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LABOUR HISTORY

WORCK Conference 2
ELHN Conference 4

30 August — 3 September 2021

Historicising the Concept
of Europe in Global History

Conference hosted by the University of Vienna (Austria)

Campus of the University of Vienna
Spitalgasse 2 / Alser Straße 4
1090 Vienna

Monday 30–08–2021

12:30am–1:30pm:

ELHN / WORCK Welcome Address (LH C2)

Silke Neunsinger (Uppsala University)

Juliane Schiel (University of Vienna)

2:00–3:30pm:

WG 3: Lecture (LH C2)
Janine Dahinden (Université de Neuchâtel): From a "Mobility Lens" towards the Concept of Entangled Mobilities

Chair: **Vilhelm Vilhelmsson** (University of Iceland)

Migration studies have been confronted with many critics regarding their epistemological and theoretical underpinnings, namely with regard to their sedentary bias and methodological nationalism. The mobility turn revealed to be a promising avenue to address (at least some of) these critics. In this lecture, I argue that scholars have not yet fully exploited the potential of applying a "mobility lens" to create alternative forms of knowledge. We propose a relational perspective introducing the concept of 'entangled mobilities' and suggest that with such a focus we are better equipped to carve out the embeddedness and entanglement of individual mobilities within asymmetrical power relations. Such an approach allows to unveil inequalities and inter-dependencies caused by and shaped within global inequalities and different regimes of mobility. We offer a methodological framework that allows studying entangled mobilities via three different entry points.

LM_00 (Labour Migration History): Working Group Meeting (Aula)

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

FH_00 (Factory History): Working Group Meeting (SR 2)

Chair: **Nico Pizzolato** (Middlesex University, London)

MaL_00 (Maritime Labour History): Working Group Meeting (SR 03)

Chair: **Jordi Ibarz** (University of Barcelona)

LiM_00 (Labour in Mining): Working Group Meeting (SR 01)

Chair: **Leda Papastefanaki** (University of Ionnina / Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno)

4:00–5:30pm:

PO: Exhibition Opening (LH C2)

Chairs: **Anamarija Batista** (Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna), **Corinna Peres** (University of Vienna)

Discussants: **Dariia Kuzmych** (Illustrator), **Monika Lang** (illustrator), **Tim Robinson** (illustrator), **Anna Hofbauer** (exhibition designer)

The textual narratives presented at the WORCK Conference 1 "Reconceptualising Wage Labour" will be reworked into illustrations. We will discuss how this transformation process was created and how the intermedial gesture influences knowledge production in relation to the question of wages and coercion. Afterwards, the exhibition will be presented in the basement of building C2.

ETU_00 (European Trade Unionism): Working Group Meeting (SR 1)

Chair: **Sigfrido Ramirez Pérez** (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory, Frankfurt a.M.)

MD_00 (Memory and Deindustrialisation): Working Group Meeting (SR 02)

Chair: **Christian Wicke** (Utrecht University)

RB_00 (Remuneration and Bargaining): Working Group Meeting (SR 03)

Chair: **Amal Shahid** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva)

MaL_01: The Seafaring Labour Market in Times of Crisis (Aula)

Chair: **Enric García-Domingo** (University of Barcelona)

Petros Kastrinakis (University of Crete): *Cretan Muslim sailors and ship owners in the second half of the 19th century*

Crete experienced a great demographic transformation in the second half of the 19th century due to political conflicts between Greece and Ottoman Empire, with cultural and socio-economic effects. The Muslim element that was dominant in urban areas and controlled the maritime and port professions was in continuous decrease in the last decades of the 19th century in the three large port-cities: Chania, Rethymnon and Heraklion. Moreover, constant rebellions that burst out in the island affected the relationship between Christian and Muslim communities. The paper aims to bring up the demographic changes caused by these political events and their impact on the maritime and port professions and activities. The focus will mainly lie on the port of Chania and on Muslim sailors, dockworkers and ship owners, who constituted the core of maritime workers. According to the sources, their departure created a vacuum in the port, as well as in maritime labour and activities. The analysis is based on demographic material, newspapers and on the court registers (mixed court and commercial court registers), that examine court disputes between Muslims and Christians.

Kapokakis Alkiviadis (University of Crete): *The merchant marine labour market in 19th century Greece: Mapping the workforce in times of crisis*

The evolution of the Greek merchant marine during the 19th century is a history of intense and frequent fluctuations. On the one hand, the high degree of specialisation of the Greeks in the transport of cereals from the Black Sea to Central and Western Europe resulted in the connection of shipping activities to the value that these products received in the European market. On the other hand, it was the connection of the Greek merchant shipping with the European markets which made the transport sector particularly vulnerable to fluctuations of the European economies. Thus, any factor that affected the price of cereals, or the smooth conduct of European trade, had serious consequences for the Greek merchant fleet, and especially for the economy of the maritime communities that relied heavily on merchant shipping.

The purpose of the presentation is to investigate the (short- and long-term) effects of economic and trade crises on maritime communities that have been steadily supplying the merchant fleet with labour force. Our approach will focus on two areas of research: a) population movements and demographic changes observed in major ports and manpower recruitment cities, b) changes observed in the state of the merchant fleet and the seafaring profession in times of crisis. Our paper is based on the comparative study of quantitative data derived from three categories of sources: population censuses for the years 1840, 1861, 1870, and 1879, the register of maritime workers from 1860-1900, and finally statistical information about the merchant fleet provided by the official reports of the Greek state.

Apostolos Delis (Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno): *Greek maritime labour in transition, from sailing ships to cargo steamers, 1860s–1910s*

Greek-owned shipping in much of the 19th century operated mostly within the Mediterranean waters with a fleet of wooden sailing ships. In the late 19th to early 20th century, Greek shipowners shifted to cargo steamers. This had great effects on multiple aspects of shipping activity and maritime labour. The technological change, along with the new operation mechanisms, costs and trade routes, created new professions and hierarchies within the crew. The transition to

new realities of maritime labour on board the Greek sailing ships and cargo steamers is well depicted in the documentation of specific case studies of Greek shipping firms from the 1860s to 1910s. The case studies include Ioannis and Stamatios Kaloyannis from Hydra, owners of sailing ships from the 1840s to 1880s, and owners of cargo steamers such as Goulandris Brothers and S.G. Embiricos – the latter being one of the largest and longest-lasting Greek shipping companies (founded in 1896) which along shipowning provided all kinds of shipping services and management for ships.

The paper aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the evolution of maritime labour from the sailing ship environment to that of the first generation of cargo steamers. Evidence from account books and papers of the above-mentioned shipping firms helps to address questions such as the cost of labour, the size of the crew, specialisation, wages and insurance of the crew, ways of payment, trade routes and voyage duration, as well as career mobility and advancement. Furthermore, these multiple aspects of labour are going to be examined in combination with the economic performance of the ships (freight rates, profitability). This way, labour will be integrated within the business strategies and performance of the shipping firms, which will provide a much clearer and complete picture of the realities of the maritime workers within the shipping industry.

Justine Cousin (Université de Paris IV Sorbonne): *Maritime coloured labour in times of crisis (1905–1919): From the Aliens Acts to race riots*

Coloured seafarers were increasingly hired on board British ships from the abolition of the Navigation Acts in 1849. These men came predominantly from the Indian subcontinent – and were called "lascars" – but also from other parts of Asia, Eastern Africa around the Aden protectorate, the Sierra Leonean coast, and the West Indies. Since they were cheaper to hire, they were preferred by shipowners over British seamen. However, they only worked in menial and unskilled tasks on steamships, while their white counterparts had the supervision posts. They held stereotypical positions onboard in a highly stratified work environment.

The numbers of coloured seamen increased until 1905, when the hardening of foreign legislation began, especially targeting foreign seamen. Several acts tightened alien migration control, among which those who did not speak English fluently – any foreign seamen but lascars. This led to lascars and British seamen getting recruited more frequently, while Chinese, African and Arab seamen were more and more left behind. This legislation was a reaction by the Board of Trade to a growing hostility of the British public opinion and trade unions towards foreigners. British seamen accused them of depressing their own wages. Chinese seamen were especially affected by racist derogatory remarks and cartoons. At that time, racialised sexual anxiety was prominent in British dockside areas where seamen lived, and mixed couples were often ostracised by their neighbours.

Yet as soon as the war began, and British seamen were mobilised, coloured seamen had to replace them aboard. Following the Aliens Restrictions Act, foreigners had to register to the police in Britain, but coloured seamen were granted facilities such as British identity documents even if they were not registered. Trade unions – such as the National Seamen and Firemen's Union – kept campaigning against the use of foreign labour, and especially of Chinese seamen. Racial tensions finally exploded in 1919 in race riots, as demobilised British soldiers came back from the front and realised that non-European seamen had taken their jobs, wives, and houses. Major ports such as Glasgow, South Shields, London, Liverpool and Cardiff were concerned. Coloured seamen, their families, lodgings and cafés were attacked by British jobless men.

Jeremy Young (Historical Society of Guadeloupe, Basse Terre): *Failure of forced maritime labour? The French manning crisis of the Seven Years War*

In the 17th Century, under the ministry of Colbert and to be relieved of the incertitude of impressment when manning the fleet, the French Royal Navy developed a system of forced maritime labour known as the class system. This method can be considered as an ancestor of conscription. Each seaman had to register in a special census, and then had to serve the Navy in turn every three or four years. On paper, it was an extremely practical solution to manage the human resource of seafarers, knowing in advance

how many ships could be manned while making sure that enough seamen remained for man fishing vessels or merchant ships. However, despite this system, the French Royale Navy had to face an unprecedented manning crisis during the Seven Years' War in the 18th century. This crisis had dire consequences, severely impacting the fighting capabilities of the Navy and leading to the loss of the war and most of the French first colonial empire. This paper will examine why this forced labour system failed, both in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Fleets. What was the impact of epidemics and the vulnerability of the merchant navy? How did the question of prisoners of war impact the manning capabilities of the French Royal Navy? The analysis will be based on both primary and secondary sources that are mostly exclusively available in French.

LE_01: Labour Regimes in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial South (LH A)

Chair: **Yann Béliard** (Université de Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle)

Alejandro Gomez-Pernia (Université de Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle): *Forms of coerced labour and challenges against them in Spanish America, 18th–early 20th centuries*

In the early modern period in Spain and its new colonies, the custom of enslaving prisoners and the need for servile labour diversified the existing forms of coerced labour, including slavery and serfdom (ex. *moros de palia, mitayos, yanaconas*). Later on, in the 19th century, as in other colonial and post-colonial regions, the abolition of slavery and serfdom led to a second phase of diversification of coerced labour. In this second period, pre-modern forms of servitude were imported or developed, adapting them to the new needs of neo-colonial production (ex. peonage, hooking, indentureship). This paper aims to explain the dialectics that led to the emergence or introduction of these latter forms of coerced labour in Spanish America, as well as the dynamics that led to their abolition from a transnational perspective.

Amelia Spooner (Columbia University; New York): *A new regime of labour for a new republic? The Commission du régime du travail aux colonies (1872–1875)*

This paper considers the relationship between labour law, immigration, and citizenship in the French colonial space in the early Third Republic, a quarter century after formal emancipation. It seeks to uncover the conceptual anatomy and jurisprudential legacy of the Commission on Labour Regimes in the colonies, called into being in 1872 by the newly formed government. Composed of bureaucrats, jurists, military personnel, landowners and industrialists, alongside the well-known abolitionist Victor Schœlcher, the Commission was charged with evaluating the relevance of laws from the late 1840s and early 1850s regulating labour in and immigration to the colonies. The Commission worked for three years, soliciting advice from peers across the empire, before publishing a report and a draft bill in 1875. Administrators outside metropolitan France offered comments and criticisms over the half-decade that followed. Some

metropolitan legal norms were applied in colonial territories during this period (always at varying depths), but instead of unifying the regulatory framework for colonial labour, these norms solidified a tripartite distinction between indigenous, metropolitan, and immigrant workers.

Though the Commission's work lent symbolic and jurisprudential legitimacy to political controversies about forced and formally "free" labour that shaped colonial law until the eve of the Great War, no systematic investigation of the Commission's intellectual, social, and political networks – nor of its impact on colonial and metropolitan law – currently exists. A focused study of the Commission's work will clarify how conceptual and socially situated labour regimes – always inextricable from those of citizenship – were constructed under the Third Republic. It will investigate how forms of unfree labour were established locally (my focus here will be on Martinique, Guadeloupe, and La Réunion) and facilitated by networks linking colonial spaces to the metropole and to each other. Using relevant case studies, it aims to demonstrate how labour and immigration law played a role in maintaining local economies based on forced and nominally "free" labour.

LM_01: Labour, Migration, and the State: Critical Assessments and Comparisons I (LH B)

Chair: **Yannis Papadopoulos** (University of Brasilia)

Rory Archer (University of Konstanz / University of Graz), **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow), and **Yannis Papadopoulos** (University of Brasilia): *Introduction to the Working Group*

Ritesh Kumar Jaiswal (University of Delhi): *The Maistry system of Indian migration to Burma: A critical assessment (c. 1880–1940)*

Burma remains a highly understudied space in the historiography of migration and labour studies, even though it singlehandedly witnessed about 50% of total Indian migration during the colonial century 1840-1940, cumulating to approximately 15 million migrants. This study is crucial to the paradigm of labour and migration studies as it shifts our focus from the overarching shadow of the indentured sugar colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific, which have been the dominant regions of study of Indian migration, towards the colonies in the Indian ocean's Bay of Bengal rim, which was the recipient of the bulk of Indian migration. Moreover, it not only challenges the historiographical parameters which have conventionally defined the characteristics of colonial Indian migration, but also complicates the Eurocentric presumptions on non-European migration in the framework of global migration studies at multiple levels. On a broader note, the aim of this paper is not merely to present counter-narratives to the Eurocentric perception, or argue for singularity and uniqueness of the Indian migration pattern, but more importantly to deconstruct the narratives which form the very basis of establishing a dichotomy of distinctive forms/systems and characteristics of migratory trends.

This paper attempts to analyse the distinctive pattern, functioning and nature of the Maistry system of Indian migration to Burma. The 1880s saw the end of the third Anglo-Burmese war, the completion of stage-wise annexation Burma, and its integration with British India for administrative, military, strategic and economic conveniences. It marked the beginning of mass migrations of Indians to Burma, which was a result not only of British intervention and expansion but a complex mix of multiple global and local factors. Unlike the Indenture system, this mobility was largely informally regulated through networks of "kin-intermediaries" called Maistries, had peninsular India as its main source of recruitment and was characterised by a strong circulatory and ephemeral pattern of mobility. To understand the pattern of migration, this paper will analyse the class, caste, regional-linguistics background, gendered configuration and sphere of production of the Indian migrants in Burma. To understand the functioning and nature of the Maistry system, the paper engages with indices like contracts, advances, networks, and mediation which informally regulated the functioning of the system of migration, and the duality of state regulation which defined, sustained and strengthened its informality.

David Leconte (Université Le Havre Normandie): *Indentured migrations in the Mascarene Islands, 1839–1843: A new configuration of labour, migration, and the state*

This paper aims at analysing and comparing how the indentured migrations towards Mauritius and Bourbon Island were re-legitimised within the British and French Empires after their prohibitions in India in 1839. By using public archives from France, the United Kingdom and Mauritius, I will examine the strategies developed by the supporters of the renewal of these migrations between 1839 and 1843. Examining these campaigns highlights a new configuration of the relations between labour, migration, and the state in both empires. In the first half of the 19th century, new indentured migrations emerged in the Indian Ocean, in Mauritius and Bourbon Island. The latter was still a slavery society when indentured labourers came from French India in 1828. The former experimented similar migrations from British India in 1834, the same year that the Slavery Abolition Act was implemented in this colony. In both islands, the colonial elites, composed mainly by planters and merchants, supported these migrations. However, in 1839 the governments of British and French India decided to prohibit those

migrations. This decision was the result of tensions within and between empires. However, in both colonies the local elites did not accept these decisions because they needed new and cheaper workforce mainly for the expanding cane fields. Consequently, both local elites and administrators discussed the means to convince the imperial authorities to lift the prohibitions. In both empires, these actors explained that putting these migrations under the scrutiny of the state would be the best solution for preventing labour abuses to continue. Although the planters and administrators in Mauritius succeeded in reintroducing the indentured migrations from India in 1843, their counterparts in Bourbon Island failed to do so. Investigating how the indentured migrations towards Mauritius and Bourbon Island were re-legitimised requires to understand three aspects: First, I will explore the different processes leading to the prohibitions of emigration from India. In British India, this decision was an answer to strong accusations against these migrations expressed in London and Calcutta. In French India, banning such migrations was a response to a British request and a way to limit tensions with Bourbon Island. Second, I will analyse the success of the strategies developed in Mauritius. With the help of the colonial government, the local elites submitted to the colonial office a project regulating the migration of indentured labourers from India. The main innovation was to establish a specific service for watching and protecting these labourers, the Protectorate of Immigrants. The colonial office quickly gave its support in 1840, but more time were needed to convince the heads of the East India Company and the parliament. Lastly, I will examine the failure of the strategies developed in Bourbon Island. Few months before the prohibition, the local elites and administrators approved a new but disputed legislation of the indentured labour. The text was submitted to the governments of French and British India and the Department of the Marine and the colonies. Shaped exclusively by local concerns, the text did not find any approval in India and in the imperial capitals.

5:30–6:30pm:

Welcome Reception (Foyer C-Building)

6:30–7:30pm:

ELHN Keynote: Social Rights in Europe and the East-West-Gap (LH C2)

Speaker: **László Andor** (Secretary General, Foundation for European Progressive Studies /former EU Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion)

Chair: **Susan Zimmermann** (Central European University, Vienna)

In 2017 a European Pillar of Social Rights was created, and in 2021 an action plan was also presented by the European Commission to turn the EPSR into reality. However, the developmental gap between East Central Europe and the older EU member states raises questions about the chances of equal social rights to apply everywhere in Europe. In the East, and especially in countries sliding towards a more autocratic model, divergence from the "European Social Model" has been part of an economic strategy, assuming that social convergence could be a barrier to economic convergence, and especially to capital accumulation by nationalist elite groups. The lecture looks into the specificities of the social models in the Eastern semi-periphery, and investigates various EU policies (minimum wage coordination, Roma integration, rule of law conditionality etc.) aiming to address various aspects of economic or social underdevelopment in the East.

Tuesday, 31–08–2020

9:00–10:30am:

DH: How to Publish on the WORCK Publication Platform (LH C2)

Chair: **Silke Schwandt** (Bielefeld University)

Silke Schwandt, Patrick Jentsch (Bielefeld University): *Presentation of DKAN – formats and workflows*

Data publications are deemed essential to make the research process comprehensible and allow for later re-use in different circumstances. WORCK uses DKAN, an open-source data publication platform that allows publishing data and makes it consumable via API (application programming interface). In the workshop, you learn how to use DKAN to publish your data or even your data-story – demonstrating best-practices from source material to multi-modal published data.

Brainstorming Discussion on the WORCK Publication Platform

WE_01: Workers' Education during the Interwar Period (SR 01)

Chair: **Jenny Jansson** (Uppsala University)

Pushpa Kumbhat (Independent Researcher): *Students, teachers, and leaders in the Workers' Educational Association and labour colleges: Perspectives at the centre and periphery of workers' education (Britain, 1903–1939)*

The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and the labour colleges emerged during the 20th century as part of the adult education movement in Britain. Both organisations shared the aim of making higher education more accessible to worker students, but approached the task in different ways. The WEA collaborated successfully with universities to disseminate what they termed impartial, unsectarian, democratic education in the liberal arts and humanities. By contrast, the labour colleges rejected all state sponsored education and instead devised a revolutionary Marxian curriculum of workers' education coining it Independent Working Class Education (IWCE).

To understand the extent to which the WEA and the labour colleges were successful as part of the British adult education movement, this paper will consider the topic from two perspectives. The first, more accessible central perspective is that of the educational leadership – teachers and administrators – of the WEA and the labour colleges. What did they understand to be the purpose of adult education in relation to the wider labour movement? The second, less accessible peripheral perspective is that of the students themselves and their actual experience of education via the WEA and the labour colleges. What did students themselves gain from classes? Evidence in the form of administrative records, WEA student tutorial class logbooks, autobiographies and individual accounts of workers' education will be presented to support both perspectives. By taking account of both perspectives, it will be possible to understand the extent to which workers' adult education supported the wider labour movement at the centre and the periphery.

Jenny Jansson (Uppsala University): *Producing Politicians? Study Activities in Political Youth Wings*

The first decades of the 20th century were a period of growth for the labour movement. The introduction of the universal franchise, as well as the establishment of collective bargaining routines, were great victories for the labour movement, that simultaneously put pressure on labour organisations to provide officials that could represent the movement in elected committees and in negotiations with the employers. The growing number of duties contributed to creating an elite in the movement which, according to Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" (Michels, 1915), converted the democratic organisations into the rule of the few. However, labour elites and their status within the movement, as well as internal democracy, came to differ across countries, making it particularly interesting to more closely examine how these elites were formed. The growing number of duties made

it a highly prioritised issue to educate party activists as well as trade unionists in organisational skills, and in this paper I suggest that the education, arranged for labour activists, helped form labour elites. By analysing how such education was organised, what it contained and who participated we can deepen our understanding of cross-national differences and similarities of labour elites and leadership cultures. In this paper I compare summer schools organised by reformist labour organisations in Sweden, the UK, and Germany in the late 1920s. Summer schools quickly became a popular method for educating labour activists in the 1920s, thus the focus on summer schools provides a comparable material across countries.

Kostas Paloukis (University of Crete): *The student movement and the archeiomarxist Red Schools in Greece (1929–1933)*

In 1929, the liberal government of Eleftherios Venizelos proposed a major educational reform which focused on technical education and completely rearranged the structure of education. However, a part of liberal enlightenment intellectuals thought that the educational reform was not complete, while at the same time in parts of Macedonia the liberal elements of the reform were criticised by the conservatives. Especially in Thessaloniki during the period of 1929-1931, a great controversy was raging over the progressive choices of the administration in the *Didaskalio*, a kind of high school which was at the same time female Teaching School. A radical student movement emerged as a reaction to this conservative turn. In Thessaloniki, students organised in a student association named "Athina" (Minerva), while in Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki and Kavala, students participated in the archeiomarxist Red Schools. In this way the archeiomarxist communist organisation, a relatively massive Trotskyist organisation with influence in militant trade unions, attracts many students. In 1931 the police discovered a large Red School in a neighborhood of Thessaloniki. Both students from the working class and from the Teaching School of Thessaloniki participated in them, the latter

coming from the middle classes of the city. The fact of the participation of these middle class girls caused a shock to the press, as it fit the narrative that the communists had seduced the girls of good society. It was clear to everyone that there was a problem in education that frustrated students and pushed them towards communism. A public debate began on the need for an educational reform by polarising parts between defenders and critics. The tendency for an even greater conservative shift prevailed. Indeed, the curriculum and the declarations of the archeiomarxist Red Schools seemed to have been very close to the declarations of the progressive intellectuals. At the same time, resistance to the conservative turn was emerging in schools, while student texts against authoritarianism and conservative ideological propaganda were published in communist newspapers. The proposed presentation therefore attempts to examine the reception of the authoritarian turn of the school by the students and the search for other extracurricular alternatives, such as the archeiomarxist Red Schools. At the same time, it compares the analogies of the archeiomarxist enlightenment with the democratic progressive enlightenment of the liberal intellectuals. Sources are drawn from newspapers of the time and memoirs of activists.

Elen Cocaign (Université de Paris VIII Vincennes-Saint-Denis): *Selling books, spreading ideas: Left-wing booksellers as political educators in interwar Britain*

After the World War I, the Conservatives' domination of the political field was unambiguous and the British Left was forced to dismiss the longstanding theory which held that the growing literacy of British citizens, achieved through longer schooling or self-education, would necessarily lead to an electoral victory of the progressive forces. According to the book-minded Left, in order to foster or deepen left-leaning political loyalties, the workers had to read the right books. But while an increasing number of progressive and left-wing books were published, conservative booksellers and librarians often prevented them from reaching a wide audience. As a consequence, these books had low print-runs and remained expensive.

Creating left-wing bookshops thus became a priority. Some of these shops were officially linked to a party, while others were run by individuals or groups with no obvious or declared party loyalty. This article mostly focuses on the Communist Bookshops (later renamed Workers' Bookshops) set up by the Communist Party across Britain and on Collet's Bookshops, successful "Popular front" shops run by Eva Reckitt from the 1930s. These bookshops catered for activists, but also tried to draw in a broader base of people, and were more specifically targeted at workers who were sensitive to left-wing ideas but were unwilling to commit to a specific party or only casually followed politics.

This paper looks at left-wing booksellers' strategies and questions their effectiveness. It highlights their primary commitment to workers' education through the provision of cheap and "good" political books to the "New Reading Public" – the book trade usually referred to the working-class in those terms. But left-wing bookshops had broader aims and at times became places where a specific brand of popular politics came to life. Booksellers tried to alter the perception of bookshops as austere and exclusive places and their shops became meeting places. Some reading rooms were opened, exhibitions, book club meetings and conferences were organised but there were also informal social events, like dances. In bookshops, sociability and political education were enmeshed.

This paper therefore challenges the tendency to overlook the importance of booksellers as political mediators and educators, but it also questions their influence. While these bookshops were intended for the workers, what type of audience did they really attract? How could their role as educators be combined to the practical necessities of shop-keeping? The paper draws on a variety of sources, including left-leaning newspapers, the Communist Party Archive, the British Library's "Book Trade Lives" sound archive, publishers' archives, contemporary trade papers and Eva Reckitt's MI5 Files in the National Archives.

ETU_01: The European Integration of Industry Federations (LH A)

Chair: Claude Roccati (Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Johanna Wolf (Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt a.M. / International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam): *Glocal tensions: European metalworkers during the shipbuilding crisis in the 1970s and 1980s*

The year 1973 symbolises the beginning of the end of the positive development of the West European shipbuilding industry in the 20th century. Due to the Arab-Israeli War, the OPEC reduced the deliveries of crude oil, leading to a rise in oil prices of about 70%. The long-lasting high price diminished Western consumption and collapsed the West European tanker market during the second half of 1974. Due to the decline in orders, the staff at shipyards was downsized, opening a wave of mergers and shipyard closures in the early 1980s, which increased unemployment in the coastal regions. Non-European producers succeeded to keep their leading position in the world shipbuilding market through a reorganisation of its productive capacity.

This paper will analyse in which way the European metalworkers developed a common strategy against the crisis, and the impact of globalisation in the shipbuilding industry. A particular focus will be on supra-national solutions through the European Metalworkers' Federation (EMF). Already in the mid-1960s, when the unionists perceived that Japan gained technological advantages, they concluded these rationalisation processes could result in huge job losses. They required European structural funds and tried to convince the European Commission to take these ideas forward. Guido Colonna di Paliano, Commissioner of Industry and Internal Market at the European Commission of the EEC, supported them and drafted ideas for a European solution, including cooperation in production, investments, research and funds for the unemployed. The governments of the member states, however, showed little interest in developing a common policy.

Unfortunately, the mills of European politics grinded slowly, which was demonstrated by the low-threshold approaches of the trade union secretaries, who were grateful for any recognition and tried to establish themselves as social partners. More impatient but neither successful were the national trade union delegates, who demanded a stronger interference in the processes, but were also not able to establish other forms of action.

The long period of the European Committee of Metalworking Unions was followed by an institutionalisation phase of the EMF from 1972 onwards. The trade unionists founded a working group for shipbuilding, established plans for a work program and developed social measures. Despite the negative attitude of many European government representatives against the Japanese shipbuilders they tried to show solidarity with their Japanese colleagues and opposed European protectionism. The summer of 1976 marked a turning point for the development of European shipbuilding, as the European Commission recommended in a report the reduction of production capacities within the EEC. Trade unionists were shocked about the decision and saw the many jobs of shipyards workers at risk. This new situation also changed the attitude towards Japan. The EMF was now less opposed to the restrictions on Japanese exports and appreciated all measures to preserve European jobs. When the first shipyards were to close, the trade unions organised a European-wide action day and started to formulate new programs to stimulate demand. Based on the archives of the EMF, the paper will show the many interactions and discussions of the national trade union delegates with the General Secretary of the EMF in particular during the definition of the European-wide structural challenges, as well as the changes in the global developments in the shipbuilding industry for the workers of the European shipbuilding industry.

Dimitri Zurstrassen (Université de Paris IV Sorbonne/ Université catholique de Louvain): *The contribution of national trade unions to the elaboration of a new legal framework during the European steel crisis (1975–1980)*

From the autumn of 1974, the European steel industry was hit by a major crisis, which considerably affected the workers of the sector. In response to this situation, the European Commission attempted to build a new legal framework for its interventions in the sector from the beginning of 1975. This included the development of a new system to control the level of production of companies, to act on the modification of structures but also the formulation of a new regional and social policy to accompany the restructuring of the sector. The ECSC Consultative Committee, which brought together representatives of the employers, national trade unions and consumers of the European coal and steel industries, played an important role in this reflection. Under the ECSC Treaty, the Committee indeed had to be consulted in a considerable number of cases and met regularly to co-develop policies affecting the coal and steel sectors with the Commission and the Council. With the help of new primary sources, our presentation will attempt to analyse the role of national trade union representatives in the construction of a new legal framework to tackle the European steel crisis.

Pierre Toussenot (Université de Lorraine): *The CFDT's industrial policy and the steel industry crisis*

The economic crisis of the 1970s crystallised the various structural problems suffered since the 1960s by the steel industry of the French region of Lorraine. The French Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions (CFDT) was in the first line of the social conflicts, which were experienced during this restructuring. Having abandoned its Christian affiliation since 1964, the CFDT developed an original position and novel proposals during these conflicts. They included the elaboration of a plan for industrial policy presented in 1979, constituting a unique experience in the French trade union context. The paper will present and discuss this original founding moment of a trade unionism of economic alternatives.

LE_02: Interrogating the Global Colour Line (SR 03)

Chair: Adrien Rodd (Université Versailles St-Quentin-en-Yvelines))

Lorenzo Costaguta (Bristol University): *Socialism and the construction of a global white consciousness: Race and colonialism in the Second International (1889–1914)*

The second Socialist International (1889-1914) was one of the first transnational labour organisations ever founded. Even though the bulk of the membership was European, its congresses were the occasions for the first exchanges between workers coming from all over the world, with delegations arriving from Asia, the Americas and Africa. U.S.-socialists were amongst the most regular non-European attendees of the socialist meetings, with delegations attending each congress from 1893 to 1910. Socialist parties in the USA did not have the same size as their European counterparts, however American socialists were vital components of the internationalist organisation.

American socialists were key contributors in debates on race. Given the peculiar multi-ethnic and multiracial composition of the American working class, U.S.-based socialist parties early developed a range of approaches towards race and class that spanned from colour-blind internationalism to white supremacism. At the same time, in Europe the conversation on the subject was propelled by the spread and consolidation of global empires at the end of the 19th century. For European socialists, addressing race meant understanding how to deal with colonised and oppressed working classes.

My paper will analyse debates on race and colonialism during the general congresses of the Second International. Starting from an investigation into the contribution of American socialists, I will argue that the Second International was a space in which the racialisation of working class identities took place. Socialists partook in "drawing the colour line" across the globe (M. Lake, H. Reynolds, 2008) by understanding themselves as part of a more educated socialist elite whose aim was to spread Marxism to the colonised masses.

Joe Redmayne (Newcastle University): *Militancy and whiteness amongst the working people of county Durham, 1919: A multi-occupational approach*

This paper situates an industrial area of Britain (County Durham) during the year 1919 transnationally, exploring the global implications of Empire on British society through regional working-class consciousness. It discusses an episode in British history remembered as the 1919 Race Riots, a period witnessing an unprecedent amount of labour militancy and an upsurge of racial violence towards colonial subjects within nine British ports. Of course, there are several publications on the riots, but deficiencies remain. Most (if not all) historical assessments take a single occupational approach in their study of the riots (principally seafarers) and maintain analysis within the geographical bounds of seaports. As a result, our understanding on the relationship between class and whiteness remains limited to the confines of the merchant shipping industry.

Therefore, this paper rectifies these deficiencies and explores the possible intersections of working-class and white identities across multiple occupations within County Durham during 1919. Firstly, it will conduct a multi-occupational analysis of labour militancy, trade unionism and (class, craft or occupational) consciousness. Secondly, it will consider the return of veterans, their agitation, their reabsorption into the labour force and the exclusion of women from public employment. Thirdly, it investigates the reaction to the South Shields Race Riot, attitudes to race and colonialism (Amritsar or Egyptian unrest), and the trope of whiteness in labour discourses within County Durham.

Justine Cousin (Paris): *Colonial labour aboard British steamships: Control and contestation (1900–1960)*

Steamships were enclosed and trans-imperial spaces, which required rigid and hierarchical power structures in order to leave and arrive on time in each port of call. Steam power always kept the ship at work, so that seamen were expected to work efficiently and to follow orders from their superiors. Seamen might be considered specific workers because of their mobility, which freed them from land-based regulations and solidarities. Extra-European seamen were increasingly hired from the abolition of the Navigation Acts in 1849 on board British ships. The so-called "lascars" came predominantly from the Indian subcontinent, but also from other parts of Asia, Eastern Africa around the Aden protectorate, the Sierra Leonean coast, and the West Indies.

Extra-Europeans were usually described as less drunk, less troublesome, and more reliable than their white British counterparts. British officers used these characteristics to re-affirm their status and authority over the latter, contrary to British seamen who had worked in industrial labour ashore and would often oppose their superiors. Such violence from white officers included verbal, physical and psychological abuse, which were used to ensure maximum work from their men and reinforce master-servant hierarchies on board. Violence from the officers on board has received less attention from historians than state violence, partly because of the limited number of sources on disciplinary matters, apart from newspaper articles and trial reports. On bigger vessels and passenger ships extra-European seamen often had their own native intermediaries relaying orders from the heads of each department. Such headmen had more control over non-white labour, as they had often recruited their crew from their own areas of origin. Yet, they could be as violent as their white superiors. But British authorities and companies were highly supportive of their native headmen and would not criticise their excessive bribes or behaviours inflicted to native seamen.

Extra-European seamen had little possibilities to address their complaints to the authorities, mostly because of linguistic barriers. However, recent historiographical trends insist on seamen's abilities to challenge working conditions. Their protests were often moderate, starting with non-confrontational individual resistance to unusual confrontational forms of protest – assaulting superiors and desertions. They sailed through the period as coolies, but they "came out then or shortly afterwards [the strikes] as workers" as Balachandran argues. Strikes were indeed a collective form of action and resistance of the seamen, which especially developed from the World War I onwards. Industrial action was used to improve living and working conditions of the men; shipowners and colonial authorities often had to compromise with the much-needed crew during the war period. Paradoxically, colonial authorities looked for moderate and amenable Indian unions – while still trying to restrain them – and asked for the support of the main British seamen's union during World War II. During the period non-white seamen shifted from individual activists to seamen directed and disciplined by unions.

Few extra-European seamen joined British seamen's unions. British unions did not commit to improve conditions of extra-European seamen, so that the latter started a movement of their own. There was creation of Communist-inspired unions in the interwar years also, which aimed at overcoming racial barriers that were prevalent in most British unions. However, the influence of such unions on the improvement of working and living conditions of extra-Europeans was limited. Meanwhile in India, colonial authorities and shipowners were highly apprehensive of potential seamen's unions until 1946. The first major unions were created in India in the early 1920s and links between Indian and British ones were only ensured by 1944. Colonial authorities over exaggerated the communist influence on lascars, who were more attracted by Gandhism at the time. Information on seamen's unions in other parts of the Empire are scarce, but they were rather late to form.

FH_01: Fordism in Translation: A View from the Periphery (SR 02)

Chair: Görkem Akgöz (Humboldt University, Berlin)

Lars K. Christensen (Museums of Elsinore): *Fordism transformed through the periphery*

In 1919, the Ford Motor Company A/S established an assembly plant in Copenhagen, Denmark. It was the second in Europe and the first on the mainland. From here, Ford cars was assembled, and exported to the Nordic and Baltic area, Poland and – for a short period – Germany, until the closure of the factory in 1966. The Copenhagen Ford plant was a bridgehead for Ford into continental Europe. It was an exact copy of a typical American Ford plant, based on the same technology and type of work organisation. However, the social and political context was very different, as Danish unions were well established and the labour movement politically influential. During the 1920s, Fordism in Detroit was based on an extreme division of work, autocratic management, and militant anti-unionism. This was the type of Fordism Gramsci wrote about in his famous prison notes. But it is the post-1945 version of Fordism, characterised by a class compromise based on high productivity, high wages, and collective bargaining, with which Fordism typically is associated today, and which has been theorised as a specific form of capitalist accumulation by regulation theory.

The paper traces this transformation of Fordism, as it went on in the context of the Copenhagen plant. It deals with its causes and effects, and it uses the Danish case for a general discussion of the concept of Fordism and its historical development. While Fordism in Europe is often discussed in relation to other major countries, the Danish experience is an example of its early transformation through the European periphery. The paper demonstrates the necessity of studying the struggle over Fordist industrial relations at factory level in order to fully understand its historic transformation. But it will also discuss the limits of factory-based analysis and argue for a combination with a broader look at national and even trans-national developments. However, the paper argues that whether we look at the level of the factory or the level of states, it is the need for capital on all levels to come to terms with the working class and the strength of organised labour, that determines the transformation of Fordism.

Josefine Carla Hoffman (University of Göttingen): *Perspectives on labour relations at an Indo-German engineering factory*

After a decade without major labour disputes at engineering company MICO's plant in Bangalore, India, a scenery of tension unfolded over several months in 1979-80. A turbulent blend of conflicts of interest, power consolidations, proxy disputes and factory-specific problems resulted in a total count of 88 strike days that year. Workers' demands were triggered by recent pressures in production, for instance the implementation of new machinery in the course of rationalisation. Additionally, their demands were influenced by the union leader, an external to the factory who saw Bangalore as a site of struggle for the larger South Indian working class and the MICO workforce as its possible representative. Multiple contradictions within the company's own history figured in the strike phase, too: Relations were affected by close ties with Bosch of West Germany regarding technology, knowledge and capital resources. Linkage to foreign capital made factory dynamics stand out of the ordinary, at a time when liberalisation of the Indian economy was still a decade into the future. Labour processes were characterised as "high-precision" and workers as "highly technically skilled", which was reflected in comparatively higher wages. Today, factory and work are remembered with both glory and scepticism by different generations of MICO's employees.

The idea for this paper was born out of access to a diverse body of fascinating material with regards to the 1979-80 strike and the factory in general, consisting of Bosch's/MICO's paper trail, juridical

sources, as well as individual narratives and memory, told through interviews and social media data. MICO's Bangalore plant is interesting for various aspects of factory history, some of which will be covered by this paper, as it shows the relationship between features of the factory and the nature of labour relations. The aforementioned sources on the strike phase offer a distinct lens on state, company and individual agendas, in times of global systemic conflict, playing out at the factory level.

Christos Karampatsos (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), **Polyxeni Malisova** (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), **Eva Masoura** (University of West Attica, Athens): *Machinery introduction as tacit Taylorism: Four factories in Greece, 1900–1940*

The introduction of taylorist methods in Greece before 1940 has been sought out at various times with poor results. In hindsight, such negative outcomes are hardly surprising: Up to now, scholars, including ourselves, have been actively searching for iconic "taylorist" methods and artifacts, such as the stopwatch or time and motion studies. Yet a closer look at Taylor's own works proves that the actual implementation of taylorist methods included a distinct – though tacit – element of machinery introduction in the production process. Slide rules (computing machines) and the introduction of "high-speed steel" along with "improved" machine tools, were an indispensable part of most recorded taylorist reorganisation attempts. Taylor himself, though he vocally used the stopwatch as a symbol of his cause, was fully aware that his goals and methods could be embedded in discrete material configurations and tacitly introduced in the workplace via machinery introduction.

We use this new lens in order to re-evaluate the introduction of taylorist methods in Greece before 1940. We refer to four distinct case studies, namely (a) the introduction of cigarette making machines in the tobacco industry (1910-1920), (b) the introduction of linotype composing machines in the printing industry (1900-1920), (c) the introduction of punched card machinery in the "computing

factories" that processed the national census data (1920-1940), and (d) the attempts to introduce time and motion studies in the carpet making industry (1925-1935). We aim to show that the workplaces studied were home to skilled workers, possessing a moral economy and exercising a sort of workplace control similar to the one faced by Taylor himself at roughly the same time. We will argue that the machines introduced in such workplaces aimed at the destruction of the workers' craft knowledge and morals and the reacquisition of workplace control through a radical reorganisation of the workplace and that the aforementioned goals were embedded in the machines' material configuration. We will show that the engineers and experts charged with introducing the machines were often aware of the taylorist methods and principles, though they rarely referred to them as such. Finally, we will ponder the possibility that this tacit introduction of taylorist methods via machinery was not a "luxury" but rather a prerequisite for success: indeed, the only attempt of "taylorism without machinery" we know of (case (d)), proved to be an outright failure.

MiL_01: Military Labour: What, Why, Who, and How? (Aula)

Chair: **Bettina Blum** (Paderborn University)

Pratyay Nath (Ashoka University Sonipat): *What is "military labour"? Perspectives from Mughal South Asia*

Scholarly opinion is largely divided on the question as to whether soldiery is a form of labour. The purpose of the present paper is not to take sides in this debate. Rather, it aims to complicate the issue further. Based on my own research on Mughal warfare in early modern South Asia, I push the limits of this debate. I problematise existing ideas of "military labour" by approaching it from the field of military logistics. I ask that if the contribution of soldiers should be categorised as "military labour" – and I agree that it should, then how should we categorise the labour rendered by the thousands of

ordinary workers, who would serve as the logistical bedrock of fighting armies?

The present paper is divided into three sections. The first is primarily historiographical. Here I discuss the scholarly treatment of the subject of military manpower and labour in early modern South Asia. I argue that the existing body of literature is extremely rich and focuses on various elite and non-elite military participants. Yet, it still defines "military labour" solely in terms of combatants and does not take into account any other type of participants. In the second part, I focus on one such group of participants – the logistical workforce of Mughal armies. I discuss the various tasks this group fulfilled and how that contributed towards the conduct of Mughal military campaigns. This workforce comprised ordinary workers like carpenters, woodcutters, stone-cutters, sappers, miners, and boatmen. Although their work did not usually comprise combat, it is their coordinated labour that created military infrastructure and the very conditions for combat to occur. In the third part of the paper, I build on this discussion of the Mughal case to argue that in order to recognise the value of the logistical workforce in the overall process of war-making, the very definition of the "military labour" needs to be radically expanded. I point out that a failure to do this so far is because of the dominant paradigm of military history-writing across the world. In this paradigm, war is conceptualised primarily in terms of combat. Almost all other military processes, including – but not limited to – military logistics, are marginalised within the historical discourse. I argue that it is more historically accurate to expand the ambit of the category of "military labour" to include the labour rendered by logistical workers during military campaigns. This is the only way to reclaim the category of the "military" from the exclusive domain of combat and have it include the myriad non-combat – albeit equally important – activities that comprised the overall domain of war. In sum, through a study of Mughal military logistics, the paper argues that any and every labour – whether or not it pertains to combat – rendered consciously towards the fulfilment of military objectives should be conceptualised as "military labour".

Lawrence T. McDonnell (Iowa State University, Ames): *The other side of glory: Battle as military labour in the American Civil War*

In recent years, historians of the American Civil War era have increasingly turned away from the battlefield – a subject that has seemed played-out to many – toward the contributions and experiences of soldiers and civilians apart from the actual fighting. Military history here has morphed into something more expansive and less precise – the study of "war and society" – the methods and aims of which remain uncertain, satisfying few. A fresh, more clearly focused perspective is needed to address these problems.

The study of soldiering as military labour is an essential part of this change, yet more remains to be done. This essay suggests a new analysis of the American Civil War, redefining it as a central moment in a process of class transformation, focusing especially on the killing labour of military workers on the battlefield itself. Marx explained that capitalism came into the world "covered in blood and dirt": by studying what soldiers called the "bloody work" of battle from a Marxist perspective, the elusive dynamics of the making of an American working class come into shattering focus.

The central role of the American state in creating a capitalist class through credit, contracts, courts, and conquest during the "long Civil War" (1846-77) is currently attracting penetrating scholarship. What has been analysed less is the role of warfare in creating a national proletariat. As this essay shows, the Civil War marked the first sustained experience for most Americans with wage labour, close control of the labour process, and the alienation of capitalist production. Those constraints and brutalities appeared in clearest form in the moment of battle itself, I argue, compelling soldiers to yield or resist, at the potential cost of their own lives. The outcome here, on one side, was the creation of a begrudgingly disciplined workforce, attuned to the demands, costs, and benefits of wage labour and, on the other, an upsurge of worker rebellion, manifested as demands for control of the labour process, violent indiscipline,

mutiny, and desertion. After 1862, among Confederate soldiers especially, this drive for worker's control which originated in the hour of battle linked up with the mass refusal of enslaved African Americans to labour for the Rebel cause. The consequence was what W. E. B. DuBois identified as "the General Strike," the largest working-class uprising in American history, which ironically vaulted America's capitalist class to national dominance.

Based on extensive documentary research, this essay offers a theoretically grounded analysis of military labour in nineteenth-century America, and a new understanding of the meaning of the Civil War. Drawn from my book-in-progress, Bloody Work: The Civil War and the Making of the American Working Class, 1846-1877, it offers a Marxist approach to military history, focused on the deeper reality of soldier's labour at the point of production. This is a new "face of battle" entirely.

Christine de Matos (The University of Notre Dame Australia, Sydney): *Military men at home: Masculinities and the occupied domestic space*

The post-World War II military occupations of Japan and Germany acted as spaces where national and personal identities were both de- and re-constructed, including gendered identities. For instance, the defeated Japanese or German man interacted with the perceived vindicated and reinvigorated hegemonic masculinity of the occupier. The occupation space acted as a stage where masculinities could be performed, tested, contested, negotiated and subverted in everyday interactions within and between the occupier and occupied, each in turn expressing a performance of relative power, powerlessness, or empowerment.

This may seem obvious considering the dominant military-focussed masculinity of the occupying powers. But in reality, multiple masculinities were performed by the occupier male, each tied to the key aims of occupation: demilitarisation and democratisation. This latter aim was not just political, but was extended to relationships between occupier men and women, particularly between husband and wife in their home. Thus, what we might call domesticated masculinity – one that is often seen to be in contest or even opposition with military masculinity – coexisted in the occupier's performance of power over the "othered" occupied.

The occupied home, much neglected in the literature, thus became an intrinsic part of the performance of occupier victory as much as a GHQ or a military parade. Wives and children arrived in both Germany and Japan to support husbands/fathers in their performance of his occupation duties. These occupation families were to be a "democratic" showcase to the Japanese and Germans, demonstrating that occupier gender relations within the home were 'superior' to those of the defeated, deformed nation. Aided by domestic workers from the occupied peoples, the home completed the asymmetrical power arrangements of occupation. While it was a space the soldier frequented "in very brief instalments", as a "refuge" from his occupation duties (Tosh 1991, 49), its association with middle-class norms enhanced claims to national or racial superiority and exaggerated the social distance between the (impoverished) occupied and their occupiers. Perhaps most importantly, the home and his place as responsible and benevolent head established the ostensibly greater moral authority of the occupier man vis-a-vis the occupied.

This paper will explore the role of domesticated masculinities in the military work of the occupier man/soldier, through examples from both occupied Japan and Germany. Doing so will add nuance to our understanding of what military work can look like, as here the home was not separate to the act of occupation but a fundamental manifestation of it – the curtains did not close on the performance of occupation prestige and duties when he entered a house that included his family and a team of occupied workers. In some ways, it could be his most important act.

Holger Droessler (Worcester Polytechnic Institute): *Servicing the occupiers: Sex work in the Vietnam War*

Wherever soldiers go, sex workers follow. From the Civil War to Iraq today, sex workers have offered sexual, affective and emotional services to U.S. soldiers in the face of danger. For a century and a half, their reproductive labour has sustained the destructive labour of the U.S. armed forces.

In my paper, I will focus on Asian sex workers during the U.S. involvement in Indochina from the 1950s to the 1970s. Over more than two decades, up to 700,000 Vietnamese sex workers relied on the presence of U.S. and Allied soldiers for their income. In addition, thousands of sex workers provided services to U.S. solidiers on leave in neighbouring Thailand. Most sex workers were recruited by local middlemen, while U.S. military authorities turned a blind eye. In many cases, U.S. and South Korean soldiers fathered interracial children with Vietnamese and Thai female sex workers. According to estimates, more than 50,000 so-called "Amerasian" children were born during the war in Vietnam. Sex work was also intimately connected to other kinds of service work. Vietnamese domestic workers – known as "hooch maids" – were primarily hired to clean the barracks of U.S. soldiers, but occasionally also engaged in sex work to improve their meagre pay. Based on a reading of soldier's memoirs, government records, and photographs, I argue that sex work during the Vietnam War needs to be understood as part of a wider set of practices of sexual coercion and violence. Sexual violence, including mass rape, played a pivotal role in overall U.S. military strategy during the war. Influenced by racial stereotypes about sexually available Asian women, U.S. soldiers used their encounters with Vietnamese and Thai sex workers to confirm their white male superiority.

Because sex workers have been a permanent fixture of U.S. war-making for a long time, this group of service workers can serve as a yardstick of labour exploitation more broadly. From coerced recruitment patterns and broken contracts to racial discrimination and physical violence, sex work encapsulates the contradictions of a U.S. military fighting for the promotion of human rights around the world.

MaL_02: Shipbuilding and Workforce (OC)

Chair: **Jordi Ibarz** (University of Barcelona)

Kalliopi Vasilaki (University of Crete / Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno): *Reshaping a port: The shipyards of Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes in La Ciotat, state policies, and the formation of a new labour market (1851–1916)*

During the second half of the 19th century, the nature and development of specific port economies was reflected in their local labour markets. In 1851, the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, the first French private shipping company subsidised by the state, settled its shipyards at the port of La Ciotat, aiming to create a large and competitive fleet and to possess a repair centre close to the port of Marseille. The economic growth of the port of La Ciotat towards industrial shipbuilding brought sudden, rapid demographic and urban expansion to the city, followed by a profound transformation of its local labour market. The connection of the Company of Messageries Maritimes with state intervention through subventions during the course of this period had a subsequent effect on the employment in the shipyards and on the city at large. During the second half of the 19th century, La Ciotat became a single-industry port with a large dependency of its population on the shipyards. This paper seeks to examine the overall pattern of strong relations between the city of La Ciotat and the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes through two main aspects: 1) the fluctuations of labour force in the shipyards between 1851 and 1916 and its connection to state policies and 2) the impact that the employment patterns in the shipyards had on the population of the city. The analysis will focus on two main sources: the nominative lists of the population in La Ciotat (1851-1916) and the Registers of workforce in the shipyards of Messageries Maritime (1851-1911). Through the case study of the labour force of the shipyards in La Ciotat, this paper may contribute to an analysis of the social

effect of industrialisation in France's shipbuilding industry and of the role of official policies in shaping the social dynamics of the city.

Leonardo Scavino (University of Genoa): *Maritime labour in times of crisis: The case-study of Camogli in the 19th century*

In the mid-19th century, the maritime community of Camogli underwent an outstanding shipping growth tied to its participation in the Black Sea grain trade. The success of this enterprise invested the Ligurian community across various levels, from the top (the ship owners) to the bottom (sea workers). Afterwards, the introduction of steamships to this context forced Camogli's ship owners to readjust to oceanic shipping. The geographical transfer and the gradual marginalisation into peripherical transports of low nominal value commodities impacted on the endogenous maritime labour system of the community. The concentration of labour supplies and demands in the same place (the community) exacerbated the correlation between shipping cycles and labour. The shrinkage of the fleet's numbers and tonnages led to contrasting results: the readjustment to steam shipping, the abandonment of maritime careers and labour migration to foreign countries are some of the outcomes discussed in this paper. Through the analysis of the registers of maritime workers (1843-1914), our presentation will delineate the career paths of a 300 seafarers sample. The adoption of differentiation upon skill-biased professional categories and the use of complementary sources related to salaries will be crucial to outline the mutations occurred in Camogli's maritime labour in the second half of the 19th century.

Eleni Kyramargiou (Institute of Historical Research / National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens): *Moments of the crisis in the shipbuilding industry in the wider area of Pireus*

The city of Perama, in the wider area of Pireus port, is associated with the Free Industrial Zone and the shipbuilding industry. Perama constitutes a city that has been created and developed in close contact with the shipyards and the businesses located at the Zone. The development of these businesses determined the economic, social, political, and cultural structure of the city. Moreover, the crisis periods of the aforementioned businesses were periods of overall crisis for the city and its inhabitants. This presentation focuses on the three periods of Perama's shipbuilding industry that shaped the evolution of the city and attempts to investigate the residential network, as well as the social formation of the city.

The transfer of the wooden shipyards from the area of Agios Dionysios in Piraeus to the almost uninhabited Perama in 1926 constitutes the first period. At the time, the shipyards were settled in the area, the workers of the shipyards with their families started creating the first organised residential core. Forty years later, in 1966, the Piraeus Port Authority started the embankments on the coast of Perama for the creation of the Free Zone. Perama's Free Zone operation finally transformed the productive activities of the region, the everyday life of the city and the professional orientation of its inhabitants. This transformation coincided with the passage from the construction of wooden boats to metal boats. Finally, in 2009, the Greek debt crisis within the context of global financial crisis created an unprecedented crisis in the region's economy which continues to this day. Dozens of businesses were shut down and thousands of workers are unemployed, while the city faces an unprecedented humanitarian crisis without having the appropriate mechanisms to respond to the new reality.

Eduard Page Campos (University of Barcelona): *Shipbuilding and ship repair labour in the transition from wood to iron: The Catalan coast experience*

The nature of shipbuilding and ship repair labour maintained constant throughout several centuries in Catalonia. The organisation of labour, the production process and the tools and equipment used, as well as the apprenticeship model and the social relations of production among masters, tradesmen and apprentices were fixed by guild regulation. Labour was

reserved to guild members and enrolled workers, whose salaries were fixed and shifts rotaries. Pressure of shipmasters and merchants to deregulate this framework increased along 19th century, but the ultimate end to the system came with the accelerated technological transformation that were brought by the generalisation of steamships. The failure of the transition to the new technology in the Catalan coast and the ultimate liberalisation of the sector produced the crisis and decline of the activity and the dismantling of a consolidated labour system.

LM_02: Labour, Migration, and the State: Critical Assessments and Comparisons II (LH B)

Chair: Yannis Papadopoulos (University of Brasilia)

Sagarika Naik (University of Delhi): *Migration matters: Reconceptualising South Asian labour mobility*

The paper is trying to deconstruct the common narrative which attributes the trans-Atlantic migrations of the 19th and 20th century a significant place in modern globalisation, while the similar demographic and economic transformations in the Asian world are mostly ignored. This paper aims to rectify the Eurocentrism biases in migration studies by investigating the significance of intra-Asian migration, where nearly four million Indians travelled to Malaysia, over eight million to Ceylon, over fifteen million to Burma and about one million to Africa, other parts of Southeast Asia, and islands throughout the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. I will also analyse how the Coromonadel Coast became a labour catchment zone, and witnessed the influx of migrants who worked as skilled and semi-skilled labourers in the factories and planation sectors of colonial Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon. I also argue for the substantial involvement of non-European recruiters and indigenous players/intermediaries like Kangani/Maistries, who were controlling the migration system. In addition to that, the paper conceptualises migration as an integrated and continuous process, where

South Asia has provided opportunities and potential social mobility to the laboures who were repudiated in their places of origin. Furthermore, it questions how the lower caste labour communities were able to respond positively to opportunities abroad.

Domna Iordanidou (Historical Archive of Macedonia, Thessaloniki / University of Ioannina): *Polish miners in Greece? A forgotten history of labour migration*

We are familiar with Polish miners immigrating to France – so many "little Polands" are a valid reminder of it, Germany, Belgium and USA being only the most prominent cases. But ever heard of Polish miners in Greece? In this paper I am trying to shed light on a little known episode of Polish migration history. What excited my curiosity was a short hint in a report of the Chairman of the Administrative Board of an incorporated company, "Society of exploitation of the Mines of Kassandra" (06.03.1926). Kassandra is a peninsula situated in Northern Greece – 100km northeast of the port of Thessaloniki. In a zone where the mineral wealth has been under exploitation since antiquity this company continued an Ottoman incorporated company, the so called "Société Anonyme des Mines de Kassandra".

The sources I use in order to corroborate my thesis are the reports of the aforementioned Chairman, actually part of the Archives of the National Bank of Greece, the local Press and the legislation of Greece regarding foreign workers. During a period of ten years, Greece was under a constant status of mobilisation (Balkan wars, 1st WW, Campaign in the Asia Minor) and consequently, there was enormous lack of labour. In 1920, the company in question was formed under the supervision of one of the most important industries of Greece, dedicated to the production of fertilisers. In 1928 the two companies merged. Why polish labour? Hard to tell. The only plausible hypothesis seems to be the fame that Polish miners had gained in the previous years. On the other hand, it seems that this was just one of the expedients the company used in order to attract specialised labour.

In Greece very little is known about the foreign miners employed in the local mines. I mention the cases known so far to me: in the late 19th century Spanish miners from Cartagena are known to have been employed in Laurium near Athens. Italian miners are also known to have been employed there, as well as in the mines of Kassandra. The object of my presentation is to demonstrate that even Polish miners were used even though rather unsuccessfully and for a very short period.

Nadia Latif (Smith College, Massachusetts): *Refugee livelihoods and the continuum of forced-voluntary migration*

The paucity of scholarship utilising labour as a conceptual lens through which to study migration history may in part be the consequence of treating migration as a corollary to the rise of nation-states. The conception of the political underlying such scholarship regards the political, the economic, and the socio-cultural as distinct, isolable spheres. The ways in which citizenship and national borders operate in the contemporary, globalised world of nation-states colour attempts to understand migration in the past. However, if the rise of the nation-state is viewed as a global historical process that generated a transposable form of community imagined as limited, sovereign, sharing a past and a future, and coinciding with a territory structured as a unified market, labour emerges as a key concept in a global history approach to migration. Global history entails an examination of flows traversing communities separated by time and space – flows of people as well as their tangible and intangible creations. In addition to contributing to a global history of migration, foregrounding labour may also enable a critical interrogation of the forced-voluntary dichotomy prevalent in contemporary international frameworks for managing migration.

The multiple generations of Palestinian refugees inhabiting refugee camps in Lebanon are exemplars of forced migration. While the nakba (the term Palestinians use to refer to their expulsion in 1948) continues to cast a long shadow, it is one of many different kinds of migration experienced by those forcibly displaced in 1948 as well as by subsequent generations. Long term field research in the urban refugee camp of Bourj al-Barajneh has generated archival and oral history accounts of: Palestinian refugees seeking to migrate from camps in Syria to camps in Lebanon during 1948-1950 in search of better employment opportunities despite the Lebanese state's unwelcoming policies; Palestinian and Lebanese rural-urban migration to urban refugee camps from the 1960s onwards; the migration of Palestinian refugees in other parts of the Middle East, as well as non-Palestinians to the refugee camps in Lebanon in order to join the PLO led armed struggle for national liberation during the 1970s; the migration of Palestinian refugees from Lebanese camps to the USSR and Cuba through PLO distributed scholarships and training programs during the same time period; the migration of male refugees to Gulf countries on short term labour contracts during the PLO led armed struggle and Lebanese civil war (1970s-1980s); the resettlement in Bourj al-Barajneh of the survivors of the massacre of Tal-al-Zatar camp (1976); seeking shelter outside the camp during the Lebanese civil war (1975-1991); the evacuation of PLO fighters and party officials from the camps to Tunisia after the Israeli invasion of 1982; the migration of refugee families to Libya with male heads of household gaining long term work during the 1970s-1980s; the forcible return migration of these families in 1993-1995 when expelled by President Gaddafi after the signing of the Oslo Accords; asylum seeking and "illegal" migration to Northern European countries since the 1990s; marriage migration with families from the camp who have been able to legalise their asylum status in Northern Europe. An examination of archival and oral accounts of these numerous migrations supports the claim that labour is key to a global history of migration, and that migration is a continuum of forced-voluntary experience, not a dichotomy.

11:00–12:30am:

DH: How to Use Digital Tools for Historical Analysis (LH C2)

Chair: **Tobias Hodel** (University of Bern)

Tobias Hodel (University of Bern), **Silke Schwandt** (Bielefeld University): *Presentation of nopaque*

Textual analysis can be efficiently and horizon-expandingly supported by Digital Humanities methods and tools. From Optical Character Recognition to Natural Language Processing, the whole enrichment process is covered by NOPAQUE. The workshop introduces you to NOPAQUE, a workflow tool guiding you from text recognition to semantical analysis like named entity recognition. NOPAQUE runs on servers of the University of Bielefeld and can be used via web-browser.

Hands-On-Session: OCR and Corpus Analysis with nopaque

LFE_00 (Labour and Family Economy): Working Group Meeting (LH B)

Chair: Manuela Martini (Université Lumière Lyon 2 / Institut Universitaire de France)

CEE_01: The Labour Movement in East-Central Europe after 1989. Crisis, Opportunities, Perspectives (SR 2)

Chair: Tibor Valuch (Eszterházy Károly University of Eger)

Till Hilmar (University of Bremen): *Post-1989 narratives of loss and resilience at work among East German and Czech care workers*

Depending on a person's professional status and resources, the post-1989 transformations posed strikingly different challenges and opportunities. Individuals born and educated before the revolutions had to mobilise their earlier professional identities and skills in radically changing work environments. How did they apprehend large-scale shifts in the value of work in emerging capitalist labour markets? How do they construe their memories of the transformation today around the economic challenges they faced? In my contribution, I study these interrelated questions by examining the case of care workers. I adopt a comparative perspective, drawing on interview data with thirty respondents from East Germany and the Czech Republic (from research administered in 2016 and 2017) who work in nursing or elderly care and who experienced the year 1989 as young adults.

Care workers, an overwhelmingly feminised profession both before and after 1989, experienced a dramatic stagnation of their wages after the revolution, especially in the Czech Republic. Care workers' skills are also lowly valued by society in symbolic terms (as in the notion that "anyone can do this kind of work"). Analysing how respondents incorporate these structural challenges into their biographical accounts of the period, I show that care workers are critical of these developments, but that they also tend to subscribe to a notion of individual success (in particular, individual skills as a source of success) in market society.

Based on my empirical discussion, I suggest we must understand these narratives not only as shaped by the predominating neoliberal paradigm of the 1990s (and differently so in the Czech and the German case), but also consider the power of the legacy of a gendered and highly moralised state-socialist work ethic in which the model image of a "productive worker" and a "good mother" prevailed. These ideas, I argue, allow individuals to square the circle and draft economic narratives of the 1990s that are at once highly critical of the many ways in which capitalist markets devalue care work; and simultaneously promote moralizing ideas of individual success and failure as part of a personal biographical account.

Péter Alabán (Gábor Áron College): *The symbol of poverty: "Nookminers" in mining colonies in the North-East of Hungary after 1989*

The transition from socialism into a market economy created insurmountable problems

in several regions, mostly in the fields of economic restructuring, (un)employment and social composition. The picture is especially depressing in the northern region of Hungary, in the once flourishing settlements relying on mining and heavy industries, which had provided them with a certain livelihood.

Farkaslyuk (in English: wolfhole) is a mining village near Ózd, a town which was one of the main metallurgical centres in Hungary under state socialism. The inhabitants of the village witnessed the collapse of the once thriving mining village after the closure of the factories. Day by day, the poor of Farkaslyuk and the neighbourhood visit the spoil bank in the middle of the village to dig up scrap coal and metal as well as pieces of ties that were excavated along with the earth from the former mine. The population in 2011 didn't reach 2000 people. In Farkaslyuk ghettoisation is spreading, at the time of the last census (in 2011), the proportion of unemployed households was 62%, with a total of 1605 people, or 83% of the total population. Child poverty shows a particularly sad picture: income poverty, material deprivation, inadequate housing conditions, parents' hopeless labour market situation, a very poor health, lifestyle risk and deviance all add up to create very unequal life opportunities for the affected children in Hungary.

In 2011, a company reopened the mine and trained more than 30 new colliers. Many people were hoping for a new and better future but the Ózd Coal Mining Company was not long-lived and the hope was gone. "Nook miners" have appeared whose work is very difficult and dangerous. A sack of coal weighs several dozen kilos; its black market price is 3 USD. Those who are lucky enough to dig at the right spot can collect 5-6 sacks of coal in one day, which is sufficient for only a few days of heating. The work of the children is also used to ensure the basic survival of the family.

Eszter Bartha (Technische Universität Dresden / Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest): *"What kind of life is this?": The heterogeneous working-class experience of the new, capitalist regime in Hungary*

The paper is based on extensive fieldwork conducted between 2018 and 2020 in automotive factories in Hungary. The multinational companies where the interviews were conducted are subsidiaries of German firms. The main object of the study was the skilled, mostly male workforce of the factories: blue-collar workers and foremen, who occupy "core" positions in direct production, enjoy relative job security and earn better wages than the national average in the country. Fieldwork started in Dresden in 2020. Its results are used for an asymmetric comparison with Eastern Germany. The comparison is also supported by fieldwork data (life-history interviews with industrial workers) collected in Halle in 2015. Our interview partners in the selected factories (mostly men, since they are in a clear majority in "core" positions in direct production) were also active in labour interest representation: Most of them were elected workers' representatives, trade union shop stewards, and some were members of the workers' council. The fieldwork also showed that these workers act as "opinion-leaders" at the shopfloor.

In the paper we examine in the light of empirical evidence (1) what are the connections between workers and the "old" and "new" unions, and what role do these play in the political choices of the workers (2) perceptions of masculinity and the construction of gender roles, as well as their impact on the political choices of the respondents (3) the construction of family histories and the legacy and collective memory of state socialism in both countries (4) concrete examples of transnational working-class cooperation and possibilities of labour revitalisation.

David Ost pioneered the academic field of the study of right-wing populism and the working class in Eastern Europe, contending that the historical legacy of state socialism and the subsequent years of social and economic transformation, which dramatically changed

the lives of millions of Eastern European people, who were accustomed to universal employment and life-time job security, should be closely studied in order to understand the roots of working-class right-wing populism in the region. I seek to follow this lead by "adding" a historical dimension. In the case of the Hungarian fieldwork, the first effects of the coronavirus crisis are also studied in the paper. The pandemic reinforced the Hungarian government's further move towards an authoritarian regime that authors such as Gábor Scheiring called authoritarian capitalism. One of our research questions is how the interviewed workers react to the increasing nationalism and authoritarianism that characterise this governance (the so-called "illiberal" democracy as Orbán termed his regime).

Concerning the relationship between workers and the new capitalist regimes, which were established after 1989-1990, I highlight two contradictory hypotheses. According to authors such as Don Kalb, David Kideckel or Gábor Scheiring, workers constitute an exploited class, who reacts to the challenges of globalisation with a drift to neo-nationalism, while others such as András Tóth prefer to speak about "life-long entrepreneurs" and refuse the Marxist-based class theory. In the paper an attempt will be made to find a bridge between these two interpretations.

Marta Kahancova (Central European Labour Studies Institute, Bratislava): *Unions and non-union actors in CEE labour rights – allies or enemies?*

While the post-1989 history saw turbulent changes in trade union landscapes across Central and Eastern European countries, little is known about the emergence of other forms of labour's interest representation. Especially after the 2008 crisis, several countries saw the emergence of non-union actors that however became vocal in addressing the same demands as trade unions. These developments were especially present in the public sector, e.g. among teachers and health professionals.

This paper analyses the relationship between unions and non-union actors and assesses their overall impact on strengthening labour rights on the one hand, and strengthening/weakening the position of trade unions in the region on the other hand. Evidence will be presented from several countries, including Czechia, Hungary and Slovakia.

WE_02: Workers' Education, Social Mobility, and Industrial Relations (LH A)

Chair: **Jonas Söderqvist** (Uppsala University)

Jonas Söderqvist (Uppsala University): *A college for the people. Social mobility among folk college students in Sweden, 1906–1921*

Education is considered by researchers in the field of social mobility as the key element for a person to improve her life chances. But access to education higher than primary level was not attainable for everyone in Sweden in the late 1800s, when the parallel school system separated pupils with parents who could afford to pay for tuition and boarding. This was however changing rapidly. Among the new forms of educational institutions were the *folkhögskolor* (folk colleges), started in the 1860s in the rural areas of Sweden, offering education to the sons (but not the daughters) of yeomen. By the turn of the century, some *folkhögskolor* were also offering education to both young men and women from the industrial working class. They opened up higher forms of education to new groups in society.

This paper examines the social mobility of the students from the winter courses at three *folhögskolr*: *Stockholms läns Folkhögskola* (est. 1873), *Hola Folkhögskola* (est. 1896) and *Brunnsvik Folkhögskola* (est. 1906). An investigation of the students' background will shed light on who they were when they enrolled at the school, and their social background. How would they benefit from further education and what were their future prospects? Did their time at the school improve their life chances and enable social mobility? And how did the schools differ? By pairing data from censuses and church records with memoirs, letters, interviews, debates and protocols from political

organisations, this study will shed light on some of these issues.

Bamidele Mathew Onibaniyi (Michael Imoudu National Institute for Labour Studies, Ilorin): *Nigerian workers and trade unions education: The pivotal role of a tripartite labour institute*

There has been increasing attention for workers' education as an integral part of labour movements and productivity enhancement. This has made governments of some countries like Nigeria establish a tripartite labour institute, saddled with the responsibility to provide workers' education to enhance the role of trade unions and equip them with skills required for collective bargaining and joint consultation for better labour-management relations necessary for the country's social and economic development. Thousands of Nigerian workers, trade union leaders/members and management representatives have benefited immensely from workers' education provided by this tripartite institution. Trade unionists' capacity and deliverables have been enhanced through various Labour/trade union education programmes specially designed and organised by the Institute to reposition unions for effective delivery.

More than before, the unions now realise that beyond bread and butter issues, the robust capacity of their members is indispensable to build a virile and formidable labour solidarity. Also, management representatives have learnt to work collaboratively and in partnership with the workers in a manner that promotes peace and harmony essential for sustainable organisational growth. Nigerian workers generally have been acquainted with emerging global trends in the world of work and productivity improvement ethics which have gone a long way to prepare them to confront challenges proactively and thus improve employee performance.

Above all, the Institute partners with relevant stakeholders and institutions both locally and internationally to build the capacity of its faculty staff and its constituents to bench mark global best educational standards and labour practices in a changing work environment. In line with this, the Institute has also developed programmes focused on building women capacity in unionism which has engendered gender mainstreaming and enhanced active participation by women holding strategic union positions. Through Institute's education offering, unionists have enjoyed upward mobility and some stand on their union's goodwill to exert political influence while some use it for occupational mobility and career promotional stride.

Alice Garner, Mary Leahy (Melbourne Graduate School of Education), Anthony Forsyth, Renee Burns (RMIT University, Melbourne): *Union training centres: Creating efficient industrial relations in Australia?*

On 8 September 1975, an Act of Parliament established the Australian Trade Union Training Authority, or TUTA. TUTA was possibly the first institution of its kind in the world: a government-funded statutory authority designed to prepare union officials and job representatives to participate more effectively as partners in industry.

Union training centres were established in each of the Australian states and a substantial and architecturally bold residential training centre, Clyde Cameron College, was built in a regional centre, Albury-Wodonga. Staff numbers built rapidly to over 100 nationally, and by 1978-79, 364 courses were offered to 6661 participants. Ten years later, 1069 courses were offered in one year to over 20,000 participants in 60,462 training days. Evaluated against its stated mission, the numbers suggest TUTA was a success in building and transforming trade union training across Australia, and some of its courses were also adapted in the 1980s to embed a new national Accord between government, unions and industry. In 1996, TUTA was brought to an abrupt end on the coming to power of a union-busting right-wing government.

In this paper, we focus on the residential college established by TUTA to train union officials. Inspired partly by Scandinavian,

German and Canadian models of trade union education, the college was designed to bring together representatives of different unions from across the country to develop their leadership, administration, negotiation and communication skills, through intensive, participatory learning experiences. Teaching methods included the use of trigger films to start discussions and role-play scenarios with contributions from specialists in labour law, arbitration and conciliation and the union movement. We draw on participants' and trainers' recollections of the residential courses to explore the nature and impacts of TUTA's courses over the 21 years of its existence and reflect on possible lessons in the current, COVID-transformed industrial relations environment.

Adekunle Tinuoye (Tripartite National Labour Institute): *Workers' education in Nigeria: The roles of MINILS*

The issue of workers' education and education on labour matters has become very paramount in Nigeria and indeed throughout the world. This increasing interest in workers' education is hinged on the growing importance of labour to the achievement of sustainable development in addition to its crucial role in bolstering organisational productivity, worker prosperity and national socio-economic advancement. Workers' education remains pivotal in building mutually beneficial labour-management interactions and engagements, as well as enhancing industrial peace and harmony in the world of work.

Nigeria, which is Africa's most populous nation, has a huge population of youth, a massive pool of potential workers and large labour force participation rate. The realisation of the above and the centrality of workers to the actualisation of national developmental goals necessitated the establishment of a tripartite national labour institution in Nigeria. This institute, the Michael Imoudu National Institute For Labour Studies (MINILS), which is the only one of its kind in Nigeria, was established in line with the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) by the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1986 vide Act Cap 261 of the Laws

of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004 with the mandate to provide labour education for Nigerian workers. The aim of this paper is to highlight the strategic goals or operations of MINILS, how it frames its workers education, the scope of its educational programmes and the implications of these programmes for the whole of Nigerian workers.

FL_01: Women as Workers, Peasants, and Property Owners in 19th Century Rural Europe (SR 03)

Chair: **Susan Zimmermann** (Central European University, Vienna)

Discussant: **Maria Papathanasiou** (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Josep Colomé-Ferrer (University of Barcelona): *Peasant women in the vineyards of southern Europe in the 19th century*

In the 19th century, Catalonia experienced a significant increase in the vineyard area, completing an important process of agricultural specialisation initiated at the end of the 17th century. In this process, an agrarian contract called *rabassa morta* (a sharecropping contract of indefinite duration) played a prominent role, as it allowed landless peasant families to have access to the cultivation of the vineyards.

This paper analyses the role women played in this process of agricultural specialisation, both in culturally assigned activities to women in a patriarchal agrarian society, and in the cultivation of the vineyards or in the strategies that guaranteed the economic sustainability of those families that accessed the cultivation of the land thanks to the *rabassa morta* contract. Thus, it highlights the feminised activities on the farm (going to fetch firewood, house maintenance or assistance activities), but at the same time it underlines how women performed certain wine growing tasks throughout the year; they replaced men when they could not work the family vineyards, or were hired as day labourers at certain times of the agricultural

cycle. On the other hand, women also tended to seek additional monetary income off the farm, hiring themselves as wet nurses, for example.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the wine crisis caused by the destruction of the vineyards due to phylloxera, social conflict and the collapse of wine prices led to the transformation of the Catalan wine specialisation model and also affected the activities carried out by women. Thus, the crisis led those families that were on the limits of subsistence to send their daughters to work as servants or women to look for work in factories. At the same time, the technical change brought about by the replanting of the vineyards led to substantial changes in the participation of women in the cultivation of the land. Finally, the crisis increased family conflict and, also, the relationship between old age and poverty, especially for those peasant women who lived alone.

Elli Leventaki (Athens School of Fine Arts): *Women as labourers and creatives in the late-19th century Greek provinces: The "Ergane Athena" Association*

Rural female populations were not exclusively occupied as farmers and agriculturists in the late 19th-century Greek province, but in many cases, they were the main producers of local craftsmanship and, for the most part, of what was subsequently labelled as folk art. In particular, women were highly skilled and qualified in using weaving tools like looms, as well as heavier equipment for domestic works and manufacturing. In this context initiatives like the "Ergane Athena" Association emerged, initially stating that their mission was to celebrate and promote female labour, creativity and skillfulness, only for their objectives to be proven much more intricate later on. "Ergane" ("working") was one of the titles given to goddess Athena in ancient Greece, in order to honour her wisdom and skills, rendering her protector of those who worked with their hands and/or minds. The homonymous association, which was already supported by more than a hundred

members was founded in 1896, planned to organise a major exhibition every two years, where there would be showcased craftsmanship and artistic production made by women's hands. Instead of settling in Athens, though, it was decided that the first such event was to take place in Agrinio, a small agricultural city in western Greece, which counted less than 7000 residents at the time. The programme was successfully launched on 21 May 1898, with the first national exhibition of women's handiwork, featuring handmade artefacts, textiles, tapestry, agricultural equipment and local products among others. To everyone's surprise, the event was extremely well-received, attracting people from all over Greece, including the king and queen at the opening, as well as foreign diplomats from Europe and the Balkans. One year later the association even published the first edition of its own magazine ("Pleias"), which went on for three years. So, how come such an event was organised in a Greek province, and why did the association decide to focus on rural populations and their production? The answer lies in the complex socio-political context of the time, when the notion of nation played a key role in identity shaping, whilst Europeanisation was influencing more and more the modern Greek way of life, especially that of the large urban centres like Athens. In contrast to what felt overwhelmingly Western in the capital, was the still very traditional local production of an agricultural city like Agrinio. What's more, women in rural areas were considered to be pure and untainted, symbolically representing the values of a nationally-oriented narrative. Despite advertising as an uplifting organisation for women and a supporter of hands-on labour and creation, the Ergane Association seems to have had a much more elaborate agenda from the start, intentionally revolving its activities around female populations in the provinces, in order to leverage what they stood for to advocate for another cause.

Carolina Uppenberg (Lund University),
Malin Nilsson (Lund University):
Gendered divisions of labour among rural households during the industrial revolution: Evidence from 19th-century Sweden.

In this paper we explore how the proletarianisation of the rural population during the 1800s affected intra-household allocation of labour between men and women. We take our starting point in one of the fundamental questions of feminist labour history: How did women's labour patterns change during a process of industrialisation? Despite a growing strand of literature on this subject, much still remains unknown, especially when it comes to the work of women in rural areas. Although an integral part of the process of industrialisation was the change in labour allocation that happened within rural households, we still have a hard time to assess how this change took place. Rural households increasingly combined different forms of labour, especially in case of landless or semi-landless households such as tenant farmers, crofters and cottagers. Women's work also seems to have been less homogeneous compared to men's, and as today, notoriously harder to detect and quantify with different chores mixed up in time and place, and less documented.

The industrial and the agrarian revolution that came before it both meant an increase in the absolute numbers of, as well as the level of exploitation within households who paid their rent through feudal corvée labour: tenant farmers, crofters and cottagers. In parallel with the slow but visible increase of "pure" proletarianised farm workers, the feudal land rent increased as well. This meant that men allocated more time to work for the manor or land owner. However, we do not know if the same is true for women, or how this affected the intra-household allocation of labour. We start studying this by posing two questions: What happened to women's corvée labour during this period, and what did these changes mean for the gendered division of labour in their own household?

To answer these questions we use 477 contracts with specified corvée labour between manorial landowners and households from 1784 to 1899. We have found that only about 10% of contracts contained specified women's corvée days. However, many of the products and extra work days that the renters were obliged to deliver to the landowner included possible women's work: spinning thread, picking pine cones, as well as unspecified day labouring. Moreover, there was a positive relationship between the number of days specified for men and women in the contracts. While we aim to construct a detailed account of what women in landless and semi-landless households did during the profound changes in work patterns during the 19th century in a larger project, this study provides a starting point to look further into the changing gendered divisions of labour of the rural households during the industrial revolution. Theoretically, this speaks to two strands of research. Jan de Vries' influential theory of an "industrious revolution" preceding the industrial revolution has meant an increasing interest in studying preindustrial household production, and especially the female dominated work with spinning. Secondly, we contribute to the vivid question of preindustrial gender division of labour.

MD_01: Remembering Toxic Pasts? Memory, Deindustrialisation, and the Environment I (SR 1)

Chair: Christian Wicke (Utrecht University)

Pierre Botcherby (University of Warwick): *Community involvement in post-industrial environmental regeneration in St. Helens, the North-West, and England: Operation Groundwork*

In 1981, the environmental regeneration initiative Operation Groundwork was launched in the United Kingdom. Conceived by Labour and championed by Conservative Minister Michael Heseltine, Groundwork aimed to reclaim land despoiled by industry and improve access and recreation opportunities. The pilot scheme covered St.

Helens, a major industrial centre, and Knowlsey, a combination of dilapidated council estates and high-grade farmland. Groundwork was quickly expanded to cover the North-West and, soon, the whole country. Environmental regeneration is inseparable from urban regeneration, a crucial process in towns suffering from de-industrialisation like St. Helens. As campaigns against industrial closures and, often, proposed regeneration projects have shown, a strong desire exists for participation in local development and regeneration. Community involvement and participation were key to Groundwork. It hoped to enable local communities to shape their environment, forming volunteer groups (Groundwork Conservation Volunteers, FROGS, Froghoppers) and working with pre-existing local organisations. It reflected the wider desire amongst local communities to have agency, a voice, in the future of their local area.

This paper traces Groundwork's origins, development, and expansion. It analyses Groundwork's success in terms of environmental reclamation and regeneration and in terms of local community involvement. Some scholars argue 1980s neo-liberalism appropriated 'community' as a tool of governance, a smokescreen to vehicle policies more concerned with enterprise culture and entrepreneurship. Accordingly, this paper compares Groundwork to other Conservative government regeneration initiatives and policies notionally geared around community. Unlike many of these, Groundwork maintained its community focus as it expanded and managed to partner local authorities and the private sector with the public. Ultimately, this paper argues for Groundwork's success both in terms of environmental regeneration and community involvement.

James P. Ferns (University of Strathclyde): *Nostalgia, workers' health, and occupational identity*

This paper will explore nostalgia, workers' health and occupational identity in relation to the post-redundancy employment transitions of Scottish heavy industry workers. The general lack of archival information which encapsulates the often emotionally charged narratives of redundancy and displacement associated with deindustrialisation makes oral history an indispensable tool in understanding the true significance of this transition. As such, this paper will draw in 52 newly conducted oral history interviews of former Scottish steelworkers and shipbuilders.

Scottish steelmaking and shipbuilding, performed in a dirty environment under intense heat or cold, as well as exceptional danger, are notorious for destroying workers' health and crippling their bodies. Juxtaposed to this depiction, these industries are also well-known for their comprehensive occupational identity, being defined by trade unionism and a powerful sense of community embeddedness. The loss of this social structure was narrated with a deep sense of loss by interviewees, with their new places of employment inferior to the conditions and camaraderie of heavy industry. In popular culture such remembrances of heavy industry are often dismissed as smokestack nostalgia, with former workers apparently rendered dumb by a rose-tinted memory that idealises the good and erases the bad. Yet the oral history testimonies of former heavy industry workers demonstrate that their narratives of deindustrialisation are able to consider both the positive aspects of the industry as well as the negative. This coexistence of seemingly contradictory narratives not only emphasises workers' often nuanced experience of deindustrialisation, but also highlights their layered understanding of work itself as a simultaneously gratifying and oppressive experience.

Elena Dinubila (Université de Bordeaux): *Cleaning up the past from nuclear legacy. Employment issues and environmental concerns in a town of Southern Italy*

In this paper, intend to present some results of an ethnographic survey conducted in the rural town of Rotondella (South of Italy), where the former reprocessing centre of radioactive nuclear fuel elements Trisaia-ITREC is located. The fate of this nuclear research plant changed definitively after the 1987 moratorium, when Italy renounced the nuclear policy. The challenges associated with the decommissioning of this industrial site inevitably led to the necessity of dealing with the uncomfortable legacy of nuclear waste still stocked into the plant. My study questioned the ways in which those working in the nuclear plant and living nearby come to terms with the presence of nuclear waste in their daily lives. Through this intervention I will show how how concerns about the jobs crisis and environmental issues are articulated in political choices and local actions to enhance the deindustrialised territory of Rotondella. Using an anthropological perspective that combines the observation of cultural practices with the narratives' analysis, the positions of different social actors (workers employed in the nuclear industry, farmers and ordinary citizens) will be traced. Such a perspective allows us to understand that employment priorities converge with environmental concerns or oppose them, according to historical context and circumstantial factors. In the case of Rotondella, nuclear workers took part alongside environmental associations in the 2003 popular protest against the construction of the national nuclear waste repository in the nearby town of Scanzano Jonico. Nowadays, however, industrial workers as well as farmers and most citizens of Rotondella, try to trivialise the risk represented by nuclear waste, in the hope of building a future designed around agro-ecology and tourism projects. Focusing on the resemantisation processes of the Trisaia-ITREC Center, I will finally show how people face the uncertainties about future employment and environmental health through a historical, collective and institutionalised revision of the nuclear past.

Melinda Harlov-Csortán (Institute of Advanced Studies, Kőszeg / University of Pannonia): *Memorising the industrial utilisation of a natural element: Where has the workers' memory gone?*

The proposed presentation discusses a case study where memory, labour and environment protection are connected at different time phases. The topic is the Fertő/Neusiedler Lake, which is a saline lake in between Austria and Hungary. It has an extensive reed vegetation that was utilised heavily from the Cold War period. In the previous political period, the process was even industrialised providing income and economic stability for the area. Reed products were exported to various parts of the World (including Western Europe and the USA). By the early 1990s, partly due to deindustrialisation and other economic processes and also because the environment protection institutions were able to be established and gained significance at the lake, the industrial utilisation of the reed belt around the lake stopped. At both parts of the border the environment significance of the lake namely that it provides safe territory for diverse migratory birds and other species became important. The location gained protection and importance by diverse international and supranational institutions (such as UNESCO World Heritage and RAMSAR). By the early 2000s, the representation of the location – especially on the Hungarian side – overemphasises its natural beauty and significance. Former employment activities are memorised mainly on local level and as craftmanship or vernacular tradition. The connecting social unit and the former industrialised activities are hardly present at any kind of information material about the region. The proposed presentation is intended not just to review the different historical phases of the case study from the industrial to the heritagised and protected period (mid-20th century to early 2000s) but to analyse the changing roles and influences of the different aspects: deindustrialisation, memory, environment and local actors (former workers) at each phase and to each other as well. For such a complex investigation both official legislations, memoirs and media representations are

going to be investigated. The presentation has the aim to offer an example and also possible methodological tools to understand other alike processes in the more contemporary ages.

LiM_01: Environmental and Social Impacts of Mining in Time and Space I (LH C1)

Chair: **Leda Papastefanaki** (University of Ioannina / Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno)

Rossana Barragán (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam), **Paula Zagalsky** (National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, CONICET / University of Buenos Aires): *Potosí and its logic of long-term extraction*

Silver from Potosi began to be exploited for the global market since at least 1545, and with its rises and falls continued until the end of the 18th century. After its significant decrease in 19th century, tin gave rise again to a new mining cycle of lead, tin, silver and other ores in the 20th century that are extracted from the exact same mountain up until the 21st century. Different minerals clearly had their life cycle, but the extraction process itself continues until now in Potosi. The depletion is of some minerals but not from the site and the region itself. Here it seems that there is "no end" after more than 475 years. This is a challenge to think in an unceasing extraction of a living mine and a city built around it.

In this paper we intend to analyse the silver cycle from 1545 until 1812 (the Spanish colonial period) based on our own research, as well as several edge contributions to Potosi's historiography. Three major themes will be discussed. First, the economic and social changes in a vast regional landscape as a consequence of the silver production for the world. Deep alterations with clear consequences in terms of peoples' mobility due to labour migration and coercion. Second, how a labour social order

established initial conditions in terms of property and labour allocation that changed and were challenged through time,. However, at the same time, people of all social levels worked around silver but in general as a centre to extract money in order to leave. Fortunes were made but they went away constantly. The inhabitants of Potosi's city seem to be renewed constantly from the top, but also from bottom of the societies and from hundreds of villages living around this economic pole. Third, we will investigate how this economic, social and technological logic of quick extraction had long-term environmental consequences imposing processes of intensification and precarisation of its exploitation.

Gabriele Marcon (European University Institute, Florence): *Timber, food, and metals: Comparing impacts of mining extraction in two early modern Italian districts, 1400–1800*

In the early modern period, mining activities had a strong impact in social, economic, and environmental frameworks. While economic and social historians have particularly focused on the emergence of a "working class" in response to the capitalist ways of production of early modern mining enterprises, scholars have also adopted a broader scope and analysed process of environmental changes in mining sites. This latter approach has been particularly helpful in shifting the analytical framework of environmental history from a Western-based, 19th- and 20th-century perspective to preindustrial mining activities scattered throughout the globe. To compare labour ecologies across diverse areas of the world and to adopt a long-term perspective in mining history may unravel insightful aspects that overcome matrix environmental narratives of mining based almost exclusively on the transformation of the physical landscape. Indeed, this approach broadens up the analytical framework of environmental history by underscoring the importance of social and ecological practices, including mobility patterns, food consumption, housing accommodation, working conditions, and the introduction of new technologies.

This paper fits into this renewed interest by comparing the social, economic, and environmental impacts of mining in two mining sites located in the Italian peninsula during the early modern period – the Agordo mining district in the Republic of Venice and the mines of Pietrasanta in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. It adopts a long-term perspective that encompassed moments of intensive extraction, low-conjunctures, and revaluation processes of mining activities between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century. This comparative and long-term approach will give insights into two main research strategies. First, it seeks to understand how individuals and institutions entangled with natural resources in different moments of the mining exercise. I will draw on first-hand archival material as well as technical manuscripts in order to shed light on exploitation and preservation policies of natural resources such as timber, water and metals with a particular focus on the involvement of local actors in environmental practices – including local and foreign miners, mining officials, and local communities. Secondly, I will analyse to what extent new technologies, labour organisational aspects, and habits of food consumption informed the social framework of mining communities in a long-term perspective. In order to do so, the paper will present case-studies regarding the mobility of German-speaking miners to the Venetian and Tuscan districts between the 15th and the 16th century.

Juan D. Pérez-Cebada (Universidad de Huelva), **Pedro G. Silva** (Universidade do Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro): *Farmers, miners, and pollution*

Miners and farmers have had a problematic relation. From the Industrial Revolution, the processes of environmental degradation in mining basins coincided with social tensions between them, rekindling their traditional antagonism. It is in this context that both sought to exert an influence not only on decision makers, but on public opinion. Promoted by both parts in the conflict, this question was debated in academic art icles, public presentations, informative pamphlets, even books, and in mass media such as newspapers and radios. The increase of public discussions and conflicts around mining pollution, especially the smoke question, contributed to turn it into a global problem from the second half of 19th century onwards.

This paper analyses how both contenders, mining firms and antipollution groups, built their own language to evaluate the damages to public health and property caused by pollution. The aim of this work is to address the evolution of these narratives from the second half of 19th century until the World War II, focusing on the Iberian Peninsula. An analysis of those discourses shows that each side of the conflict used a distinct vocabulary and different means of argumentation (valuation languages, in Martínez-Alier´s words, or vocabularies of contention, in Guha's) to defend radically different sets of values. The language of corporations was that of economic compensation, the defense of property rights and the higher value of industrial development. They debated from a position of technological and scientific superiority, and their ultimate goal was to convince public opinion that they worked for a higher good, not only for the welfare of a community but also for that of a whole nation or even world progress. Antipollution groups also defended their own conception of property rights. Their concept of damage also included social, cultural, even spiritual elements, difficult to evaluate from a monetary point of view, and their argumentation was often not based on scientific theory, but on practical knowledge, though in certain cases, local contenders could resort to expert knowledge to counter the technical arguments of mining companies. At the same time, they used concrete proofs and particular cases to evidence that pollution was irreversibly modifying their environment and their traditional way of life. Finally, it can be noted that throughout the conflict both languages evolved so that each of them appropriates that of the other.

RB_01: Bargaining and Labour Negotiation (Aula)

Chair: Andrea Caracausi (University of Padua)

Discussant: Corine Maitte (Université Gustave Eiffel, Champs-sur-Marne)

Matthieu Scherman (Université Gustave Eiffel, Champs-sur-Marne): *How to apprehend conflicts about remuneration from non-judicial archives? Views from the Italian context in the 15th century*

Fiscal sources, notarial registers and account books can give an overview of how remunerations were determined and how different forms of remunerations can coexist in the urban context, in the same sector and in the same workplace. In fiscal sources, like the *estimo* of Treviso or the *portate* of Florence, there is some evidence of how remunerations were made, especially for the domestic workforce. But we can manage to understand how the remuneration for a lot of workers was made and how we can comprehend conflicts, bargain and negotiation that were involved in fixing remuneration.

Thomas Max Safley (University of Pennsylvania): *Wages, guilds, and strikes: The connection between remuneration, organisation, and action in early modern mining*

In the history of labour, miners stand among the most self-conscious and aggressive groups of labourers, most certainly in the modern period. In the USA between 1880 and 1890 alone, despite the repudiation of work-stoppages by almost every major labour organisation and the often violent opposition of local, state and federal governments, over 20,000 strikes took place, involving an estimated 6.6 million workers. The same pattern appears to hold for much of Europe. Among these, the actions of miners assume a significant –almost mythical – status, with some of the most dramatic examples coming from North America.

The historical connection between industrialisation and unionisation is well established. Pressed by the rapid pace and often dulling routine of work, antagonised by a faceless corporate management structure seemingly bent on efficiency at all costs, workers in various industries developed more active protest modes and more wide-reaching organisations during the later 19th century. The question remains whether these developments have earlier antecedents. In responding to the changed conditions of labour, did 19th-century mill- and mine-workers build upon a longer history of action and organisation? My paper takes up this question with reference to early modern mining and miners in the Archduchy of Austria.

The men (and women) who sought their livings below the ground, certainly enjoyed no good reputation in the age of hand-mining. At turns romanticised and lionised by the likes of Jost Amman and Louis Simonin, the early reality appears to have been more complex. Georg Agricola had little to say about miners in his encyclopedic work on mining, but he refuted repeatedly "the charges made" against miners, "unskilled and ignorant" men who live by "fraud, deceit and lying". With specific regard to the complex interplay of princes owners and operators, he noted, "But no just ruler or magistrate deprives owners of their possessions; that, however, may be done by a tyrant, who may cruelly rob his subjects not only of their goods honestly obtained, but even of life itself. And yet whenever I have inquired into the complaints which are in common vogue, I always find that the owners who are abused have the best of reasons for driving the men from the mines; while those who abuse the owners have no reason to complain about them." Clearly, tensions existed between the miners, their managers and the owner.

Yet the history of medieval and early modern mining offers only limited evidence of the interplay between wage regimes, work actions and miners' association. To take the mercury mine at Idria, located in present-day Slovenia, as an example, wages for

workers increased only twice between 1575 and 1660, despite the continually rising cost of living. Regardless of declining income, the workers remained peacefully at work, though various work-stoppages occurred between 1579 and 1636. In the midst of hard times, between 1597 and 1605, Archduke Ferdinand approved the establishment of a *Brüderlade*, similar to the common chest of a guild, into which the miners would make contributions (*Brüderpfennig*) and from which support could be offered to the needy, that was subject to the oversight of the government. Yet, this corporation proved both corrupt and ineffective. This history stands in stark contrast to copper mining in Tyrol, where miners established corporate organisations earlier, engaged in strikes more frequently and enjoyed greater wage fluidity.

My paper will examine archival evidence of mining in the Austrian territories of Tyrol and Kärnten to trace wages over time and connect changes in them to strikes and violence at the adit. It will look also at the development and activities of the corporations that provided social and economic support for miners, including the representation of their interests to operators and owners. It will thus seek answers to the questions how these organisations and actions negotiated wage regimes and why some were more effective than others.

José Antolin Nieto (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid): *Apprentices or salaried workers? On artisan retribution in Latin America, 16th–18th centuries*

This study analyses the remuneration of artisans in various Latin American cities in the Modern Age, starting from their initial stage, apprenticeship. It is usually assumed that what the apprentice received during his contract period was exclusively in kind (food, clothing, clean clothes, bed, footwear etc). However, this research also highlights the contribution of a monetary part of the remuneration, as well as the versatility in the forms and combinations that monetary and non-monetary items had depending on the customs of each trade, the needs of masters

and families of the apprentices, and the private or public nature of the contractors. The long-term perspective adopted also makes it possible to detect the evolution of remuneration and its composition. The main objective is to unveil the mechanisms of remuneration in the modern period and reflect on the (non-)salary status of apprenticeship.

LM_03: Negotiation of Labour Migrants' Rights: Actors, Institutions, and Contentions (OC)

Chair: Rory Archer (University of Konstanz / University of Graz)

Jessica Richter (Institute of Rural History, St. Pölten): *Seasonal labour migration on an increasingly nationalised labour market (Austria, 1918–1938)*

Landless rural populations in Europe at the beginning 20th century often had to rely on pluriactivity to make a living: Simultaneously or alternately they combined different means of income, from subsistence activities to positions in service and different forms of wage labour. Making ends meet frequently meant moving around, e.g. commuting back and forth to seasonal occupations.

After World War I, however, new nation-states, borders and state measures to control movements impacted on migration routes and practices. Like other states, Austria introduced new measures and regulation, which complicated employment for non-citizens. In times of repeated economic crises and high unemployment, this was justified with the protection of the domestic labour market. Agricultural labourers, though, were at first widely excluded from restrictions to prevent labour shortages – a common complain voiced by landowners well until the 1930s.

Generally, agriculture was the most important gainful occupation in the recently established Austrian republic. It was characterised by a low degree of formalisation, but this did not mean an absence of state intervention in agricultural labour mobility and employment. How

(dependent) farm labour should be regulated and controlled was, however, highly contested even amongst administrative authorities.

The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, closed bilateral agreements with neighbouring states (Czechoslowakia, Poland, Hungary) from the beginning 1920s to recruit seasonal labourers in a highly regulated scheme. Recently established bodies of labour market administration, in contrast, were sceptical about recruiting non-citizens and actively opposed the exemption of "foreigners" from employment restrictions. They aimed to centrally and universally organise employment. This comprised a strategy of nationalising the labour market that established new hierarchies between workers: Unemployed citizens should be transferred to open positions in agriculture while "immigration into the domestic labour market" should be prevented. Apart from programmes to train and place Austrian jobseekers formally employed in industrial occupations, labour administration bodies e.g. focussed on regulating seasonal labour mobility within the country, particularly from the region of Burgenland to large estates in bordering regions.

These and other authorities struggled for competences and to assert their respective standpoints on how employment and mobility in agriculture should be regulated. Their efforts, however, were often counteracted by the targeted Austrian and non-Austrian workforces. Seasonal labourers avoided official labour intermediation and recruitment schemes, left employment in favour of better opportunities elsewhere, protested conditions or failed to leave Austria after their contracts expired. Some non-citizens accepted irregular employment, others took advantage of legal grey areas and found regular ways to make a living in Austria. The latter – or their employers – were sometimes supported by local authorities.

In the presentation, I will review source materials produced by authorities from local to the state levels. I will investigate competing administrative practices of regulating agricultural employment and labour mobility. The results are contrasted with a comparison of case files presenting workers' (and employers') practices from an administrative perspective. Against the background of these struggles I will discuss how the organisation and practices of seasonal labour mobility changed in the course of the interwar years.

Federico Del Giudice (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa / École des hautes études des sciences sociales, Paris): *Claiming social rights: Migrant workers in the French and Argentinian labour courts during the interwar period*

In the early 1920s, labour conditions of foreign workers improved in many immigration countries, thanks to three converging phenomena: the implementation of new social policies on a national scale, the signature of bilateral labour treaties between emigration and immigration Countries, and the adoption of the first ILO conventions on a multilateral level.

Historiography has paid wide attention to these phenomena, while a lesser attention has been paid on the concrete capacity of migrant workers to defend themselves when their rights were threatened by their employers. As highlighted by the International Federation of Trade Unions just after the war, one of the most important problems for the recognition of equal rights was represented by several obstacles that migrant workers had to face when they wanted to claim their rights before the Labour Courts. Procedures were too long and expensive and, moreover, the legal language in every single national system frequently hampered any form of action.

The aim of my presentation is to focus on how migrant workers in Argentina and France "used" the Courts to claim new social rights during the interwar period. Judicial sources could help us to gain a better understanding of the place of foreign workers within the micro-economic structure and the solidarities that emerged among workers. As such, I will analyse the role played by the immigrant community in the conflicts, if the employers and the employee belonged to the

same nationality, if workers of different origins merged their strategies, etc.

Moreover, judicial sources can show the role played by trade unions, foreign diplomacy, and international law in the defence of migrant workers. In fact, trade unions established special bureaus to give legal support for foreigners; and bilateral treaties and multilateral conventions became important legal sources. The actors and the language of justice were progressively changing.

The comparison between Argentina and France allows us to analyse two jurisdictions that were completely different. The French *prud'hommes* were a very peculiar type of Court, since judges were elected equally among workers and employers and the judicial procedure was cheap and short. In Argentina, on the contrary, labour conflicts were judged by Civil and Commercial Courts which acted in a very formal and traditional way. How did the two types of Courts take into account migrant workers? And how did migrant workers try to manage the two different type of justice?

During the interwar period, labour justice became an important arena for the recognition and the implementation of new social rights. This proposal aims to show the concrete involvement of migrant workers in this historical process. For this purpose, a part of the presentation will be based on the analysis of statistical data on the participation of foreign workers and the "structure" of the conflicts, while another part will rely on a micro-historical approach, by showing some specific lawsuits.

Emmanuel Comte (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs): *Migrant workers' rights to welfare benefits: The development of a European Community regime, 1954–1986*

Welfare benefits constitute a major component of migrant workers' wages but are rarely taken into consideration to understand migration patterns and migrant workers' earnings and rights. This paper contributes to a better knowledge of the relationships between migrant workers'

rights to welfare benefits on the one hand, and migration patterns and the respect of migrants' rights on the other hand. To do so, this paper investigates the development from 1954 to 1986 of a set of rules within the European Community regarding the welfare benefits recognised to migrant workers and their families. This inquiry resorts to the documents from the archives of the Council of the European Union and of the European Commission in Brussels and Florence. The paper reveals that West European governments routinely considered the definition of migrant workers' rights to welfare benefits as a major instrument to shape migration patterns given their impact on family migration. Densely populated countries such as West Germany and the Netherlands recognised the right to full benefits to immigrant workers' families living in their countries of origin. This aimed to encourage those families to stay in their countries. By contrast, countries that were less densely populated, or with declining population, or with balance of payment deficits, such as France, Belgium, and the UK, restricted the right to full benefits to the families that lived with immigrant workers in the country. The member states of the European Community attempted to define a common approach from the mid-1950s. In the following years, a major enlargement of migrant workers' right to have their families receive full welfare benefits in origin countries occurred. The importance taken by Germany in European migration flows and German subsidies to French agriculture both served to overcome French reluctance. This development mitigated a pattern of large family migration flows, in favour of a more important turnover of migrant workers inside the Community. After a few years, a large number of them returned to their countries of origin, where their families had stayed. Yet, the increase in immigration from outside the Community from the 1970s onwards did not lead to extend the rights to welfare benefits of those new immigrant workers. First, their countries of origin were so much poorer that destination states did not consider the export of welfare benefits as a serious instrument to reduce migration flows. Second, the large number of workers and families concerned threatened to create large financial obligations. Third, and more

importantly, European states had defined a policy to restrict immigration from the Global South. Accordingly, an inequality of treatment between migrant workers from within the Community and those from outside persisted. Only the former could enjoy the full benefit of their contributions to social security systems in destination countries. The recognition of migrant workers' rights to welfare benefits for their family members has therefore been a way to shape migration patterns in Europe. It has also been the place of an inequality of rights between European workers and immigrant workers from outside Europe.

2:00–3:30pm:

PH_01: Writers' Workshop I (SR 1)

Chair: **Juliane Schiel** (University of Vienna)

Damian Pargas (Leiden University): *Introduction to the Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery*

Discussion of Draft Chapters on Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Societies

Palgrave Macmillan is preparing a "Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery" with Damian Pargas (Leiden) and Juliane Schiel (Vienna) as editors-in-chief. The handbook introduces students and scholars to the study of slavery across time and space by providing both emerging and established researchers with a comprehensive understanding of the current state of the field, as well as by serving as a unique reference work for developing further lines of inquiry. The publication, planned for 2022, consists of article-length analyses of the most prominent and widely-researched systems of slavery around the world – from antiquity to the contemporary era – and encourages readers to uncover connections, similarities and differences between various manifestations of slavery throughout history. This workshop, organised as double session, is dedicated to the discussion of draft chapters of the handbook.

WE_00 (Workers' Education): WG Meeting (SR 2)

Chair: Jenny Jansson (Uppsala University)

LFE_01: In Other People's Households: Children and Early Youth as Rural Servants and Live-in Apprentices in the Past

Chair and discussant: Manuela Martini (Université Lumière Lyon 2 / Institut Universitaire de France), **Maria Papathanassiou** (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)

Maria Papathanassiou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens): *Growing up in rural Europe: Reflections on the functioning and the experience of rural service (19th and early 20th centuries)*

Working conditions and experiences of children and early youth, who were in rural service in 19th and early 20th century Europe, particularly german speaking Austria, are reflected upon. Furthermore, the paper draws introductory comparisons with the conditions and experience of apprentices in the same time period.

James Fisher (University of Exeter): *"The Arts of Honest Industry": Pauper apprenticeship and training for the labouring poor in early modern England*

This paper will explore the question of training in a particular form of apprenticeship in early modern England: pauper or parish apprenticeships, in which children from poor families were bound by local state officials to live and work in other households for between 7 and 17 years. It therefore connects the themes of poverty and freedom to the session themes of youth and labour. As a device of poor relief (consolidated in law in 1601) for the children of the poorest families, it was an institution

targeted at regulating the labouring poor. As a labour contract instigated and administered by state officials and enforced by magistrates, it was shaped more by legal forces than market forces (indeed, many masters refused to accept children imposed upon them). Since pauper apprentices were bound at a young age (from 7) by the state and forced to enter unpaid service for long periods, from which they could not leave without punishment, they lacked freedom relative to older and more prosperous children who apprenticed themselves and voluntarily entered annual service contracts.

This context is crucial to improve our understanding about the role of training for pauper apprentices. Some scholars argue that the intention was for children to gain enough skills to be self-sufficient in adulthood and not claim poor relief, and that there was significant overlap in trades with private apprentices, for whom technical training was the primary purpose. Other scholars argue that the driving purpose was to lower the poor rate, that children were overwhelmingly bound to low or unskilled trades, and that they were simply used as a source of cheap labour. However, many of these accounts are overly impressionistic and lack clear definitions of "training".

This paper therefore has three main aims. First, to provide conceptual clarity on a confused debate, which often fails to properly distinguish between different forms of learning, e.g. between "technical" training (skill acquisition) and "moral" training (labour discipline). Multiple kinds of learning should be understood within a broader framework of socialisation, in which poor children learned the basic skills, industrious habits and submissive conduct suitable for their role in society. In the words of a 1770 sermon, poor children were to learn "the arts of honest industry". Second, to provide new evidence for the intentions regarding such socialisation through an analysis of the diverse clauses used in parish indentures, which sometimes specified instruction equivalent to private indentures, sometimes used alternative vague phrasing (e.g. "to bring up in" the art), and sometimes had no relevant statement at all. Third, to map how these clauses related to the characteristics

of the child (age, gender) and apprenticeship (trade, master/mistress), to discern patterns in the expectations regarding the child's upbringing. An underlying claim is that pauper apprenticeship (as a form of socialisation) should not be understood as a purely economic relation but simultaneously as a political and social relation: the master or mistress was loco parentis with juridical powers and obligations to produce disciplined labourers.

Styliani Chatzopoulou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens): *Minors as rural servants and live-in apprentices in early modern and modern English broadside ballads*

This paper offers insights into the history of child and youth labour in early modern England through popular culture and English broadside ballads in particular. Child labour, in comparison to adult labour, is underrepresented in broadside ballads. Yet, the examination of a sample of ballads with references to rural servants and live-in apprentices dated from the 17th to the 19th century against the background of secondary literature, can offer valuable information about the topic. In particular, this paper has two aims: firstly, to examine the different representations of minor rural servants and apprentices in English broadside ballads; secondly, to examine the work and personal relations between minor rural servants or live-in apprentices and other household members.

The examination of the ballads included in the sample proves the existence of different narratives. These narratives include stories of abusive behaviour and exploitation, stories of seduction as well as stories of love and stories of vulgar humour. According to ballad lyrics, children and youth entering other people's households to work as rural servants or live-in apprentices did not only contribute to the household economy but also they were interacting in multiple ways with other members of the household. In fact, case studies of ballads indicate that they form strong bonds, while other cases studies indicate that they are perceived as a threat to household stability. The representations of

these minors in ballads that were examined are often based on stereotypes linked to their gender as well as to the nature of their labour and to the urban or rural environment.

Paola A. Revilla Orías (Bolivian Catholic University of San Pablo (UCB-SP), La Paz/University of Bonn): *Moving to your place: Guardianship and unfree labour of indigenous and Afro-descendant children and youth (Charcas, 16th-18th century).*

The word "guardianship" refers to the protection and guidance exercised by one person over another, which, for different reasons, cannot be conducted autonomously in society. The legal etymology of the term that dates back to Roman law passed from Spain to America and was in force as a principle between the 16th and 18th centuries, influencing the life of everyone who was deemed unable to "govern himself." The best-known formula fell on minors, children and young people up to 25 years of age.

In Charcas (colonial ancestor of Bolivia), this concept and its practical application have a particular complexity and some nuances that merit analysis in historical perspective. One that allows us to understand its intricate articulation with a certain civilizing paternalism, and with the desire (little admitted) to obtain, control and ensure the reproduction of unfree labour in shops, workshops and households of colonial cities and farms.

This presentation seeks to explore three kinds of situations to which some minors under guardianship were exposed, particularly indigenous and Afro-descendant. They nurtured new forms of asymmetric dependency relationships, with a strong balance for life in a multicultural community as Charcas, on its management of the difference in the medium and long standing.

At first, the mechanisms that legitimised minors of indigenous origin to reside under the guardianship of third parties and to work for them will be seen. The paper will analyse the role played by parents and relatives - when there were any-, the diversity of service seats in which children were immersed and the meaning given to them. In a second stage, the experience of natural children will be addressed – the offspring of illegitimate relationships between people of different origins and conditions who lived with their parents and relatives for whom they worked. Finally, the reality of the captives and their children who, having been kidnapped from the lowlands, became part of the servitude in the households of Charcas, will be considered.

The specificity and links between these realities with that of other workers within the "casa poblada" (populated house) will be analysed. In this way, there will be a more complete overview of the mechanisms used in the worlds of work in Charcas, to ensure coercitive servitude of minors of certain origins, at the service of the family economy of the time.

ETU_02: European Trade Unions and the Economic and Monetary Union (LH A)

Chair: **Sigfrido Ramírez Pérez** (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory, Frankfurt a.M.)

Claude Roccati (Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne): The *European Monetary Union and the diverging positions of European trade unionism: The French case*

The historical divergences between French trade unions in relationship to European integration are well known and go much beyond the membership to the European Trade Union Confederation. These divergences were accentuated during the elaboration and signature of the Economic and Monetary Union. Since the end of the 1970s, the French CFDT had endeavoured a strategic reorientation, which made of the European integration its new horizon of expectations. The perspective of a real economic union associated to the influence of Jacques Delors appeared as an opportunity not to miss for a trade union whose culture was hostile to state intervention in industrial relations, favouring the prevalence of collective bargaining. The CFDT put all its efforts to bring such conceptions within the European Trade Union Confederation, appearing as the main

actor of the strategic adjustment of the ETUC. On its side, the CGT accentuated its critical stance towards European integration during the 1980s. Therefore, when the French government decided to call for a referendum on the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty, these two French trade unions had opposed views on its ratification. This paper will present and analyse the public arguments defended by both trade unions, by focusing on their respective forecasts about the economics at the basis of Economic and Monetary Union, but also on their respective conceptions of European integration and of trade unionism.

Marvin Schnippering (University of Glasgow): *From the struggle of the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) for the social dimension of European integration, 1970–1992*

From the outset, the main goal of the DGB's and the ETUC's European policy was to promote a more social and a more democratic European Community (EC). The DGB and the ETUC were well aware that their vision of Europe was depending on community treaties, which would expand the legal responsibilities of the EC for social policy and strengthen the role of trade unions within the institutions of the EC.

In this vein, the presentation is going to reconstruct the DGB's and the ETUC's proposals for legal steps in the direction of "social Europe" and is going to show when and in which way the trade unions tried to influence the legal framework of the EC. Additionally, the paper will examine how the DGB and the ETUC perceived and interpreted the treaty changes, which came into force. These insights are based on the study of the archival material of the DGB and the ETUC. This analysis of the archival material was severely needed in order to question the assumption that the German trade unions consistently overlooked the European stage in the time from the oil crisis until the Maastricht Treaty (TEU).

The unions' scope of action was defined by the legal foundation of the Community from the inception of the European project. The 1951 Treaty of Paris gave the trade unions an audible voice in some social matters, although the legal requirements for social policy were weak. The Treaty of Rome tuned this voice down to a more passive role in 1957. It was against this background that the DGB and the ETUC continuously demanded a democratisation of the European institutions: They sought to strengthen the legal framework in which work relations were taking place in the EC.

The presentation will look at three specific moments in the history of the EC when the DGB and the ETUC were pressing particularly strong for their demands. First, the Werner plan (1970) which envisaged the introduction of an economic and monetary union (EMU). Second, the Single European Act (SEA) which laid the foundation for the single market. Third, the run-up to the monetary union. The trade unions feared that these steps of economic and monetary integration would lead to more competitive pressure for European firms and demanded that any legal action would be accompanied by social regulation as well. These demands were partially met with the SEA, which incorporated stipulations over the social dialogue and work safety into the treaty. However, the interpretation of these requirements was controversially discussed among the trade unions and the national governments. While the social protocol of the TEU was a success for the DGB and the ETUC, the treaty was generally seen critically because of its monetaristic bias and the lack of democratic control of the EMU. This criticism constitutes a challenge that has been discussed until the present day.

LE_03: Labour and Decolonisation I (LH C2)

Chair: **Joe Redmayne** (Newcastle University)

Limin Teh (Leiden University), **Duncan Money** (Leiden University):
Decolonisation at work: A comparative history of mining labour on the Central African Copperbelt and the Fushun coalfields, c. 1946–1970

Decolonisation in the post-war period dismantled, peacefully or violently, colonial empires in Asia and Africa, and brought anti-colonial nationalist forces to power. This new nationalist order was, rhetorically at least, grounded in the belief of shared identity and a promise of equality, to replace an imperial ordered rooted in racial superiority and economic inequality. In a previous article (forthcoming, ILWCH), we identified striking similarities in the organisation of life and work at mines on the Central African Copperbelt and Fushun coalfields, and argued that the basic organising principle of labour at both sites was racial. But when both mines begun mechanisation and shifted away from migrant African/Chinese labour, the racial order became the site of contestation between white/Japanese workers and management.

In this paper, we extend our analysis into the era of decolonisation to examine what happened in the workplace when race-based political borders were dismantled, as the maintenance of racial hierarchies is often connected to political control. We investigate how decolonisation affected the labour process, taking a comparative and transnational approach to work and life in two post-imperial mining sites. We again identify broad similarities. Fushun Coalmine, which had been under Japanese control, was transferred to the Chinese Nationalist government in 1946 then the Chinese Communist government in 1949. On the Copperbelt, copper mines in Congo and Zambia, under the control of American, Belgian and South African companies, were all nationalised shortly after independence. New management in both mining sites promoted the creation of a "national" mining workforce through labour welfare and education programs, accelerating an already existing trend. We also highlight new areas of contestation such as the right to union representation and new forms of labour hierarchies based on education and political affiliation.

Adrien Rodd (Université Versailles St-Quentin-en-Yvelines): *Labour and empire in the independence movement in Fiji*

The Fiji archipelago was annexed to the British colonial empire in 1874 through a Deed of Cession signed by Fiji's indigenous customary chiefs. As the British authorities pledged in the Deed to recognise the "rights and interests" of Fijian chiefs "so far as is and shall be consistent with British Sovereignty and [a] Colonial form of government", the document became the foundation of the indigenous aristocracy's cooperation with the colonial regime.

The colony, remote and of little economic or strategic interest from London's perspective, was expected to be self-funding, yet the first colonial governors were mindful of the fact that exploiting the indigenous population would alienate the chiefs, who wished to safeguard their own customary authority and preserve traditional village ways. As in other parts of the Empire (Mauritius, Trinidad, South Africa, Guyana etc.), colonial authorities therefore "imported" indentured labourers from India, to work primarily on sugar plantations. Racial segregation was instituted in the colony, with a policy of "cultural preservation" keeping indigenous commoners confined to their villages and separate from Indian workers.

Thus Fiji's first trade unions, in the early 20th century, were those of Indian sugar cane workers. Inspired by the nationalist movements in India, Fiji Indian trade unions developed into a political pressure force and a campaign movement towards decolonisation. As the British Empire was dismantled in the decades after World War II, and as Fiji Indians had become a majority of Fiji's population by the 1950s, British colonial authorities had to juggle the competing and seemingly incompatible demands of the Indo-Fijian-borne movement for independence on

the one hand, and on the other the anxieties of indigenous chiefs who feared an "Indian-dominated" independent and democratic Fiji, arguing it would be incompatible with British pledges to safeguard the rights and interests of native chiefs.

This paper will examine colonial Fiji's ethnicised labour law and policies, the resulting "pan-Indian" and trans-imperial labour and anti-colonial activism, and the consequent dilemmas that ultimately framed the preparations for Fiji's independence.

FH_02: Transnational Perspectives on Labour Processes and Labour Relations (LH C1)

Chair: **Aslı Odman** (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul)

Leo Grob (University of Bern): *Fixing the social factory: A case study from Australia's aluminium industry in the 1960s*

After the numerous strikes and heavy social struggles during Italy's "Hot Autumn" in 1969, the Swiss aluminium producer Alusuisse decided to close its alumina plant in Porto Maghera in the north-eastern part of Italy. In the very same year, the company opened a new alumina plant in an extremely remote and industrially not developed region of Australia. The paper examines how labour management strategies changed with this "spatial fix". While in the case of Italy, the management of Alusuisse opted for a confrontation with labour unions and workforces, the Swiss multinational company tried to content Australian workers on various levels and limit their organisational and strategic power. Since the new plant was established in an isolated area of the country – a common feature of mining projects – the company had to build a new town for about 5,000 people. Because of their remoteness, many mining sites and towns force companies to deal with problems related to the labour force reproduction as well as the production of raw materials. This allows a combined analysis of the spheres of social reproduction and economic production. Drawing on Social Reproduction Theory, this contribution analyses the spatial strategies of the company, in order to manage paid and unpaid workers.

Remoteness was one of the key factors influencing the described scenario. It affected labour management as well as the power relations between workers and managers. On one hand, remoteness increased the structural power of the workforce. In the design of the plant and the adjacent mine, the management therefore strongly focused on measures preventing strikes, such as conveyor belts or central command rooms. On the other hand, remoteness forced the company to assume a lot of responsibility for social welfare in order to recruit and retain its employees. As the paper shows, the management opted for a suburban city planning, aimed at attracting families and married workers. Relying on the gendered subjectification of suburban space, the company managed to "spatially fix" women in the suburban "dream house", while securing their reproductive work for the community and the workforce. Analysing the spatial organisation of the factory and the urban planning of the city as two sides of the same coin, the paper refers to the concept of the "social factory" (as developed by Italian Marxists in the 1960s). Against this background, it raises important questions concerning the boundaries of factories and the resources that are necessary to sustain international companies.

Prerna Agarwal (Indian Institute of Sciences, Bengaluru): *The construction of sangh-shakti (union power): The port of Calcutta in the 1930s*

The case of Calcutta Port Shramik Union provides a rare example of a radical "red-flag", but a stable and recognised trade union in late colonial India. The paper presents a countervailing thesis to an influential strand in Indian labour historiography that trade unions were an "ephemeral" presence in the first half of 20th century. Using the regular correspondences between the Port Trust management and the Shramik Union available at the Kolkata Port Trust Maritime

Archives, we foreground the workplace and workplace issues to understand the making of red-flag politics in inter-war India. In stark contrast to Chakrabarty's view that trade unions (despite their radical organisers) were run like union babu's zamindaris, the project brings attention to the transformation of Calcutta Port Trust Employees Association (CPTEA), a clerks' association, into a *Shramik* (workers) Union in the depths of the Great Depression. It was to remain the most influential union at the Calcutta waterfront for the rest of the twentieth century.

The paper establishes the quick development of the union as a popular platform for the expression, protest and negotiation of collective and everyday grievances under the pioneering leadership of a revolutionary clerk and his workers' league. Through the union's trilingual newsletter and vernacular leaflets, biographies of its architects and trade union practices, the paper examines the presence of strains of syndicalism at the Calcutta port, an important political current in the international labour movement that has rarely been discussed in the Indian context. The Shramik Union placed workers' issues in the framework of the crisis of global capitalism. The union was imagined as an association of workers and as *shakti* (power). A strikingly modernist metaphor of "a machine which repairs" was used to describe its functions. The power of the Union was not just for securing workers' rights, *mukti* (freedom) from a "world of [class]conflict" was the broader objective. In line with such expansive ambitions, it developed a repertoire of popular fighting devices – letters, petitions, charter of demands, strike committees, sectional committees and study circles – through which class solidarities were sustained and ideas of emancipation of labour spread. Port labour struggles made a leap from fluid, shifting and sectional demands to an elaborate charter of demands cutting across various sections, and even reaching out to those workers employed by different contractors in the port-area. Entitled as "minimum demands", the charter questioned the whole labour regime at the port, revealing once again the grandeur of workers' dreams in the 1930s.

Bridget Kenny (University of the Witwatersrand): *Material circuits: The global and local production and repair of elevator parts as urban infrastructure for Johannesburg, South Africa, 1940s to 2020*

This paper presents the complex global circuits of parts for elevators to construct, install and repair them in Johannesburg over the decades from the 1940s to the present day. Lifts are a form of urban infrastructure necessary to maintain city mobility, and yet they are often overlooked as a site of labour. As part of a larger project that examines the multiple ways in which lifts become sites of racial and gendered labour, this paper outlines the labour of production and circulation of lift parts (from the cages to the electronics to the decorative trappings), which is global, and has circulated along different routes from its early days of importation to Johannesburg to now, when parts move between China and South Africa, intertwining networks of distribution and supply with local brokers. It also maps into this story the engineering and production of specific parts by local (subcontracted) companies as well as the circulation of second hand parts. Elevators are an ignored site of the constitution of modernity in postcolonial cities, and Johannesburg's first lifts in banks and department stores, as well as in mines and grain storage, indeed proved its metropolitan claims. Lifts are a form of infrastructure that brings together a history of the imaginary of the city with the materiality of production, historically stretched out in supply chains across the world.

The paper is based on archival research, interviews and visual (photographic) research (done in collaboration with South African photographer Simon Gush). It will chart the history of the (global and local) production of lift parts for Johannesburg elevators over the decades of the 1940s to the present-day in order to suggest how "material circuits" of production and repair constitute urban spatial forms in postcolonial places through such criss-crossed and rejigged paths.

Nicola Pizzolato (Middlesex University, London), **Ilaria Favretto** (Kingston University, London): *Towards an auditory history of the factory: Noise as a working-class experience*

What has been termed "aural history" has occasionally received attention from social historians, usually more attuned to the textual or visual dimension of their sources, within what the literature has defined as the "history of the senses" (Anthony Corbin). However, seldom have historians of industrial labour and the factory engaged with what was a crucial dimension of the social and psychological experience of workers at the point of production, one routinely noted by anthropologists or public health scholars: noise.

In this paper we conduct an empirical investigation of archival sources from the Detroit auto-factories of the 1960s and 1970s, in triangulation with other accounts of Fordist factories, to assess the significance of noise for the understanding of the factory along two axes: workers' experience of noise as a marker of class differentiation and the way the sonic environment of the industrial workplace fed into the labour unrest of the plants in that turbulent decade. The paper shows how these two aspects intersected, in that job classifications that exposed workers to excessive noise led to grievances on the shop floor that, when mishandled by the union, would escalate in spontaneous forms of resistance and protest. It was then in the context of shop floor militancy that workers would be able to change the soundscape of the factory, through the silencing of the machines during a strike or through the introduction of sounds, music and chants that marked the protests. The paper argues for the incorporation of the auditory experience of the factory into the history of labour relations on the shop floor and, conversely, the integration of the politics of class struggle within "aural history", as a force that shapes the conditions for the experience of sound.

In the presentation, we will weave together different sources of evidence through the exhibits of the digital project on factory history hosted through the Omeka platform.

MiL_02: Resisting Military Labour (Aula)

Chair: **Fia Sundevall** (Stockholm University)

Matt Perry (Newcastle University): *Mutinous senses: A sensory history of the Black Sea Mutiny of 1919*

A revolt aboard the battleship France at anchor in Sevastopol harbour began on 19 April 1919, and quickly spread to other battleships the Jean Bart, the Justice, the Vergniaud and the Mirabeau, as well as smaller ships, the gunboats the Algol and Escaut. This included the notorious incident that took place on 20 April: the Morskaïa road "ambush" or "massacre". Greek troops under French command opened machine-gun fire on a demonstration of the local population and French mutineers in Sevastopol. Although historians have either downplayed or (in Marty's case) been unable to ascertain the truth, there were several French injured and one fatality. In his report on the incident, Lieutenant Vaublanc identified the victim of the shooting as Raymond Firmin Morvan, a third-class sailor and apprentice quarter-master of the Vergniaud. This paper will scrutinise mutineer testimony of these events from the perspective of the senses and consider how the senses-the sights, soundscapes, smells, tastes and touch of the mutiny-shaped the mutiny and how the senses played a crucial part in the experience and recall of the events. Then, it will consider how the senses might be integrated into an enhanced approach to consciousness drawing methodologically on the history of the senses, the history of the emotions, the history of memory and the relationship between mind and body. It will consider the historiographical difficulties of recovering or reconstructing consciousness and the parallel difficulties of participants doing the same in later life.

Domna Koffa (Greek National Centre of Social Research / Sissy Tsavdara, Panteion University): *Special court martials during the Greek Civil War (1946–1949)*

In Greece, the end of World War II heightened a social conflict that gradually led to the outbreak of a Civil War (1946-1949). This war was between the Greek Government Army – with the support of the British and the Americans – and the Democratic Army of Greece, the military branch of the Greek Communist Party. In Greece military service was – and still is – compulsory. During the Greek Civil War the Greek government called to arms every conscription class since 1935. This was the second draft in six years.

Before the full-scale eruption of the conflict the Greek government re-enforced a tightened version of an already strict legislation to address crimes against the state, against the public order and high treason. According to "3rd Decree" those offences were tried onwards by Special Court-Martials and the offenders faced death penalty. Therefore, 24 Special Court-Martials were established throughout the country. Even though ordinary Court-Martials still functioned, many soldiers were prosecuted in Special Courts-Martial, as potential offenders against public order or suspects of communist activity. According to our ongoing research almost 3,000 conscripts were tried in Special Court-Martials. Specifically, they shape three categories:

- Communists and Republicans that formed clandestine groups in the army in order to agitate for the struggle of the Democratic Army and against the British and American intervention.

- Deserters: consisted of draft dodgers and soldiers who run away during combat. Also, defectors to the Democratic Army or captives charged with defection

- Conscientious Objectors. Namely members of Jehovah's Witnesses. Their refusal to bear arms led to wider persecution of the denomination in Greece. Subsequently, their incarceration strengthened the Church's worldwide campaign for civil rights.

This paper uses an original database comprising the detailed registration of decision books and minutes of the 24 special court-martials. It investigates different aspects of mandatory military service focusing on experiences of resistance within the armed forces or to the conscription. It elaborates also on the various degrees of conscious or unconscious denial of performing their "duty", of young men in service or upon conscription, who believed that this conflict was not compatible with their political and social affiliations. These men were also the "target" of the state's "onslaught" during the years of the Greek Civil War and the years that came after its conclusion.

Jeongmin Kim (University of Manitoba): *Labour of protesting: The Korean dock workers' wartime strike of 1951*

This paper discusses Korean dock workers' strike against the US military as a form of resistance to military labour. In September 1951, in the middle of the Korean War (1950-1953), hundreds of South Korean dock workers hired by the US military struck for higher wages and better employment terms. This contribution examines the dock workers' labour experience and protestk and how they represented many forms of essential labour provided by local civilians to US camps and bases in the context of war and occupation, which I conceptualise as "base work."

The Korean dock workers were somewhere between labourers and soldiers. On the one hand, they were temporary military personnel and performed various duties that would have otherwise been done by non-combat soldiers. On the other hand, they were contract workers in the sense that the service they provided was paid and at least not conscripted. In this regard, the dock workers' strike was a manifestation of their worker identity as they organised themselves for collective bargaining. This paper shows how local residents who served the foreign military resisted ideas of sacrificing for patriotic ideals and fraternal unity between the US and South Korea, and stood up to demand better working conditions.

A larger question underlying this paper is how to write military occupation as labour history. One way this strike sheds light on broader questions of labour history has to do with the bureaucratic and legal underpinnings of the dock workers' employment. While their demands were directed towards their de facto employer, the US military, their job contract was formally made through a private third-party intermediary, which allowed the US military to deny liability for labour exploitation. This subcontract system of overseas hiring is known to be a relatively recent practice in the context of neoliberalisation of the military. By closely examining how the issue was handled by the US military, the South Korean government and the labour union, this paper presents the story of Korean dock workers as an early history of the military's indirect employment system and suggests the need for a new framework to conceptualise the longer history of outsourcing military recruitment for US overseas occupation.

Malte Meyer (Hochschule Bonn-Rhein-Sieg): *The global G.I. movement against the Vietnam War*

The G.I. movement against the Vietnam War has been largely neglected by official historiography. This is not due to its marginal role, but rather due to its outstanding political importance. Different forms of soldier resistance in the global network of US military bases (including Southeast Asia itself) brought the US military into very serious difficulties and contributed to the US's defeat in the Vietnam War. While history textbooks usually downplay this successful chapter of military sabotage, the critical historian David Cortwright published an outstanding inquiry on the subject early on (Soldiers in Revolt. GI Resistance During the Vietnam War, New York 1975). Since 2014, a retro-digitisation project of the Wisconsin Historical Society has made more than 900 underground newspapers of the global movement, which consisted mainly (but not only) of black GIs, accessible to the public.

In this contribution, I deal with the GI movement in southwest Germany between 1968 and 1973. On the basis of underground newspapers published in West Germany I will examine social strata, motives, dynamics and activities of the movement in and around Heidelberg. The university town is where the headquarters of the US Military in Europe has been stationed since 1948. At times around 10,000 US soldiers lived in the vicinity of this facility during the Cold War – thus Heidelberg had about as many soldiers as there were students.

In April 1968 violent clashes broke out in the nearby US military prison in Mannheim when a white prisoner made derogatory comments about the recently murdered Martin Luther King. In the following years, the Mannheim garrison was shaken by several prison riots. Protesting against the fatal mistreatment of a fellow prisoner by guards and against the generally inhumane conditions of detention, 100 mostly black deserters and refractors took control of the over-crowded complex again in March 1970 and set fire to several buildings. Only violent suppression through German police was able to put down the prison revolt.

Left-wing activists took notice of the unrest in the US barracks in the area when the student protests also reached their peak in Heidelberg. Inspired by the Frankfurt solidarity committee for the Black Panthers, a supporter scene for enraged G.I.s emerged: Left-wing lawyers helped with lawsuits. Underground newspapers such as "The Next Step" or "FighT bAck" were copied at the student government, and the Collegium Academicum, a self-managed student dormitory, converted its basement into a popular meeting point for war-weary US soldiers. Heidelberg then also had a coffee house that was so characteristic for the GI movement all over the globe.

On 4 July 1970, the Unsatisfied Black Soldiers at Ruprecht-Karls-Universität even held the largest congress of the G.I. movement in Europe: Around 1,000 participants demanded the immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Southeast Asia and Africa. They further asked for an investigation of the conditions in the Mannheim military prison, an abolition of structures of racial discrimination in the military and also for better housing for black G.I.s and their families. It is no coincidence

that Max Watts, one of the most active anti-militarists of the 1970s, also lived in Heidelberg. Together with others, Watts helped numerous American deserters to flee to the Netherlands, to Sweden or France.

Olli Siitonen (University of Helsinki): *To kill or not to kill: American experiences of resisting and participating in deadly violence during the Vietnam War*

Warfare creates an exceptional context for violence where killing becomes an integral part of the job description of soldiers. Although killing is an essential part of the military experience, not all soldiers are willing or able to commit violence that transgress their personal moral values even under these special circumstances. However, abstaining from violence may become difficult in life-threatening situations where personal survival and the wellbeing of their comrades is contingent on their willingness and ability to take the lives of their protagonists. Resisting during combat may come with a price as defying a direct order from one's superior can result in severe punishment or exclusion from the military unit that is essential for the survival of its members.

Surrounding circumstances and psychological factors affect personal choices and the leeway of individuals on the battlefield, which has been recognised both in the fields of history and psychology. This paper shows how American soldiers describe their personal experiences of violence in the Vietnam War by analysing their letters, diaries, memoirs and interviews through a social psychological framework. It concentrates on how soldiers narrate and share their experiences related to both resisting and participating in violent action. What are the different options that soldiers have and how do they explain their decisions? How does this affect their life and personal identity after military service?

Growing evidence indicates that experiences of personal violence and killing during war are closely related to symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, depression and self-punishing behavior among military veterans. This suggests that decisions to resist or participate in violence may have long-lasting effects after the war. Several publications in psychology have called for research of the historical context of war. Thus, there is a need for a multidisciplinary approach to research, as understanding the full extent of the situational factors of warfare would prepare clinicians to work with veterans suffering from experiences of personal violence. This paper will contribute to this by providing historical analysis of the explanations that American soldiers give to acts of violence.

MaL_03: Nautical Education and the Training of the Workforce (OC)

Chair: **Enric García Domingo** (University of Barcelona)

Anna Sydorenko (Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno): *From maritime communities to nautical schools: The transformation of the labour force of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (1856–1914)*

The foundation and operations of the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company (RSNTC) reflects the impact of the new steam navigation technology on the Black Sea shipping and its maritime labour market. Due to steam, the already limited seafaring population of the region had to face the challenges of a new era. The aim of this paper is to present the dynamic phases of the transformation of the labour force of the RSNTC. Did the traditional maritime communities managed to accede to the newly established maritime education system? Did the Russians succeed to compete with the specialised foreign seafarers? What was the geographical and social "pool" of recruitment for the seagoing personnel of the RSNTC, both high and low members of the crew? The presentation also investigates the evolving relations between the company and the imperial maritime labour policy and to what extent it affected the labour force.

Matteo Barbano (Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno): *Maritime labour in the age of transition: The Austrian Lloyd, Trieste, and the rise of the steam*

The rise and development of the Austrian Lloyd steam navigation company in Trieste played an absolute role in shaping the Austrian maritime labour landscape during the long transition from sail to steam. The mere number of seafarers employed by the Company allowed the Lloyd to directly influence a plethora of aspects of the port city related to the dynamics and the practices of the maritime labour. The request by the Company of both qualified and unqualified seagoing personnel affected even the educational system of the city, which modified accordingly to meet the needs of the new market.

The aim of this paper is to propose a pattern of analysis for three main interconnected aspects of the maritime labour in Trieste, approached mainly through the study of the Company's registers of the seagoing personnel, the seamen service books, and the "black book" (the disciplinary book of the Company). The first one is the grade of involvement of the old Adriatic maritime communities in the rise of a new Triestine maritime workforce; the second is the role of the Company in the shaping of the Austrian waged sea labour; the third is the new educational patterns emerged during the transition from sail to steam in Trieste.

Enric Garcia-Domingo (University of Barcelona): *Learning on the job: How to become a ship engineer (Spain, 1834–1925)*

When steam engines were incorporated into ships, strong and brave men were needed to service them. To the common difficulties of handling engines and boilers in land, those men had to face new demanding and exhausting problems. How did they adapt to a brand new profession and a new kind of seafaring? How did they learn their trade and how they did develop their skills?

The first decades in the history of the Spanish ship engineers are an obscure period with scarce information, so we have to reconstruct the process through a toolbox of different sources, in order to answer or to better draw some important questions. Which workshops and companies operated in Spain in that period? What kind of ships they had to work on? What were the means for an unformal learning? What was the role of foreign engineers in the transfer of knowledge? And finally, what was the path to formal training in Nautical Schools?

We know that this profession started in the workshops and men went up the ladder, working and living between mechanical workshops and operating ships, but we have rarely direct information of this process, neither testimonies of their main characters. So we will dive in any possible clue to explain their history and provide important information. Of course, beside ship engineers, we should pay attention to the role of firemen and their role in professional and social promotion.

Kristof Loockx (University of Antwerp): *Re-educating seafarers: The practice of magic lantern shows in combating the deterioration of seamanship during the shipping transition, 1870–1920*

In the course of the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the deterioration of seamanship was perceived as the hidden crisis of the shipping transition. Particularly, the increasing supply of low-skilled maritime workers was designated as a growing problem. In response to this situation, both formal and informal seamen's institutions aimed to improve the qualities and skills of seafarers in order to ensure the life of the maritime industry in the long term. The magic lantern, the forerunner of the slide projector that enabled interested parties to project images on a wall, was seen as a crucial means to meet the objectives. In this way, a global network of maritime organisations developed that organised lantern shows for informational, educational and entertainment purposes. This paper aims to gain a better understanding of the practice of lantern shows in the maritime sector and

how this widespread phenomenon contributed to enhancing the standard of seamanship during the shipping transition. Such a focus is highly relevant, because it provides new insights into the maritime industry's revolutionary change and the transformation of its labour force. Moreover, the magic lantern has received much attention in different research fields over the last decade, but its use has barely been discussed in the context of the maritime world. This paper thus highlights the widespread use of magic lanterns in different areas of society that have yet to be studied.

LM_04: Migration Regimes and Policies: Atlantic and Western European Experiences (LH B)

Chair: **Rory Archer** (University of Konstanz / University of Graz)

Christoph Rass (Osnabrück University), **Julie Weise** (University of Oregon): *Migrating concepts: The transatlantic origins of the Mexico–U.S. Bracero Program, 1919–1942*

Over just three weeks in the summer of 1942, Mexican and U.S. bureaucrats negotiated one of the most consequential international agreements in the history of the Americas. The Migrant Farm Labour Agreement, which came to be known as the Bracero Program, committed both governments to jointly implementing and overseeing a labour migration program that would, in the shared discourse of the time, bring Mexican men to the United States on seasonal contracts to fill wartime labour shortages. Historians have painted the program's initial establishment as an act of bureaucratic assertiveness or Good Neighbour politics on the U.S. side, and of nationalist ambition on the Mexican. These interpretations are accurate to be sure, but they leave deeper questions unanswered. In an era of immigration restriction, how did U.S. authorities arrive at the conclusion that migration from Mexico, long left in private hands, should now be put under the aegis of not one state but than two – and should be restricted to temporary migration only? How did Mexican authorities, in the midst of their country's own economic expansion, overcome their long-time aversion to emigration and decide to comply with U.S. requests for a bilateral labour migration agreement? How did these countries' bureaucrats and leaders turn their decades of experience with migration into the specific demands they brought to the table in negotiating the agreement?

Our paper seeks answers to those questions in an earlier era and across a geography wider than the Americas alone. We show that intellectuals, politicians, and labour activists from both countries, including the migrants who moved between them, had spent the two decades before the Bracero Program's advent engaged in a transatlantic conversation about the nature of labour migration and the role states should play in it. In this exchange, Mexican and U.S. actors evolved from seeing migration policy as a matter of outright restriction or lack thereof, to regarding with admiration European models for regulating labour migration through bilaterally negotiated contracts for temporary sojourns. Through the careful selection, management, and consular protection of labour migrants whose stays abroad were to be merely temporary, both countries could, in theory, maximise the economic benefits of migration while minimizing its negative consequences. Such models were first pioneered by France, Poland, and Italy during and immediately after World War I, and later, promoted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) during the 1930s. While the Mexican and U.S. governments, and workers and elites, each had distinct interests, we show how each evolved during the 1920s and 1930s towards embracing the idea of a bilateral temporary migration agreement between Mexico and the United States.

Methodologically, our paper demonstrates that even in cases like Mexico-U.S. migration where labour migrants themselves crossed only one political border, the ideas that shaped, and were shaped by, their experiences may have crossed multiple. We therefore argue that historians must search widely to uncover the multiple origin points of any given labour migration regime.

Nina Trige Andersen (Danish Society for Labour History, Copenhagen): *Easily trained and replaced. How the demand for so-called unskilled labour in Western economies shaped the labour export policies of the Philippines from the 1970s*

This paper investigates the relation between the demand for so-called unskilled labour in Western economies and the development of Philippine state brokerage of labour to the world from the 1970s onwards. Empirically the focus is on the relation between the emerging international hotel industry in Copenhagen in the 1960s and 1970s and the emerging labour export policies of the Philippines in the same period.

Through the lives of Filipinas – of various backgrounds, several of them with university degrees – recruited for chambermaid jobs in Copenhagen from the 1960s onwards, transnational labour trading is traced. Migration from the Philippines to Denmark has, schematically put, occurred in three major waves. Between 1960-1973 – during the so-called guest worker era of Europe and the early days of systematic labour export from the Philippines – a generation that called themselves the Filipino Pioneers and the Vanguards of the Seventies arrived. Like other guest workers in this period, Filipinas/-os were recruited not only to the manufacturing industry but also – and in this case primarily – for service jobs, particularly the Copenhagen hotels and Copenhagen Airport. The second wave, consisting mainly of women workers, followed in a moderate but steady flow from the late 1970s to the 1990s; the majority obtained their residence permits through marriage to Danish citizens or permanent residents, since most other legal options had become restricted or unavailable after the so-called immigration stop that was adopted in late 1973. The post-1973 generation was, however, largely employed in the same sectors, often the same workplaces, as the Pioneers and Vanguards. While Europe increasingly restricted the possibilities of legal entry for non-EU/EEA nationals during this period, the Philippines conversely refined and expanded its manpower export practices. The labour offered by the Philippines was in demand despite multiplying legal obstacles to migration. The third wave of migrants from the Philippines to Denmark began in the late 1990s. The annual number of Philippine citizens entering Denmark rose remarkably from fewer than 200 to more than 2,000 by 2008 (Statistics Denmark; The Danish Immigration Service). This mirrored a general trend in migration from the Philippines to Europe, where the official numbers of land-based workers deployed to Europe rose dramatically between the late 1990s and mid-2000s. The "immigration stop" in the mid-1970s – ending an era of active guest worker recruitment – was never a "stop" but rather a reconfiguration of labour migration. Parallel to this the Philippine state veered away from marketing skilled labour and started strategically upscaling deployment of labour that could be "easily trained and replaced".

This paper explores the implications of these processes by tracing the lives of Filipina workers in Denmark from the 1960s until today and situates their trajectories within a global history of labour trading policies crafted in the 20th century by local officials, authoritarian rulers, trade unions, and international organisations. The methodology is oral history – interviews with both migrants and labour officials – combined with research into both public, institutional, and private archives in Denmark and the Philippines.

Claudia Bernardi (Roma Tre Universitá): *The valorisation of labour mobility in 20th century North America*

This paper investigates the continuous attempt to capture migrant workers into an articulated labour regime developed across Mexico and United States in the first half of the 20th century. The attempts of capturing workers' kinship networks and their turbulent movements across the border by the individual action of employers and recruiters was then supported and reorganised by governments through state managed migration (so-called guest worker programs).

Since World War I, agricultural and non-agricultural employers in south-western

United States have reiterated their request for Mexican workers, sustaining a labour-shortage argument for which the only evidence provided is the assertion of employers themselves: employer attestations were accepted as factual and without need of verification. This argument was then used again at the outset of World War II to request for Mexican labour force: the Emergency Farm Labour agreement was signed on 1942, and went on record as a temporary measure due to the exceptionality of war Despite numerous protests against the importation of Mexican workers both in the United States and Mexico, the program lasted till 1964, and later became known as *Programa Bracero/*Bracero Program. Between 1951 and 1957, braceros had gone from 15% of seasonal farmworkers to 34.2%. Nearly 5 million contracts were signed, and almost 10 million migrants crossed the border between 1942 and 1964, mainly working the land and picking agricultural products in the USA south-western fields. Programa Bracero was finally closed under the pressure of an expanding and strong civil rights movement and with the compliance of the USA apparatus that feared the alliances between different civic and social movements.

This programme that organised the mobility of labour became the constitutive and permanent inner workings of the capitalist mode of production during the Western economic boom that aimed to valorise the mobility, disposability and bodies of migrant workers. In the factory of mobility in which braceros are captured, productivity is not solely located in the workplace, at home and in the reproduction of labour, but is in the very commodification of migrant labour that valorises workers in their mobility, immobility and waiting times. Migrant work is not simply about the supply of labour, but part of an assemblage of political devices for managing surpluses in the mobility of living labour into a permanent and controlled circulation. Through secondary and primary sources, this paper analysis the creation of a factory of mobility occurred largely through the valorisation of labour mobility that allowed a renewed capitalism's transformation. This paper aims to present labour migration as coextensive with the inner workings of wage labour already in the

Fordist regime, and as a constitutive element of capitalist mode of production.

4:00–5:30pm:

PH_02: Writers' Workshop II (SR 1)

Chair: **Damian Pargas** (Leiden University)

Discussion of draft chapters on early modern, modern and contemporary societies

Juliane Schiel (University of Vienna): *Concluding observations on the Palgrave Handbook on Global Slavery*

CEE_00 (Central-East Europe): Working Group Meeting (SR 02)

Chair: **Eszter Bartha** (Technische Universität Dresden / Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest)

FL_02: Women Workers as Writers and Witnesses: Voices from 20th Century-Europe and North America

Chair: **Eloisa Betti** (University of Bologna)

Discussant: **Susan Zimmermann** (Central European University, Vienna)

Kostas Tziaras (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki): *Labour women: Talking in front of the court during the interwar period in Greece*

Writing is a conscious process. A liberating action, an act of emancipation, a sign in time. The interwar period was groundbreaking for many women. Examining the Greek example in the interwar period, one could speak of several women. Women engaged in literature, poetry and political writing, often referring to working class women or expressing various aspects of feminism. Few of them, however, came from the working class themselves. The words of working-

class women, written by male civil servants, are preserved in illegible sources and in the thick volumes of court records. Women from the poor working class ended up there, after quarrels in their neighbourhoods, resulting from their living conditions, but also from conflicts in the workplace stemming from protest and political action, strike guards and militant demonstrations. Studying the example of the robust interwar labour movement in Thessaloniki, one can identify many such cases. The court has recorded these women's insults and complaints as well as the arguments expressed in defense mainly of their morality and honour. The speech, of course, is fragmentary and refractory and women are never presented as entities. They are represented stranded in moments of transgression. They are forced to speak without either seeking to become known or be recorded in history, as women writing their autobiographies do. In their words, however, original scenes of everyday life are preserved, as well as aspects of the ethics and ideology of working women. Their language is true, not because they take an oath before the Authorities, but because it comprises what is historically and socially viable. The corpus of the pertinent findings reflects, through the peculiar writing of court proceedings, not the written, but the oral expression of many working-class women as well as aspects of their emancipation in the intriguing context of the interwar period. It is these aspects that we will try to further analyse in our presentation, using as our main source the relevant primary material of the court records of interwar Thessaloniki as well as the published memoirs of workers and their recorded oral testimonies that are available.

Burcu Saka (Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University), **Meral Akbaş** (Middle East Technical University, Ankara): *Hidden memory: Life stories of women workers in Turkey*

This study, following the life experiences of women workers and the (auto)biographies and memoirs written by themselves or other women, aims to make a critical contribution to the debates on labour, class, gender, and ethnicity in Turkey. It will do this by making visible the "multiple memories" that comprise the her-stories about themselves or other women workers' lives, times and places they

worked, living and working conditions, and compliances or protests, which are usually manipulated or ignored by state, mainstream historical narratives, as well as their male "comrades".

In this presentation, we will argue that the women workers' narratives and writings on their memories of survival, resistance, and struggle also mean "braveness" for taking a stand against the dominance of a certain way of knowing reproduced by different levels of authority – state, mansplaining, workmates – that ignore or exclude them. However, as Annelise Orleck points out, biographical narratives, which are frequently mentioned as giving historical importance to individual experiences, are rarely seen as having such historical significance when it comes to the narratives of poor or working women. Probably, due to being attributed to such insignificance, life stories of women workers could not impress or be apparent in the studies of labour history in Turkey. Furthermore, the interest about the narratives of the women workers of feminist scholars in Turkey remained limited number of studies, women workers could not also tell their stories within the feminist literature, they could not raise their voice. One reason for this ignoring is that, as just we are familiar with from the women's stories we have heard and read so far, women have told the strikes they participated in, the resistance strategies they developed, the political struggle they were a part of, without telling their experiences heroically, without putting themselves forward, in other words, within turning their own unique stories into a collective struggle. In social studies, when the memory, the different forms of narrating experiences, the different forms of relating with worker identity, of women workers are not reconsidered in the context of the diversity of class memory, the way women narrate themselves through making themselves "ordinary" in different collectives make them more invisible.

In this study, by focusing on very limited number of (auto)biographies of women workers published in Turkey, and in addition, on life stories of women workers recorded during the field studies we realised in different cities of Turkey, on novels written by women writers about women workers, on

interviews with women workers, within the context of feminist historiography, we hope to (re)evoke the importance and worth of the desires and abilities of transforming life in the narratives of women workers seen usually as submissive and docile workforce with "nimble fingers" and lower militancy capacity.

Christos Efstathiou (Kaplan International College, London / University of Warwick): *Female voices in the "Left Review": Working-class women writers in 1930s Britain*

In the 1930s, the "Left Review" published several articles on working-class fiction and short stories of working-class life. In comparison to "The Plebs and The Highway", the "Left Review" tended to pay greater attention to the proletarian novel. Its articles tended to look for realism and positive representation of workers. For the "Left Review" critic of Walter Greenwood's "His Worship the Mayor", a "suggestion of a solution to the state of vulgar bigotry and exploitation" was essential. In general, the journal's stance supported the politically committed literature in Britain.

Following the female suffrage in 1928, there was a growing dissatisfaction amongst British women for the limited social and political reforms. The "Left Review" endorsed this perspective and tried to approach working-class women to write about their own experiences. Although several women writers who contributed to the "Left Review" came from a more middle-class background, such as Amabel Williams-Ellis, Pearl Binder, Naomi Mitchison, Winifred Holtby, Nancy Cunard, other less known working-class female authors also contributed articles and stories.

The journal also carried a number of book reviews on the women's situation in Britain and worldwide, raising the question of emancipation. One of the most interesting articles written by an unknown author focused on the "double exploitation of women" at home and work. Other articles focused on the pay discrimination, birth control and abortion. Most importantly, there

were several short stories and autobiographical sketches written by women who either faced poverty and unemployment or felt the pressures of family demands. One such article contrasted middle-class women romances with the new proletarian novels.

In this paper, I will examine the articles and stories of the female writers in the "Left Review". Although one may agree with Joannou's statement that "women featured more prominently in its pages than in comparable publications of the time", the "Left Review" signified a very important transitional moment in the history of the working-class novel. I believe that it stood as the precursor of the more open post-war proletarian novels that tried to encompass the entire experience of working-class women. I will also try to show the ideological differences between some middle-class writers and the "Left Review" contributors; the ideological arsenal used in the writing style of the latter; and the role of the Popular Front politics. Special attention will be paid to the coal mining novel and the role of miners' wives. The paper is part of an ongoing research project on the relationship between the "Left Review" and the proletarian literature of the 1930s.

Peter Moser (Archives of Rural History, Bern): *Writing about working: The pluriactivity of female farmers in Ireland and Switzerland reflected in the writings of Elizabeth Bobbett, Augusta Gillabert-Randin, and Mina Hofstetter*

Elizabeth Bobbett (1897-1971), Augusta Gillabert-Randin (1869-1940) and Mina Hofstetter (1883-1967) were female farmers (more precisely: *Bäuerinnen* in German, *Paysannes* in French – there is no adequate translation possible since the English language has no word for *Bäuerin* or *paysanne*). They all worked their own farm with the help of their children and hired labour, fought for womens' and farmers' rights and wrote and published extensively about their multifaceted activities. Elizabeth Bobbett, in her capacity as intellectual leader and General Secretary of the Irish Farmers' Federation, regularly wrote letters to the papers all over Ireland, published articles in

journals, spoke regularly on public platforms (and was observed by the police who produced their own sources about her). Augusta Gillabert-Randin, a leading member of the suffragette movement in the French speaking part of Switzerland, was a founding member and president of the first female farmers producers' association 1918 in the Canton of Vaud. She wrote a column in a farmers' weekly and edited a female farmers' page in an agricultural journal. Mina Hofstetter was a pioneer of organic farming; she published regularly in periodicals of the *Lebensreformbewegung* and wrote several booklets. While the writings of the three activists focus on their public engagement, their texts also contain an abundance of information and insights into their multifaceted activities on and beyond the farm. The paper will ask how it came that these three female farmers began to produce this abundance of sources in the inter-war period. It will then focus on the importance of their writing for the variety of their activities and discuss the question, why they have, in spite of the sources they have produced about themselves, almost completely been forgotten by historians and why they are today largely ignored by gender studies in Ireland and Switzerland alike.

Eilen Boris (University of California, Santa Barbara): *Dora's Story*

This presentation seeks to trouble the assumption about women workers as writers by searching for the voice of a subaltern labourer, whose thoughts and feelings appear fleeting. It focuses on 57-year-old Dora Jones, a Black domestic worker from Athens, Alabama, who became the object of concern in US vs. Ingalls, a 1947 13th amendment case relating to involuntary servitude. (The 13th amendment abolished slavery in 1865, making it a crime). Legal historians consider this case a landmark because it applied the amendment to working conditions, even though it never went to the Supreme Court. My interest lies in the protagonists and what it tells us about power between women as well as intimate labour within the household.

For over 30 years, Dora worked without pay for Elizabeth Ingalls, who once was her teacher at a missionary school. Impregnated by Elizabeth's first husband in 1913, given an abortion arranged by Elizabeth, she moved from Washington DC to Lynn Massachusetts when Elizabeth married Alfred Wesley Ingalls, a scion of an old New England family who became a conservative Republican legislator. She did all the heavy labour as well as looked after Elizabeth's daughters. When the Ingalls retired and moved to San Diego California in 1946, their younger, then adult, daughter sought to free Dora from her parents. On a tip from this daughter's husband, the FBI stepped in. Headlines sensationalised the case across the country, the local Black community jammed into the courtroom, and with a long list of witnesses flown in from the East, the case became one of the most expensive to try. Elizabeth was convicted, paid a fine, and was put on probation, which included psychiatric counselling. Dora reunited with family in St. Louis, receiving $6,000 compensation (about $65,000 in current dollars).

In trying to make sense of a group of unreliable narrators, in a family drama that is more than that, I discovered Dora's voice: a woman talked about and talked to, but who also talked back. Here I seek to illuminate the crafting of stories, the relationship between narration and self-narration, in a legal contest over forced labour. Dora wrote a few letters and gave oral testimony; reporters transcribed her words surrounding the trial and interviewers from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) recorded her words. I will contrast Dora's self-presentation with how others read this Black woman's body. I draw upon the records of the FBI and newspaper reports. I am trying to obtain family papers as well to see if there are any Dora letters after the trial.

MD_02: Remembering Toxic Pasts? Memory, Deindustrialisation, and the Environment II (LH C2)

Chair: **Roberta Garruccio (**Universitá degli Studi di Milano)

Martin Baumert (Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum): *Creators of a socialist landscape: Regeneration of open cast mines in the German Democratic Republic*

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) depended on lignite and extended this industry to make the country economically self-sufficient. The result of open-cast mining from the end of the 19th century onwards caused ecological damages and left thousands of hectares of "moonscape". Hence, the environmental history of the socialist state is often described as an "ecocide". But does the theory of socialism not imply a responsible dealing with the natural resources? In 1950, the pioneer of landscape gardening and convinced socialist Reinhold Lingner started the first nationwide environmental monitoring focussed on the destruction caused by lignite mines. At the same time, his opponent Georg Pniower initiated a project for the regeneration of slag heaps and mine dumps, executed by Wilhelm Knabe. This was the beginning of the science of soil reconstruction. A research network was set up which included the universities of Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig as well as several independent institutes. The main objective was to find a proven and feasible method to ameliorate the acid tertiary soils. Between 1952 and the end of the 1960s, five technologies were developed dealing with the specific problems of different types of mines. Specialised machines were constructed, rare resources were replaced by cheaper products, work organisation had to be developed and workers – often women – had to be trained. By integrating these methods into the mining process, the GDR became leader in the regeneration of industrial wastelands in the 1960s/70s – a notable result for a socialist state. Thus, one could say that the common historical narrative, which emphasises the lack of innovation in socialism, is at least questionable. This form of regeneration was executed by the so called "reclamation brigades", which are particularly interesting as – in contrast to the majority of workplaces in the lignite industry – women were overrepresented. Their social status, however, was as low as their payment. Despite the fact that the mining law defined reclamation as part of the mining industry's duties, female labour in this context was neither paid according to the collective wage agreement nor did women receive the same level of in-kind allowance as their male counterparts.

This paper will highlight the ways in which the scientific ideas of soil regeneration were set into practice, with a special emphasis on the discrepancy between the realities of the reclamation brigades and the ideals of the "workers' and farmers' state". At the same time, it will re-situate the GDR's efforts in redressing environmental destruction in the current debates about how to come to terms with the "fossil fuel phase out".

Martin Babička (University of Oxford): *Sulphurous atmosphere: Forests, factories, and Czechs after 1989*

In 1991, the Czech ministers went on a bus trip to Northern Bohemia. Everyone had to go, no excuses, as the Prime Minister Petr Pithart was checking attendance. The visit to a region which was an industrial pride of the Communists was essential for the new, post-Communist government. The cameras and reporters of the Czechoslovak television captured the round table of the ministers with Northern Bohemian mayors. Locals were calling to the studio, complaining nothing had changed in the region known for its coal mines and power plants. In the atmosphere, there was a waning hope for change after the Velvet Revolution, fear of retaliation of the Germans who were expelled from the territory just after World War II, voices of the newly unemployed and – sulphuric acid.

This paper aims to show how the environmental question was linked to the capitalist transformation of a post-socialist society. Whereas historians have recently emphasised that state socialist technocrats

carried continuity over 1989 as midwives of neoliberal order, continuities and ruptures in underlying beliefs in technology and nature, which make up the "modern civilisation" and constitute the modern concept of self, have remained largely neglected. Nevertheless, these continuities have had grave implications, further normalising productivist political economy and culture. Latour (1991) has argued that the establishment of the "modern" self lies in the division between nature and culture, human and nonhuman, produced by technology, and has called for a holistic, anthropological approach that would examine these boundaries. And in line with this methodology, I suggest using the Czechoslovak example to probe into the fabric of (post-)socialism/(post-)industrialism by looking at the very construction of what 'nature' and 'technology' meant and how they constituted their respective temporalities.

I shall be arguing that the imaginary of "nature" was essential in constitution of the new market liberal regime and its post-Fordist work ethic (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), constituting itself as "natural" in opposition to "artificiality" of industrial Communism. Images and memories of dirty Communist factories and power plants, acid rains and dying forests were combined with early anti-Communist politics of repudiation of the past and pro-market agenda of "re-joining the West". Human industrial intervention into nature stood on one side with the "artificial" logic of historical materialism, economic planning and cult of industrial work. In contrast, rectification of environmental damage was intertwined with a reinstation of a natural order, in which not only the woods but also the market constituted nature, and society was to transform into a knowledge economy. What was in the West framed as a shift from industrialism to post-industrialism was thus, in the post-socialist countries, conceived as a transition from Communism to capitalism. Apparatchiks, sulphur and labourers alike were deemed as things of the past. Seemingly immaterial computers replaced smoking chimneys and workers were to change boiler suits for business suits. Narratives, imaginaries and moralities of post-socialist and post-industrialist work and environment

thus prove to be coproduced by the material and semiotic legacy of Communism and industrialism.

Lachlan McKinnon (Cape Breton University, Halifax): *Toxic Discourse: Community environmentalisms and deindustrialisation in Nova Scotia, Canada*

This presentation provides a comparative study of community responses to the threat of toxification and ill-health as the result of industrial production in the Canadian province of Nova Scotia. It reveals the class dimensions of popular environmental discourse, explores the contingent responses of various members within the affected community, and reveals the intricacies of these issues in a settler-colonial context.

The first example draws upon the experience of industrial decline in the Cape Breton steel industry, where community members called upon the Government of Canada and the Government of Nova Scotia to remediate a large site polluted by PAH and PCB pollutants. This resulted in the formation of the Joint Action Group, a combined effort by federal, provincial, and municipal governments to include citizens in the clean-up and remediation decision making. This process was the first of its kind in Canada and provided a model for future efforts across the country.

The second example explores the public discourse surrounding the threatened closure of the Northern Pulp paper mill in Pictou County, Nova Scotia. Environmental concerns were voiced for decades by Indigenous Mi'kmaw members of the nearby Pictou Landing First Nation, as their lands were polluted by the operations of the mill. These concerns erupted again in 2014, when a wastewater leak at the mill prompted renewed public attention; soon, the small county of Pictou in Nova Scotia was embroiled in controversy over the future of the mill that pitted neighbours against one another over the ongoing threat of closure. As of 2021, the future of this mill remains hotly contested.

Janine Schemmer (University of Klagenfurt): *Protect the lagoon: Cruise infrastructures, environmental damage, and protest in Venice*

Industries leave a strong imprint on urban infrastructures. Infrastructures can be approached as materialised ideas of social and political order that unfold power structures. Using the example of the cruise industry in Venice, in the presentation I want to focus on the connection between the infrastructure of cruise tourism and shipbuilding, the interlinking between urban and workers protest movements, and the memory on toxic pasts in this process.

For about ten years now, cruise ships, which since the 1980s anchored mainly in the Caribbean, have been increasingly reaching European port cities, and Venice established as an important homeport where most passengers embark. With increasing arrivals of cruise liners, criticism has risen due to their negative effects regarding social, cultural, and ecological resources. While predominant media discourses regarding the destination Venice focus on mass-tourism, effects of high CO2 emissions and the flooding big ships cause, the controversy extends beyond these problems.

The cruise sector is important for local economy and politics regarding tourism as well as shipbuilding, as Venice (like other cities in the Northern Adriatic) also plays a crucial role within the shipbuilding industry, with the shipyards of Europe's largest shipbuilder Fincantieri located in Marghera, the industrial area on the mainland of Venice. So cruise infrastructures not only affect the urban texture (e.g. in terms of transport), but also that of the (remaining) industrial area and the port.

The cruise sectors' growing dominance triggered protest, also pointing at the power of external interests in local politics. Since 2012, inhabitants and activists alike fight against big ships passing the historical centre of Venice and its lagoon they want to protect. One central aim is to decide an alternative route for cruise liners, and local politics discuss to redirect them to the territory of Marghera, a complex undertaking. Firstly, this would require

dredging deeper fairways in the lagoon, a delicate operation as some canals are highly contaminated due to environmental scandals reaching back to the 1970s, when the chemistry industry disposed its waste in one of the main canals. Secondly, the future of Marghera is negotiated in this process, as deindustrialised areas are to be transformed into cruise terminals. This plan of converting the area from the secondary to the tertiary sector leads to a rapprochement between environmental protesters and workers of the metal syndicate, who are afraid that tourism could replace them in the long run, a union I specifically want to shed light on.

Toxic pasts play a central role in current negotiations about the future development of the city of Venice and its port facilities. I want to analyse which unions are formed in this process, and in which ways protesters tie in with earlier environmental and labour protests. Which narratives and argumentations do they take up?

LiM_02: Environmental and Social Impacts of Mining in Time and Space II (LH B)

Chair: **Rossana Barragán** (International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam)

Francesca Sanna (Université Gustave Eiffel, Champs-sur-Marne)*: The environmental mining impact in the Mediterranean, first half of the 20th century*

Extractive industry has always faced the problem of a dependency in relation to resources, both in terms of location and availability. Its main resource, the mineral deposit, is not only geologically determined, but also non-renewable for nature, so that extraction is both the reason of existence and also the very end or death of mining activity. This paradoxical situation represents a real dilemma for extractive industry and the reason why all firms have to build their strategy on the ineluctable non-

renewable nature of minerals. This dilemma could lead to different responses: research and expansion, in order to take control of new deposits; verticalisation, in order to develop new branches and to diversify; or extractivism, in order to exploit the mineral in the shortest and cheapest way and get the highest profits. The analysis of the firm behaviour in relation to these options can provide a useful overview on the long-term strategy of the firm and a better understanding of the leading tendencies in the sector.

However, the firm has to face the same dilemma on the field and in the production management of extraction. On this level, the strategy is not necessarily extractivistic or path dependent. In other words, the firm may not choose to treat all the resources it needs as they were all non-renewable like the mineral one. A management strategy can be flexible and composite, as a firm can display adaptative behaviours in relation to the natural and social territory or its economic space. This contribution proposes to study the resources' management of the extractive firm with a case study about a great mining company in the first half of 20th century, the Société Minière et Métallurgique Peñarroya. With a micro-historical and connected approach this contribution provides a detailed analysis of field projects and management techniques in relation to the natural resources like wood or water, comparing mainly Spanish and Italian mining sites of the firm (and its subsidiaries). The aim is to show how and in what forms the firm displays both strategical and adaptative behaviour in relation to, on the one side, the general tendencies of the market and, on the other, local conditions and resources, with a feedback effect on the production management and technical condition of mining labour.

Leda Papastefanaki (University of Ioannina / Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno): *The sea, the forest, the village: The economic, social, and environmental impact of mining in north Euboea, Greece (1860s–2000s)*

The paper presents new research on an important mining region, Euboea island in Greece, during the second half of 19th century and the 20th century. As mining activities from small and bigger enterprises of Greek and foreign capital began in north Euboea, the region transformed quickly. In this paper, I intend to examine spatial, economic, social, and environmental changes from mining activities (mainly magnesite extraction and metallurgy) in the region. These changes include land property, labour migration, employment and unemployment according to the mining activities cycle, destruction of the forest.

The sources used for the research include: The Municipal Archive of the small town Limni in Euboea, various economic and technical reports by experts, literature and narratives, British and French consular reports.

LM_05: Historicising Labour Migration in Europe's South and East (LH A)

Chair: **Yannis Papadopoulos** (University of Brasilia)

Maria Fragkou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki): *Globalisation and labour institutions in times of crisis: Intersectional and transnational directions, 1920–1940*

The paper focuses on concepts, actors and their roles in producing as well as reproducing social inequalities in the context of colonial and post-colonial labour systems and regimes of mobility in the Global work world. More specifically, the paper focus on selected concepts that are locally grounded and describe forms of social inequalities linked to different types of labour exploitation, namely "native labour", "new slavery", "human trafficking", and

"cheap/abundant labour". We investigate the complex relations and interactions between the national and the international level and to focus on the global circulations of ideas, practices and people. Also, the activities of the labour institutions, the approach and methods, the policy agenda a series of individual and collective actors: experts, associations, activists, national or transnational networks, various interest groupings, and outstanding individuals. This paper sheds a new light on the mode of operation of international organisations and its involvement in policy formulation.

Ivaylo Naydenov (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia): *Bulgarian migrants as labour force in the Danubian Principalities / Romania during the 19th century*

My aim is to reveal the importance of the migration movements and economic activities of Bulgarians in the Danubian Principalities/Romania during the 19th century (the so-called Bulgarian National Revival period) .In doing so, I apply concepts and methods coming from migration theory and history, economic/business and social history, as well as labour history. The mentioned tools allow to systematise and present in a cogent way uniform facts with economic content. First of all, I will discuss the reasons for migrations (permanent or temporary) from Ottoman Bulgaria to the lands north of the Danube. The Bulgarian migration in the Danubian Principalities/Romania was massive because it was driven by political events (wars), political instability in the Ottoman Empire, etc. On the other hand, there are some cases about migrations driven by economic motives. In other words, the desire of such persons for better living conditions and higher profits, played the role of pull factor. I am going to discuss the patterns of migration and settlement of Bulgarians across Wallachia and Moldavia (Romania). I will shed light on the policy of the central and local authorities regarding the migrants. I will present the main occupations of the newcomers. Such a research based on different case-studies, could reveal some hitherto less known or unknown details, local

characteristics as well as give us the opportunity for broader generalisations.

Kristina Toplak (ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute): *Artists as labour migrants in the EU*

Throughout history, musicians, painters, writers, and many other artists have been depicted as vagabonds, travellers, as people who tend to move around freely, crossing the borders of European empires, kingdoms, or modern states, not only seeking inspiration and new experiences, to research and study, but primarily to find work and new patronage. The story of Francisco Robba (1698-1757), the 18th-century Italian sculptor who settled in Ljubljana, is the (hi)story of such a traveller. Born and trained in Venice, he could not find work for some time, and therefore decided to try his luck in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire on the – at that time still – "unconquered market" east of Venice. The important "pushes" and "pulls" for Robba included the circumstances of his apprenticeship, the changed conditions on the Venice art market and the increased interest in the Italian art style in border regions northeast of Venice, especially in Ljubljana and its surroundings. Robba moved to Ljubljana in 1720, where he married a local stonemason's daughter and obtained the legal status of resident of Ljubljana in 1724. He took over his father-in-law's workshop, and soon gained a leading position as a local sculptor, and until his death he travelled and worked in the region, from Klagenfurt and Trieste to Ljubljana and Zagreb.

The career trajectory of Francesco Robba could be applied to modern times, as modern mobile artists are driven by similar incentives as their predecessors, with two important exceptions: first, modern migrant practices and forms are much more intensive, multi-layered, complex and diverse due to the development of transport technology and communication and also in response to different economic and political pressures; and second, due to changed political circumstances in the late 19th and early 20th century, national boundaries, especially in Europe, changed drastically,

and modern nation-states have implemented many administrative measures in order to manage the international movement of people and to protect national borders and national labour markets. We could argue that, despite the idea of the EU single market, politically generated administrative obstacles are increasingly hindering the mobility process compared to previous centuries.

In my paper, I am going to discuss the international mobility of artists in contemporary and historical perspective, focusing on artists as part of the international work force. The main idea of the paper is to outline the changes in promotion of and impediments to artists' mobility in Europe, focusing on a set of different factors, from neoliberal social transformation, the status of artists as non- or underpaid workers, the nature of modern work practices or the so-called "contingent work" (Polivka and Nardone 1989, following Audrey Freedman) to administrative obstacles posed by the EU and national legislation, as well as artists' practices and needs that influence their decision of whether or not to move and work abroad.

ETU_03: From European Trade Unions to Social Europe (Aula)

Chair: **Claude Roccati** (Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Nicolas Verschueren (Université libre de Bruxelles): *Social rights in the European Union (1960–2020): From market to social citizenship and back?*

This paper aims to investigate the developments of the social dimension of European citizenship since the 1960s through the lenses of political science and history. The empirical focus will lie with the granting of transnational social rights related to social security (understood as a protection against social risks related to work, unemployment, healthcare, pensions, and poverty) to individuals. This research will bring history "back in", in order to go beyond the legal issues at stake and the contemporary policy challenges. The purpose of the project is to explain under what political circumstances a European form of social citizenship has been expanded or, on the contrary, hampered and limited to a narrow set of market-based rights.

More specifically, three hypotheses will be investigated. First, we assume a progressive enlargement of social rights has taken place, from an original focus on the Common market in the 1960s to an embryonic social citizenship in the 2000s, followed by a new shrinking of rights onto a new kind of market citizenship catalysed by the latest recession. Second, we hypothesise that the years of 1986-1992 represent a fundamental historic turning point regarding the evolution of European social citizenship. This short time frame is characterised by deep and intertwined transformations such as the Single Act, the development of neoliberalism, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, the emergence of the Third Way, the Maastricht Treaty and the Delors years. This "Delors moment" epitomised the ambivalent position of many actors (political leaders, trade unionists, activists) in which European integration is alternatively perceived as protecting and dismantling social rights. Our third hypothesis is that the deconstruction of social rights in the aftermath of the 2009-10 recession has fuelled a defensive position towards the EU which can be depicted as social nationalism. The EU is no longer seen as a possible alternative arena for the rebuilding of social citizenship, but as a threat for it.

Sigfrido Ramírez Pérez (Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, Frankfurt a.M.): *European trade unions and the cycles of social Europe (1950–2020)*

This paper will present a synthetic overview of the historiography about the positions of European trade unions towards the various cycles of Social Europe in the process of European integration since the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community until the Treaty of Lisbon. It will pay particular attention to the role and positions of European Trade Unions towards treaty negotiations, before going into the role that the ETUC had played since 1973 in the

various attempts to develop a social dimension to European integration. The paper will develop a state of the art of the research and would like to propose an agenda for further research on this topic.

Conclusions by the working group organisers

livelihood and living situation of the majority of workers around the world, but also pose new questions and challenges for the engagement with coercion in global labour history. Therefore, we will also engage with the question of how researchers and archivists can document the current crisis to enable analysis not only for current social scientists, but also for future historians.

6:30–7:30pm:

ELHN Roundtable: Working Conditions under Covid-19 (LH C2)

Chair: **Silke Neunsinger** (Uppsala University)

Discussants: **Janhavi Dave** (Home-Net International), **Catalina Benavente** (Swedish Labour Movements Archive and Library), **Flavia Matei** (IG24 – Interest Group of 24-hour care givers), **Wolfgang Greif** (Austrian Trade Union Federation / Trade Union GPA), **Tina Plasil-Laschober** (Österreichische Mediathek)

Within the past year, the coronavirus-pandemic has induced massive changes in labour relations: Not only has unemployment reached new peaks in many countries, work itself has profoundly changed its shape in light of limited mobility and safety issues. While the public discourses surrounding work in times of the pandemic often focuses on those segments on the working classes who are able to work remotely from home, the crisis has also made visible existing inequalities in the world of work. Not only have those deemed systemically relevant – be it retail workers, care workers or teachers – found themselves working in increasingly burdensome and riskful conditions. Groups who had already been living and working under precarious conditions to begin with have experienced an immense intensification of their situation.

In this roundtable discussion, we aim to discuss these current processes of disruption, polarisation and precarisation with actors and activists engaging with different areas of the working world, as they are not only highly relevant in regards to the

Wednesday, 01–09–2021

9:00–10:30am:

WG 1 (Grammars of Coercion): Writers' Workshop I (SR 1)

Chair: **Claude Chevaleyre** (Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lyon)

The Working Group 1 of the WORCK Network is preparing a special issue entitled "Grammars of Coercion. A Historical Semantics Approach for Labour and Social History" for the "Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften" (ÖZG). The issue focuses on historical semantics as approach to global labour and social history and consists of three parts. The first part discusses current approaches in historical semantics and presents the conceptual background of the collaborative database project of the working group. The second part offers empirical case studies on specific contexts of coercion and their semantic analysis, while the third part concludes the special issue with two interviews on the potentials and challenges of the historical semantics approach. This workshop, organised as double session, is dedicated to the discussion of draft versions of the methodological papers (part I) and of the empirical case studies (part II).

WG 3 (Im/Mobilisations of the Workforce): Writers' Workshop I (SR 2)

Chair: **Biljana Stojic** (University of Belgrade)

WG 3 ((Im)Mobilisations of the Workforce): Writers' Workshop I

WG 4 (Intersecting Marginalities): Writers' Workshop I

WORCK is dedicated to understanding what happens when we link stories of work and production with stories of violence, expropriation and marginalisation. WG 4 "Intersecting Marginalities" investigates this from the particular approach of intersectionality. We examine how social markers such as gender, age, legal status, class, race, religion or sexual orientation shape and are shaped by systems and practices of coercion, bondage and marginalisation and systems and practices of labour and production. In doing so, we also ask how such markers are constructed and how they become markers of differentiation. Furthermore, we argue that the emphasis on relations and connections invoked by an intersectional approach is particularly useful when connecting labour relations of the past and present and with stories of marginalisation and expropriation.

CPW_00 (Speak, Look, Listen! The Cultural Production of Work): Working Group Meeting (Aula)

Chairs: **Michael Sanders** (King's College, London), **Luísa Veloso** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Lisboa / University Institute of Lisbon)

LE_04: Labour and Decolonisation II (SR 3)

Chair: **Alejandro Gomez-Pernia** (Université de Paris II Sorbonne Nouvelle)

Nick Owen (University of Oxford): *Visual encounters with colonial violence in India*

The debate on metropolitan knowledge of colonial violence in the case of the British Empire has considered mostly the written and spoken word, above all newspaper reporting, non-fictional books and articles, speeches in legislatures and at conferences and congresses. Yet late colonial violence (1918 - 1970) was increasingly reported by means of the photograph and the moving image too (e.g. newspaper photography, newsreel and cinema). How, if at all, did the visual encounter with colonial violence differ from the lexical encounter? In the literature on images and violence, it is sometimes claimed that images intensify feelings, because they "show" rather than "tell". It is also, on the contrary, sometimes claimed that images numb responses, for example by framing and by distancing. Taking the

example of images of colonial violence in India in the 1930s, and employing theoretical insights provided by Susan Sontag, this paper will use photographic and newsreel evidence to test these claims and make some proposals about how visual encounters with colonial violence modified perceptions, feelings and the call to action.

Yann Béliard (Université Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle), **Gareth Curless** *(University of Exeter): Towards a people's history of British decolonisation*

In most studies of British decolonisation, the world of labour is neglected, the key roles being allocated to metropolitan statesmen and indigenous elites. Instead, we believe the focus should be on the role played by ordinary people, their experiences, initiatives, and organisations, in the dissolution of the British Empire, both in the metropole and in the colonies.

To what extent were ordinary men, women, and youth the principal architects of anti-colonial nationalism? Or were labour mobilisations and other forms of popular protest in the colonies only stepping stones for bourgeois nationalists? What did anti-colonialism and nationalist sentiment mean to ordinary people? To what extent did their vision for independence diverge from anti-colonial elites?

Thinking beyond these nationally framed questions, the paper will also explore the "colonial circuits" (Cooper and Stoler) that shaped popular struggles against empire. For example, how central was the intervention of the metropolitan Left in the liquidation of the British Empire? To what extent were British labour activists willing and able to form connections with colonial workers, and vice versa? Here are some of the complex questions on which future research should try to shed light.

Though convergences were fragile and temporary, historians need to recapture the sense of uncertainty that accompanied the final decades of the British Empire, a period when radical minorities hoped that coordinated efforts across borders might lead not only to the destruction of the British Empire but to that of capitalism and imperialism in general. We would like to discuss the means at our disposal to write a history of British decolonisation from below. What are the new objects, but also the new sources and methods that we need to help labour history and imperial studies redefine and cross-fertilise each other?

FH_03: Narrating the Socialist Factory: Between History, Myth, and Memory

Chair: **Lars K. Christensen** (Museums of Elsinore)

James Allen Nealy (Duke University, Durham): *Flexible production with socialist characteristics in the Soviet Union: The case of the Shchekino Chemical Combine, 1967–1971*

In recent years, scholars of political economy have made important strides towards bridging the stubborn analytical divide that has long separated histories of capitalist and socialist systems. Despite the connection between political economy and labour, a concerted effort to consider Soviet labour in a transnational or global context has yet to be undertaken. Putting the history of Soviet labour into conversation with ongoing debates on the transition from Fordist to flexible production in industrial societies this paper, the third chapter in my dissertation on industrial relations during the Brezhnev era (1964-1982), aims to do just that.

The Soviet Communist Party's inability, or perhaps refusal, to abandon Fordism and respond to the challenge of flexible production is often cited as the central socio-economic failure of the Soviet system. Unable to compete with dynamic liberal economies and unwilling to engage in what would have been an apocalyptic military encounter with the West, the Communist Party, this interpretation suggests, gave up the ghost of socialism and thus the Soviet project itself. This chapter focuses on the evolution of industrial relations in a single Soviet enterprise: The Shchekino Chemical Combine. Located in Shchekino – a small city of about 75,000 people about 200 kilometres

south of Moscow – the Shchekino Chemical Combine was the site of an important, two-stage economic experiment that began in the context of the Kosygin Reform of 1965. Focusing on the first stage of the experiment (1967-1971), this paper shows that many of the phenomena often associated with flexible production in capitalist systems – including multi-task labour, detailed bonus systems, the elimination of clear job demarcations, extensive on-the-job training, horizontal labour organisation, increased worker responsibility, and the division of the workforce into groups of high and low job security – were also present in the Soviet Union by the mid-1960s.

Claudio Morrison (Middlesex University, London): *Rethinking the Soviet Factory: History and the epistemology of post-socialism*

This presentation intends to discuss epistemological issues concerning the study of the Soviet factory as a sociological and historical research subject. This discussion has grown out of almost twenty-five years of research on factory work in the former Soviet Union (FSU). The reasons are twofold: the change of perspective caused by FSU's capitalist transition calls for a reconsideration of the history of the soviet factory; conversely, sociological, and anthropological accounts of its inner workings can inform new historical accounts of the late-Soviet and early transition years.

The Soviet factory acquired unprecedented roles as the basis for political control, for its leaders, but also as a source of meaning and social cohesion for its members. Its long and eventful history reputedly informs powerful legacies. As such it has received significant scholarly attention both during the cold war and early transition. However, now the social sciences face what could be termed as "the paradox of legacies". Since the demise of the Soviet Union, successive waves of reforms have turned its institutions into historical artefacts, which have been then quickly recast as unwelcomed legacies (e. g. autocratic rule, totalitarian mentality, collective values, civic passivity). Yet the latter have become a staple in western accounts of post-Soviet realities.

Key assumptions underlying such legacies have much to do with the limited explanatory and predictive power of many such accounts. The importance of the factory in (post-)Soviet history can hardly be downplayed, and so the uniqueness of that experience and its significance in the current affairs of its successor states. This presentation intends to open a debate as to how a sociologically informed history of the socialist workplace can represent a key step in unlocking its legacies.

Maja Jović (University of Zagreb): *Memory and oblivion of the Borovo factory*

This proposed paper focuses on the workers' culture of the Borovo factory located in Eastern Croatia. I will present results of field research on the anthropology of social memory, based on the example of the Borovo factory. For more than twenty years, Borovo was on the list of the 200 biggest companies in Yugoslavia and the biggest company in the Slavonia region. The memorable year in the collective memory of Borovo is 1931 when the factory, then called "Bata" started the industrial production of shoes and rubber and brought sort of a renaissance, a modernisation to the mainly agricultural area that the area was at that time. The years after World War II brought a different political and organisational framework; the factory was nationalised and with the new factory rhythm also came the new name: "Bata" was replaced with "Borovo", a Yugoslavian combination of rubber and shoes. By the end of the 1980s, Borovo had 23,000 workers, produced 23 million pairs of shoes and had 620 shops around Yugoslavia.

Applying a comparative method on social groups of factory workers' memories, the questions of the representation of the factory in the workers' memories were discussed, with open questions of labour, workers and the context in which these terms were inscribed in the post-socialist societies of Croatian reality. Being one of the biggest employers in Yugoslavia, the Borovo factory has many people who are the representative of the voices embodied in

each of the previous and present workers. Although they all could be perceived as a whole, as they really are as Borovo workers, a closer look would reveal many differences which divide this group of voices into at least two groups. The constant denominator is their working place, the factory, which is the starting point for the building relation basis. The simultaneous process of transition and the war of the 1990s generated changes, just like it was the case with the other factories around Yugoslavia which witnessed a transformation from one system to another and which left serious consequences. Borovo had a destiny to physically try to survive the war damages which left visible wounds on the factory, but also in its workers. Borovo's workers' culture has been chosen as an example considering the importance that the factory had not only as a place of work, but also within life, where the worker had the most important role in forming the Yugoslavian socialist society in its entirety. In today's context, the position of workers in society is marginalised, moreover it is negligible.

MiL_03: Recruiting Military Labour I (LH C2)

Chair: **Christine de Matos** (The University of Notre Dame Australia, Sydney)

Nathan Wise (University of New England): *Custom and contract in the second Maine volunteer infantry regiment during the American Civil War*

Life for many North Americans in the mid-19th century revolved around the social bonds and customs that were developed and fostered within their local communities. For many, these customs were the foundations on which their livelihoods depended. However, in the 1860s, the broad social, cultural, and economic upheaval wrought by the American Civil War threatened to disrupt those bonds and customs. Long standing customary practises were challenged as governments of both the Union and the Confederacy sought to enhance their abilities to wage war. As the war progressed, governments, military authorities, and officers increasingly demanded more of both the civilian population and their serving soldiers. Thus, one particular area that was challenged during the war was the nature and expectation of military service. By focusing on the correspondence of men who served with the 2nd Maine Volunteer Infantry Regiment and examining several key events in the history of the regiment, this paper will argue that at the heights of the American Civil War, as authorities sought to professionalise and regulate their armed forces, rank-and-file soldiers demonstrated their willingness to risk their lives to defend the status quo.

Edilson Nunes S. Junior (Fluminense Federal University, Niterói): *Forced recruitment for the Imperial Navy: The jurisdictions' conflicts and the "manhunt" of whites and non-whites in Rio de Janeiro during the Paraguayan War (1865–1867)*

In my doctoral research, I analysed the process of standardisation of the Brazilian ports (1846-1874), in the context of the political centralisation process which occurred in the second half of the 19th century. The spatial unit under investigation was Rio de Janeiro, the capital and the north of the province. Thus, I investigated the creation of the captaincies of the ports and the relationship between this institution, its employees and the local authorities, the municipality, and their inspectors which were responsible for the organisation and control of the port region. Those public departments were part of the military structure and employed civil and military workers. They were responsible, in addition to the organisation and control of ports, for the forced recruitment to the Navy and voluntary engagement.

During the Paraguayan war, judicial conflicts between local and central authorities gained a new dimension with the increased intensity of forced recruitment of individuals to work as mariners on warships. Recruitment to the Army was the provincial police function, subordinated to the Ministry of Justice. For the Navy, they were the captaincies of the ports. In Rio de Janeiro, many recruits came

from the interior, captured by military and civilians, in an intense and violent way. In the process, officials of the two ministerial powers competed with local leaders for the men who would be forcibly sent to work. This happened especially due to the substantial increase in the amounts paid by the imperial government by the men delivered for the forced recruitment. Subject to this situation and seeking various ways to run away from recruitment (escapes, patronage relations, institutional requests), there were a majority of poor black and *pardos* (free coloured) men.

The proposed presentation originates from the results of my thesis and demonstrates how, in the process of recruitment for the Navy in Rio de Janeiro during the Paraguayan War, military and civil workers dedicated themselves to "hunting" men for work in the Imperial Navy's warships. These men forcibly recruited to work were black and pardos from the poorest classes, as I intend to show. In the Brazilian case, forced recruitment to work in the armed forces intertwined class and race issues specific to the period of slavery.

The presentation will contribute to the session by proposing a discussion on the different political and social agents who performed forced recruitment in the province of Rio de Janeiro, including officials from the captaincies of ports, military and civilians, the province civil police officials, and local political authorities.

Alexandros Touloumtzidis (University of Patras): *The Recruitment of Greek-speaking Macedonians and refugee unskilled labourers from the British Salonika force on the Macedonian front, 1915–1918.*

On 5 October 1915, while World War I was raging on the Western and Eastern Fronts, British and French forces landed in Thessaloniki to help the retreating Serbs, marking the creation of the Macedonian Front. During the three-year presence of the Entente Forces in the Greek region of Macedonia, thousands of Greek-speaking Macedonians and refugees, by working

mostly in labour battalions, greatly contributed to the Allied cause.

The paper aims at exploring the ways in which Greek-speaking Macedonians and refugee unskilled workers were being recruited by the British Salonika Force in the Macedonia region. The examination period extends from the first landing of the Allied forces in October 1915 to the capitulation of Bulgaria in September 1918. The paper aims to fill a specific gap in the study of the Macedonian Front, by highlighting military labour as an element of great importance for native workers and refugees who had been recently and by force proletarianised and showcases how military labour can be a tool in examining the experience of war.

Although Macedonia between 1912-1922 was a centre of significant military conflict, the importance of military labour in the region has not been researched in depth yet. The history of the Macedonian Front in the Great War is squeezed between the "epopee" of the Balkan Wars and the impact of the failure of the Greek campaign in Asia Minor. In the meantime, the political controversy between King Constantine and Prime Minister Venizelos overshadowed the 1912-1922 period and led historians to approach it mostly through political terms.

However, the study of the history of military labour, especially of the recruitment practices, can shed light on aspects of the – until recently – neglected history of the urban and rural populations of Macedonia, but also strengthen novel theoretical schemes regarding World War I. Recruiting practices, such as the publication of military decisions in the local press regarding needs for labour, the use of local networks (e.g. Community agents, refugee associations) or the offer of labour force to the British by the Provisional Government of Thessaloniki, provide us with information on the transnational relations that were established between Greek and British and the forms that they took, as well as the reasons behind the strong interdependence between the need for labour in order to continue the war effort, as posed by the British political economy, and the Greeks' need of basic means of subsistence. Especially for refugees, providing military labour for the Allied cause,

was keeping the idea of them returning home alive. Through this study, we also gain practical information such as working hours and wages, facilitating an understanding of everyday life.

The present study is based on a wide range of primary archival material, such as battalion calendars, Greek newspapers of the time, archives of refugee associations, municipal and state archives, and British War Council archives.

Leslie-William T. Robinson (Brown University, Providence): *Morale and the façade of consent: Innovating affective labour practices of control in the World War I US Army*

Convinced that conscription was necessary to feed its World War I Army manpower system, the American state faced a challenge: how to discipline and motivate citizen-soldiers into action and minimise dissent, while maintaining the façade of consent essential to the democratic political imaginary at the heart of the war's justification? The era's prominent intellectual currents – elite proclivities for a classical liberalism that celebrated a rugged American individualism from above, that met with workers' widespread and strident calls for "industrial democracy" from below – made the coercive recruitment and management of millions of citizens unfamiliar with Army discipline even more difficult.

My paper argues that to throttle dissent and promote cooperative action, the US Army developed the previously inchoate concept of "morale." It connected this ideological tool to a set of affective labour practices which were called "morale work." To implement these practices across its ranks, the Army founded a standalone Morale Branch and developed the new role of the Morale Officer. Morale Officers placed in camps across the country turned Army organisational charts into surveillance networks, with officers reporting on the recruits' "state of mind." They attempted to monopolise the recruits' affective life around the clock by building a "military environment" that functioned as an affective structure to secure the ontological

transformation of citizen into citizen-soldier. A Morale Officer met new recruits at the train station when they first arrived and farewelled them with a head full of ideas about normative citizenry as they demobilised.

Pre-WWI military medical journals, Morale Branch archival records, and the writings of prominent sociologists and social psychologists provide the source base to chart a genealogy of morale practice. Military medicine, and the period's behavioural sciences of both Europe and America formed the primary pillars of this genealogy. From these scientific fields, morale work inherited epidemiological logics (especially notions of mental and emotional contagion) that ultimately connected spatial control strategies in America's contemporary colonial holdings back to the metropole as innovations in labour control. The Army thus reified in its labour management practices the scientific racism woven into that intellectual work.

The paper explores the manner in which Army morale work, an early form of modern affective labour, leveraged scientific knowledge to produce emotional responses in recruits that came to be understood as consent—desired action without dissent. "Right here is the key to all successful morale work," wrote Morale Branch Chief E.L Munson, "to make the soldier think he wants to do what you want him to do [italics in original]." During the Interwar years, impressed by the Army's ability to manipulate its workers, industrial personnel managers imported the Morale Branch's manpower methods into private industry. By World War II the term morale was ubiquitous across society. In this way, and by solving the challenge of making a coercive labour system tolerable to the masses, the American military played an important role in shaping the management-labour dynamics of modern American capitalism, an understudied and under-appreciated facet of US history that this paper seeks to highlight.

MaL_04: Conflict on the Waterfront (LH A)

Chair: **Jordi Ibarz** (University of Barcelona)

Thomas Kalesios (University of Crete):
Dockworkers of Piraeus during a period of perpetual turmoil (1909–1922)

The year 1911 was crucial for the port of Piraeus because it marked the completion of infrastructure in the two big dry docks. This transformation coincided with the new administrative form of the port, which was not managed anymore by the municipality of Piraeus but became autonomous. Considering the general conjuncture (coup d'état of 1909, the Balkan Wars 1912-13, the expedition to Minor Asia and to Ukraine 1919-22, the occupation of the Greek ports by the allies, and a civil war), it is not surprising that the central government wanted to organise a new and formal framework for the port that lasted at least until 1930.

This new policy did not concern only the control of the ports but also the whole reorganisation of the state and society. It is not accidental that during the same period the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Piraeus (1909) and the Labour's Union of Piraeus (1912) were also founded. A special law (1914) obliged labour organisations to renew and legalise their unions. This produced a considerable amount of statutes of the new unions. In this paper I am using them in juxtaposition with information from legislation sources and from newspapers. This way I will sketch the situation of those working in the port of Piraeus in this transitional period of radical changes for the Greek state, and more specifically to focus and analyse what changes caused all these transformations.

Jordi Ibarz (University of Barcelona):
Dockworkers and the Barcelona "Yellow Fever" epidemic of 1870

In August 1870 an epidemic of yellow fever broke out in Barcelona. Its entry into the city took place through the port. One of the working groups most affected by the epidemic was that of dock workers, and the neighbourhood of the city where they lived, Barceloneta, was evacuated. Simultaneously, at the time of the outbreak of the epidemic, the dock workers were on strike organised in the International. The strike, which was one of the first and most important of those organised by these workers, ended suddenly. Workers were out of work for weeks because the port was closed. The aim of this paper is to present a detailed account of the conflict, its end and to analyse the consequences of this crisis on the organisation of dock work, both in the short and medium term.

Camilo Santibáñez Rebolledo (Universidad de Santiago de Chile):
Ratas y pollos: *The union administration of casual employment on the Chilean docks; Valparaíso, 1960–1980*

Following the well-known global trend, the administration of casual labour was the biggest labour problem on Chilean docks after the derogation of the state maritime guilds at the end of the 19th century. This problem would be partially solved only towards the middle of the 20th century, through a registration system that gave the unions the ownership for the nomination of the gangs. This union attribution configured an occupational scheme of regular workers, substitutes and *pincheros* (substitutes of substitutes) that led to subcontracting practices known as "el medio pollo" ("the half chicken"), because the regular workers sent the *pincheros* to work in their place, paying them half of their wages and keeping the other half. As the authorities repeatedly accused, these subcontracting practices favoured a union mafia that they called "nido de ratas" ("rat's nest"), alluding to the Spanish translation of Elia Kazan's famous film On the waterfront; because the hiring control functioned as a loyalty mechanism, reproducing and strengthening the power of the union leaders in a practically unlimited way. This paper examines this union administration of casualism in Valparaíso since its consolidation in the 1960s and until its collapse in 1981, when the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship revoked the union ownership of the work and destroyed the

occupational stratification, making use of the enormous workforce of *pincheros* in a context of economic crisis.

Varvarigos Pothitos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki): *Policing a port: The institutional organisation of anti-communism in the port of Thessaloniki after the civil war (1950–1974)*

After the end of the three-year civil war, the Greek state was under a state of emergency as its permanent priority was to fight the internal enemy, the communist faction that developed dynamically during the German occupation. As early as 1950, the state apparatus would be "consolidated" and reorganised on the basis of the permanent repression and marginalisation of communism. For the above procedure, a strong institutional "arsenal" was mobilised, which included emergency legislation, prosecutions, checks on political views, etc. and had been take action military, police and judicial authorities, as well as various parastatal networks. Anti-communist legislation, active until the fall of the dictatorship of the colonels (1974), was widely used to purge the public service and suppress the labour movement. In this context, the emergency measures criminalised the mind while the adoption of leftist views was a reason for persecution and condemnation.

The port of Thessaloniki, a city with a rich history of labour struggles during the interwar period, was a field of application of this emergency legislation by the state of the victors of the civil war. The arbitrary and in many cases violent operation of state repression will function as a permanent mechanism of intimidation and discipline of the workers of a large port in the Balkans. The state-employer, which controlled the port, was fully in control of the staff, and this in turn was obliged to embrace the ideas and practices of its boss. This presentation aims to describe the procedures for controlling the political views of dock workers and the bureaucracy of the port security authorities. For the needs of the work, will be used unpublished archival material (correspondence with the police, certificates of social beliefs, confidential documents with surveillance, etc) from the Historical Archive of the THPA (Thessaloniki Port Authority S.A.), which will contribute to the study of the state repression of the working environment of a European port but also of those historical processes that marked the lives of hundreds of workers.

Diane Kirkby: (University of Technology Sydney): *Maritime unionists and the deportation crisis, Australia, 1925*

The refusal of British seafarers to submit to a reduction in their wages in 1925 precipitated a local crisis when their ships landed in Australia and unions gave the strikers their support.

The unions' militant leadership prompted a "Red scare". The government supported the British shipowners attempting to cheapen labour costs. Ships were held up for months as crews refused to sail. British seamen spent weeks in Australian gaols for "wilfully disobeying the ships' masters". Their strike provided the opportunity for the government to push its new deportation law into action, and detain the Australian union leaders, to "make the scenes and the excitement" which supported a law and order election campaign. The deportation issue almost overshadowed the importance of the strikers' cause as it threatened to prolong and extend the dispute. When the unionists challenged the legal basis of their detention, the High Court held the deportations to be unconstitutional. This paper explores this turbulent time for Australia's and Britain's seafarers, and argues for its significance in maritime labour history. Being on strike simultaneously in Britain, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, opens a window on to the internationalism of seafarers. That lascar and Chinese crews employed on British ships under even lower wages and more punitive conditions did not join the strike highlights issues of racial difference in the militancy of unions and the imperial frame of shipping that played out during this important period.

LM_06: Contemporary Labour Migration in South-Eastern Europe (LH B)

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Mojca Vah Jevšnik (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts / University of Nova Gorica): *The public healthcare system of intensive care: Challenges posed by the migration of healthcare workers in Slovenia from a historical perspective*

The Slovenian healthcare system has been struggling to maintain adequate staffing levels for decades. While still part of Yugoslavia, it relied heavily on recruitment of healthcare workers from the other Yugoslavian republics and was successful in this endeavour because it offered relatively good working conditions, high salaries, and opportunities for professional advancement. After the independence, however, Slovenia was forced to confront the lack of sustainability of its healthcare workforce, as the effects of emigration and cross-border commute of Slovenian-trained healthcare workers to Italy and Austria, coupled with lack of interest of workers from the EU and Western Balkans to take up jobs in Slovenia, became too substantial to ignore. In light of the increasing demand for healthcare workers due to the changed disease patterns, ageing and recent pandemic-related concerns, and building on data collected with empirical research, the paper seeks to explore the long-term challenges related to healthcare worker migration and healthcare workforce planning in Slovenia. The discussion is guided by a thorough literature review, policy analysis related to recruitment, migration, and retention of healthcare workers in a historical perspective and data collected with semi-structured interviews conducted with migrant healthcare workers, healthcare workforce planners and public health officials.

Katarina Štrangarov (University of Graz): *Return migration in south-eastern Europe: Current trends and prospects for future research*

This systematic literature review represents an overview of, and reflection on, the state-of-the-art of the trends and future research propositions in the return migration to South Eastern Europe literature. Although the phenomenon of the return migration has been discussed in the literature, it stays significantly under researched area with a lot of knowledge gaps and research possibilities. The Western Balkan is considered as one of the most complicated migration and refugee regions in the world, as millions of people had moved through history, which extensively impacted WB labour markets. One of South Eastern Europe's main current challenges is a brain drain and a direct loss of labour, with its countries being among the top-ranked countries in the world in this category, which makes return migrants and their reintegration one of the predominant focuses in the Balkans.

Finding the most relevant literature on return migration proved to be one of the biggest problems, as oftentimes authors use multiple different keywords to describe the same phenomenon, hence many literature sources are overlooked. In addition, many significant literature sources for the SEE region are written in the Serbo-Croatian language, using Serbian Cyrillic and Serbo-Croatian Latin alphabets which makes both finding and using these literature sources very challenging. The literature is selected based on its relevance to the return migration topic, and its focus on the countries in the SEE region. The literature review examines topical orientation, literature typology, year of publication, publishers, scientific field, methodological approaches, sample, age and gender of participants in studies, level of analysis macro/meso/micro, an affiliation of authors, countries where studies were conducted, countries where empirical data was gathered, language and alphabet in which they are written, and future research propositions.

The review of trends in return migration to Western Balkans literature presents a novelty and substantial scientific

contribution to return migration, and SEE region literature. As a review paper, it provides an overview of trends, access potential topics for future research, serves as a reference point for academics interested in this region and topic, stimulates future research, and encourage the development of new studies on the influences of return migration. Among others, the results are expected to showcase trends and future research directions on topics such as migrants' reintegration into labour markets in their home countries upon their return, as well as return migrants' identities and sense of belonging. This literature review is needed to deepen the understanding and further develop the knowledge on return migration to the SEE region and its impact.

11:00–12:30am:

WG 1: Writers' Workshop II (SR 1)

Chair: **Juliane Schiel** (University of Vienna)

WG 3: Writers' Workshop II (SR 2)

Chair: **Claudia Bernardi** (Roma Tre University)

FL_03: Rural Women Workers on the Peripheries in the 20th Century: Economic Roles and Forms of Agency (LH B)

Chair: **Leda Papastefanaki** (University of Ioannina / Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno)

Discussant: **Alexandra Ghit** (Central European University, Vienna)

Ángel Pascual Martínez Soto (University of Murcia), **Miguel Pérez de Perceval Verde** (University of Murcia), **Eva Trescastro López** (University of Alicante): *The political and union participation of female agriculture workers in southeast Spain and its effects on the wage gap, 1914–1936*

During the first third of the 20th century, a process of political and union organisation of farm workers developed in agriculture in the vineyards of Southeast Spain. Unions were founded and even a section of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), which became one of the most important in the country because of the number of its members. This process took place in an area of agro-cities with a population of over 20,000 inhabitants and within the framework of commercial agriculture and rural industries (textile, esparto, espadrilles, cheese factories, alcohol distilleries, etc.)

In Yecla (Murcia), the main of these cities, several labour unions were founded in the early years of the twentieth century (field workers, shepherds, bricklayers, workers in wine cellars, factory workers, etc.). These workers' organisations were founded by the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) in the city.

The great novelty of this process was the incorporation of the young workers, who followed the directions of socialist propagandists who visited the city to give rallies and conferences (such as Virginia González, the first woman to reach the leadership of the socialist union UGT and the Socialist Party Spanish worker and founder of Feminist Socialist Groups in Madrid and

Barcelona or María Cambrils, who wrote in the socialist press and who was the author of a work entitled Feminist Socialism that greatly influenced the workers). In 1915 a group of young people founded the Feminist Socialist Party "El Despertar Femenino" [The Female Awakening], which was an organisation for workers and had a dual orientation: union and political.

The purpose of this paper is to present the organisational process of agricultural workers and their integration into the union and political structure of the socialists. This gave them the opportunity to participate in negotiations between employers and workers to establish working conditions in field work (ordinary work, harvesting-grapes, cereals, olives, etc.). We will show how despite this feminist organisation of women workers, they could not avoid the wage gap, which was maintained throughout the period both in farm work and in local industry. We will present the labour negotiation processes that took place between 1915-1935 and what was the situation of the workers in each one of them; We will quantify the wage gap in each type of work (different jobs in the field, different tasks, different categories and by industries).

We will also provide data on the affiliation of women and their position within the whole of the local socialist organisation (political and union) Finally, we will offer an overview of the cultural contributions of these workers to the whole of the socialist labour organisation.

Meta Remec (Institute of Contemporary History, Ljubljana): *"Women will lead our way!" Women in the changing rural society of Socialist Slovenia*

The article deals with the attitude towards women and female labour in rural areas of Slovenia during socialism. Women in rural areas had always been involved in the work process and did not know the division of work areas typical of the bourgeois environment. During World War I, society had "discovered" the physical work of women, and post-war socialism went only a step further and made equality between women and men one of its cornerstones. Women's work brigades were set up, and women were even put behind the wheel of tractors and combine harvesters. The original division of labour and roles in the use of heavy machinery, which assumed that the woman sat on the fender of a tractor or on the trailer at the rear, admiring her husband who was adept at handling the "beast", was soon overcome. The latter shocked even those who otherwise worked to build a new socialist reality, because they felt that this time the women had gone too far. For the official propaganda, the women behind the machines and the female tractor brigades were the proof that they were able to fight side by side with the men. Just as they fought against the enemy during the war, after the war they fought for bread, progress, and prosperity. Their example was to light the flame of revolution and lead the socialist transformation of the countryside. With the help of machines and various tractor accessories, women were also able to carry out work that previously belonged to the distinctly male sphere, which strengthened the women's self-confidence and autonomy. Electricity also brought about a great change in the lives of the women as it entered the work process mainly through machines that replaced the female labour force. Mechanisation has blurred the gendered division of labour, reduced the need for physical strength and changed the perception of work and leisure. The article will also look at the general position of peasant women in society, highlighting the fact that they were often placed in an unequal position compared to female workers in industry and the public sector. They were not entitled to maternity leave and other social and health transfers. The self-organisation of women regarding education and childcare, which was to take place within the cooperatives, did not get off the ground as planned. The pension system, from which peasants as a social class were completely excluded until the 1970s, was a double discrimination of farm women, because even after the introduction of farmers' pensions, women's right to a pension was still linked to the right of the husband. Based on the innovative analytical concept of the "inclusion-exclusion paradox", this paper aims to show how socialist society imposed new responsibilities on women in rural

areas, encouraging them to work, take on traditional male roles and participate actively in public life, while at the same time binding them to the home by not relieving them of their traditional tasks of caring for the household, children, and the elderly.

Husseina Dinani (University of Toronto): *The gendered politics of cooperative farming in Socialist Southern Tanzania, 1960s–80s.*

From the late 1960s to mid-1970s, the Tanzanian government forcefully implemented its policy of Socialism and Rural Development, which called for the reordering of the country's rural areas into densely populated co-operative villages. In addition to being able to provide citizens with vital social services and communications infrastructure, the government believed that by having citizens reside in designated *ujamaa* (socialist) villages where everyone lived and worked together, citizens' welfare as well as the country's economy would significantly improve. Officials also perceived this nation-building approach would strengthen citizens' national ethos and empower the socio-economic position of vulnerable people, such as rural women. In reality, the trajectory of co-operative farming in socialist Tanzania was short-lived. The goals of *ujamaa* villages attaining self-reliance and the improvement of Tanzanians' lives were not realised. Scholars have predominantly understood the post-independence government's development policy as failure, emphasising state authoritarianism, corruptness, and oversight as explanations. Recent scholars have challenged the narrative of failure by demonstrating the multiple actors involved in shaping the unfolding of ujamaa in the Tanzanian countryside.

This paper complements the latter perspective by examining rural women's engagement with co-operative farming in southern Tanzania. Using the personal narratives of women collected in south-eastern Tanzania, I show that co-operative farming endeavours initially appealed to women because they believed these would help them to better fulfil their responsibilities in household food production and provide for household members. However, after a few harvest seasons (sometimes after only one season), women were quick to negotiate or cease their involvement in communal farming when they realised that the benefits from such activities were minimal and undermined their daily household and farm work. Collective farming projects premised on a concept of a national family where everyone lived and worked together for the benefit of the nation, conflicted and undermined women's role as economic producers for the household. Women's accounts of nation-building show that women engaged in communal farming to further their own development agendas based on their gendered notions of improvement, well-being and security, which were centrally grounded in their prominent roles as subsistence producers for the household. This is not to say that women did not subscribe to notions of identity and citizenship based on the nation. Some women who participated in nation-building work to augment individual and familial security also considered their actions as contributing towards building a strong country. However, their participation as members of an *ujamaa* village and citizens of a nation-state predominantly remained contingent on the extent to which government ideologies and policies resonated with their daily lives and furthered their notions of well-being and security.

Oluranti Ojo Edward (University of Abuja & Saibu / Anchor University Lagos): *Beninese female labour migrants and their impact on sustainable agricultural development and food security in Ogun State, Nigeria, 1960–2000*

Migration among African people is as old as man itself; as a result it is a challenge to establish the exact dates of the beginning of Beninese Labour migration into Nigeria. What is factual however is the relationship between the Republic of Benin people and the Yorùbá of South-West Nigeria, which dates to prehistoric times. It was the arbitrary partitioning of Africa in general that led to the separation of kits and kin from both sides.

However, studies have revealed that migration is not limited by gender. As men and women migrate, they demonstrate dissimilarities in their migratory behaviours, face diverse opportunities and have to cope with different risks and challenges. Historically, women's migration was often associated with family reunification; however, today many women are migrating alone and leaving their families behind. This has many reasons: poverty, the land tenure system in a given locality, agricultural policy, environmental degradation, population pressure, recurrent drought and famine, war and political crises, to mention just a few. The business of farming and engagement of agricultural workers for clearing of land and cultivation of crops traditionally is ascribed to the male folks owing to the strenuous and physical strength required in farming activities. No doubt, the age-long conception of the role of men and women contributed to this line of though. It is not surprising, therefore, that engagement of farm labourers for physical work on farms are majorly dominated by the men especially in Ogun state. This notion of a male dominated agriculture labour force is not peculiar to Nigeria and Ogun State alone. During the course of the research, the researcher observed that there was an upsurge in the number of male Beninese labour migrants in Ogun State between 1995-2005, while the number of female Beninese labour migrants began to swell between 2002-2017. Furthermore, studies also revealed that the majority of these female migrants have resided in Ogun state for more than ten years. Many of them frequently visit their home country as the case may be. What struck the researcher however is the high number of Beninese female labour migrants engaged in agricultural work in Ogun State. Some of them have been able to acquire land through leasing for planting of crops, some are engaged in marketing of agricultural products, while others are engaged by indigenous large farm owners in processing of agricultural products on the farm such as palm oil, cassava processing, rice mills, palm cannel processing, harvesting of crops, poultry feeds etc. This paper examines the contributions of Beninese female labour migrants toward the sustainability of agricultural development and food security in Ogun state, their mechanism of adaptation to their new environment, and the challenges they face. The research employs oral interview and literature search in the conduct of the research. The findings reveal that the Beninese female labour migrants have contributed immensely to the sustainability of agriculture and food security in Ogun State through their entrepreneurial activities, marketing and involvement in food production.

Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh (National University of Ireland): *Women and the agricultural extension service in Ireland during the twentieth century*

The historiography of Ireland has neglected the contribution of the agricultural extension service in developing rural Ireland during the 20th century, following the foundation of the public, professional, service at the beginning of the century. However, it has neglected more so the central part that women within the service played in developing rural Ireland during the twentieth century. For most of the century, the service employed three types of advisor: the general agricultural advisor; the horticultural advisor; and the poultry-keeping and butter-making advisor. This latter role was reserved exclusively for women. It reflected the contemporary societal mores, which prevailed for much of the twentieth century, that poultry-keeping and butter-making were agricultural activities that were intrinsically female activities (and, by definition, that all other agricultural activities were intrinsically male activities). Despite this discrimination, the female advisors of the Irish agricultural extension service typically and conspicuously distinguished themselves in their reserved role. They outperformed their male counterparts in the fulfilment of their roles by facilitating the disproportionate growth and qualitative enhancement of, specifically, poultry-keeping, which was a significant source of revenue on the mixed farms of early twentieth century Ireland. The aim of this paper is to detail and to demonstrate this.

The aim of the paper is also to highlight how the success of the female advisors was based on the particularly fruitful, knowledge transfer-configured, interactions that they enjoyed with farming women. While patriarchy did of course abound on Irish farms, farming women and farming men (wives and husbands, etc) did also work in partnership on their shared farms. For instance, according to the societal mores, women kept poultry and made butter, and so it was they who interacted with the female advisors. In addition, the farming women tended to manage the financial affairs of the farm as well. Therefore, as the twentieth century progressed, and Irish farms became more commercially orientated, the interactions between female advisors and farming women took on another very important developmental dimension in the context of financial planning. The paper will discuss this, too, but it will, moreover, discuss how female advisors were initially side-lined in this respect, as male advisors began to assume the lead in interacting with farming women when it came to financial planning on Irish farms. The paper will discuss, in addition, how although the creation of a new designation for female advisors in the 1960s, the role of Farm Home Management Advisor, did redress that, male advisors were still given primacy in the interactions with farming women over financial affairs.

In conclusion, the paper will show that there was, in the latter decades of the twentieth century, nonetheless a precocious recognition of the prowess of women in the Irish agricultural extension service. Thus, when women did break into its hierarchy from the 1970s, this was less a consequence of the impact of the women's liberation movement, for example, and more a consequence of how women were positively perceived within the extension service, and within rural Ireland more generally.

MD_03: Remembering Toxic Pasts? Memory, Deindustrialisation, and the Environment III (Aula)

Chair: **Stefan Moitra** (Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum)

Discussant: **Anna Storm** (Linköping University)

Renaud Bécot (PACTE / Sciences Po Grenoble): *How different was a petrochemical explosion from a mining disaster? Labour activism and the reshaping of a disaster memory in a deindustrialised and warming world, Feyzin (1966) and La Mure (1971)*

This paper extends the reflection on how ecological and health issues affect the making of workers' memory of industrial disasters in a context of. Based on the comparison between two disasters in an oil refinery and a coalmine, located in the same region and partly owned by the same shareowners, this paper provides a comparative case study on how memory making of these two disasters has been actualised in a distinct way in the two territories. In dialogue with recent studies on other territories concerned by deindustrialisation, this paper will argue that the construction of memory of these disasters have constantly evolved in the wake of the debates regarding energy consumption and energy shifts.

In 1966, in the South of Lyon (France), an explosion in the Feyzin oil refinery caused 18 deaths and hundreds of injuries. Both the disaster and legal proceedings following the accident received extensive media coverage. Oil refining was described as a symbol of modernity at a time when the French energy system was shifting towards oil. Five years later, 8 coal miners died in an accident at La Mure (Isère, France). The town is located less than 100 kilometers from Feyzin, and a former mining company from this town owned shares in the refinery. However, in the case of the mining disaster, the media coverage was weak, and it did not go beyond regional newspapers. The share of coal in French energy consumption was then in

decline, and the state planned a gradual reduction in coal mining. Insofar as coal was seen as an energy from the past, the fate of coal miners was confined to the margins of public attention, with the exception of a few militant groups – just as in the case of the Liévin disaster.

While these two disasters have been forgotten on a national scale, their memories have been reshaped on a local level for more than fifty years. Labour union actions, speeches from politicians, public commemorations, foundation of institutions dedicated to the memory of the industry (as a mining museum), etc., paved the way for a memory reconstruction of these disasters. Yet, these memories have been updated by two major socio-economic changes, which the two industrial areas are facing with a distinct chronology. Firstly, deindustrialisation affects the two sites differently: coalmines at La Mure closed in the mid-1990s, while the threat of closure is only evoked for the refinery since the 2008 economic crisis. Industrial decline leads to a reshaping of the memory of disasters, either seen as a former "golden age" of the factories or reinterpreted as a tribute paid by workers and ecosystems to industrial presence. Secondly, the affirmation of environmentalism and public environmental policies led inhabitants of these towns (and former workers) to question the meaning of these disasters through the prism of the ecological legacy of these industrial activities. Far from being opposed, these two simultaneous phenomenona are sometimes articulated in the reconstruction of the memory of disasters. While this activism was often focused on (but not exclusively) the defence of employment before the closure of factories, this activism sometimes shifts into associative action aimed at obtaining recognition of the health legacy of industrial presence.

Based on public and corporate archives, a first part will shed a light on the media analysis of the two disasters, in the context of the energy transition of the 1960s (and thus the dynamics of industrialisation and deindustrialisation). A second part will focus on the way in which the health stakes of the two disasters are dealt with by trade unions and associations. Finally, a last part will be based on the archives produced and the initiatives organised during the commemorations of these disasters, shedding light on the way in which ecological and climatic stakes contribute to reorganizing the memory of these industrial disasters.

Regina Göschl (Deutsches Bergbau-Museum Bochum): *Deindustrial regeneration, environmental history, and the museum*

In the current debates about climate change and capitalist interest, there seems to be an obvious conflict between the proponents of environmental concerns and the (working) people who depend on industrial endeavours such as coal mining. While the deindustrialisation in the West-German Ruhr as well as the East-German coalfields in Lusatia and the Erzgebirge have brought about remarkable environmental improvements over the last decades, many communities continue to face the threat of job loss and social decline. At the same time, new (and not so new) right-wing populist movements step in and purport to represent working-class interests against the seemingly "green" and/or "left" environmental movements.

Before this background, the question arises how museums and industrial heritage institutions can address this conflict and contribute to a discourse that is able to bridge such perceived polarisations. So far, at least in the German context, technical, historical and industrial museums alike have only been little concerned with environmental issues. Far into the 20th century, the German museums constituted a "space disconnected from any environmental frame" or were carried by the idea of "man's" dominion over nature through technology. While this belief in industrial and economic progress has come increasingly into doubt since the 1970s, the environmental side of deindustrialisation and the linked social conflicts have hardly been under scrutiny so far. This paper will exemplarily give an insight into an exhibition currently planned at the German Mining Museum in Bochum investigating the re-

cultivation of mining landscapes in East- and West-Germany. Comparing for the first time environmental policies and strategies of re-cultivation in both German states between 1949 and 1989, the exhibition will also focus on the tensions between workers' interests and environmental improvement. As a work in progress, the paper will therefore discuss the potentials of the museum to address social conflict.

Pim Huijnen (Utrecht University), **Marin Kuijt** (Leiden University), **Gertjan Plets** (Utrecht University): *Towards a critical historical culture of Dutch oil and gas history: aims, challenges, and politics of writing a counter history in a corporate funded heritage arena*

At the turn of the 20th century the Netherlands became a "petrostate", meaning that its national economy and political structure has become shaped by the oil and gas sector. First, Indonesian oil extracted through a colonial system established one of the largest energy companies in the world (i.e. Royal Dutch Shell). Also "national champions" such as the harbour of Rotterdam have become global drivers of economic development due to colonial oil. Second, the discovery of enormous gas and oil reserves in the Netherlands after World War II fastened post-war recovery and the establishment of the welfare state. At the same time, in the province of Groningen earthquakes related to gas extraction are causing both social and economic uncertainty. Not to speak of the economic and ecological problems caused in Indonesia.

Today, developing a critical historical culture around Dutch oil and gas is challenging. First, the energy industry has been funding historical museums and academic contemporary histories. These structure the collective memory around hydrocarbons. Second, in times of globalisation and economic hardship there is nostalgia for being a net exporter of raw materials. In the former oil enclaves where the more labour-intensive oil was extracted there is a longing for a hydrocarbon economy. But also in the urban centres of the Netherlands – called the

Randstad – that have benefitted greatly from the oil and gas rents paid to the Dutch state, more positive evaluations remain mainstream.

In this paper we present the challenges we encounter in our new project, that aims to promote a more critical historical culture around Dutch oil and gas. We reflect on those institutions and dominant narratives defining the authorised heritage discourse today. At the same time, we will also present some of our strategies we employ to ensure and produce a critical heritage engagement. This is especially salient today, as many reserves are near the end of their life cycle and much infrastructure is being removed by the industry. The pumpjacks might have disappeared and nature restored, earthquakes continue.

Jan Kellershohn (Institut für Landesgeschichte Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle/Saale): *Dialectics of Destruction. Open Cast Lignite Mining and Paleontological Temporalities in the 20th Century*

LiM_03: Economic and Social Impacts of Mining: The Case of Spain (LH A)

Chair: **José Joaquín García Gómez** (Universidad de Almeria)

Ángel Pascual Martínez Soto (University of Murcia), **Lluís Torró Gil** (University of Alicante), **Miguel Á. Pérez de Perceval Verde** (University of Murcia), **Ignacio Suay-Matallana** (Miguel Hernández University of Elche): *Labour markets formation during the Golden Age of Spanish mining (1850–1920): Evolution and specificities of the labour force*

The period from the 1850 to the 1920 is heralded as the Golden Age of mining in Spain. The boom in the extraction of some minerals (lead, iron, coal, copper, zinc, etc.) during these decades affected a number of

geographical areas of its territory. Thanks to this growth, Spain was placed in the first world positions of the production of some of the mentioned minerals. The Spanish mining sector faced the challenge of attending the need of workers, as well as the guaranteeing the availability of specialised workforce to the requirements of its close and distant contexts. For this, strategies for recruitment, control and remuneration were developed. One of the main problems in areas with strong manpower demand was the control of the supply of workers. The work organisation had to adapt, at first, to the previous forms of articulation of the labour markets, inheriting social and organisational characteristics of the precedent, mainly agrarian, forms of labour. The exploitation of subsoil shared this workforce, leading to many mining basins being characterised by the existence of a dual worker (miner as well as farmer). Mining and traditional agriculture demand rivalled. This disrupted the existing labour market and affected both the living conditions and the environmental situation of the different areas.

The analysis of this process is extremely relevant and offers relevant clues to understand some specificities about the labour configuration of the mining districts in Spain. It also makes possible the analysis of different categories of employment percentages (especially regarding the percentages of minors, and female work force). Moreover, in late-19th century and early 20th Century Spain, as in other countries, mining became one of the most conflictive sectors, which is related to all the previously mentioned issues.

The aim of this paper is to show how the adaptation to the labour needs took place in the most important mining districts of Spain at this time. It intends to highlight the geographical and timeline differences existing in that process, as well as reflecting about their causes. Finally, the paper considers the variety of strategies used by employers, and how the fixation and proletarianisation of labour was attempted or carried out.

Andrés Sánchez-Picón (Universidad de Almería), **Víctor Luque de Haro** (Universidad de Almería), **María del Carmen Pérez Artés** (Universidad de Almería): *Migratory networks in the configuration of mining communities in Spain in the 19th century: Linares (1840–1890)*

The mining boom in Spain caused the appearance of important mining agglomerations. Investments, technology, and labour were concentrated in these places. The role of migratory movements in the configuration of mining work was fundamental. Based on the use of documentation such as censuses or the civil registry, we analyse the functioning of the migratory networks that constituted these important mining agglomerations.

The paper has as a framework the use of the records linkage methodology, as a technique where great advances are being made in historical demography.

Adrian Palacios (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim): *Education and the mining industry in Spain in the late 19th century*

In this paper, we use highly detailed local mining data from the Mining Cadastre of 1890 to disentangle the effects of the mining industry on education in late 19th-century Spain. We analyse the literacy rates for females and males in the 9195 that formed Spain in 1887. We find that, for both males and females, the mining industry was hampering that basic accumulation of skills (reading and writing). To check these results, we use data from the mines opened during the late 1840s, and we also obtain a negative result, then reinforcing the ones obtained with the Mining Cadastre of 1890. Thus, and following the Natural Resource Curse literature, in the late 19th century the Spanish mining towns were involved in a negative long-term process of extracting wealth, without an investment on education. Moreover, using spatial econometrics we have found that mines had a negative effect on the surrounding municipalities, highlighting the importance of this kind of

analysis as mines were not only related with the municipality where they legally were. Additionally, the results for the role of Foreign Mining companies are interesting, as those municipalities with presence of these companies present a higher negative effect for females. This result engages with the long debate about the role of foreign capital on this strategic sector, and in our case, at least for female education, they were slowing down the increase on literacy rates. Although some authors have linked the mining industry with the Industrial Revolution in Europe or America, in Spain the mining sector had a negative impact on education, a vital component in the economic development process. Hence, what were the long-term consequences of this effect? Have these regions, as the effect was spatially distributed, developed less because of the hampering impact on education? These are questions that require further investigation.

RB_02: Remuneration and Everyday Life

Chair: **Andrea Caracausi** (University of Padua)

Discussant: **Amal Shahid** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva)

Thanasis Betas (Research Center for the Humanities, Athens): *Marital status, living conditions, and survival strategies of male and female workers in the Greek tobacco industry, 1950–1970*

In this paper I follow the workers in the Greek tobacco industry beyond the factory. I seek to outline their marital status, living conditions and survival strategies during the post-war period. Where did these people live? In what neighbourhoods and what kinds of houses? What were their living conditions at home and in the neighbourhood, and what were the survival strategies of their families? To examine these issues, I have selected relevant material from cigarette factory archives: staff records, personnel register cards, payrolls, labour union records, as well as photographs, oral testimonies and newspapers.

The low wage of labour in post-war Greece combined with the absence of housing policy seems to have often forced members of working families to share the same housing in order to survive. These informal "survival strategies" were also adopted because of the financial difficulties faced by older family members. The low pensions of elderly parents or grandparents, combined with the health problems they may have faced and the general absence of social policy for old age "forced" cohabitation in many cases. Income flows into the common home, i.e. the household, from various sources, could ensure its survival. This coexistence, however, was not caused solely by economic causes.

On the contrary, other factors registered in the field of cultural values and standards were involved. Such could be the obligation of male family members to financially support elderly parents and women to look after them in their daily lives, which concerned nutrition, cleanliness, etc. Young men also had another moral debt: the financial support of the single sister, but also of the underage brothers, if the father of the family had died or was unable to work. In this way, it could be said that the adverse situations caused by the absence of social policy and the welfare state in the working classes in general might have been "compensated" to some extent by the family ties and values that dominated Greek society at the time.

Matthieu Scherman (Université Paris-Est, Marne-la-Vallée), **Corine Maitte** (Université Gustave Eiffel, Champs-sur-Marne): *Presentation of the meeting about remuneration and political authorities*

Ramon Molina de Dios (University of the Balearic Islands): *Monetary and non-monetary remuneration for work on agricultural holdings on the Island of Mallorca (1860–1960)*

Until the arrival of mass tourism (circa 1960), the island of Mallorca maintained a relative balance between industrial production, agriculture, and the service sector. The structure of agriculture was based on large exploitation units called "possessions" together with the growing predominance of small properties as a result of the progressive subdivisions of large properties. The labour required for the maintenance of agriculture came both from a large contingent of landless day labourers and from small owners and tenants, whose exploitation was not sufficient for the maintenance of family units. This paper sets out the methods of hiring and labour remuneration that remained in force until the complete conversion to the tertiary sector of the island's economy in the second half of the 20th century.

LM_07: Migrant Voices: Labour Migrant Identities and Self-Representations (LH C1)

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Alexandra Dellios (Australian National University, Canberra): *The 1970s migrant workers conferences and histories of multiculturalism*

The history of labour and migration cannot be separated. As a social phenomenon that shapes the intimate realities of migrants' experiences, a consideration of work, working life, labour markets and the structures of employment – as multi-scalar and class-bound – is pivotal. However, labour histories in Australia have been largely Anglophone and blind to the social and cultural influence of migration and the experiences of migrant workers. As an oral historian working with collective memory and cultural heritage management, I am especially interested in the lived experiences of migrant communities, and how these experiences persist in our imaginations today. Their stories of working life, and political engagement or disengagement, were the subject of some academic study in the 1980s – but much more remains to be done, especially around migrant agency and political engagement, and from a perspective that privileges migrant subjectivity (rather than structural integration). For example, migrant voices are largely lacking in histories of the development of "multiculturalism" as a policy in Australia from the 1970s. In this paper, I draw on primary sources and oral histories of the Migrant Workers Conferences of the 1970s to counter these silences. Greek, Italian, Turkish and (then) Yugoslavian workers voiced their demands around social justice, pushing for more equitable representation in unions and government bodies, and rejecting the patronising paternalism of an Anglophone Australian mainstream. In many cases, key "migrant rights activists" (as they came to call themselves) drew on their experiences prior to migration, their experiences of persecution and imprisonment in their home countries, to propel their political engagements and their ideas around class and workers' solidarity. This rhetoric of welfare rights is now of course unfamiliar to modern audiences, and to current revisionist and liberalist framings of multiculturalism. But it is worth revisiting these voices, if only to counter their exclusion from mainstream Anglophone histories of this era in labour history.

Elena Bouleti (Panteion University, Athens): *Greek and Turkish Cypriots fleeing to Great Britain in the 1960s and 1970s: Refugees, migrants, and displaced Cypriots that transformed the Cypriot diaspora*

The migration of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Great Britain presents an intriguing paradigm of two "ethnic communities" coexisting in better terms outside their homeland than inside it. That trend is by itself worth looking into since Great Britain was also a guarantor in the Cyprus issue and a colonial occupant of Cyprus with the consent of the Ottomans. The Cypriot presence in Britain goes back as far as the 1920s. When

intercommunal strife escalated in 1954, migration went to an average of 3,800 persons a year. Greek Cypriots migrated for financial and political reasons, i.e. Communists fled the country to avoid persecution by Enosis circles. Turkish Cypriots also increased migration in the 1960s, since their majority had to live in enclaves and financial uncertainty in Cyprus.

After the invasion in 1974, most Greek Cypriot refugees fled to Greece, but some 12,000 Greek Cypriots moved to Britain and so did about 15,000 Turkish Cypriots. The problem in mapping the people that left after 1974 and making a distinction between economic migrants and refugees is that the British state avoided to do so in the first place. That is, migrants (Cypriots coming from the unaffected territories) and refugees (Cypriots that came from the Turkish occupied territories of the North), were treated the same. That was a political choice made by the British government who gave a refugee status i.e. to the Vietnamese that arrived approximately at the same time but did not wish to overextend its guarantor role to the Cyprus Issue since Turkey was a NATO ally.

My assertion is that Greek and Turkish Cypriots that fled to England in the 1960s and onwards progressed financially with a relatively short adaptation period that allowed them to learn the language and evolve to higher wage jobs, better living conditions and higher education for their children. I wish to demonstrate that the fact that they were not acknowledged with a refugee status was initially a setback, since it deprived them of an aid that would make their early steps easier in the foreign country but, in the long run it might have proven to be a factor that speeded up the adaptation process in the British society, in terms of them shedding the passions that led to the invasion sooner. That is, I wish to analyse that the absence of "official" refugees amongst the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Great Britain, helped the two communities to coexist somewhat better and focus on ideological points of contact rather than persevere on national points of conflict. Moreover, within the communities themselves, the "absence" of refugee status worked in favour of easing differences between Communists and right-wing supporters of the unification of Cyprus with Greece, which resulted in purges against the former in pre-invasion Cyprus.

Juliette Ronsin (Institut d'histoire modern et contemporaine, Paris): *Yugoslavian immigration to France through work experience in the Peugeot company, from the 1960s to the present day*

In the 1960s, Yugoslavia, facing a period of economic hardship and high unemployment, allowed emigration abroad and signed bilateral treaties with several Western countries. Yugoslav immigration to France was thus more significant in the 1960-1970s, in connection with the bilateral Franco-Yugoslav agreement signed on 25 January 1965, concerning the employment of Yugoslav workers in France.

At the time, Yugoslav migration was regulated by the administration of both countries and was linked to the exercise of work and the existence of employment contracts, in order to meet the labour needs of companies. French recruiters thus went to Yugoslavia, while the arrival of Yugoslavs in France was often organised by a state agency: the "Office National d'Immigration" (National Immigration Office). The immigration of Yugoslavs to France could be seen as an adjustment variable, with the organisation of "voluntary return assistance" in Yugoslavia at a time when French companies were implementing changes in their production model and saw their need for labour reduced, starting in the late 1970s. Thus, more precisely, what was the role of the French and Yugoslav states in the individual and collective trajectories of Yugoslavs in France and in their migratory choices?

In Sochaux-Montbéliard, the Peugeot company operated according to a paternalistic model, with housing, a soccer club and even stores, which belonged to the company. The workers also owned Peugeot cars. In what way were the daily lives of Yugoslav immigrants in France traversed by the work at Peugeot? Moreover, the Franco-

Yugoslav bilateral treaty mainly concerned the emigration only of men seeking employment. However, Yugoslav women, having often joined their spouses in France, were numerous to work in France, in metallurgical factories or as cleaning ladies. How can the relationship between work and immigration be analysed from a gendered point of view?

To try to answer these questions, I use archival sources - from the company, the state, and associations - and interviews with former workers and their families. The Peugeot employment pool is a starting point for quantitative research on the trajectories of workers over the long term, up to the time of retirement.

Book Launch: Global Commodity Chains and Labour Relations (LH C2)

Chair: **Goran Musić** (University of Vienna)

Andrea Komlosy (University of Vienna), **Goran Musić** (University of Vienna): *Presentation of the collected volume "Global Commodity Chains and Labour Relations"*

In this session, Andrea Komlosy and Goran Musić present the newly released edited volume „Global Commodity Chains in Labour Relations", published by Brill in its Studies in Global Social History. Due to the increasing linkage of global production sites, the concept of commodity chains has become indispensable for the investigation of production at a global scale. Although work is the basis of production in every involved location, labour is often being neglected as a research subject without taking interest in the workers, the work processes and the working conditions. This edited volume provides a collection of historical and contemporary commodity chain studies by placing labour at the centre of analysis. A global historical perspective demonstrates that splitting production processes to different, hierarchically connected locations are by no means new phenomena. The book is thus an important and valuable contribution to commodity chain research,

but also to the fields of social-economic and global labour history.

2:00–3:30pm:

PP: Labour and Coercion. Doing Social History after the Global Turn (SR 1)

Chairs: **Johan Heinsen** (Aarlborg University), **Juliane Schiel** (University of Vienna)

LFE_02: Qualifying and Disqualifying Older People's Work

Chair: **Claire Barillé** (University of Lille)

Marie Derrien (University of Lille), **Mathilde Rossigneux-Méheust** (University of Lyon 2): *Caring for the insane: A disqualified job? Gender and age in workers of the French psychiatric family care system*

Our paper focuses on the work of old women in the French psychiatric family care system. It aims to capture the complex process of disregard and recognition that structures an activity which had a long-lasting difficulty to be considered as work.
At the end of the 19th century, the department of the Seine began to transfer mentally ill people institutionalised in Paris to the villages of Dun-sur-Auron (Cher) and Ainay-le-Château (Allier). Marked by progressive desertification and the ageing of their population, these villages were then dedicated to the care of psychiatric patients. Although the reports addressed to the Prefect of the Seine as the regulations of the colonies do not mention it, the documents drawn up to record and inspect the work of the foster carers make it possible to establish that the tasks associated with it were mostly carried out by older women. Our aim is to show that the work of these women, who take care of very vulnerable patients on a daily basis, is subject to disqualification operations whose consequences on the nature, conditions and perception of their activity can be measured.
As a follow-up to historical and sociological research conducted on "women's jobs" and "dirty work", our research is based on the

qualitative and quantitative analysis of sources that allow us to observe these women at work (registration register and individual follow-up files). In this way, we are able to grasp the emergence of a singular professional sector, at the frontiers of the world of work, reserved for older women workers seeking recognition.

Sandra Harrisson (University of Ottawa): *Domestic work: An assessment tool for psychological well-being among older women, 1976–2006*

The issue of work in an aging population is examined here from a mental health perspective. This study takes a specific look at the domestic activities of elderly women with a mental disorder as a tool for assessing their well-being. The psychiatric deinstitutionalisation in the 1970s aimed to drastically reduce the number of provincial psychiatric hospitals in Canada. The premise at this time was that mental illness should be considered an illness like any other. The patient care was then transferred to general hospitals' short-term psychiatric units. The discovery of new neuroleptics assured a permanent recovery, or at least symptoms' stabilisation related to mental disorders. These new treatments allowed an early return home, which would have positive effects on family functioning and the re-establishment of social roles. Men could reintegrate the labour market to meet their family's monetary needs and women to take care of their household. This reflection on the "domestic" work highlighted the influence of social interaction, not only of class, gender and age, but also from the perspective of mental health. Indeed, anchored in the private sphere, the notion of domestic work, already at the centre of care practices in the 1950s, still exercises a preponderant current in the assessment of elderly women's mental state. The ability of these elders to carry out their household chores is seen as a guarantee of their mental health stability and will likely result at a home discharge.

In order to document the boundaries of the gender disparity in the treatment plan, we studied twenty medical files of women and men over 50 years of age. These patients were admitted more than three times in the short-term psychiatric unit at Montfort Hospital between 1976 and 2006. The primary source analysis influenced by the "history from below" movement, and the narrative medicine of Rita Chagnon, allow us to understand the life and care trajectories of these elderly patients. It is from the healthcare workers' notes that we notice the recurrence or near absence of themes related to hygiene care, domestic work, and home discharge according to gender. We observe that household chores often become a tool for assessing the psychological well-being of older women with mental health problems. Indeed, the findings show that the ability of these women to organise (or not) themselves in their daily activities affects discharge planning which results in home discharge, prolonged hospitalisation or even permanent placements in nursing homes.

Claire Barillé (University of Lille): *Fighting to get back what is owed to you: The association of former employees of the Paindavoine companies (1966–1980)*

Using the example of an association of about a hundred workers made redundant by an industrial company in the North of France, this article aims to examine age-related disqualification processes in the labour market in a context that is not yet one of deindustrialisation.
Between 1966 and the mid-1970s, following the bankruptcy of their company, the former employees of the Paindavoine metal construction plant in rue Berthelot south of Lille fought a long battle to try to obtain payment of their severance pay. The legal representatives in charge of the company's liquidation refuse to consider these indemnities as priority claims. Thanks to an archive file made up of the association's minutes, it is possible to analyse the elements disqualifying the cause of these 370 dismissed workers, including engineers, managers and workers.
Are the elders of Paindavoine the victims of a form of ageism on the part of the legal representatives as well as their former company? To what extent is this perception conscious? Are there not other forms of discrimination – social, gender-based, etc – at work in this conflict? What does this

struggle reveal about the perception of work among these mostly older workers? Finally, what lessons does this struggle teach us about the social protection actually at work in the world of work of the Glorious Thirty?

We shall first explore the reasons that led these former employees to gather an association in an organised and rapid manner. We will then assess the forms of their struggle, which is mainly focused on the legal field, but which is also played out in a more informal way in the political and friendly networks of the former employees. The results of this struggle are more complex as the legal victory becomes apparent: Certainly, the struggle has paid off and the work of these elders has been recognised and compensated. However, the symbolic cost must be measured: the compensation received ultimately signals the end of resistance against the law of the market, meaning a kind of renunciation.

Martin Sarzier (Université de Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne): *Making old age work: An analysis of practices of patients' "stimulation" in geriatric psychiatry*

Over the past two decades, the question of the nature of the institutional work of professionals in the health and social sectors has been subject of much debate in the social sciences. This presentation, which is based on an ethnographic survey conducted in two hospital departments of geriatric psychiatry and on the study of medical records, aims to question the notion of "patient work", used by professionals and by some social science studies. By employing a set of techniques that fall under the category of "stimulation", professionals seek to "make them work". Through the organisation of therapeutic workshops, psychoeducation sessions, the distribution of weekly exercises and, more generally, daily encouragement to participate in the life of the service, professionals hope to limit the risk of "regression" and loss of autonomy of patients by making them "actors" in their care. Older people are thus encouraged to make a methodical and repeated effort, to fulfil the objectives set by the institution and to develop specific "skills", particularly in the management of their emotional problems. Stimulation has the dual advantage of espousing the norm of "aging well", while at the same time obeying the institutional imperative of reducing the length of stay, making the patients work being considered the most effective way of "getting them out" quickly.

Since these "stimulation" practices are shaped by a "school form", they have socially differentiated effects. Depending on their social characteristics, and in particular their class and gender, patients are more or less receptive to the injunctions to "work on oneself" injunctions formulated by professionals. This article therefore proposes to highlight the type of control, which varies, of these institutions over the older people.

FH_04: Digital Humanities and Factory History: Texts, Images, Sounds (LH C2)

Chair: **Bridget Kenny** (University of the Witwatersrand)

Rick Halpern (University of Toronto): *Labour history, factory history, and the promise of Digital Humanities*

The application of computers to history is not especially new. The emergence of micro-computing in the 1980s allowed individual researchers to free themselves from large mainframes, generally tightly controlled and managed by science departments, and run statistical analyses on the sort of messy data – payrolls, census returns, business records – that social historians have long worked with from their own desks. Yet, some twenty-odd years later, in the very early 2000s, largely driven by technological advances, computing refashioned the kinds of projects lone historians or small teams could preside over by allowing the incorporation of visual and multimedia material to sites aiming to both further public history and provide resources to students and other colleagues. At roughly the same time, similar innovation and experimentation emerged in other disciplines – literature, music, art, and philosophy – giving rise to the subfield we now recognise as "digital humanities." This approach is now transforming the way scholars produce, collaborate, communicate, and disseminate their

knowledge. Moreover, digital humanities is more than a set of technological tools; it is a democratic ethos, a collective and egalitarian approach to work that heretofore has been performed in isolation and within rigidly hierarchical institutions. Historians, especially labour and working class historians, have been slow to move into the digital humanities, but the time is ripe for this entry into an exciting and energizing field.

This paper has three distinct aims: 1) to trace the emergence of digital humanities within the discipline of History, paying special attention to the European ERASMUS summer schools held in Bergen and Salzburg the 1990s and the pioneering work of the Center for History and New Media (founded in 1994) at George Mason University; 2) to discuss the ongoing work of the ELHN's Factory History Group in building a digital platform that both showcases the research of members in a series of curated exhibits (such as the Ford Motor Company in Istanbul, department store elevator operators in Johannesburg and Baltimore, shop floor photography in the 1930s, and transnational workers' politics in the 1960s and 1970s) and archives primary and secondary sources. The site is also designed to serve as a platform for collaborative undergraduate teaching, to commence in 2021, across three universities located in Canada, the UK, and South Africa. And 3) pose a series of large questions about the here-to-fore unrealised promise of digital humanities for labour history while underscoring several challenges and warning of a few dangerous pitfalls.

Görkem Akgöz (Humboldt University zu Berlin): *Spaces of national modernity: Factories and the labouring female body in early republican Turkey*

Factories captured the interest and imagination of Turkish journalists and writers both for their social implications and their physical structures in the 1930s and 1940s. After visiting a state factory in 1939, a journalist described it as "an industrial monument of the Republican will, a masterpiece of the Republic." Their modern architecture and landscaping, and the social and cultural functions of their layouts were hailed as the westernised cultural representations of the world. There was yet one other significant indication of Western modernity factories presented: the presence of women on the shop floor. "Dutiful and happy" women, who enthusiastically expressed their "infinite respect, love and gratitude" for the state, worked hard in these "industrial monuments", we learn from another journalistic report.

Industrialisation and women's participation in public life were among the key motifs of the Republican project, the hegemonic narrative of which was built on a strict repudiation of the imperial past. The two most condemned aspects of the imperial past were women's repression and the semi-colonial character of the economic, political and social structure. Women's changing public status was presented as the strongest indication of the former's disappearance, while the large factory became an incandescent symbol of the Republic's ambition and achievement – a physical embodiment of dreams about an economically as well as politically sovereign nation.

Despite the Republican elite's implied novelty claims, factories existed in the Ottoman Empire. And they employed women; many, in fact, since industrial production concentrated mainly in traditionally female industries such as textiles and tobacco. With the launching of state-led industrialisation in the 1930s, however, both the status of the factories and the composition of their workforce changed dramatically. Industrial investments were no longer under the ownership and control of foreigners; their national character both in terms of capital and labour became an oft-cited source of pride for the new regime. Another equally celebrated change was the increasing number of Turkish Muslim women on the shop floors since factory women were mostly non-Muslims in the Empire. From the beginning of state-led industrialisation, the state encouraged female industrial employment. Encouragement turned into public campaigns to extend women's industrial workforce participation in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Celebratory images of factory women filled the pages of mainstream media as well as

middle-class feminist and trade union publications.

In this paper, I analyse the official-dominant discourses on the factory space and women's industrial work as representations of modern life – secular, urban, efficient, and also overwhelming. As two material indicators of progress, the physical space of the factory and the labouring female body have embodied the ideology of Kemalist modernisation in terms of its ambitions and desires as well as its failures and fears. They both signified a break with the past and a connection to the future; and they manifested the contentions of an uneasy present.

In my presentation, I will make use of the exhibits of the digital project on factory history hosted through the Omeka platform.

Aslı Odman (Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul), **Murat Tülek** (Kadir Has University, Istanbul): *Tracing factory labour in the urban tissue of Istanbul during the interwar period through critical cartographical research*

In this paper, we will try to open a dialogue between recent attempts at social mapping of Istanbul and innovative research in labour history. Labour historians, sociologists and anthropologists tend to depict dynamics and change in the workplace mainly through textual tools that may render concrete spaces invisible by abstractions. Geographers and cartographers on the other hand side tend to underestimate the non-visible social factors that shape non-representative, everyday spaces. But by using the tools of digital humanities there are chances to overcome this duality. The main question then becomes in what kind of an urban setting the factory labour was embedded during the Interwar period in Istanbul/Turkey. Our main tool will be the exploratory maps obtained from the big data derived and processed from the 1927 building registers from Istanbul, the so-called *nümerotaj*. We will present five typologies of urban settings of factory labour which we obtained through pattern recognition of the spatial data. The typologies

relate to different types and qualities of dwellings and land use that surround the factories of Interwar Istanbul. Those exploratory maps aim at producing more apt, non-anachronistic or not too abstract research questions reaching out to the everyday realities and relations of the factory workers of the time period under question.

Can we situate the urban realities of factory workers through its everyday journey between spaces of production/work, circulation (transport, consumption, public spaces) and reproduction (homes)? How can we show class in space by using tools of social relational mapping? What methods can digital humanities and critical cartography offer us to represent factories as articulations (with)in the wider (urban) community (society)?

MiL_04: Recruiting Military Labour II (SR 2)

Chair: **Olli Siitonen** (University of Helsinki)

Limasenla Jamir (Tata Institute of Social Sciences): *Carrying loads, building roads: Recruiting military labour in the China-Burma-India Theatre during the Second World War*

The Japanese onslaught on China and Allied possessions in Southeast Asia opened the theater of war in the China-Burma-India borderlands reconfiguring imperial frontier spaces into defence frontlines. The war pushed rigorous road-making projects through Assam and Manipur in India's Northeast, such as the India-Burma and India-China roads as an essential component of the war effort to aid movements of troops, military supplies and refugee relief. The war period saw extraordinary intervention of the British colonial state (in aid of the military) into the local economy and labour force. "Primitive tribal" or hill men inhabiting the frontier and the tea garden labourers from eastern India were dragged into the colonial enterprise of defending the empire. The process of recruitment involved exploiting

the existing labour regimes and agencies connected with frontier making in the edges of the empire, such as population enumeration and taxation, and also capitalising on native agents such as village chiefs, headmen and interpreters. However, the exigencies of the war required more than the existing structures. Emergence of local contractors as recruitment agents became a new feature during the war. The Indian Tea Association, which "voluntarily" offered their tea garden labourers for war works, also indicates the close nexus between a capitalist system and the colonial state.

This paper studies the effort of the colonial state and the military to secure a continuous labour force to meet the war demands, and also explores the challenges of colonial mobilisation in meeting the supply and demand of labour force. The "primitive tribal" recruited through traditional colonial labour regimes became the backbone of road making, portering and refugee relief along the borders, pushed to work in challenging environs of terrain, monsoon, malaria and enemy bullets. The paper also looks at how the labourers negotiated for rest and wages or even escaped the forces of both nature, military and the colonial state.

Bettina Blum (Paderborn University): *The military as an international labour market? German civilians working for the British Forces in Germany, 1945– 2019*

This paper is part of my research project "British Forces in Germany. The Occupation and the Stationing of Troops in a Transnational Perspective 1945 – 2019", funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).* The British forces in Germany employed many civilians of various nationalities for different purposes. Some were fully integrated into the military like British nurses, chaplains or teachers and even were allocated a "relative rank" for administrative purposes, others like wives of soldiers (irrespective of their nationality) were allowed to work as "dependants" within the military community as long as their husband was posted there, and again other posts were offered to

civilians from the local German communities with short- or long-term contracts.

This paper will focus on the working conditions, the roles and status of German civilians who were employed by the British forces in the British Zone of occupied Germany (1945-55) and in the Federal Republic of Germany (1955-2019). It will also discuss British as well as German perceptions of civilian workers in "foreign" – especially in the first years also perceived as 'enemy' – troops and the ways in which Germans and Britons interacted with each other in their daily routine.

From 1945 onwards, thousands of Germans worked for the British troops – some for a short period of time, others for their whole working life. Male and female locals were employed with individual contracts as of the first days of the occupation as cleaners, cooks, clerks, drivers, telephone operators or interpreters. As wages were often quite good (they were part of the occupation costs, paid by Germany) and sometimes supplemented by food or cigarettes, German authorities occasionally complained that workers were "spoiled" by working for the British.

Additionally, in summer 1945, the British forces created special German units as auxiliary troops, consisting of German prisoners of war. As most of them came from the former Eastern parts of Germany and didn't know where to go after the war, they took the opportunity to volunteer for these new units, first called *Dienstgruppen*, which later became known as the *German Service Organisation*. In summer 1947, their status changed from prisoners of war to civilians with gradually changing and more and more 'civilised' work conditions, followed by a staff turnover, as several former soldiers left the units to take up civilian jobs and young civilians were taken on. These (male-only and German-only) units kept military-like features for several years, as their members were uniformed and – if not married – were quartered in special accommodation. Three main groups can be distinguished: artisan units were responsible for construction works, the members of transport units drove lorries or school buses for the needs of the forces and the military community, and the

members of work units carried out easy work wherever it was needed. Each unit was under the control of a German superintendent, but ultimately subordinate to British officers.

These units – as well as independently employed local civilians - were integrated into the British military system as well as into the German system of employment, as they paid German taxes and German trade unions catered for them. The British forces offered an additional labour market to the local communities with jobs ranging from very easy work to stimulating positions in an "exotic" environment. Although not originally intended, this labour market turned out to be one of the most important factors in bringing members of the British military and German civilian communities together. When the British forces started to dissolve the German units from the 1980s onwards and to reduce their troops until the withdrawal of the forces in 2019, many local employees who had worked for the British forces for decades found it difficult to adapt to the requirements of the German job market.

This paper will discuss the scope, the work conditions and daily routine and the perceptions of German civilian military labour for the British forces. It is based on interviews, private material and archival documents, both from the German and the British side.

Zsolt Máté (University of Pécs):
Translators, transporters, organisers: The US Army's tasks in the Operation Mercy, 1956–1957

In 1956 almost 200,000 Hungarian refugees fled to Austria and Yugoslavia. Most of them wanted to find their new home in the United States of America. For them, the Eisenhower government raised the quota to be able to come to the USA and organised two military operations. The Operation Safe Haven was the biggest air transportation action since the Berlin airlift and the Operation Mercy organised the daily life in Camp Kilmer, where Hungarians could spend their first days in the United States. In my presentation I will talk about how many tasks and

problems had to be solved for this successful operation.

The U.S. Army was responsible for Operation Mercy. The 41st and 42nd platoon division was elected for this job. Camp Kilmer in New Brunswick, NJ was chosen for the tasks. The camp was empty in 1956, so the barracks had to be furnished, stocks had to be filled up. Every sign had to be translated to be bilingual. The partner institutions and organisations, like the Red Cross, moved in and helped the operations. Of the almost 32,000 refugees who went through Camp Kilmer, every refugee had to go through the same process after their arrival in the new continent: First an official border check, customs, medical check and labour interview. All the refugees could leave the camp only if they had a new place to move. Thousands and thousands of jobs, homes, products were offered to the refugees. The daily life of the camp contained religious and cultural events too. Almost fifty marriages were organised in the camp. Major politicians, like Richard M. Nixon, visited Camp Kilmer during the operation.

Sanna Strand (Stockholm University), **Fia Sundevall** (Stockholm University):
Selling soldiering: How a downsizing, male-dominated job market was promoted to young women in 1990s Norway and Sweden

In the 1990s, the governments of Norway and Sweden began to require its armed forces to recruit more women as soldiers. Because women, unlike men, were not conscripted, this necessitated active appeal to women through both internal reforms and marketing. However, not only is soldiering – with its centring on armed combat and war-making – an unusual job and a 'tough sell' to any audience and in any circumstance, at this point in time women had only recently been allowed to serve and there were several reports of ill-treatment of many of the first women. Furthermore, following the end of the Cold War, the armed forces in both countries were in a stage of considerable downscaling and soldiering was seldom seen as an occupation for the future.

How then did the Norwegian and Swedish armed forces make sense of the requirement to recruit more women and how did they go about "selling" soldiering? By exploring these questions, this paper contributes to contemporary history research on gender and military labour as well as on the marketisation of military institutions. Moreover, it historicises the later (2010s) introduction of gender-neutral conscription in the two countries.

Employing a governmentally approach, we analyse recruitment and appeal on three levels: strategic policy, implementation, and marketing techniques, as well as the public images and promises of soldiering promoted to young women. The source material includes marketing campaign materials, military policy documents and internal, unprinted, communication within the armed forces.

As the paper will show, the Cold War was made sense of as both an opportunity for and a potential hazard against the recruitment of women. While disarmament and military downsizing decreased the demand for soldiers, the new security environment which emerged did arguably appear more suitable for characteristics deemed feminine, such as cooperation and care in the name of human rights and humanitarianism – in contrast to killing and dying for the nation. The paper thus demonstrates how the move towards actively recruiting and appealing to young women, which occurred in both Norway and Sweden in the early 1990s, provided an important condition of possibility for how the image and promise of soldiering has been reinvented and even re-gendered during recent decades of military marketisation.

MaL_05: Labour Conditions and Living Standards (Aula)

Chair: **Enric García Domingo** (University of Barcelona)

Shai Srougo (University of Haifa): *The Jewish maritime experience in WWII: The economic depression at the Thessaloniki waterfront during Greek neutrality*

To date, the study of the economic history of the Jewish community of Thessaloniki during World War II is distinguished by its sparsity, beginning and ending with the German occupation and the Holocaust (April 1941-August 1943). In this presentation we aim to address this subject to a greater extent, focusing on the Jewish activities in the maritime economy in the earlier stages of WWII, from September 1939 until September 1940. During these thirteen months, Greece was not involved in the war. Still, due to the characterisation of WWII as a total war, the German Blitzkrieg in Poland and the British-French declaration of war against Germany (3 September 1939) marked the beginning of economic warfare, which was severely felt in Thessaloniki.

The adverse effects of the internal European conflict on the Thessaloniki waterfront will be presented through the varied Jewish activities in: 1) shipping (the sharp reduction in the number of merchant ships calling at the port of Thessaloniki); 2) Continental commerce (constant, cumbersome bureaucracy by the Port Authority, which during the war nearly lead to the total collapse of trade with the Balkans and East Europe); 3) stevedoring services (due to the decline of port revenue, the maintenance of port vessels was postponed and the number of serviceable barges went under the minimum necessary for unloading operations); 4) blue and white collar occupations on the docks (wage reduction and workers' strategies for survival).

Christos Stefanopoulos (Panteion University, Athens): *"... leaving a few thousand seafarers on the waterfront to starve": The impact of the 1929 crisis on the shipping and seafarers of Piraeus*

The above narration depicts the intensity of unemployment among the sea workers of Piraeus as a result of the economic crisis that manifested itself with particular intensity from the first years of the 1930s. The drop in international trade reduced the necessary work, causing major upheavals in labour income, as seafarers' wages fell sharply. Although the economic crisis is obvious, the political intentions and reactions that are provoked are multiple and shaped by class. On the one hand, it is the shipowners who, aided by the conservative and anti-labour policies of the 1930s, manage to reduce production costs, leading thousands of sea workers into poverty. On the other hand, the seafaring movement was strong and tried to stem the pressure on the seafaring profession.

In connection with the processes described above, this paper aims to detect the social experience of seafarers' unemployment as a result of the economic crisis of 1929. In addition, the paper attempts to analyse the severity of the crisis, the blows suffered by the seafaring profession and the reactions of the seafaring movement, the shipping world and the state to the situation that developed. Finally, the main research goal of the paper is, through the analysis of the effects on the shipping and seafarers of Piraeus, to highlight aspects of the multiple consequences, experiences and interpretations of the financial crisis of 1929.

Luisa Muñoz-Abeledo (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), **Verónica Cañal** (Universidad de Oviedo): *Living standards of working families from North Spanish port cities during the 1940s*

Following on from the session, the objective of this paper is to gain a better understanding of families' wellbeing depending on employment in different jobs related to maritime activities: ports (dockers), fishing and its transformation (canneries, fishermen), naval sector (shipyards). The historical context is Spain in the 1940s, a post-war period characterised by poor wages due to a dictatorial regime and international isolation of Spanish economy.

We will approach the life standards constructing family standard budgets through the population census in 1945 for relevant ports in the North of Spain, Vigo and Gijón. At that time, both were mainly industrial ports jointly with Bilbao, and Vigo was the first fishing port of Spain. In order to reconstruct the living standards, first we will obtain the nominal wages of the main trades related to maritime activities. Second, the family structure of those families will be determined. Finally, the family expenses will be calculated based on cost of living indexes in the provincial capitals compiled by the General Directorate of Statistics of the Ministry of Labour for the year 1945. Furthermore, we will use other local sources – municipality records and local newspapers such as "El Comercio", "El Faro de Vigo" – in order to complete data on income and expenses of selected trades and working families.

LM_08: Narrating Yugoslav Worlds of Work (SR 3)

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Brigitte Le Normand (Maastricht University): *Yugoslav labour migrants and the world of work, in their own words*

Migration studies have increasingly emphasised the significance of subjectivity in understanding not just the migration experience, but also migration patterns. Exploring labour migration subjectivities can also make a contribution to labour history. How did Yugoslav labour migrants understand their place in their host societies? In particular, how did they perceive the world of work and their place in

it? How, in turn, did this shape the aspirations and, potentially, behaviour of migrant workers? Building on the author's previous work on Yugoslav migrants' relationship to their homeland, this presentation draws on previously untapped first-hand accounts: letters written by migrants to newspapers and radio programs and answers to surveys. These documents show that migrants had a variety of different experiences, contingent on the specific host society, their own level of education, the type of labour and workplace, as well as the workers' relationship to home. While migrants found the work environment in their host societies strange and sometimes alienating, they also appreciated certain aspects of labour relations, which they compared favourably to work relations in Yugoslavia. While some migrants experienced a sense of isolation from other workers, others formed bonds that crossed lines of nationality. Many workers reported experiencing positive social mobility. At the same time, others continued to perceive themselves as victims of capitalist exploitation. These highly personal evaluations conditioned the migrants' evolving aspirations to remain or return home. The presentation also draws on the artistic and literary oeuvre of Drago Trumbetaš, himself a labour migrant, who produced particularly whimsical and expressive depictions of the migrant experience. Trumbetaš's highly satirical work chronicled the paradoxes of the migrant experience for a typical migrant in the Federal Republic of Germany – a young, uneducated, male from Croatia who worked in the construction sector.

Sara Bernard (University of Glasgow), **Vladimir Unkovski-Korica** (University of Glasgow): *Self-managing abroad and at home: Biographical trajectories of Energoprojekt employees from the late Cold War to today*

Founded in 1951, Energoprojekt started out as a local construction engineering company. By the 1970s, it was a global player. According to Engineering New Record, it was the 16th-largest engineering and construction company in the world in 1981. Thanks to Yugoslavia's role in the Non-Aligned Movement, the company had managed to move to many newly independent states in the Cold War's Third World. But by the 1980s, Energoprojekt faced stiff competition, and, according to the New York Times, it began to hire cheap local workforces abroad instead of costly Yugoslavs. Yugoslav managers and skilled workers had to navigate and negotiate complex realities, from regulations and practices defined by worker self-management at home, to competitive pressures, foreign legal contexts, and racialised hierarchies of industrial relations abroad. The company survived and continues to function today. Yet no study so far has interrogated the impact of the challenges faced by Energroprojekt employees, their sense of identity as employees and their life trajectories from the Cold War to today. This paper will seek to pioneer new ground. It is an early work in progress, but it will base itself primarily on oral history interviews of current employees of different standing in Energoprojekt (engineers, lawyers, construction workers). The goal will be to understand to what extent, how and why their notions of the "socialist" workplace changed by working abroad in a highly competitive Yugoslav company in a changing and tough global business environment. The biographical lens and small sample will not necessarily be representative, but deep interviews with a small number of participants will shed light on a series of life trajectories and themes in industrial relations that can serve as a base for future research.

Rory Archer (University of Konstanz / University of Graz), **Mladen Zobec** (University of Graz): *Capitalist entrepreneurs in a socialist state: Albanian private business owners and workers in the Yugoslav Northwest*

This paper, based on an ongoing three-year social history project about intra-Yugoslav Albanian migration during socialism (1953-1989) explores the case of ethnic Albanian Yugoslav citizens who migrated from the southeast of the country (Kosovo, Macedonia) to the north-western republics of Croatia and Slovenia. It examines the logic

of ethnic minority, small business owners and their families and workforces, in the northern Adriatic. The presence of Albanians who owned small businesses was ubiquitous across Yugoslavia and was particularly pronounced in touristed areas of the Adriatic coast. Yet despite this ubiquity we know very little about this demographic and their experience of intra-Yugoslav migration in conditions of socialist modernisation. How and why did Yugoslav Albanians migrate in this pattern? How did the local socialist authorities react to an influx of cultural outsiders who engaged in private businesses within the system of self-managing socialism? How were Albanians received by the inhabitants of Slovene and Croatian towns? How and why did family networks and migration patterns to Western Europe facilitate their migration and the expansion of their businesses? This paper explores the development of crafts and small businesses (bakeries, patisseries, jewellers) in the Yugoslav southeast (Kosovo, Macedonia) and the ways in which these businesses were transplanted to, and often managed to thrive in Slovenia and Croatia during socialism. Methodologically, the paper relies on oral history and the analysis of documents from Yugoslav/Croatian security services (who observed Albanian migrants closely) as well as a synthesis of research conducted by scholars in Kosovo who attempted to account for social change in the province and among Yugoslavia's Albanians more broadly during the 1970s and 1980s.

CPW_01: Recording and Analysing: Audiovisual Archives of Work // Inventorier et analyser les archives audiovisuelles du travail (LH B)

Chair: **Michael Sanders** (King's College, London)

Luisa Veloso (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Lisboa / University Institute of Lisbon), **Frédéric Vidal** (Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa): *Cinema and work: A framework proposal for researching work on screen*

Since the early 20th century, work has undergone various processes of change,

which in the context of the current economic and employment crisis require an understanding of the process of how social identities built and modified through work are structured. Throughout this period, cinema, photography, literature, etc. have constituted a privileged channel in the construction of work memory narratives, contributing towards the formation, reproduction and reconfiguration of social identities. This proposition is based on research on the representation of work in Portuguese cinema from the late 1930s to the early 1980s. The source used for the construction of the corpus of films was the collection of the National Archive of Moving Images (ANIM) of the "'Cinemateca Portuguesa, Museu do Cinema", using a selection consisting of 314 films. We aim to discuss the global framework of this research via four approaches: a structural approach aiming at analysing the structure of the films' corpus (sets) and the films' structure (sub-genres); a situational approach, focusing on recurrences and discontinuities in the representations of work in cinema; a configurational approach, addressing how the presence of words and the addressing of space contribute to the configuration of cinema; and a case studies perspective, illustrated with industrial cinema. We also take into account the main challenges in conducting this research, both regarding film selection and analysis, and the heterogeneity of methodological procedures. Finally, we reflect on the role of cinema in contributing to the design of social representations of work and propose some future research challenges, taking on a transnational approach.

Telmo Clamote (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Lisboa), **Luisa Veloso** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Lisboa / University Institute of Lisbon): *Film representations of medicine and nursing: Shaping the social visibility of science and professions*

This paper discusses the social visibility of science and professions as a dimension of their social existence, one through which the

structuration of their social roles and positions in different fields can be (dis)played. Cinema has been a pivotal medium in the historical shaping of that visibility, making it a methodologically and epistemologically privileged site for this discussion. Our empirical objects are film representations of health professions produced in Portugal during the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1933-1974), identified at the National Archive of Moving Images. We combined a formal analysis of the patterned ways in which each profession is represented in those films with a characterisation of the social contexts and agents involved in their production. This approach allowed us to interpret those representations not just as reflections of the structure of the health field, but as symbolic instruments for its (re)configuration, potentially employed by scientific, professional, political, or economic agents – revealing the social visibility of science and professions as an arena of social strategies. The films we analysed focus almost exclusively on medicine and nursing, which illustrate two modes of shaping the social visibility of scientific professions. Medicine's dominance in the field of health allowed it to exert an elective visibility, being able to socially control, or culturally limit how it was represented. Nursing's functional subordination made it the object of an imposed visibility, which prolonged and reinforced symbolically the way the regime sought to shape the social existence and identity of nursing to its ideological worldview.

Raffaella Biscioni (University of Bologna): *Photographic archives of the world of work in Italy between past and present*

This proposal focuses on the theme of photographic archives of the world of work. Such archives often meet certain difficulties in finding and preserving the voices and writings of workers. This is an even more problematic aspect for iconographic sources, and especially for photography, which began to be considered an historical source only a few decades ago. The paper aims to analyse which are the main archives and collections of photographic sources relating to the world of work in 20th century Italy. It will apply a historical methodology by examining the sources available today and follow the various historical phases that have led the photographic medium to expand to wider strata of the population.

After an initial phase in which the work was mainly the subject of representations by the upper classes, photography (especially from the beginning of the 20th century) became a medium of the world of work, both due to the "democratic" qualities that were attributed to it and its "documentary" functions. During those years, a period of modernisation and reforms began in Italy, characterised by a series of important social surveys, which were often accompanied by photographic documentation produced by technicians, engineers or doctors. The industrial archives themselves present a richer documentation than in the past, because the major companies created special photographic cabinets inside them.

Even ethnographic, social, and medical sciences used the photographic medium to document work, also contributing to feed its imaginaries and representations. At this time, there were also the first cases of photographic production within the world of work, through the documentation of strikes, as well as work and post-work activities, with images being taken by militant photographers and in some cases even by non-professionals.

After the Fascist period, in which the documentation of work was very extensive, but oriented towards the propaganda of the regime (see Archivio LUCE and archives of the other bodies of the regime), the 1950s represent an immense recovery of the use of photography in the field of work, this time functioning not only as documentation, but also and above all as denunciation, by a generation of photographers who have internalised the lesson of neorealism, but who often militate and were strongly integrated in the movement of workers. (Audiovisual archive of the Labor and Democratic Movement, Trade union and Cooperative movement archives, Various archives of photoreporter). Finally, with the age of mass consumption, even in the

photographic field there is an enormous growth in private and "vernacular" practice. Photography spreads among the workers, who capture leisure time as well as working time (in this case the reference are family archives or archives that hold private collections such as Homemovies).

4:00–5:30pm:

PO: Film Screening and Roundtable on Capital Accumulation and Labour Rights in NS Germany, Yugoslavia, and Today's Serbia (LH C2)

Chairs: Anamarija Batista (Vienna University of Economics and Business), **Isidora Grubacki** (Central European University, Vienna)

Screening of the film *Obrani Berači* by **Milica Lupšor** and **Branislav Markuš**

Goran Musić (University of Vienna): *Making and Breaking the Yugoslav Working Class*

Panel discussion with **Milica Lupšor** (Roza) and **Goran Musić (University of Vienna)**

After the screening of the documentary film "Obrani berači" by Milica Lupšor, which will give us an insight into the difficult situation of seasonal agricultural workers in Vojvodina and the fight for women's labour rights, we will listen to the presentation by Goran Musić about a story of two Self-Managed Factories in socialist Yugoslavia.

Afterwards, we will discuss the issues of organisation of labour relations, social security, and the ideas of co-management processes in the economy.

MiL_00 (Military Labour): WG Meeting (SR 1)

Chair: **Fia Sundevall** (Stockholm University)

LiM_04: Economic and Social Impacts of Mining: Case Studies from USA, Africa, Europe (SR 2)

Chairs: **Francesca Sanna** (Université Gustave Eiffel, Champs-sur-Marne), **Gabriele Marcon** (European University Institute, Florence)

Dácil Juif (Universidad Carlos III, Madrid): *Unravelling the resource curse: The impact of mining activities on local human welfare and within-country inequality, 1920s to 2000s*

One of the Sub-Saharan African countries most dependent on mining is Zambia (former Northern Rhodesia), where large-scale copper extraction started in the late 1920s. At its independence, in 1964, and for many years before, over 50% of total government revenue derived from mineral rents and copper accounted for 90 percent of its export value.

The effects of extractive industries on people's living standards have been an important matter of debate both in the academic and policy arena. A pessimistic traditional view on the local effects is that mines are often foreign owned enterprises that do not generate local employment, or forward- or backward linkages to the local economy. Furthermore, the environmental degradation that sometimes accompanies mineral extraction and ore processing have endangered local peasants' livelihoods. Additionally, gender equality could suffer as jobs created by the mineral industry are generally reserved for men. On the other hand, a recent development literature has found positive rather than negative effects of mine openings on the reduction of local poverty and morbidity, and even on women's empowerment.

Departing from an assessment of the local effects of mine openings on human development, particularly on employment, schooling and health in Zambia, this study further engages with the impact of mining activities on within-country inequality. We then address how the regional inequality could have been reinforced or attenuated by

migration and by fiscal policies. To construct the outcome measures of wellbeing, we draw on colonial and post-colonial censuses including district-level information. As for the measurement of mine activity, we have constructed a database including the years of mine openings, production, and mine employment since the late 1920s.

John Murray (Rhodes College, Memphis), **Javier Silvestre** (Universidad de Zaragoza): *Determinants in the adoption of a non labour-substitution technology: Mechanical ventilation in West Virginia coal mines, 1898–1906*

One of the most important present debates deals with the replacement of labour with technology. Comparisons with previous periods of intense technological change are prevalent. In this regard, it has been argued that in the 19th-century Industrial Revolution the "displacement effect" tended to predominate over the "reinstatement effect". That is to say, capital and new technologies substituted (part of) labour and, therefore, labour demand fell. This paper contributes to this literature by providing the case study of a non labour-substitution technology: the mechanical ventilation of coal mines. Coal mining was one of the principal industries associated with the economic growth in several European countries and the U.S. as the 19th century progressed.

The ventilation of mines was the response to explosions provoked, especially, by methane gas (firedamp) and, sometimes, its interaction with coal dust. Together with landslides and cave-ins, explosions tended to be the most important determinant in the high numbers of deaths and injuries to coal miners. Moreover, although statistically infrequent, explosions often caused further costs derived from the interruption of mining activity and the destruction of capital stock. Explosions were certainly feared, as reflected in the press and folklore around mining communities.

For centuries, different (and ingenious) ventilation technologies were tested. However, they proved insufficient or inefficient, as well as expensive, as mines became bigger and deeper throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the number and severity of explosions increased. Further improvements in the management of explosions were the result of the successful combination of several technologies, being mechanical ventilation a key factor.

We focus on the West Virginia coal basin at the turn of the century, at this time the main coal producing state in the US, together with Pennsylvania, and possibly one of the most dangerous coalfields in the world. We propose a model of the determinants of the adoption of mechanical ventilation. Data are disaggregated at the pit level, an unusual feature in the economic history literature on the adoption of technology.

Pieter Troch (Ghent University): *Contextualising social and ethnopolitical unrest in late socialist Kosovo against the life cycle of mining*

The 1989 strike of the miners of Trepča/Trepça in northern Kosovo is one of the iconic and defining moments in the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. The strike generated massive popular unrest in Kosovo, gave the Serbian Republic further pretext to intervene in Kosovo politics, and divided the Yugoslav federal leadership. The events are commonly interpreted through the dominant ethnopolitical lens, as an act of resistance (or, insubordination) by Albanian miners against the politics of Serbian President Slobodan Milošević to reduce Kosovo's autonomy. For socialist Yugoslavia as a whole, however, recent research shows that economic crisis, social unrest, and ethnopolitical mobilisation went hand in hand.

The first aim of this paper is to analyse along these lines the elements of social unrest behind the strike of 1989 through a detailed reconstruction of the social and economic conditions in the Trepča/Trepça mining enterprise during the second half of the 1980s. Second, the paper situates this development within the particular life-cycle of mining activities, integrating the story of Yugoslav mining in the 1980s within the

broader global history of reduction and closure of mining activities. The paper is based on a study of economic policy making related to mining in the Yugoslav economic reforms of the 1980s in combination with a thick description of social and economic conditions in the Trepča/Trepça mining enterprise, particularly through a study of the factory journal and the local archive (the archives of the enterprise are not accessible). The paper makes a number of contributions of relevance beyond the micro-historical case-study. First, it scrutinises the intersection of social unrest and ethnopolitical mobilisation through the conceptual lens of the particular temporalities of mining activities. Second, it analyses socialist, state-owned mining enterprises not as a static fossil stubbornly denying the life cycle of mining but as dynamic actors engaging with the temporal challenges of mining. The paper argues that the rupture of war and transition rather than the socialist planned economy led to the petrifaction of mining activities, to the current point at which the Serbian and Kosovo governments lay claim to the heritage of the largely defunct Trepča/Trepça mining complex as a guarantee for economic wellbeing.

CPW_02: When Social Actors Make the Experience of Work Audible and Visible // Dire et rendre visibles les expériences de travail par les acteurs sociaux (SR 3)

Chairs: **Nathalie Ponsard** (Université Versailles St-Quentin-en-Yvelines), **Anna Pellegrino** (University of Bologna)

Clément Plée (Université Clermont Auvergne): *Impressions et stigmates du travail dans la pratique musicale populaire de Bretagne au temps de la Révolution française*

Avec la Révolution, la société d'ordres jusqu'alors garante du système coercitif d'Ancien-Régime s'effondre sous la pression d'un projet politique aux vues universalistes. Ce projet politique prend corps notamment sur l'idée de « régénération ». « Régénération » de la Nation mais aussi des Français eux-

mêmes qui de sujets, deviennent par apprentissage citoyens. L'association faite entre nécessité de transformer l'individu d'Ancien-Régime et construction du citoyen de demain est alors au cœur des préoccupations politiques du pouvoir révolutionnaire. Elles se portent vers les groupes sociaux qui composent la masse laborieuse de la société française, groupes numériquement dominants. Pour bâtir ce nouveau citoyen, les arts sont mobilisés et particulièrement la musique dans des lieux spécifiques comme les théâtres ou encore sur des terrains aménagés pour accueillir les fêtes révolutionnaires. Mais il existe d'autres lieux, d'autres moments qui ne sont pas, au premier abord, dédiés au jeu musical régénérateur. Ces endroits sont les lieux de travail et ces moments sont ceux du labeur qui marque l'existence de l'homme, qui imprime physiquement et psychiquement un mouvement à l'individu. La question se pose de savoir quels sont les mouvements qui, issus de l'activité laborieuse pénètrent le corps et l'esprit du journalier, du salarié, du nouvel homme révolutionnaire et comment ces mouvements surgissent dans les manifestations musicales au temps de la Révolution française? Pour apporter des éléments de réponse, nous nous pencherons sur les manifestations du musical au sein de la population bretonne en analysant les traces laissées par ces pratiques dans la tradition.

Anna Pellegrino (University of Bologna): *Écouter les femmes de "la Proletaria": vendeuses, associées, administratrices 1944–2000.*

Mon intervention porte sur des interviews que j'ai menés au cours des dernières années auprès des travailleuses d'une coopérative de consommation en Italie. La coopérative, nommée "La Proletaria", a été fondée au cours de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, en février 1945, à Piombino, une petite ville industrielle, qui était le principal centre de l'industrie sidérurgique italienne. Elle a connu un grand développement au fil du temps et elle est aujourd'hui l'une des trois principales coopératives de consommation italiennes, avec environ 5 000 employés, dont plus de 70% sont des femmes.

Les femmes ont joué un rôle important dans la période initiale, soit comme travailleuses, soit comme associées et acheteuses. Avec les interviews que j'ai auditionnés et filmés (avec la collaboration d'un groupe de recherche à l'occasion de la célébration des 70 ans de sa naissance en 2015), j'ai pu écouter les témoignages d'un groupe de femmes représentatives de divers profils professionnels, à différentes époques au sein de la coopérative.

Des résultats très intéressants se dégagent à la fois en ce qui concerne la logique d'accès au travail des femmes, les relations avec les maris et les familles, les problèmes de la maternité et le rapport entre travail domestique et travail coopératif; mais aussi la logique du rapport à la ville et à la communauté fortement cohésive socialement d'une «ville ouvrière» émerge aussi : elle est caractérisée par des pratiques de solidarité très fortes et profondément enracinées, qui finissent même parfois par l'emporter sur les droits des femmes. La précarité et la faiblesse de la position des femmes n'ont été surmontées que par un long voyage, dans lequel il y a eu aussi des luttes difficiles, mais toujours dans le cadre d'une institution, la coopération, dans laquelle la plupart des femmes interrogées se sont pleinement reconnues. Ces témoignages nous disent la complexité, la couleur et la chaleur des expériences de vie et de travail des femmes bien plus que les sources écrites, ainsi que l'enracinement et l'importance des modèles culturels du milieu social dans la relation dialectique avec le milieu de travail.

T.G. Ashplant (King's College London): *Accessing the power of the press: The campaigning journalism of Ada Nield Chew, the "Crewe Factory Girl"*

Ada Nield Chew (1870-1945) entered public life in 1894, when she published a series of letters in her local newspaper, the "Crewe Chronicle", under the pen name "Crewe Factory Girl", describing the campaign of her fellow workers in a clothing factory to improve their pay and working conditions. Victimised by the factory management, she became in turn a professional socialist and trade unionist campaigner, an elected member of a municipal welfare board, and later a campaigner for women's suffrage. In each of these roles, she produced vigorous journalist writing. This paper will examine Nield Chew's journalism from two perspectives. Firstly, the way in which she made her voice heard via several distinct channels of communication: the local press (then open to the voices of working people in a way unimaginable later), the related but distinct industrial press (aimed at workers in specific industries, especially cotton and woollen textiles) and the political press of socialist, trade union and suffrage organisations. Secondly, it will examine the range of literary forms which Nield Chew used, including theoretical argument, reportage, and comic or melodramatic fiction, in order to reach diverse audiences in making what would today be termed intersectional feminist arguments (based on class/gender).

Caroline Lardy (Université Clermont Auvergne): *Filmer les processus de production industriels du point de vue des travailleurs*

Cette communication se propose de réfléchir à la manière dont les images en mouvement, fabriquées par des travailleurs, témoignent d'une perception singulière de l'organisation spatio-temporelle du travail. Il s'agit d'analyser comment la description des espaces de production en milieu industriel est appréhendée du point de vue des acteurs sur le terrain (aménagement et/ou disposition de l'atelier, de la ligne, etc.).

On s'intéressera aux registres cinématographiques que ces « observateurs-cinéastes-amateurs » privilégiés, de par leur connaissance fine des processus, utilisent pour rendre compte de l'aménagement des espaces de travail. De même qu'on examinera, à la faveur d'exemples significatifs, les délimitations audio-visuelles choisies pour restituer avec exactitude ou approximation, les durées de production.

On s'interrogera sur les types d'informations fournies par la spécificité du medium audiovisuel tels que le choix de la continuité descriptive ou le recours systématique à des ellipses ainsi que sur les informations auxquelles le spectateur accède directement

ou indirectement en vue de deviner ou déduire des étapes et du processus de production dans son ensemble. A partir d'une sélection de séquences, on examinera les similitudes ou les différences de traitement dans les régimes de description proposés. Ainsi on tentera de discerner en quoi la mise en scène des activités humaines dans l'espace et le temps de travail _ filmées du point de vue de l'ouvrier _ offre une vision résolument parcellaire ou au contraire plus exhaustive qu'elle n'y paraît.

LM_09: Labour Immigrants in Cities: Complexities of Integration (Aula)

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Maria Arvaniti (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens): *A study of the Greek-Orthodox migrant workforce of Istanbul during a period of crisis (1821)*

In the early 19th century, migrants constituted a substantial part of Istanbul's workforce. The Ottoman capital had long been a magnet for rural populations who were in pursuit of work and opportunities. During the 18th and 19th centuries the Ottoman state made several attempts to control migration and monitor the city's population, especially during or after periods of unrest. Already in the 17th century, Ottoman officials had expressed worries about migrants, considering them potentially dangerous for public order. However, migration flows accommodated the city's constant need for services, as well as made up for the population shortages that came about as a result of epidemics and other calamities.

Recent studies highlight the importance of common origins not only for the settlement of migrants in particular districts of the capital, but also for their strong connection to the people's occupations. Suraiya Faroqhi, Cengiz Kırlı, Betül Başaran, Nalan Turna, and other scholars working on Ottoman archival material such us population counts and court records have greatly contributed to the history of Istanbul's workforce and the

significant role of immigrants in it, during the 18th and early 19th centuries.

In this paper, I will focus on the Greek-Orthodox migrants working and/or residing at the *hans* of Istanbul's commercial centre based on the examination of an Ottoman register, compiled in March of 1821. I will compare these findings with information from other population registers of the same period. These registers, compiled after the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, provide information on the Greek-Orthodox people's residence and working place, their occupation and place of origin, and sometimes hint at their working, social and family relations. Subsequently, I will examine the link between labour and mobility by discussing migration networks and occupational specialisations, evaluating the latter's influence in chain migration patterns, as well as movement (or absence of it) in the city for working purposes. In this last point, I would like to introduce the connection of workspace to residence and consequently to life conditions and patterns of the Greek-Orthodox migrant artisans and tradesmen. In this context, I will also refer to the importance of having a personal guarantor (*kefil*) and I will address the controversial term *gedik* that has preoccupied scholars working on Ottoman society of the 18th and early 19th centuries. My aim is thus, to present a picture of the Greek-Orthodox migrant workforce of Istanbul at the break of the Greek War of Independence, a period of crisis for the Greek-Orthodox population of the city.

Enrique Tudela Vázquez (Barcelona): *New hands for the city: Labour integration of southern migrants in Barcelona during Francoism*

This contribution aims to analyse how southern immigrants, mainly Andalusian, became part of the local working class in the city of Barcelona during the 1950s and 1960s, in which economic sectors their presence was the majority and why this happened, defining some of the fundamental features that characterised their adaptation to the Barcelona labour market. The access of immigrants to the Barcelona labour

market during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as the social consequences that this phenomenon had, are fundamental aspects of the experience shared by the broad group of workers that definitively transformed the social composition of the local working class in the mid-20th century.

The 1950s marked the beginning of a progressive transformation in the economic structure of Barcelona, laying the foundations for the great industrial impulse that this territory would experience during the period between 1960 and 1973, which caused a great demand for skilled and non-skilled workers coming from less developed regions in Spain. Those decades under the Franco's regime, particularly the 1950s, offered job opportunities to immigrants, both men and women, who settled in Barcelona since the late 1940s. The working lives of the people investigated were closely linked to the economic development in Barcelona and its reactivation after the civil war (1936-1939), contemplating a diverse typology of jobs available to immigrants and the opening of numerous employment niches. Both aspects related to gender and age intervened in this process, including the work of minors, as well as the nature of the existing demand in the labour market.

Although there was a wide range of jobs held by immigrants, these were mainly concentrated in the construction sector and industrial peonage in the case of male immigrants. In the specific case of women, the importance of domestic service was accompanied by a labour demand extended to other occupations, such as industrial peonage, particularly in the textile sector. In both cases, particularly in the female case, these jobs were generally combined with other jobs that aimed at the social reproduction of immigrant families. For people accustomed to contexts of seasonal unemployment, joining a diverse labour market and with a relative possibility of labour mobility represented a whole transformation in their perception of salaried work. In this way, our analysis will try to identify some of the particularities that defined the experience of southern migration, as well as to point out trends that contribute to a better understanding of the migratory phenomenon in the city of Barcelona and its metropolitan area during Franco's dictatorship.

In this contribution we want to highlight the memories and testimonies of the immigrants as a methodological approach that allow us to access to their experiences and perceptions. What opinions had immigrant workers of the jobs they carried out when they arrived in Barcelona and in what way their lives were transformed by these work experiences are some of the questions with want to answer.

Walter L. Koppmann (Universidad de Buenos Aires): *The Jewish working class of Buenos Aires, 1905–1930*

The aim of this paper is to analyse the history of the Jewish workers immigration that arrived at Buenos Aires during the period of 1905-1930. My main goal is to contribute to the study of the Jewish working class, its links with the left political cultures and the forms that took the urban experience in the context of capitalist modernisation. This project represents a continuity of my doctoral research and it is part of my postdoctoral research, within the University of Buenos Aires and the CONICET.

Attending to the ethnical particularities of the Jewish community, one of the principal obstacles to carry on this research was the ídish language of the primary fonts and its specific expression in the Global South historical time, from which it results the "castídish" (castellano plus ídish). Moreover, many of the documents, journals and personal archives related to that first period of the Jewish immigration in Argentina were burnt in the AMIA's attack, in 1994, while other materials were simply lost or destroyed, in the absence of policies or projects regarding historical memory.

In the last few years, however, the role played by the IWO Foundation of Buenos Aires and the "Pinnie Katz" Centre of Studies has to be recognised, as they gathered and recovered documents and other key elements, such as letters, photos or personal diaries. Within the field of Jewish studies, with a few notable exceptions in the past 1980s, this type of research has rarely been

undertaken. Therefore, either because of the difficulties of ídish understanding or due to the availability of primary fonts, we are almost obliged to study the Jewish workers through the eyes of the non-Jewish labourers and to cross this information with the scarce data belonging from the ídish archives.

This paper is focused on four dimensions within the Jewish working class: labour market and the main trades they practiced (woodworking, tailoring, baking); labour struggle and trade unionism (either joining the established unions or creating new ones, the *fahrein*); political organisation and militant trajectories; ídishkait background. To examine these two last aspects, we must take into account the political networks and the flux of people and objects through the ocean. In other words, we must adopt a transnational insight that could link the experience from the Global South with the European countries.

Francesca Rolandi (University of British Columbia Okanagan / Center for Advanced Studies Rijeka): *Čovjek bez svog kuta: Labour migration, settlement dynamics, and housing in post–WW2 Rijeka*

In the aftermath of World War II, the city of Rijeka experienced bidirectional migration flows upon the shifting of sovereignty, which marked its annexation to Yugoslavia in 1947. Already an immigration town in the late Habsburg time, the city saw both the revival of old migration routes and the opening up of new migration paths. On one hand, a consistent part of its pre-war population left for Italy by opting or escaping across the border; on the other, the booming economy of the city attracted labour force from many areas of the Yugoslav Federation who often replaced those who left in the workplaces, housings, spaces of sociability. Although no repopulation plan had been carried out and spontaneity was usually the leading force, the state tried to govern the phenomena, by channelling, encouraging or banning certain groups or individuals from emigrating to the port city.

Post-war migration flows redesigned the demography of the city and reshaped to the core its identity but also radically changed the urban space, with a new semanticisation of already existing places, as well as the popping up of new residential areas. From its beginning, the process of integration of the new workforce in Rijeka went hand in hand with the hot issue of housing. The access to decent housing in new residential areas was often granted by employers, as the state-owned firms were among the biggest investors in construction projects. The influx of workers from other areas compelled the companies to provide them with temporary accommodation such as barracks which sprang up at the border of the city or in industrial areas, often failing to meet the minimal standards.

On the other hand, the settlement process also entailed different options which ranged from the building of private houses supported by loans to the spread of wild makeshift constructions. The latter were mainly populated by newcomers who tried to scrape a living at the margins of the formal labour market. Similarly, the hearth of the old city, heavily damaged by World War II bombing, often represented a first transit space for those who had recently reached the city. While work was often determining the access to housing, also housing conditions had an impact on work. As noticed by local cadres, temporary workers were repeatedly shifting workplaces, trying to slightly improve their living standards, but failed to feel attachment to their working collective, and in general to the society they were supposed to build. The housing issue in post-WW2 Rijeka mirrored the process of adjustment to a new framework but also the persistent social inequalities within the new Yugoslav society.

Besides addressing a peculiar case studies, this paper aims at addressing a set of questions. How to analyse the entanglement and overlapping of different migration flows? To what extent does the negotiation between the state and its citizens mirror on the urban space? How did political transition and repopulation processes affect labour?

LM_10: Gendering Labour Migration History in 20th Century Europe (OC)

Chair: **Rory Archer** (University of Konstanz / University of Graz)

Conchi Villar (University of Barcelona): *Barcelona 1930, the pattern of a feminised city during industrialisation in Southern Europe*

From the 1980s, Feminist Studies on historical migrations started to include a gender perspective. They have shown that, as men and women were assigned different social as well as economic roles, migration was a gendered experience. Despite this, Migration History, which is currently looking for new conceptualisations, typologies, and methods of measuring migrations, still neglects gender. Thus, some studies dealing with socio-economic integration and life conditions of migrants to the urban areas during industrialisation use a male perspective, even when women were more likely than men to migrate. In Spain, some studies have examined the differences between the experiences of migration of men and women during industrialisation. However, in Catalonia, and concretely in Barcelona, which was the first Spanish industrialised city and the one of the three main urban areas receiving migrants massively from mid-nineteenth century, the previous literature dealing with immigration during the first third of the 20th century is still based on adult male data. This contributes to perpetuate a distorted image of the migrants as a male collective. Notwithstanding, Barcelona received a greater female migratory flow than male between the mid-19th century and the 1930s because the labour market expansion generated more labour opportunities to women than to men. Consequently, Barcelona reached around 13% more women than men, a fact that could place the Catalan capital as a pattern of a feminised city during industrialisation in Europe. The paper will deal with the reasons of this feminisation analysing the changes on the composition of the a) population, b) workforce occupation, and c) migration spatial distribution in the city. For this purpose, aggregated data from National Population Censuses (1857-1930) and the Municipal Register of Inhabitants of Barcelona in 1930 will be used.

Sheena Trimble (Université catholique de l'Ouest, Angers): *Women and Canada's labour migration schemes for post–World War II displaced Europeans*

In July 1947, when the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) began its field work, post-World War II Europe still faced the problem of dealing with 1.6 million refugees –more commonly known as displaced persons. Even though Canada became a member of the IRO as soon as it was created, welcoming large numbers of displaced Europeans did not immediately follow. Like many countries, Canada feared a post-war economic downturn. Little by little, with the help of a strong economy and the desire for a more important international role, the voices in favour of admitting a significant number of displaced Europeans gained a hearing within the Canadian government.

Between 1947 and 1953, Canada accepted approximately 165,000 of Europe's displaced persons as immigrants. While this gesture was praised as an act of international responsibility and national generosity, it was not a refugee programme per se. Canada only admitted displaced persons who were sponsored by Canadian family members or who could meet the pressing demands for labour in primary industries or human services. Accepting a minimum one-year contract to work in agriculture, mining or forestry, or as a domestic servant, was the only migration alternative offered to refugees who did not have family connections in Canada. Displaced persons were recruited in groups, based on the "orders" placed by Canadian employers. The contours of these so-called "bulk labour schemes" were established between March and June 1947 and continued to function for a few months beyond the end of the IRO's mandate in 1952.

Based on information garnered from the archives of government and relevant associations as well as from oral histories, this paper will examine this labour migration movement from the perspectives of Canadian and migrant women of the period. It will consider the degree to which Canadian

women supported the liberal economic approach to admitting Europe's post-war refugees. It will also explore their efforts to pressure the Canadian government to change the admission criteria, the categories of labour involved, or the working conditions.

For women among Europe's displaced persons, the Canadian labour schemes presented an opportunity to leave the misery of the camps and start a new life elsewhere. This paper will look at the extent to which they were willing to comply with the admission criteria and accept the working conditions as well as their efforts to adapt them to their own needs and aspirations. It will also examine the means of recourse available to women who found the criteria and conditions unacceptable or unadaptable.

The paper offers a gendered perspective on this historic labour migration movement, where labour migration was used as a key response to a refugee crisis. It will interrogate the ways in which women contributed to or contested dominant post-war constructs of what constituted acceptable categories and conditions of labour migration for particular groups of people. It will also look at the avenues and methods available to women of different milieus to influence and re/define labour migration policy. The overt and covert actions of migrant women in this regard will be of particular interest.

Yannis Papadopoulos (University of Brasilia), **Giota Tourgeli** (Panteion University, Athens): *Gendering migration in a traditional society: Assisted female migration from Greece during the early postwar period*

The post-World War II refugee crisis and the ideas concerning the "overpopulation problem" of ravaged Europe, in combination with Cold War concerns and labour unions pressures, urged Western states to undertake efforts to regulate human mobility at a supranational level. The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration/ ICEM, (the IOM's predecessor), facilitated and organised movements that aimed at fulfilling the manpower demands of receiving countries.

During the first decade of its operations ICEM resettled almost one million Europeans in overseas countries. ICEM-assisted outflows, composed both of economic migrants and refugees, were directed in a gendered pattern. In response to a gender-specific labour demand in receiving countries most men were moved as industrial workers, whereas women migrated in the context of family reunion schemes and to a lesser extent as domestic workers. In 1954 the ICEM launched a program for the migration of single women who would work as domestic workers in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It was the least organised sector as well as an unpopular occupation due to live-in conditions.

Greece, a country encountering pressing needs in the immediate post-war years, had received ICEM assistance for 66,000 emigrants. The Greek state participated in the domestic workers program, although it was initially reluctant to promote the exodus of women, obsessed by moral sexist concerns, demographic, and nationalist fears. Since the late 19th century young Greek women migrated to work as domestics in urban centres. Nevertheless, the dominant image of a woman moving, up to WWII, was that of a dependent family member, a "follower".

ICEM gave single women of rural background and with scarce resources, selected under strict criteria, the opportunity to migrate under legal and institutional protection to work, live alone and later to sponsor the migration of their relatives. Furthermore, ICEM assisted them with orientation and language courses as well as training programs and loans in order to ensure not only their transportation and recruitment but also their adjustment to work and life in economically and 'culturally' developed countries. On the other side, the Committee tried to imbue women from the periphery of the "Free World" with "superior" western technical skills, cultural values and modern behavioural patterns reproducing dominant gender, ethnic, race and class prejudices.

The paper explores the gendered logics governing migration policy of an international organisation called upon to mediate between receiving and sending countries to ensure orderly and efficient human mobility in the post WWII era. By focusing on a specific female migration scheme, implemented in the 1950s, we will try to highlight the way receiving states expanded their capacity to control their borders and select the "qualities" of their foreign female workforce, through the standardisation of their skills, behaviours and rights.

Based on archival material from the IOM and the ILO headquarters in Geneva, the IOM mission in Athens, but also from the national archives of the United States and Australia, we will problematise the role of the international organisations in the dissemination of hegemonic Western gendered economic, social, and cultural scripts.

6:30–8:00pm:

General Assembly of the European Labour History Network (ELHN) (LH C2)

Chairs:
Silke Neunsinger (Uppsala University),
Matthias van Rossum (International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam)

Thursday, 02–09–2021

The discussion of this WORCK Conference Day will be based on a reader, assembling key publications on the study of social inequalities and global history. The link to the reader texts will be sent to the registered participants via email before the conference.

9:00–10:30am:

WORCK: Introduction (LH C2)

Michael Pero (COST Science Officer, Brussels): *Welcome address*

Juliane Schiel (University of Vienna), **Johan Heinsen** (Aalborg University): *Historicising the concept of Europe in Global History*

Margareth Lanzinger (University of Vienna): *Researching social inequalities at the University of Vienna*

11:00–12:30am:

WORCK: Historical Perspectives on Social Inequality in Europe (LH C2)

Chair: **Juliane Schiel** (University of Vienna)

Discussants:

Guido Alfani (Bocconi University

Dietlind Hüchtker (University of Vienna)

2:00–3:30pm:

WORCK: Contemporary Perspectives on Social Inequalities in Europe (LH C2)

Chair: **Johan Heinsen (**Aalborg University)

Discussants:

Manuela Boatcă (University of Freiburg)

Devi Sacchetto (University of Padua)

4:00–5:30pm:

WORCK: Confronting Research Fields of European and Global History: Servitude and Household Service in Europe and the Globe (LH C2)

Chair: **Christian G. De Vito** (University of Bonn)

Discussants:

Maria Ågren (Uppsala University)

Nitin Varma (Humboldt University zu Berlin)

6:30–8:00pm:

Roundtable Discussion:

Sezonieri: A Campaign for the Rights of Agricultural Workers in Austria (LH C2)

Friday, 03–09–2021

10:00–12:00am:

Final Discussion (LH C2)

Acronyms

LM – ELHN Working Group "Labour Migration History" (Aula)

MaL – ELHN Working Group "Maritime Labour History" (SR 2)

MiL – ELHN Working Group "Military Labour" (SR 2)

LiM – ELHN Working Group "Labour in Mining" (SR 3)

ETU – ELHN Working Group "European Trade Unionism" (SR 1)

FH – ELHN Working Group "Factory History" (SR 1, HS A)

FL – ELHN Working Group "Feminist Labour History" (HS B)

LE – ELHN Working Group "Labour and Empire" (HS C1)

MD – ELHN Working Group "Memory and Deindustrialisation" (HS D)

RB – ELHN Working Group "Remuneration and Bargaining" (SR 3, HS A)

CEE – ELHN Working Group "Central-East Europe" (HS D, SR 1)

LFE – ELHN Working Group "Labour and Family Economy" (HS C1, SR 3)

WE – ELHN Working Group "Workers' Education" (HS D, SR 2)

CPW – ELHN Working Group "Speak, Look, Listen! The Cultural Production of Work" (SR 1)

WG1 – WORCK Working Group "Grammars of Coercion"

WG2 – WORCK Working Group "Sites and Fields of Coercion"

WG3 – WORCK Working Group "Im/Mobilisations of the Workforce"

WG4 – WORCK Working Group "Intersecting Marginalities"

DH – WORCK Digital Humanities Group

PO – WORCK Public Outreach Group

TT – WORCK Think Tank Group

PH – Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery

https://www.worck.eu/conference-2-2021-vienna/

https://socialhistoryportal.org/elhn/conference-2021