

What about transnational solidarity?

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<https://www.uni-bremen.de/places-and-motives-of-acts-of-solidarity-in-transnational-working-relations>

Present discourse on Workers' solidarity

Urgent need of transnational solidarity in times of globalization, Europeanisation and socio-ecological transformation

- What means "transnationalisation"?
- How can we define (transnational) solidarity?
- What are the conditions to achieve certain forms of (transnational) solidarity?

What means transnationalisation?

Actors and Arenas

- **Streetlevel/union organisation**: trans-national **mobilization/ cross-border organisation** of individuals by unions: problems of language and resources
 - creation of **trans-national trade unions federations** (with dual (national and transnational) loyalty) of member organisations) or **organisations with multi-national individual membership**
- **Politics** - taking part in **transnational consultations**
 - **Lobbying in the EU, transnational/international Institutions**
- **Multi-national Enterprise**: Establishing of **European (EWCs) or World Works Councils**

What means transnationalisation?

Arenas and Topics

- **Social dialogue in EU:** Negotiations on trans-national, sectoral level joint agreements on working conditions (no wages)
- **Politics:** Lobbying /Consultation concerning transnational regulations for all EU countries or in International Labour Organisation (ILO) or others
- **Multi-national company:** Negotiations on corporate governance and working conditions, site closure/ expansion/transformation etc.

Types of (trans)national workers' solidarity

II. Inclusive Solidarity

to improve living and working conditions
beyond own membership/ achieve common good

I. Particularistic Solidarity

to improve/defend group status

0. Solidarity as collective action to increase power position

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- (Cross border) mobilisation
- (joint) discourses and goals
- Networking/coalition building
- creation of organisations and (transnational) federations or institutions (EWCs)

I. Particularistic Solidarity

- (Transnational) action to achieve social improvement for core groups or (national) members only
- (Transnational) coalition building to find compromise dominating weak partners

II. Inclusive Solidarity

- (Transnational) action/negotiation to achieve advantages beyond the interest of (national) members only supporting/including weak groups
- Organization based on (individual) multi-national membership
- a form of governance to create a common good, i.e. joint rules/institutions for EU

Preconditions of (transnational) solidarity

- (Solidarity needs (i) a certain level of **homogeneity**, (ii) specific **borders**, (iii) **interaction** processes and (iv) **stabilisation** mechanisms (Engler 2016)
- Elements to **transnationalise** unions' solidarity (Morgan & Pulignano 2020)
 - **Bridging**: connect different groups by developing and maintaining common discourses and networks → coalitions
 - **Bonding**: emphasize commonalities and homogeneity.
Language of morality, rituals and symbols → increase strength
- Transnational solidarity is to be build up in a **process** where actors do not only defend solidary goals, but actively have to engage in bridging and bonding elements in order to stabilise group formation and cohesion
- **Needs extra resources**: language, money, time...

Additional precondition for inclusive Solidarity

- Narrative to **combine motives of self-interest and altruism** within a long time perspective,
- Creating an **understanding that own status is endangered by weak status of others** through “race to the bottom competition“

“We are all in the same boat”

“Let’s share the pain”

Conclusions

Different forms of interaction and strategies

according to different transnational arenas:

politics - organization- social dialogue - enterprise

To achieve inclusive solidarity, we need

- **bridging and bonding elements** to extend group borders and enhance interaction
- **Particular resources** : monetary, language, time, people...
- And a **problem perception** combining self interest and altruism in a long term perspective



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Thank you for you attention!

