



PennState
College of the Liberal Arts

LER SCHOOL OF LABOR AND
EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

**NINTH ANNUAL
CENTER FOR GLOBAL WORKERS' RIGHTS (CGWR)
SPRING SYMPOSIUM**

*Latin American Labor at a Crossroads:
Obstacles and Opportunities in Times of Change*

**NOVENO SIMPOSIO ANUAL
DE PRIMAVERA DEL CENTRO PARA LOS DERECHOS
LABORALES GLOBALES (CGWR)**

*El sindicalismo latinoamericano en una encrucijada:
Obstáculos y oportunidades en tiempos de cambio*

**NONO SIMPÓSIO ANUAL
DO PRIMAVERA DO CENTRO PARA OS DIREITOS
TRABALHISTAS GLOBAIS (CGWR)**

*O sindicalismo latino-americano em uma encruzilhada:
obstáculos e oportunidades em tempos de mudança*

CGWR

Center for Global Workers' Rights

Penn Stater Hotel, State College, PA | April 13–14, 2023

**“Latin American Labor at a Crossroads:
Obstacles and Opportunities in Times of Change”**

The Penn Stater Hotel and Conference Center, State College, Pennsylvania

April 13-14, 2023

APRIL 13, 2023

8:30 a.m. – Registration of speakers and participants

9:00 a.m. – Opening of the Symposium: Welcoming remarks by Mark Anner, Professor of Labor and Employment Relations and Director of the Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR)

9:15 a.m. – Keynote address: Marcio Pochmann (Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil) – Labor rights and economic development in Latin America: Current perspectives

- **Professor Pochmann** will discuss the challenges to promote sustainable development and decent work in contemporary Latin America, with a particular focus on Brazil.
- **Chair:** Jana Silverman

10:15 a.m. – Roundtable: Changes and continuities in labor relations under the Pink Tide governments

- Academic and practitioner experts on labor relations in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, and Honduras will discuss the possibilities for creating and strengthening pro-worker labor relations systems and promoting social dialogue in these countries currently governed by “New Pink Tide” administrations.
 - **Cecilia Senén González** (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)
 - **Artur Henrique dos Santos** (Fundação Perseu Abramo, Brasil)
 - **Laura Moisa** (Universidad Nacional de Colombia sede Medellín, Colombia)
 - **Mark Anner** (CGWR)
 - **Jocelio Drummond** (Public Services International, Brazil)
 - **Chair:** Ben Davis (United Steelworkers)

12:15 p.m. – Lunch

1:30 p.m. – Roundtable: Political polarization in the Americas and the role of labor in defending democracy

- This panel will focus on the role of labor in strengthening democratic institutions both in the workplace and beyond, in countries such as the US and Brazil that are marked by significant social, economic, and political inequalities.
 - **Cathy Feingold** (AFL-CIO, ITUC)
 - **Marcio Pochmann** (UNICAMP, Brazil)
 - **Rebecca Tarlau** (CGWR)
 - **Chair:** Luis Mendoza (CGWR)

3:30 p.m. – Roundtable: Building labor solidarity across borders

- Labor leaders and advisors representing workers in the industrial, retail, commercial and public sectors in the US and in Latin America will discuss the role of transnational solidarity campaigns in strengthening labor democracy and labor rights compliance for both their members and for other workers in these sectors across the Americas.
 - **Jocelio Drummond** (Public Services International, Brazil)
 - **Ben Davis** (United Steelworkers)
 - **Stanley Gacek** (United Food and Commercial Workers)
 - **Chair: Dan DiMaggio** (CGWR/Labor Notes)

APRIL 14, 2023

8:30 a.m. – Roundtable: A return to developmentalism? Development policy, sustainability and decent work in the new Pink Tide countries

- Researchers and activists will discuss the labor impacts of developmentalist policies in previous Pink Tide governments as well as look ahead to see how current progressive governments in countries such as Brazil, Mexico and Colombia are combining new strategies for industrial upgrading and economic development with just transition policies.
 - **Lala Penaranda** (Trade Unions for Energy Democracy)
 - **Matthew Fischer-Daly** (CGWR)
 - **Manuel Rosaldo** (CGWR)
 - **Chair: Jana Silverman** (CGWR)

10:30 a.m. – Roundtable: Who cares for the caregivers in Latin America?

- This panel will address the impacts of the global care crisis on Latin America and specifically on Latin American women. Researchers and activists working in Colombia, Mexico, Brazil and Peru will talk about the role of women's paid and unpaid reproductive labor in promoting economic and social development, and highlight policies being formulated and implemented in Latin America to construct better public policies to value care work and dignify care workers.
 - **Laura Moisa** (Universidad Nacional de Colombia sede Medellín, Colombia)
 - **Mary Goldsmith** (UAM, Mexico)
 - **Jana Silverman** (CGWR)
 - **Chair: Elaine Hui** (CGWR)

12:30 p.m. – Symposium closing remarks: How can researchers contribute to strengthening the labor movement across the Americas in times of multiple crises and opportunities?

- These closing remarks will highlight important research agendas for the Latin American labor studies field in the current political and economic context and discuss how to better bridge the gap between practitioners and researchers.
 - **Mark Anner** (CGWR)
 - **Cecilia Senen Gonzalez** (UBA, Argentina)
 - **Chair: Katherine Maich** (CGWR)

1:30 p.m. – Symposium concludes, Closing Lunch

MARK ANNER (msa10@psu.edu)



Mark Anner is a professor of labor and employment relations and political science. He is also the founding director of both the Center for Global Workers' Rights and Penn State's master's program in Labor and Global Workers' Rights, which is a part of the Global Labour University network. He holds a Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University and a master's degree in Latin American Studies from Stanford University. Dr. Anner's current research examines how pricing and other sourcing dynamics in global supply chains affect working conditions and workers' rights. He has researched and written on international labor solidarity, labor law reform in Latin America, strikes in Vietnam, and corporate social responsibility in the global apparel industry. His field research has taken him to El Salvador, Honduras, Brazil, Vietnam, Bangladesh, India, and Guatemala. Before beginning his academic career, he lived in Latin America for eleven years, working with labor unions and a labor research center.

BEN DAVIS (bdavis@usw.org)



Ben Davis is the Director of International Affairs for the United Steelworkers (USW), the largest industrial union in North America. He chairs the Independent Mexico Labor Expert Board, established by the U.S. Congress to monitor the labor provisions of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). Davis worked as an organizer, business agent, and researcher for several unions and practiced labor and employment law in the Washington, D.C. firm of O'Donoghue and O'Donoghue. From 1998-2010, he worked for the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center in Washington DC, and Mexico. He holds a J.D. from the Washington College of Law at the American University; an M.A. in anthropology from the University of Michigan; and a B.A. from the University of Chicago.

DAN DIMAGGIO (dan.dimaggio@gmail.com)



Dan DiMaggio is an assistant editor at Labor Notes. He joined Labor Notes in 2015 after working as a researcher for the Operating Engineers in Miami.

JOCELIO DRUMMOND (jocelio.drummond@world-psi.org)



An experienced trade unionist from Brazil, Jocelio has been active in the international trade union movement for over 20 years. He is currently the Regional Secretary for the Americas of Public Services International - ISP. Graduated in Medicine, specializing in Public Health, he is a former President of the National Confederation of Workers in Social Security of Central Unitaria dos Trabalhadores (CUT) and coordinator of several projects in the field of Health. At ISP, he works on Fiscal Justice, Free Trade Agreements, Quality Public Services, and Trade Union Rights. He also participates in regional networks such as Tax Justice Network and "América Latina Mejor sin TLC", of which he is one of the founders.

CATHY FEINGOLD (cfeingold@aficio.org)



Cathy Feingold is a leading advocate on global workers' rights issues. As director of the AFL-CIO's International Department, Feingold is a committed and passionate advocate, strategic campaigner, and policy expert. In 2018, Feingold was elected Deputy President of the International Trade Union Confederation, the organization representing 200 million unionized workers worldwide. She brings more than 20 years of experience in trade and global economic policy, and worker, human, and women's rights issues.

In 2022, Secretary Blinken appointed Feingold to his Foreign Affairs Policy Board where she provides input on a worker-centered foreign policy agenda. In 2020, Speaker Pelosi appointed Feingold to the Independent Mexico Labor Expert Board, the body created under the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement to monitor and evaluate labor reforms and worker rights compliance in Mexico. Her work in both global and grassroots fora reflect her commitment to strengthening the voice of working people in global policy debates.

Feingold previously directed the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center's work in the Dominican Republic and Haiti, where she worked with local trade union partners to develop innovative campaigns to improve the working conditions of domestic, migrant, and informal economy workers. The work led to a growing movement of domestic workers who affiliated to the Dominican labor movement. In Haiti, she developed labor law training programs and helped publish the first Creole language excerpt of the Haitian labor law, accessible to workers. She led the organization's humanitarian response to the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti.

Feingold's professional experience includes work for the labor movement, large international organizations, small grassroots NGOs, and a foundation. She leads coalition efforts to shape global labor standards, including the recently ratified International Labor Organization Convention 190 to eliminate violence and harassment at work. She has written about the impact of economic policies on market women in Nigeria and, as a Fulbright scholar in Nicaragua, she researched the impact of structural adjustment policies on women workers. She continues to be a strong advocate for gender equity and working women's issues.

Feingold holds a bachelor's degree from Pitzer College and an M.P.A. from Columbia University.

MATTHEW FISHER-DALY (mmf6137@psu.edu)



Matthew Fischer-Daly serves as an Assistant Research Professor for the School of Labor and Employment Relations. He holds a Ph.D. in Labor Relations from Cornell University and a master's degree in International Economic Relations from American University. Matthew teaches courses on labor in the international political economy, comparative and international labor relations, and collective bargaining. His current research examines worker strategies in international commodity networks and has previously researched and written on worker, business, and state strategies applied in the commercial agriculture and apparel sectors in North America, Europe, and Asia. Matthew worked as an advocate for labor rights for ten years before beginning his academic career.

STANLEY GACEK (sgacek@ufcw.org)



Stanley Gacek is a labor lawyer with both U.S. and international experience. In September of 2016, Gacek was named Senior Advisor for Global Strategies at the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW), representing over 1.3 million working women and men in the retail, food production, and allied industries of the United States and Canada.

From April to December 2015, Gacek served as Officer in Charge and Interim Director of the International Labor Organization (ILO) Office in Brazil, being the chief representative of the organization's mission in the country. From August 2011 to April 2015, and from January to August 2016, he served as Deputy Director, with his chief responsibilities including general management and administration of the office, review and analysis of labor standards and labor law issues, relations with the Brazilian trade union centrals, employers and government authorities, and the development of future projects and funding prospects.

From August 2010 until July 2011, Gacek was the International Relations Officer in the United States Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs and was responsible for policy and comparative labor law analysis, as well as assisting the representation of the U.S. Government in its bilateral discussions with counterpart labor ministries throughout the world.

Prior to his job with the Labor Department, Gacek served as Special Counsel for International Labor Law at the Solidarity Center/AFL-CIO and Associate Director of the AFL-CIO's International Department from 2006 to July 2010. From 1997 to 2005, he served as the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Assistant Director, Responsible for the Americas. He was the Assistant Director for International Affairs at the UFCW from 1984 to 1997, and UFCW Assistant General Counsel from 1979 to 1984.

Gacek received his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1978 and his B.A. in social studies from Harvard College in 1974, where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude. He has been a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association since 1979. He received the Order of Merit for Labor Justice from then President (Chief Justice) Ives Gandra of the Brazilian Superior Labor Court (TST) on November 16, 2016, in recognition of his contribution on behalf of international labor standards in Brazil.

MARY GOLDSMITH (marygoldsmithc@gmail.com)



Mary Goldsmith is the senior professor and head of the research unit "Women, Identity and Power" at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco in Mexico City. Goldsmith holds a B.A. in Anthropology (American University) & Ph.D. in Anthropology (University of Connecticut).

As an activist scholar, she has carried out research about the politics of paid domestic work in Latin America, particularly domestic workers' organizations, migration, gender, and reproductive work, and about feminist anthropology and women's studies. She works closely with the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Domestic Workers (Conlactraho), and the National Center for Professional and Leadership Training of Domestic Workers (CACEH).

ELAINE HUI (suh275@psu.edu)



Elaine's research examines the role of the state and laws in labor relations, worker collective actions and their impact on institutional arrangements (e.g., collective bargaining and trade unions), labor-related civil society actors, and the social welfare system, with a focus on China. She has also researched labor relations in Vietnam, including the pension system and strikes, and labor organizations. Recently, she has started to study labor relations in Chinese multinational corporations operating in the US. She has published in peer-reviewed journals such as *Theory and Society*, *Human Relations*, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Industrial Relations*, and *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. She recently published the book, *Hegemonic Transformation: The State, Laws, and Labour Relations in Post-Socialist China* (http://bit.ly/Hegemonic_transformation).

Elaine is affiliated with the Center for Global Workers' Rights at Penn State. She is also an editorial board member of *Labor History* and *Global Labour Column*, and a council member of the Marxist Sociology Section of American Sociological Association (2020-2022).

KATHERINE MAICH (kem394@psu.edu)



Katherine Maich is an Assistant Professor of Labor and Employment Relations at the Pennsylvania State University and an affiliate faculty member in Sociology, Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and Latin American Studies. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, where her dissertation was recognized with the Honorable Mention in LERA's Best Dissertation Award Competition. Her recent publications include "Of Home and Whom: Embeddedness of Law in the Regulation of Difference" in *Political Power and Social Theory*. Kate's research uses ethnography and in-depth interviews to examine comparative labor inequality, gender and race, labor legislation, and domestic work.

LUIS MENDOZA (luis.mendoza@psu.edu)



Luis is a Peruvian labor law lawyer and Professor of International Trade and Labor Rights at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. He holds a MPS in Labor and Global Workers' Rights from Penn State University, and an LL.M. in International and Comparative Law from George Washington University.

LAURA CARLA MOISA ELICABIDE (laura.moisa@gmail.com)



Professor at the Faculty of Human Sciences and Economics of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Medellín campus. She holds a Ph.D. in Economic Development from the Universidade Estadual de Campinas with a major in Social and Labor Economy, and a master's degree in economics from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. She works on economic development, social and labor economics, gender studies, and rural studies. Her latest research projects have been focused on gender gaps within informality, social protection in Colombia, and labor transformations due to the digital revolution, particularly Platform Work in Colombia and its impact on workers' organizations. She was co-director of the *Latin American Journal of Labor Studies* (2018-2020) and a member of the Asociación Colombiana de Estudios del Trabajo - ACET.

LALA PEÑARANDA (lalatued@gmail.com)



Lala Peñaranda is the Latin America Coordinator at Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), a global trade union network working to advance democratic control and social ownership of energy. Lala's labor background is with agrarian movements in Colombia. She is based in Bogotá, Colombia.

MARCIO POCHMANN (marciopochmann@yahoo.com.br)



Professor at the Institute of Economics at the Universidade Estadual de Campinas since 1989, and president of the Lula Institute since 2020. He is author of more than 60 books on economics, work, society, and public policies.

He was Secretary of Development, Work and Solidarity in São Paulo (2001-2004), president of the Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada linked to the Presidential Office in Brazil (2007-2012), and president of the Perseu Abramo Foundation which is part of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) (2012-2020).

CECILIA SENÉN GONZÁLES (ceciliaseneng@gmail.com)



Ph.D. from Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM), Mexico City. Affiliate Researcher at Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) at the Instituto Gino Germani, Social Sciences School (FSOC), Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA). Professor of Labor Relations at FSOC. Researcher, Category I, Incentive Program of the Ministry of Education; Director of the Research Project: “El futuro del trabajo en Argentina: desafíos organizacionales, nuevas representaciones e instituciones laborales” (2008-2020). Member of the following Scientific Associations with elective positions: Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología del Trabajo (ALAST); Track chair of Labor Studies (2021- June 2022) and Latin American Studies Association.

She was coordinator with Mariela Quiñones of the Dossier “Relaciones laborales en tiempos de postpandemia en América Latina: empresarios, sindicatos y gobiernos”, Ciencias Sociales Review No 52, Universidad de la República, Uruguay; (2022). Cecilia Senén González (comp.) Estrategias de relaciones laborales de empresas multinacionales en Argentina y Brasil (2008-2019). Un abordaje configuracionista, Colección IIGG_ CLACSO; (2021) “Sindicatos y acción política en Argentina durante la era Cambiemos” (2015-2019), en Revista Temas Sociológicos, Nro. 28, Chile; Consultant of international organizations such as ILO, CEPAL/ECLAC, AFL-CIO.

ARTUR HENRIQUE DA SILVA SANTOS (artur@fpabramo.org.br)



Sociologist from the Universidade Estadual de Campinas and former president of the Sindicato dos Eletricistas de Campinas and the national labor federation Central Unitaria dos Trabalhadores (CUT) from 2003-2009. He also served as the Municipal Secretary of Labor and Development of Sao Paulo (2014-2016). He is the Director of Finances for the Fundacao Perseu Abramo of the PT.

JANA SILVERMAN (jqs7099@psu.edu)



Jana Silverman holds a Ph.D. in Labor and Development Economics from the State University of Campinas (Brazil) and is a Post-Doctoral Scholar at the Center for Global Workers Rights at Penn State University. She is also currently serving as a Research Fellow at the Washington Brazil Office and as a Researcher-Collaborator with the Centro de Estudos Sindicais e Economia do Trabalho (CESIT) at the State University of Campinas.

She has published works in English, Spanish and Portuguese on labor relations in Brazil, domestic work and domestic worker union strategies, and the political economy of Latin American labor market institutions in journals such as *The Journal of Labor and Society*, *NACLA Report on the Americas*, *New Labor Forum*, *Latin American Perspectives*, and *Leituras de Economia Política* as well as in edited volumes. She also holds a Masters in International Affairs with a Concentration in Human Rights from Columbia University and a Bachelor's Degree in Jazz Studies from New York University.

She served from 2012-2020 as the Country Programs Director for Brazil and Paraguay of the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and previous to that, worked as a Researcher at the labor-based NGO *Escuela Nacional Sindical* in Medellin, Colombia and as Coordinator of Campaigns and Communications for the international NGO network *Social Watch* in Montevideo, Uruguay. She was also the founding President of the national union of Colombian NGO workers and union staffers, *SINTRAONG'S*, from 2004-2008 and the Vice-Chair of the Solidarity Center Field Staff Association, *CWA*, from 2016-2020.

MANUEL ROSALDO (mxr1225@psu.edu)



Manuel Rosaldo's research focuses on the potentials and constraints for labor rights organizing among precarious informal workers, who have historically been excluded from both labor rights legislation and labor unions. He recently completed a PhD at the University of California at Berkeley, where his dissertation analyzed waste pickers' struggles to win state recognition and remuneration for their labor in Brazil and Colombia. This project was the product of 22 months of ethnographic research, which was funded by ten major research grants including the Fulbright Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, The Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, The Inter-American Foundation Grassroots Development Fellowship, and the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy Grant.

Manuel's broader research and teaching interests include labor, development, social movements, state-society relations, and Latin American politics. He is currently starting a new research project that explores the nexus of informal work and climate change through comparative analysis of waste pickers, street vendors, and home-based producers in South America. He also holds a Master's in Global Affairs from New York University, where he wrote a thesis on the debate over the commercialization of microfinance based on field research in southern Mexico. His undergraduate thesis at Wesleyan University analyzed binational family relations between immigrant janitors in Connecticut and the family that they left behind in Mexico, Peru, and Chile. Previously, he has worked as an organizer and researcher for the *UNITE HERE!* and *SEIU* labor unions, and as an editor for a social change media organization.

REBECCA TARLAU (rzt70@psu.edu)



Rebecca Tarlau is an Associate Professor of Education and Labor and Employment Relations and is affiliated with the Center for Global Workers' Rights. She holds a Ph.D. in Social and Cultural Studies in Education from the University of California Berkeley. Her ethnographic research agenda has three broad areas of focus: (1) Theories of the State and State-Society Relations; (2) Social movements, Labor Education, and critical pedagogy; (3) Latin American education and development. Rebecca has spent extensive time living in Latin America and has worked as a popular educator in a variety of social movement and union contexts. Her forthcoming book at Oxford University Press is on the educational initiatives of the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST), titled *Occupying Schools, Occupying Land: How the Landless Workers Movement Transformed Brazilian Education*. Her current research project examines teacher union organizing in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States.