporary success of social partnership, industrial relations remains a small field of scholarship in Ireland. The relevant literature is not extensive and is focused narrowly on the processes of negotiating the partnership agreements. This paper will examine the origins of partnership, its achievements and attendant problems, the reasons for its precipitate collapse, its impact on trade unions, and the arguments for and against partnership within the context of Irish and British industrial relations. It will also question accepted paradigms of Irish partnership. Corporatism is usually associated with countries with strong social democratic parties. Yet Irish partnership was introduced by a centre-right wing party with no formal ties to trade unions and opposed, initially, by the Irish Labour Party. It also flourished despite Ireland’s heavy reliance on foreign private investment, much of it from American companies with unitary models of human resources management (otherwise known as ‘hard HRM’) and an aversion to trade unions. This anomalous development can only be understood by exploring the colonised nature of Irish industrial relations; a reality occluded by the mental colonization of Irish trade unionism. Partnership was built on persistent efforts to address the colonial legacy, and to steer Ireland away from anglo-centric models to more European perspectives.

26 In Portugal, trade unions in several occupational sectors have undertaken studies on the topic of work in recent years. This initiative seems motivated by union concerns about burnout and worker fatigue. Indeed, union leaders are ostensibly interested in gathering data to demonstrate the advanced state of fatigue of the Portuguese workforce, and thus introduce into negotiations with the public authorities’ demands for access to special pension schemes. As researchers and recipients of some of these demands, we were surprised by the wording chosen by the unions to denounce the condition of Portuguese workers: rather than denouncing working conditions or exploitation from the outset, the term burnout and a vocabulary borrowed from individual psychology were used. This change in the semantics of trade union denunciation seems to be indicative of a turning point, which we propose to interpret in the context of this round-table. Our aim is to establish links between the emergence of this psychological vocabulary within the trade union movement, the transformation of working conditions and the evolution of social relations in Portugal.

27 One of the great paradoxes of the current era is that the world working class continues to grow, while at the same time many labour movements are experiencing a crisis. According to the ILO, the percentage of pure wage dependents (“employees”) rose between 1991 and 2019 from 44 to 53 per cent. Ever greater numbers of workers worldwide maintain direct economic contacts with one another, even though many are probably unaware of this. And the proportion of international migrants in the world population increased from 2.8% to 3.5% between 2000 and 2020. Despite this absolute and relative growth of the global working class and its increasing interconnectedness traditional labour movements are in trouble almost everywhere. Consumer cooperatives have mostly disappeared, trade unions are declining (global union density is now down to a mere 6 per cent), Social Democratic and Labor parties are not doing very well electorally. “Real socialist” attempts in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, and Southeast Asia ultimately led to capitalist societies, while many of the communist parties in other countries have disappeared, or, if they still exist, are having a hard time. This generalized crisis appears to mark the end of a long cycle, which roughly includes the period

from the 1800s to the present. Following a prelude since the fourteenth century, countless efforts at self-organization and political articulation of labour interests have been observed from the eighteenth century, peaking inter alia with the revolutions in Haiti, Russia, and Bolivia and the rise of powerful labour organizations in parts of the Americas, Europe, Southern Africa, East Asia, and the western Pacific. Of course this advance has not consisted exclusively of successes, and the defeats may even have outnumbered the victories. For a long time, however, the general trend seemed to be improvement: “tomorrow the International will be the human race.” Critical analysis of this great cycle – specifically in combination with the continuously growing global working class – is a challenge of enormous scholarly and political interest, especially because in many countries the decline coincides with a revival of the radical right, which presents itself as an alternative to the traditional workers’ organizations. The long cycle needs to be studied in depth to discover what the movements’ results and prospects are. Why could some results be achieved? Why did some failures and defeats happen? Obtaining such insights is not an antiquarian exercise. A second “great cycle” is by no means inconceivable and in fact already seems to cautiously announce itself. Class conflicts will not diminish, and workers all over the world will continue to feel the ever-present need for effective organizations and forms of struggle. If a second great cycle emerges, historical research might offer insights and help avert mistakes.

Online presentation by Moses Ogenyi

Ethnic Inequality and Anti-authoritarianism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Is ethnic inequality associated with aversion to authoritarian regimes and increase support for democracy as a means of influencing redistribution? Using four rounds of Afrobarometer panel data, covering 29 African countries and 353 distinct ethnic groups, and an ordered logistic model, we show that a rise in Between-ethnic inequality (BGI) is associated with an increase support for anti-authoritarianism and that its effects strengthen as Within-ethnic inequality (WGI) decreases. We find that individuals most strongly support democracy when ethnic identity is reinforced by economic inequality. We also show that support for a change of regime is reinforced when some ethnic groups believe they are politically excluded from government. Keywords: Ethnic inequality, Wealth inequality, anti-authoritarianism, democratic support, sub-Saharan Africa.