

FALL/WINTER 2021–22



Tribute to late AFL-CIO President Richard L. Trumka

On August 5, the president of the AFL-CIO and Penn State alumnus Richard L. Trumka passed away unexpectedly at the age of 72. Trumka was a pioneering labor leader who prioritized the organization of non-traditional workers who have historically been outside the scope of the American labor movement such as taxi drivers, immigrant laborers, and graduate students. He supported organizing campaigns by AFL-CIO affiliate unions and helped build innovative alliances with community organizations and workers centers that are not legally recognized as unions but are dedicated to fighting for the rights of marginalized workers. Trumka was also committed to strengthening global worker solidarity through supporting the work of the AFL-CIO-linked Solidarity Center, and through offering material and symbolic solidarity to persecuted workers and union leaders in countries as diverse as Mexico, Myanmar, Egypt, South Korea, and Brazil.



Trumka was born in the coal-mining region of southwestern Pennsylvania and worked as a miner before and during his time as an undergraduate student at Penn State. He later received his law degree

from Villanova University and went on to hold staff and elected positions with the United Mine Workers union. In 1995, Trumka joined the "New Voices" reform slate led by John Sweeney and was elected secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Fourteen years later, he was elected president of the national federation, presiding over the organization during highly tumultuous times for labor. These times were marked by declines in unionization rates, attacks on immigrant worker rights, the rise of the far-right before and during the Trump administration, and the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite these challenges, Trumka will be remembered by the CGWR and by union leaders and activists around the world as a tireless and passionate fighter for workers' rights both in the United States and abroad.

CGWR Speaker Series Examined Union Strategies in Brazil

On Wednesday, October 20, CGWR hosted a talk by Jana Silverman, current CGWR postdoctoral scholar, and Rodolfo Soares Moimaz, doctoral candidate at the Philosophy and Social Sciences Institute, State University of Campinas, Brazil. The presenters discussed "New Challenges for the Brazilian Labor Movement in Times of Crisis: Case Studies of Domestic Workers and Public School Teachers." Both presenters drew upon years of academic and union practitioner experience in Brazil to analyze the current state of the Brazilian labor movement from a sector-specific lens.

During the last five years, the Brazilian labor movement has suffered historic setbacks due to the rise of the far-right after the 2016 coup d'état against President Dilma Rousseff and the implementation of the 2017 anti-union labor law reform. In this challenging context, made even more difficult by the COVID-19 pandemic, unions are seeking to reinvent their strategies and tactics in order to maintain their ability to mobilize and represent the working class.



At this talk, the presenters analyzed the collective actions of two important categories of workers: public school teachers and domestic workers. Together, these workers represent millions of predominantly women workers across Brazil. From socially distanced protests to new online communications strategies, the presenters discussed how public sector and informal sector workers are finding new ways to organize and fight back for their rights in a highly unfavorable moment for the Brazilian working class.

Congratulations to the 2020–21 LGWR Cohort!

Despite the unforeseen and seemingly unsurmountable challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the entire Labor and Global Workers' Rights (LGWR) 2020–21 cohort was able to successfully complete their master of professional studies degree!

In the fall semester, many of the students had to study remotely from their home countries due to pandemic lockdowns and international travel bans. However, by the spring 2021 semester, most of them were able to relocate to Penn State University Park. They spent the summer months interning with trade unions, labor-based civil society organizations, or labor researchers, learning new practical skills that will help them advance the cause of workers' rights locally, nationally, and internationally. After completing their internships and submitting their capstone papers, they graduated in August 2021, equipped with a broader knowledge of labor relations in theory and practice and the dynamics of global labor movements.



The faculty of the LGWR program and staff of the School of Labor and Employment Relations would like to extend our warmest congratulations to this year's graduating class:

- Gonca Acaray (Turkey)
- Margaret Marfo (Ghana)
- Oliver Vanyanbah (Liberia)
- Saulo Galicia (Peru)
- Carlo Tabia (Philippines)
- Jiayi (Gia) Yuan (China)
- Marguerite Nguyen Lehma (United States)
- Ángela María Herrera Puyana (Colombia)

2021–22 LGWR Cohort Arrives at Penn State

In August, the eighth cohort of the MPS program in Labor and Global Workers' Rights (LGWR) began their studies at the School of Labor and Employment Relations at Penn State under the direction of the Center for Global Workers' Rights.

This innovative program is linked to the Global Labour University initiative, which offers post-graduate courses for mid-career trade union activists and labor rights advocates on campuses including University of Witwatersrand in South Africa, University of Kassel and Berlin School of Economics and Law in Germany, State University of Campinas in Brazil, Jawaharlal Nehru University in India, and Penn State. The LGWR program aims to strengthen students' practical and theoretical knowledge on globalization and workers' right.



To date, forty-five students have graduated from the program and have taken their knowledge back to their home countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe.

Four students from Peru, Ghana, and Liberia have joined the LGWR program for the 2021–22 academic year. They have prior experience promoting occupational health and safety in the workplace, collective bargaining, gender rights advocacy, and labor law litigation on the domestic level. Despite the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, all but one student has been able to commence in-person learning at University Park campus. The students are looking forward to many in-person and virtual interactions with CGWR faculty and affiliated researchers over the course of the academic year, as well as the summer internships that they will complete with unions and labor rights advocacy organizations.

Master of Professional Studies (MPS) in Labor and Global Workers' Rights

This unique master's program focuses on global workers' rights, work and gender in the global economy, employment relations systems around the world, and strategic corporate research methodologies.

The deadline for applications for the next academic year is Monday March 7, 2022.

Assistantships and scholarships are available and awarded based on need and the quality of the application. For more information, visit ler.la.psu.edu/gwr/mps-in-labor-and-global-workers-rights.

New CGWR Working Paper on Delivery Workers and Labor Rights in Mexico

How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected food delivery workers around the world, especially in the Global South? What organizing strategies have these workers been utilizing in order to advocate for their fundamental labor rights while they remain at the margins of national labor law?

These are some of the key questions that drove the research behind the new CGWR working paper, "Food Delivery Workers Shaping the Future of Work: NI un Repartidor Menos," published in spring 2022. The authors are CGWR-affiliated faculty member Dr. Katherine Maich and former CGWR postdoctoral scholar Dr. Paolo Marinaro. They conducted novel research using online ethnographic techniques to document the working conditions of platform workers in Mexico and to better understand their national and transnational collective action strategies. These workers face



ongoing health risks due to the lack of appropriate personal protective equipment, widespread sexual harassment of female drivers by customers, irregular remuneration, and extensive working hours. They have few forms of legal redress against the online platforms they work for, as they are not considered direct employees under Mexican labor law. Despite these challenges, they have formed collectives and grassroots unions that have defied legal definitions. They have been able to serve as a collective voice for this group of marginalized workers through organizing direct actions and serving as a conduit for mutual aid projects. Gig work is becoming more commonplace in the global economy and this working paper provides new insights on how nontraditional workers can reshape collective action repertoires in order to demand respect and protections at work.

Publication is forthcoming; please check the CGWR website soon in order to access it: ler.la.psu.edu/gwr.

Labor Rights Film Series Highlights Worker Struggles from England to Brazil

For the fourth year in a row, the Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR) will team up with Penn State's Sustainability Institute for the "Intersections: Landscapes of Labor" film series. The series highlights connections between labor rights, sustainable development, and

racial, gender, and environmental justice. The 2021–22 academic year lineup features three exciting films.

ABC of a Strike (1990, Brazil) documents metal workers' struggles for dignity and freedom in their communities and their workplaces during the late 1970s under Brazil's authoritarian military regime (virtual screening, Wednesday, January 26 at 7:00 p.m. ET).

Sorry We Missed You (2019, England), by acclaimed director Ken Loach, tells the gut-wrenching story of a delivery worker and his wife's struggle to raise a family (in-person screening, Tuesday April 5 at 7:00 p.m. ET).



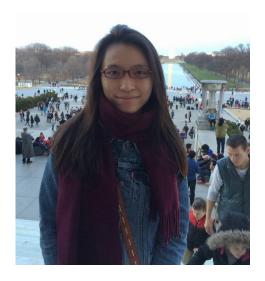
Waste Land (2010, Brazil) chronicles a collaborative art initiative aimed at elevating the visibility and voice of waste pickers at what was the world's largest waste landfill in Rio de Janeiro (virtual screening held Wednesday, October 27).

All films will be followed by discussions with expert guests. The curators of this year's film series are Peter Boger of the Sustainability Institute and Jana Silverman, Rodolfo Moimaz, Jinyoung Park, and Manuel Rosaldo of the CGWR.

New Acting Director of the CGWR

Changes are in the air for CGWR! Professor Mark Anner, founding director of the CGWR, is on sabbatical for the 2021–22 academic year. He will be focusing on his current research related to the impact of collective bargaining agreements on working conditions in Honduras.

Taking his place as acting director during this period is Assistant Professor Elaine Hui. Dr. Hui joined the School of Labor and Employment Relations faculty in January 2016 and is an assistant professor of labor and employment relations and Asian studies. She holds a doctorate in economics and social sciences from the University of Kassel in Germany, as well as a master of arts in labor policies and globalization from the Global Labour University program housed in Germany. Her research interests include labor resistance, trade unions, civil society, critical state theories, social welfare, China, and Vietnam. She is the author of the book, *Hegemonic Transformation: The State, Laws, and Labour Relations in Post-Socialist China.*



As acting director, Dr. Hui's goal is to guarantee that the graduate students enrolled in the LGWR program can succeed academically, despite the adverse pandemic context. She also aims to continue the meaningful work that the CGWR has been doing since its inception to promote a profound analysis of labor and labor movements and advocate for global workers' rights.

Spotlight on Jana Silverman, New CGWR Postdoctoral Scholar

In July 2021, Dr. Jana Silverman joined CGWR as a postdoctoral research scholar, following extensive experience in Latin America and the United States as a labor leader, activist, and researcher. Dr. Silverman's forays into the world of organized labor began as a rank-and-file activist of UAW Local 2110 at Columbia University in New York more than twenty years ago. After finishing her master of international affairs degree with a concentration in human rights at that same university, she moved to Colombia where she worked as a researcher for more than four years at the *Escuela Nacional Sindical* (National Union School) in Medellín. Her research at the National Union School was focused on the labor impacts of trade and foreign investment policy in Colombia. She also served as the founding president of the Colombian National Union of union staff and NGO workers, SINTRAONGS, from 2004–08.

Following this, Dr. Silverman completed a doctorate in labor and social economics at the State University of Campinas in Brazil. Her dissertation research focused on the political connections between unions and progressive political parties and the construction of neo-corporatist labor relations regimes under the "Pink Tide" governments in South America during the first decade of the twenty-



first century. She also accumulated significant experience as a labor practitioner working for the Solidarity Center in São Paulo, where she built connections between Brazilian- and American-based unions in diverse sectors, as well as led programs to quantitatively and qualitatively improve the union representation of Afro-Brazilian, women, and other marginalized workers.

At the CGWR, Dr. Silverman is eager to draw upon this experience to conduct new research on the linkages between union strategies, transformations in labor relations regimes, and the weakening of democratic institutions in contemporary Brazil. She went to São Paulo, Brazil, to conduct field research with union and political actors in September–October 2021, and she hopes to use this material to write a new peerreviewed journal article. Dr. Silverman is also working closely with CGWR director Dr. Mark Anner (currently on sabbatical) to organize the Fifteenth Global Labour University Conference, which will take place March 30–April 1, 2022.

Introducing Jeff Vogt

In August 2021, Jeff Vogt joined the CGWR as an adjunct lecturer in international labor law. When not teaching, Jeff is the rule of law director of the Solidarity Center, the largest U.S.-based international worker rights organization. In that role, he supports trade unions worldwide on labor law research, policy and advocacy before governments and international institutions, and litigation before national, regional, and international tribunals. In 2018, Jeff also co-founded the International Lawyers Assisting Workers (ILAW) Network, which brings together nearly 700 lawyers from more than 70 countries.

From 2011 to 2016, Jeff served as the legal director of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), a global organization that

represents more than 200 million workers in 162 countries and territories. He directed the ITUC's legal work before the ILO and provided strategic advice to the chair of the ILO Workers' Group on legal and policy matters. Before joining the ITUC in 2011, Jeff served as AFL-CIO deputy international department director and also was the AFL-CIO global economic policy specialist. Previously, he represented domestic and foreign trade unions in litigation in U.S. state and federal courts. He is a graduate of Cornell Law School, where he earned his juris doctorate and master of laws degree in international and comparative law and studied international law at University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Jeff has published extensively and spoken frequently on international labor law and trade and labor standards, including testimony before the legislatures of the United States, Canada, and the European Union. Most recently, he co-authored the book, *The Right to Strike in International Law* (Hart Publishing 2020). His current research interests include the intersection of labor law and



environmental law, and in particular the attainment of a "just transition" for workers and communities, and transnational collective bargaining.

Introducing Rodolfo Soares Moimaz, CGWR Visiting Scholar

Rodolfo Soares Moimaz, a doctoral candidate in sociology at the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil, has joined CGWR as a visiting scholar through March 2022. Rodolfo is also a public school teacher in the state of São Paulo and a leader of the São Paulo State Offical Education Teachers Union (APEOESP). His research analyzes forms of resistance and the production of consent among teachers and other relevant actors with regards to new educational policies that have been implemented in São Paulo. These policies were modeled on neoliberal reforms previously designed and implemented in the United States. Rodolfo aims to use his time at Penn State to conduct field research with U.S.-based activists who have confronted similar policy and political dilemmas in the past. With this research, he hopes to contribute to the academic literature related to the organization of workers and their families under neoliberal policy regimes, and the impact of neoliberalism on public education from a comparative perspective. Rodolfo's dissertation research is being supervised by Dr. Sávio Machado Cavalcante at UNICAMP and CGWR-affiliated faculty member Dr. Rebecca Tarlau at Penn State. Welcome, Rodolfo, to Penn State and the CGWR!



Save the Date: Global Labour University Conference

From March 30 to April 1, 2022, labor scholars, civil society advocates, and trade union practitioners from around the world will be meeting at the XV Global Labour University Conference, to be held at the AFL-CIO headquarters building in Washington, D.C. The theme of the conference is "Building a Post-Pandemic World of Work with Social Justice."

The CGWR is proud to be a co-sponsor of this important event.

For further information, visit global-labour-university.org/start or email Jana Silverman at jqs7099@psu.edu.

Recent Publications by CGWR Faculty and Researchers

Anner, Mark. (2020). *Abandoned? The Impact of Covid-19 on Workers and Businesses at the Bottom of Global Garment Supply Chains*. Center for Global Workers' Rights.

Anner, Mark. (2021). What Difference Does a Union Make? Banana Plantations in the North and South of Guatemala. Center for Global Workers' Rights.

Anner, Mark, Matthew Fischer-Daly, and Michael Maffie. (2021). "Fissured Employment and Network Bargaining: Emerging Employment Relations Dynamics in a Contingent World of Work." *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 74 (3): 689–714.

Bair, Jennifer, Mark Anner, and Jeremy Blasi. (2020). "The Political Economy of Private and Public Regulation in Post-Rana Plaza Bangladesh." *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 73 (4): 969-994.

Hui, Elaine Sio leng. "Movement-Oriented Labor Organizations in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of China", Human Relations (online).

Hui, Elaine Sio leng. "Bottom-up Unionization in China: A Power Resources Analysis". British Journal of Industrial Relations (online)

Hui, Elaine Sio leng. (2020). "Understanding the Role of Labor-Related Civil Society Actors in China." Theory and Society. 49: 49–74.

Maich, Katherine, Jennifer Fish, and Elieen Boris. "Amplifying Rights Through Activist Research with Domestic Worker Organisations: Academic Research Reflections." In *Step Up Efforts Towards Decent Work for Domestic Workers* in the EU: 10th Anniversary of ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011, C189 European Alliance, no. 189 (2021).

Maich, Katherine. "Of Home and Whom: Embeddedness of Law in the Regulation of Difference." In Rethinking Class and Social Difference (Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 37), edited by Barry Eidlin and Michael A. McCarthy, 185-214. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2020. doi:10.1108/S0198-871920200000037009.

Maich, Katherine and Paolo Marinaro. "Food Delivery Workers Shaping the Future of Work: Ni Un Repartidor Menos." Center for Global Workers' Rights (Forthcoming).

Park, Jinyoung. (2021). "International Actors in Cambodian Labor Politics." Journal of Asian Sociology. 50 (1): 179-201.

Rosaldo, Manuel. (2021, forthcoming). "Dilemmas of Co-production: The Exclusion of Street Waste Pickers from Inclusive Recycling in São Paulo." *Latin American Politics and Society.*

Rosaldo, Manuel. (2021). "Problematizing the Informal Sector: 50 Years of Critique, Clarification, Qualification, and More Critique." Sociology Compass.

Silverman, Jana. (2021). "Uma tipificação do fenômeno da violência antissindical na Colômbia e comparações com a violência antissindical atual no Brasil". In Buzetto, M. (Ed.), *Democracia e Direitos Humanos no Brasil: a ofensiva das direitas*. São Paulo, Brazil: Central Única dos Trabalhadores.

Tarlau, Rebecca. (2021). "Contentious Co-Governance and Prefiguration: A Framework for Analyzing Social Movement-State Relations in Public Education". *Educational Researcher.* https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X211023496

Tarlau, Rebecca. (Forthcoming). "Education, pedagogy and social movements in Latin America". In F. Rossi, ed., *The Oxford handbook of Latin American social movements*. Oxford University.

Tarlau, Rebecca. (Forthcoming). "Social Movements, Popular Education, and Counterhegemonic Schooling in Latin America". In Arnove, R. F., C. A. Torres, L. Misiaszek (Eds.), *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. (Fifth Edition). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

The CGWR also commends Dr. Hui for the prize awarded for her article, "Understanding the Role of Labor-Related Civil Society Actors in China," which received an honorable mention for Distinguished Article Scholarly Award by the Labor and Labor Movement Section of the American Sociological Association in 2021. In addition, Dr. Rosaldo's 2019 article, "The Antinomies of Successful Mobilization: Colombian Recyclers Maneuver between Dispossession and Exploitation" published in *Development and Change*, recently won the Outstanding Marxist Sociology Article Award by the Marxist Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association. Congratulations to both!

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