Perspectives of worker solidarity in changing times

Lise Lotte Hansen, Associate Professor, Head of Center for Gender, Power & Diversity, Roskilde University, Denmark, Liselh@ruc.dk

Interest

The 1980's saw an intense discussion as to whether or not labour solidarity was in decay. Traditional labour solidarity, organized in trade unions and based on homogeneity, and male, upper-working class culture and interests, was in decline. This form of solidarity was regarded *the* labour solidarity, and not just a specific kind of solidarity embedded in a certain time and place. Therefore, the crisis was read as the disappearance of solidarity and not as a transformation leading to new perceptions and practices. Today it is widely accepted that solidarity among workers will not disappear just because traditional labour solidarity is in crisis. For many this crisis was even a sign of a fruitful development that carries the promise of a much more inclusive labour movement. The perception of workers belonging to one community based on likeness in working conditions and life experiences has been disbanded for much more organic understandings of solidarity. Union practices are also changing to be more inclusive and many trade unions are engaging in union renewal strategies (Briskin, 1999; Colgan and Ledwith 2002a,b; Frege and Kelly 2004; Healy, Heery, Taylor and Brown, 2004; Ledwith and Hansen, 2013; Verma and Kochan, 2004a; Zoll, 2000).

Nevertheless, although the thesis of decay has been abandoned, trade unions are still struggling. Membership has continued to decline since the 1980'and changes in regulation have led to unions loosing influence and power. In addition, increased work migration and precarious employment have given rise to new *and* revived old problems in workplaces and in society at large, as well as increased diversity among the membership (Bieler and Lindberg, 2013; Heery, 2009; Hyman, 2004; Lindberg and Neergaard, 2013a; Phelan 2007; Turner, 2004; Verma and Kochan, 2004b). Neo-liberal capitalism is changing societies substantially 'The globalization of capitalism and its' 'financialization' (…) in combination with permanent high unemployment create a pressure on pay and other conditions' (Lindberg and Neergaard 2013b:15) and have destabilized industrial relations

systems (Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman, 2013). Moreover, the discourse on the powerlessness of state regulation hides how states have loosened the regulation of capital and made stronger regulation '…of workers, citizens and in between people among other things in the form of less economic and social security and considerably more surveillance' (Lindberg and Neergaard 2013b:16, with reference to Sasson 2012) e.g. in the Danish 'politics of necessity' discourse (Jørgensen, 2014). Another significant change is the rise in precarious work and in informal jobs in the global North – of which migrant workers carry many out. In the comparatively still well regulated Nordic labour markets this shows as social dumping and challenges to the Nordic class compromise. Moreover, the changes in production and regulation have a specific gendered perspective. Women make up a large and growing part of those in precarious jobs partly as a result of the growing private service and care sector (Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman, 2015; Vosko et al, 2009). In addition, changes within both blue-collar and white-collar jobs mean that some blue-collar workers have better pay and working-conditions than many women white-collar workers (Hyman 1999). Many cutbacks following the financial crisis have transferred costs from the formal paid economy to the unpaid household economy (Bjørnholt and McKay, 2014:14). Changes in welfare state regulation as well as cutbacks in social services and welfare benefits hit women the hardest: Women are more dependent upon the state as employer, additional caretaker and for economic support than men (Hansen 2007). Commodification and exploitation might lead to conflicts that not only challenge solidarity among workers, but also produce solidarity (Lindberg and Neergaard, 2013b). So, neo-liberalism not only produces fragmentation, it also produces polarization (Bradley, 2015). According to Nolan and Slater (2010), women care and service workers in Britain are the new manual workers. In terms of numbers there are still more men working in manual jobs, but women's pay is lower, their working conditions are worse, and they are more exposed to exploitation by the employers. This means that from a Marxist solidarity perspective, they are a central part of the working class in itself, and therefore among those who could be the drivers for solidarity among workers.

However, the conditions for collective action and for building solidarity are very different for this group of workers than for the group that made up the core in traditional working class solidarity: the white male manual worker with a full-time secure job in factories, mines or docks. First, service and care jobs are often done on your own or/and in small workplaces. Second, employment contracts vary from secure to very insecure or even informal and often with very flexible hours. Third, reproductive work is lower valued than productive work and this is reflected in pay, working

conditions and collective power. And finally, the group of workers are characterized by diversity in regard to nationality, culture, religion, language and to experiences with organising as workers. All this speak against the building of solidarity among service and care workers as well as building solidarity across different groups of workers. This is the conclusion for example Standing (2015) make. He argues that divisions among workers are based on different class conditions and interests. A conflict between the new class 'the precariat' and the old working class is emerging, because the first is not interested in community with other workers, and the latter only wants to defend their own interests and power position. On the other hand, labour market research shows that diversity does not have to be in contrast to solidarity, it depends rather on trade union actions, democracy, and interest representation (e.g. Briskin, Healy et al, Colgan & Ledwith, Doelgast et al 2018), and on labour market regulation and institutions as well as on trade union power (e.g. Doelgast et al 2018).

It is these complex, multidimensional and sometimes antagonistic solidarity dynamics, which the paper will discuss. The overall interest is how worker solidarity is made, maintained, changed and challenged today. More specifically the paper examines: What unifies and what divides workers in commercial cleaning in Denmark? What is the role of the trade union, 3F, in this? And what can we learn about workers' solidarity in general from this case?

The paper concludes on the research project 'Workers' solidarity/ies between crisis and renewal'. It is a first draft and the analysis is still very 'raw'. The analysis will present selected points. This is due to limitations to the size of the paper, too. It is therefore under consideration to divide the paper into two article as the theoretical part also needs more space to be fully substantiated. In the paper, first the theoretical framework is developed. Then the case is presented and the data production outlined. It is followed by the analysis 'The new 'we''. The conclusion sums up the Danish case and narrows down a couple of points on what we can learn about workers' solidarity in general.

Labour solidarity/ies: definition, dynamics, dimensions

Traditional labour solidarity and the critique

In short, the basis of all solidarity is the production and reproduction of social ties. The social ties in traditional labour solidarity was classed based - it was solidarity within a class, the working class, and it was ideological and international. Working class solidarity was produced in the oppositional

and hierarchical relationship to the capitalist class. The objective interest (being a class in itself) would through struggles against exploitation be manifest in a subjective consciousness of a common class identity (being a class for itself) and to organise as a class. The conflict between the capitalist class and the working class was the central societal force of change, and eventually this conflict would lead not only to the liberation of workers from exploitation and oppression, but also to the realization of workers' interests in a new classless society (Christiansen 1997; Hyman).

Although Marxism has inspired many trade unions, class solidarity and class struggles were and are not central to all trade unions neither historically nor now. They are oriented to market and to society, too, and their activities are shaped by the composition of the membership, national labour market regulation, relations to civil society and to welfare, gender and migration regimes (Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman, 2013; Hyman 2001). However, fundamental terms for all labour solidarity are, that is has to be built in a capitalist society which in principle is against giving power to workers. Fighting for interests is therefore also dependent on hegemonic ideals - or discourses- in society as well as power resources to build and win a 'counter-hegemonic struggle' (Gramsci 1971; Heywood 1994). Labour solidarity is also a communication- and action community based on common goals, values, symbols and codes (Christiansen). Included in labour solidarity is a duality between on the one side freedom and security and on the other social control and discipline. The individual is expected to give up parts of her individuality and to bring sacrifices to the benefit of the collective. In return, she gets individual liberation, security, empowerment as well as a strong community to belong to (Christiansen 1997:12-14). Yet, this has also led to relations of domination within trade unions.

Traditional labour solidarity had many features in common with mechanical solidarity; because it was built on the understanding of relative homogeneity in working conditions, uniformity in interests and standardization of rules and values among all workers (Hyman 1999, 2001, Zoll 2000, with Valkenburg 1995). What was represented as general interests of all workers were often the representation of particular interests decided by strong groups of core manual workers (typically white men in full-time secure employment in large production companies). Not only did these workers' interests count for most, some interests were not even regarded relevant for bargaining for example work-family balance (Hyman). A similar critique comes from Zoll (1999, 2000, with Valkenburg 1995), but he points to other processes of change, too: the separation of labour solidarity and everyday solidarity and the rise in individualization and critical reflexivity. The first meaning that the workplace no longer makes up the foundation of everyday solidarity just as a

workers' culture no longer has a strong place in everyday life; the second emphasizing that loyalty and authority are questioned as is the case with everything else in the new communicative culture (Zoll 2000:173). Gender-researchers have pointed to gendered and ethnic power relations inside and outside trade unions as obstacles to trade union solidarity both in the past and in the present. The critique concerns in particular how procedures, structures and culture privilege white heterosexual men (Briskin, 1999, 2013; Cockburn, 1991; Colgan and Ledwith, 2002a,b; Hansen, 200?, 2004; Healy & Kirton 2000; Ledwith and Colgan, 1996; Pocock, 1997).

Labour solidarity – new contributions

There has been a call for new definitions of solidarity, yet, theoretical discussions and definitions are rare (also Heckscher and McCarthy 2014). Solidarity has not disappeared from IR-research, but in the literature, it is most often equated with solidarity practices of which trade unions are the most commonly discussed (e.g. Grady & Simms 2018).

Richard Hyman (1999, 2001, 2011, also with Gumbrell-McCormick 2013/2014, 2015) and Rainer Zoll (1999, 2000 also with Valkenburg 1995) are some of the few who discuss solidarity from a theoretical perspective. 'If solidarity is to survive, it must be reinvented', Hyman states (1999:107). Hyman turns to Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity when discussing how trade unions should be reinvented. Their objective is to show how labour solidarity is possible against the background of a differentiated workforce and to point out how trade unions should change so that diversity makes them stronger not weaker. Workers' solidarity must build on '*mutuality despite difference*' (Hyman 2011: 26), and take advantage of young members' critical reflexivity (Zoll 2000). 'Mutuality despite difference' is the right path for trade unions to take because it '… involves the perception of commonalities which extend, but do not abolish, consciousness of distinct and particularistic interests…' (Hyman 2011:27). Briskin (1999) prefers to talk about *'unity in diversity*'. This is an inclusive form of solidarity, and she discusses how trade unions can build built democratic structures which include women, minorities and workers with different working conditions. There is, however, a difference between Hyman's 'mutuality despite difference', which indicates that solidarity should be built regardless of difference, while Briskin's 'unity in diversity' (1999, 2002) suggests that solidarity is built on diversity. Doellgast et al (2018) talk about *inclusive* worker solidarity. It is defined '…as the adherence to principles and patterns of behaviour that support mutual aid and collective action … [and] Solidarity is thus a question of worker identity, ideology,

and personal narratives, as much as it is one of organizations, interests and institutions' (p.14-15). o Heckscher and McCarthy define solidarity broadly as an obligation to collective action around work and the rules guiding this. Solidarity implies a shared point of view based on common interests, empathy and values, but it is the obligation to collective action which provides the strong ties (629).

Feminist research contributes with new perspectives. In contrast to the IR-tradition, the critique is directed against how identity politics have hindered collective action among women; in common with the IR-tradition, focus is on how to build solidarity based on diversity. Hemmings (2012) argues that common feelings are central to the building of (feminist) solidarity not common identity. Experiences of injustice creates affective dissonance that shows as for example anger, annoyance, and feelings of disrespect or as passion, empathy and a desire for connection. Affective dissonance (the individual experience) does not automatically become affective solidarity (collective capacity). To development *affective solidarity*, it is necessary with organisations that offer counter-narratives and communities to belong to – a place to build connections and act collectively. The more differentiated we are the more we need each other for recognition and connections, argues Dean (1996): solidarity needs to be *reflective*. Critical reflexivity should not be suppressed but is the tool to create the we. This 'we' does not presuppose likeliness rather it promotes disagreement and critique in order to transform barriers into resources and to make more complex analysis and develop new sites of resistance (Dean 1996, 1997). The increased interaction, dialogue and coalition-building will mean that 'we' find common cause with a variety of different people including the 'stranger' (Dean, 1997:3).

The 'we with' & the 'we against'

Hyman and Gumbrell-McCormick (2015) suggest that communities are constructed on the basis of 'who we are with' and 'who we are against'. That is, whom do we include and who is the political adversary? However, neither who we are nor whom we stand 'against' are straightforward. Workers' identities are not only classed-based, but intersected by multiple inequality dynamics, and labour market relations are not only classed, but influenced by gendered and ethnic power relations, too. The 'with-against' reflects the 'us – them' relationship and not the 'new we'. The 'new we' is more flexible and open ended and 'with and against' might shift depending on time and space. The new 'we against' is not only constructed against employers and their organisations, but it can also be against people, policies, regulations, and discourses, national as international - against all those

who want to exclude, oppress and disrespect us (Dean 1997). The new 'we with' is extended to more than work colleagues and the trade union, it might also include other workers, those dependent on our job, and family and friendship relations as well as social justice organisations and activists e.g. women's movement and migrant networks. Central to the redefinition of solidarity is the importance of actions 'against' and 'with; this is how we becomes a 'we' unified by a common cause.

Figure 2. The new 'we' – dynamics of with and against

Societal and work place conflictual relations are important to the making of workers' solidarity, however building connections and caring for each other are, too. The 'we with' is also about caring for each other and for the community/communities, and the 'we' is also constructed on the background of 'caring relations' in society e.g. regulation, institutions and policies which support communities and workers' rights and voice.

So the 'we' is not given beforehand, but is constantly constructed. Central to the 'we' is interest representation, and individual and collective agency and power. The 'we' is made and maintained through *both* conflict and combat *and* care and connections. It is also multidimensional. That is

societal dynamics, political identification, collective, organizational, ideological are mutually dependent and form together the 'we' of workers.

Table1. The five dimensions

Dimension	**Focus**
Societal dynamics	Labour market and welfare regulation, institutions, discourses, gender and migrations regimes Employer strategies
Political identity	Critical reflexivity, actions, identifications, counter narratives, affective dissonance and desire for connections and making change
Collectivism +	Workplace collective Interpretations, interactions Links between different collectives and everyday life Feelings of belonging
Trade unions	Democracy structures, interest representation, agenda, culture, leadership, coalitions.
Ideology +	Solidarity understandings Long term horizon Symbols

Case and data production

In Denmark, the share of migrant workers in commercial cleaning is increasing.[i] In the Copenhagen area, almost all cleaners are migrants or ethnic minorities *and* women, although an increasing number of non-white men are also employed in the sector.[ii] Commercial cleaning is increasingly consisting of part-time and marginal part-time jobs. Subcontractors are used to cut labour costs, and some of these companies are dumping both wages and working conditions below the standards set in collective agreements; other subcontractors are in reality self-employed many of whom are bogus

self-employed (Larsen and Mailand, 2014). Subcontracting means that employees in the same workplace have different employers, that cleaners have no right to representation in workplace councils, and that some are excluded from participating in social events. The cultural codes for 'good work' and 'good worker' have changed to 'good cleaning' being cheap and done according to minimum standards; *and* 'the good cleaner' to be fast, not insisting on rights, non-ethnic majority, and easily replaceable (Author A). Collective agreement coverage and trade union membership density are lower than in the Danish labour market in general, both estimated to be approximately 40–50% (Larsen and Mailand, 2014), and some workplaces lack an employee representative (Ibsen, Madsen and Due, 2011). Among workers in service jobs, however, ethnic minority workers are more likely to be organised than are ethnic majority members (Due, Madsen and Phil, 2010).

Compared to most labour markets, the Danish bargaining system is strong and trade unions are powerful and influential. Moreover, workers, including most migrant workers, are protected by health and safety regulations and have access to welfare state services and benefits. Nevertheless, the bargaining system is challenged and the trade union power weakened (Caraker, 2017). The trade union 3F organises most of the commercial cleaners in Denmark. 3F has 304,490 members, 27.7% of whom are women and 10.9 % are ethnic minorities, and it is the biggest union in Denmark. Women make up 19.2% of the employee representatives, and ethnic minorities 4.2%. The women's share of the leadership varies from 14.3% of branch chairs to 50% of the national leadership group.[iii] Of all branches (72) 10–15% have ethnic minorities on the branch board.[iv] In 2010, 3F made the Agreement on Diversity, which lays out guidelines for making the union more inclusive.

The data production ran from 2013–2016 and consists of 27 interviews (34 persons) with trade union leaders, employee representatives, cleaners in hotels and hospitals and migrant network leaders; fieldwork in the trade union, 3F (United federation of Danish workers), at organising activities, in migrant networks and in workplaces; one memory workshop with female trade union leaders and officers; and one research circle with trade union leaders, officers, and activists of different gender, age and ethnicity, as well as different unions. Facebook activities and studies of major documents are also included.[v] The workplaces (two hospitals, three hotels) in focus are all covered by collective agreements, and four of the five workplaces have an employee representative, although not all of the workers are union members.

The analysis is incomplete – the detailed and in-depth analysis is underway. The following analysis consists both of themes which are developed from reading across the data *and* of more theoretical generated themes. The table 2 sums up the dimensions also based on prior articles and papers.

Analysis & discussion: The new 'we'

Communities & the importance of personal relations

'Communities are based on friendships, caring for each other and doing things together. Caring for each other is important and to help each other. To be proud of your work is important and feeling respected, trusting each other, and giving space are important, too. Ideology and common interests are less vital. And it is definitely not a good idea to force people to 'follow the line' as some of our male colleagues would do. To experience that someone stands up for you is crucial. It gives energy and safety, and everyday happiness. We need to pass this on, because together we can make changes, and changes do not occur by themselves.
But it is different from earlier times, it was in our upbringing. Now communities have changed – you check in and out, you are not born into the movement, and you have other values. On the other hand people also construct new communities, and children learn about communities in new ways' (Memory workshop) [vi].

'Communities outside work influences on communities at work. You have to be conscious about the need for a community – you need to feel that the community is necessary. Organisational frames are necessary for the community e.g. workers club or around the employee representative. You can belong to many different communities. And you can feel solidary with a colleague and not be member of a trade union. It is important to know each other, to build bridges – those we do not know we 'put in a box' (Research circle).

Being brave and strong - injustices and struggles

'This is a woman's struggle, too. You have to be ready to risk something both as a woman and as a trade union member. It is actions that make the changes, it is actions that make communities. But it is important to be successful with your actions to stay on.

I remember how some people throw water and apples after us – why did they not join the demonstration? It was also them we walked for.
Some people were in love with the struggle. We used too much energy being in war with each other – it destroyed the cause [sagen]' (Memory workshop).

'The specific experience of injustice is the basis for common action, you need to talk with each other, and you need to blame the management. You may experience injustice on behalf of other people.
Unity gives results, and success breeds solidarity. Unity gives job satisfaction (- and better labour). Conflicts may feed unity, but also the opposite – if you don't profit from it then you will have a divided community.
You need to be ready to take a risk, but to dare to say no, you have to be strong. It also differs between jobs, to go on strike make a big loss for some employers, the public sector have only few ways to exert pressure' (Research circle).

'We just want fairness and respect', 'feel like an animal', 'not hygienic', 'complaints from guests fall back on cleaners', 'training how to use your body so you get no pain, but got lots of pain', 'greedy do not think about workers', 'they use us, and if we break an arm they'll fire us', 'some of us have confronted the boss but he walks away', 'colleagues don't think the union does enough' (housekeeper voices, participant observation at first meeting about the conflict in union).

Solidarity is so many things

'Solidarity is about the personal relation. It is about being active as an individual and as a collective. It arises from feelings of injustice and exploitation as well as from your upbringing: Do you come from a political family? Have you experienced solidarity in your life? But it also has an element of coincidence: Who do you meet? What happens in your youth?
Have we learned solidarity from our grandmothers? Definitively from the older generation. Women were a kind of putty that kept communities going, what is the 'putty' now?
When we were younger the society was much more political. Solidarity is about feeling the community, to be part of something, to have common symbols so we can find each other, also

internationally. The red flag and the singing together – I start crying when the flags are carried in at the congress. It is so solemn.
Solidarity is both a choice and an obligation, and it can take many directions' (Memory workshop).

'We need to rethink solidarity, to remobilise, to support activism, to reintroduce economic perspectives on solidarity.
We cannot just throw overboard what others have made for us. We need to learn from our history and from each other, and we need to teach others to reflect, to criticize, to analyse, to negotiate – to see what's wrong in society. We need to know more about each other and the problems we have as workers. Could we 'borrow' each other to talk about communities and actions? What is the role of enlightment in society? The media creates non-solidarity, and it is ok to step on those who are weak. The political system lacks social judgement, and NPM weakens solidarity. Yet the welfare society gives opportunities, too, but many do not value the welfare state.
Who is the problem for trade union solidarity? It is the young and the migrants who do not know about trade unions or don't care *or* Mr. and Mrs. Denmark who don't support their local employee representative and who don't take part in meetings and actions. Who do we feel solidarity with: absence of solidarity both across different trade unions and across the confederations?
There are many motivations for worker solidarity: caring for other people [næstekærlighed], to be a decent human being, role models, professional pride, feeling the need for community, a specific problem…' (Research circle)

'Solidarity – it is almost a bad word [skældsord] (…) It is seen as old fashioned and you are almost a communist (…) there is no time for 'flower work' [blomsterarbejde] like gender equality and solidarity projects' (Susanne, trade union leader, national union).

'I don't know what to say, I have been thinking about it. It is actions (…), to make a difference in praxis (…), it is not something you talk about (…) it is about building a strong community on specific values (…) solidarity is changing, it is another form of solidarity, but it does not disappear' (Steen, trade union leader, branch).

Who are we?

On the one hand Hanne (trade union leader, branch) is angry with the cleaners because they complain about 'small' things and don't recognise a 'good' employer *and* on the other hand speaks about how cleaning companies exploit the cleaners, and that there is a need for more control and regulation. Steen (trade union leader, branch) is clearer in his 'with' and 'against'. 'You need to kick up not down'. Jakob, who participated in the research circle, describes how the 'we with' and 'we against' sometimes is with colleagues and against the employer, sometimes with the workplace (including the employer) and against other workplaces, sometimes with the union and fellow members, and sometimes with the labour movement and members of other trade unions. He experienced how the gendered and ethnic diversity in the research circle opened for new connections – new possible 'withs'.

Table 2. Analytical points within each dimension

Dimension	**Points**
Societal dynamics	EU regulation, politics of necessity, outsourcing, fall in security e.g. shorter period of unemployment benefit and public care challenge workers' rights, the class compromise, and the organizing of workers. On the other hand, welfare state and labour market regulation and institutions support workers' rights, voice and living standards.
Political identity	Cleaners identify politically but identification is fluttering. They identity with each other as cleaners (workers) and with the trade union. They do neither identify as women nor as ethnic group, yet some 'negative' definition. Affective dissonance is strong.
Collectivism +	Cleaners' collectives are weak. Too little time and opportunity to meet, too many different languages, too much flow of workers at hotels. Absence of actions which could create belonging e.g. celebrations of birthday, after work activities. Yet, in particular where there is an active employee representative (some of) the cleaners meet up, and the housekeepers acted as a group when they contacted the trade union
Trade unions	Interest representation includes all workers. Closed union culture and language problems hinders agency.
Ideology +	No common and consciousness definition of solidarity. Solidarity is 'old fashioned', related to Communism Symbols like the red flag and demonstrations at May 1st Network of ethnic minorities made their own flag

Conclusion: Workers' solidarity/ies in changing times

A new 'we' in the making?

- Outsourcing and a general demand for working faster produce complaints and conflict. It both unites workers and weakens workplace collectives.
- It is not diversity (gender, ethnicity, culture, language) in itself which is a barrier to solidarity; it is in combination with employer strategies.
- Migrant workers are not against trade unions; they become union members if they meet a union representative, are told by family members, co-workers or migrant networks.
- The 'we with' and the 'we against is shifting both among cleaners and among trade union leaders. It is dependent on time, place, and problem. Sometime it is also antagonistic. However, the 'we with 'as workers with common interests across contracts, jobs, gender, ethnicity, members and leaders are strong and constant.
- Labour market regulation and agreements in combination with trade union agency make it possible to protest and gain small victories.
- The trade union wants to be inclusive. Trade union leaders do not exclude those who are not members in actions and meetings. The local branch cooperates with migrant networks. A closed union culture and language problems are a barrier to agency, at the same time migrant workers express feelings of belonging – a friendly place in a new country
- Yet, a new common solidarity ideology is absent, and for some even unwanted. In general solidarity is difficult to talk about.
- On the one hand solidarity is changing, society is less political, and with less support to trade unions and other collectives. On the other hand society has become more conflictual, with many protests within public sector work, and a rise in activism and organizing in general. At the same time a solidarity readiness among workers are present (Caraker 2017). You may also talk about 'caring' institutions and organisations – that communities still have

a strong influence in daily life, and that workers look out for communities, miss them when there are not there

- Affective relations are important to solidarity. Feelings of disrespect are strong. Feeling tired, depressed, disappointed affects agency negatively; feeling proud, having success and getting friends support agency

References

Alverez, S. & Whitefield, P. (2013): 'Rethinking Organising and Leadership: Lessons from Non-Traditional, Women-Centred, Labour Campaigns in New York City' in Ledwith & Hansen (eds): *Gendering and Diversifying Trade Union Leadership,* Routledge

Antonsich, M. (2010): 'Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework' in *Geography Compass vol. 4 no. 6 pp: 644-659*

Batestone, E., Boraston, I. and Frenkel, S. (1979) *Shop Stewards in Action. The Organization of Workplace Conflict and Accommodation*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Bentsson, E. (2013): 'Den ekonomiske globaliseringens dubbla rörelse' in Lindberg and Neergaard (eds): *Bortom Horisonten. Fackets vägval i globaliseringens tid,* Premiss Förlag

Bernaciak, M., Gumbrell-McGormick and Hyman, R. (2014) *European trade unionism: from crisis to renewal?*, Report 133, European Trade Union Institute, Brussels

Bieler, A. and Lindberg, I. (2013): 'Globalisation and the new challenges for transnational solidarity' in Bieler, A. and Lindberg, I. (eds.): *Global Restructuring, Labour and the Challenges for Transnational Solidarity*, . London and New York: Routledge

Bjørnholt, M. and McKay, A. (2014) 'Advances in Feminist Economics in Times of Economic Crisis', in Bjørnholt, M. and McKay, A. (eds) *Counting on Marilyn Waring. New Advances in Feminist Economics,* pp 7-20. Bradford: Demeter Press

Bradley, H. (2016): *Fractured Identities. Changing Patterns of Inequality*. Second edition, Cambridge: Polity Press

Briskin, L. (1999): 'Autonomy, diversity, and integration: union women's separate organization in North America and Western Europe in the context of restructuring and globalization' in *Women's Studies International Forum, Vol.22 No.5*

Briskin, L. (2002): 'The equity project in Canadian unions. Confronting the challenge of restructuring and globalisation' in Colgan & Ledwith (eds): *Gender, Diversity and Trade Unions. International perspectives*, Routledge

Briskin, L. (2011) 'The militancy of nurses and union renewal', *Transfer 17(4):485-499)*

Briskin, L. (2013): 'Merit, Individualism and Solidarity: Revisiting the Democratic Deficit in Union Women's Leadership' in Ledwith & Hansen (eds): *Gendering and Diversifying Trade Union Leadership*, Routledge

Caraker, E. (2008) *Industriarbejdere mellem tradition og forandring – om interesser og læreprocesser blandt danske industriarbejdere.* Aalborg Universitet: Ph.d.-serie Institut for Økonomi, Politik og Forvaltning

Caraker, E. (2017): *Fællesskab gør forskel. En APL III-forskningsrapport om lønmodtagerinteresser og værdier belyst ud fra interviews*, FTF/LO

Caraker, E. (2019) Hvad blev der af arbejderklassen? Lønmodtagernes klassebevidsthed ud fra produktionsforholdene. Tidsskrift for Arbejdsliv 21(1):82-97

Christiansen, N.F. (1997):'Solidaritetens historie', *Dansk Sociologi,* vol.8 no.2 pp 9-18

Colgan, F. and Ledwith, S. (2000) 'Diversity, Identities and Strategies of Women Trade Union Activists', *Gender, Work & Organization (7) 4*

Colgan, F.and Ledwith, S. (2002a) 'Gender and diversity: reshaping union democracy', *Employee Relations* 24(2):167-189

Colgan, F. and Ledwith, S. (2002b)(eds) *Gender,* Diversity *and Trade Unions. International perspectives*, Routledge

Dean, J. (1996) *Solidarity of Strangers. Feminism after Identity Politics*, University of California Press

Dean, J. (1997): 'Feminist Solidarity, Reflective Solidarity: Theorizing Connections After Identity Politics', *Women & Politics (18).4:1-26*

Doellgast, V., Lillie, N. & Pulignano, V. (2018): Reconstructing Solidarity: Labour Unions, Precarious Work, and the Politics of Institutional Change in Europe, Oxford University Press

Fairbrother, P. and Yates, C. (2003). "Unions in crisis, unions in renewal?", in Fairbrother, P. and Yates, C. (eds.): *Trade Unions in renewal – A comparative Study*, Routledge

Fairbrother, P., Hennbert, M-A. and Lévesque, C. (2013) 'Understanding Transnational Trade Unionism' in Fairbrother, P., Hennbert, M-A. and Lévesque, C. (eds): *Transnational Trade Unionism. Building Union Power*, Routledge

Fine, J. and Holgate, J. (2014) 'The Countermovement Needs a Movement (and a Counterstrategy)' in Adler, L.H., Tapia, M, and Turner, L. (eds) *Mobilizing Against Inequality. Unions, Immigrant Workers, and Crisis of Capitalism*, ILR Press, Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London

Fougner, T. and Kutoglu, A. (2011) 'Transnational Labour Solidarity and Social Movement Unionism: Insights form and beyond a Women Workers' Strike in Turkey', *British Journal of Industrial Relations (49)2:353-375*

Frege, C. and Kelly, J. (2004))(eds) *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Global Economy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Gennard, J. and Newsome, K. (2005) 'Barriers to cross-border trade union cooperation in Europe: the case of the graphical workers', *Industrial Relations Journal 36(1): 38-58*

Grady, J. and Simms, M. (2018) Trade unions and the challenge of fostering solidarities in an era of financialisation. Economic and Industrial Democracy, p.1-21

Greer, I., Ciupijus, Z. and Lillie, N. (2013): 'The European Migrant Workers Union and the barriers to transnational industrial citizenship' in *European Journal of Industrial Relations vol 19 no 1 pp 5-20*

Gumbrell-McCormick, R. (2011) 'European trade unions and 'atypical' workers', *Industrial Relations Journal* 42(3): 293-310

Gumbrell-McCormick, R. and Hyman, R. (2014/2013) Trade Unions in Western Europe: Hard Times, Hard Choices. Oxford Scholarship Online

Gumbrell-McCormick, R. and Hyman, R. (2015) 'International Trade Union Solidarity and the Impact of the Crisis', European Policy Analysis 2015:1, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies

Hansen, L.L. (2004) *Ligestillingspolitiske problemer og mulige løsninger. Køn, magt og forandring i LO og UNISON. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Sciences, Roskilde University*

Hansen, L.L. (2007) **'**From Flexicurity to Flexic*a*rity? Gendered perspectives on the Danish model, *Journal of Social Sciences vol 3 no 2*, 2007

Hansen, L.L. (2010a) 'Global domestic workers in Denmark. Labour market regulation, union representation, and solidarity' in L.W. Isaksen (ed.) *Global Care Work. Gender and Migration in Nordic Societies*, Nordic Academic Press

Hansen, L.L. (2010b),"Køn og Kærlighed i 3F. Nye perspektiver på ligestilling i fagbevægelsen", Kvinder, Køn & Forskning, 19. årg., nr. 4, pp.41-50.

Hansen, LL (2016): 'Er den danske model kvindevenlig? – Den Danske Arbejdsmarkedsmodel set fra en udefra-indefra position' i Ilsøe, A. & Larsen, T. P.(red): Den Danske Model set udefra, Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag

Hansen, L.L. (2019a):'Representing the new 'we'', paper for ILPC conference April 24-26, Wien

Hansen, L.L. (2019b) ' Ligestilling eller "a no-life-life"? Rengøringsarbejde, social dumping og retfærdighed' i Hansen, L.L. (red): Køn, Magt & Mangfoldighed, Frydenlund Academic

Hansen, L.L. (in review) 'We just want fairness and respect'. Cleaners, class and political identification

Hansen, L.L. and Ledwith, S. (2013) 'A Diverse Trade Union Leadership: Complexity, Contradictions, Continuity and Change' in Ledwith, S. and Hansen, L.L. (eds): *Gendering and Diversifying Trade Union Leadership*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge

Healy, G., Bradley, H. and Mukherjee, N. (2004a) 'Individualism and collectivism revisited: a study of black and minority ethnic women', *Industrial Relations Journal* 35 (5): 451-466

Healy, G., Bradley, H. and Mukherjee, N. (2004b) 'Inspiring Activist: The Experience of Minority Ethnic Women in Trade Unions' in Healy, G., Heery, E., Taylor, P. and Brown, W. (eds.) *The Future of Worker Representation*, pp 103- 126. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Healy, G., Heery, E., Taylor, P. and Brown, W. (2004)(eds.) *The Future of Worker Representation.* Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Hearn, J. and Bergos, M. (2011): 'Latin American cleaners fight for survival: lessons for migrant activism', *Race & Class* (53)1:65-82

Heery, E. (2009) 'Debating Worker Representation: Current Themes and Controversy'. *Paper for IIRA- World Congress,* Sydney, August 24-27, 2009

Heery, E., Kelly, J. And Waddington, J. (2003) 'Union Revitalization in Britain', *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 9(1):79-97

Heery, E. and Adler, L. (2004) 'Organizing the Unorganized', in Frege, C. And Kelly, J. (eds.) *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Global Economy*, pp 45-70. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Heery, E., Healy, G. & Taylor, P. (2004) 'Representation at work: Themes and Issues', in Healy, G., Heery, E., Taylor, P. And Brown, W. (eds.) *The Future of Worker Representation*, pp 1-36. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Heery, E., Willams, S. and Abbott, B. (2012): 'Civil society organizations and trade unions: cooperation, conflict, indifference' in *Work, Employment & Society vol.26 no.1 pp.145-160*

Hemmings, C. (2012) 'Affective solidarity: Feminist reflexivity and political transformation' in *Feminist Theory vol.13 no.2 pp. 47-61*

Heckscher B and McCarthy J (2014) Transient Solidarities: Commitment and Collective Action in Post-Industrial Societies 52 (4):627-657

Holgate, J. (2011): 'Temporary migrant workers and labor organization', *Working USA: The Journal of Labour and Society* (14):191-199

Holgate, J. (2013): 'Faith in unions: From safe spaces to organised labour?' in *Capital & Class vol.37 no.2 pp.239-262*

Holgate, J., Pollert, A., Keles, J. & Kumarappan, L. (2012): 'De-collectivization and employment problems: the existence of minority ethnic workers seeking help through Citizens Advice' in *Work, Employment & Society vol. 26 no.5 pp.772-788*

Hyland, M. (2015): 'Trade Unions and Labour Migration: A Case for New Organizational Approaches' in Schierup, C-U. et al (eds.): *Migration, Precarity, and Global Governance. Challenges and Opportunities for Labour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hyman, R. (1971) *Marxism and the Sociology of Trade Unionism*. London: Pluto Press Limited

Hyman, Richard (1994/1995) 'Changing Trade Union Identities and Strategies' in Hyman, R. and Ferner, A. (eds)*New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations.* Blackwell Business

Hyman, R. (1997): 'Trade unions and interest representation in the context of globalisation' in *Transfer vol 3 no 3 pp 515-533*

Hyman, R. (1999): 'Imagined Solidarities: Can Trade Unions Resist Globalization?' in Leisink (ed.): *Globalization and Labour Relations*, Edward Elgar

Hyman, R. (2001): *Understanding European Trade Unionism. Between Market, Class & Society*, SAGE

Hyman, R. (2004) 'The Future of Trade Unions', in Verma, A. and Kochan, T.A. (eds.) *Unions in the 21st Century. An International Perspective*, pp. 17-29. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Hyman, R. (2011) 'Trade unions, global competition and options for solidarity', in Bieler, A. and Lindberg, I. (eds.) *Global Restructuring, Labour and the Challenges for Transnational Solidarity*, pp 16-29. London and New York: Routledge

Kelly, J. (1998) *Rethinking Industrial Relations: Mobilization, Collectivism and Long Wawes.* London: Routledge

Kelly, J. And Frege, C. (2004) 'Conclusions: Varieties of Unionism', in Frege, C. And Kelly, J. (eds.) *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Global Economy*, pp 181-196. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Klandermans, B. (2001) 'Does Class Still Unite? Concluding Remarks' in G.v.Gyes et al (eds.): *Can Class Still Unite? The differentiated work force, class solidarity and trade unions*, Ashgate

Ledwith, S. (2006) 'The Future as Female? Gender, Diversity and Global Labour Solidarity', in Phelan (ed.) *The Future of Organised Labour: Global Perspectives*, Peter Lang

Ledwith, S. and Colgan. F. (eds)(1996) *Women in Organisations - Challenging Gender Politics*, MacMillan

Ledwith, S. and Hansen, L.L. (eds.) (2013)*Gendering and Diversifying Trade Union Leadership*. Abingdon and new York: Routledge

Lindberg, I. (2011) 'Varities of solidarity: an analysis of cases of worker action across borders', in Bieler, A. and Lindberg, I. (eds.) *Global Restructuring, Labour and the Challenges for Transnational Solidarity*, pp 206-219. London and New York: Routledge

Lindberg, I. & Neergaard, A. (2013) '"Mellan Marx och Polanyi"- Ett nytt landskap för kollektivt handlande och facklig förnyelse' in Lindberg and Neergaard (eds.): Bortom Horisonten. Fackets vägval i globaliseringens tid. Stockholm: Premiss Förlag

Lucio, M.M. and Perrett, R. (2009): 'Meanings and dilemmas in community unionism: trade union community initiatives and black and minority ethnic groups in the UK' in *Work, Employment & Society (23)4:693-710*

Lysgaard, S. (1967): *Arbeiderkollektivet.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget

McBride, J. and Martinez Lucio, M. (2011): Dimensions of collectivism: occupation, community and the increasing role of memory and personal dynamics in the debate' in *Work, Employment & Society* (25).4:794-805

Moore, S. (2011): *New Trade Unionism. Class Consciousness or Social Identity?London and New York:* Palgrave MacMillan

Nolan, P. and Slater, G. (2010) 'Visions of the future, the legacy of the past: demystifying the weightless economy' in *Labor History(51)1:7-27*

Simms, M. (2012) 'Imagined solidarities: Where is class in union organising', *Capital & Class (36)1:97-115*

Simms, M. and Holgate, J. (2010) 'Organising for what? Where is the debate on the politics of organizing?', *Work, Employment & Society (24) 1:157-168*

Skeggs, B. and Loveday, V. (2012) 'Struggles for value: value practices, injustice, judgment, affect and the idea of class', *British Journal of Sociology 63(3):472-490*

Standing, G. (2015) 'From Denizens to Cuitizens. Forging a Precariat Charter' in Schieruup, C-U et al (eds): *Migration, Precarity, and Global Governance. Challenges and Opportunities for Labour*. Oxford

Tapia, M., Ibsen, C.L., Kochan, T.A, (2015) : 'Mapping the frontier of theory in industrial relations: the contested role of worker representation' in *Socio-Economic Review vol.13 no.1 pp 157-184*

Tattersall, A. (2005): 'There is power in Coalition: A framework for assessing how and when union-community coalitions are effective and enhance power' in *Labour and Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work(16) 2: 97-112*

Turner, L. (2004) 'Why Revitalize? Labour's Urgent Mission in a Contested Global Economy', in Frege, C. And Kelly, J. (eds.) *Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Global Economy*, pp 1-10. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Valkenburg, B. and R. Zoll (1995) 'Modernization, Individualization and Solidarity', *European Journal of Industrial Relations 95/1*

Verma, A. and Kochan, T.A. (eds.) (2004a) *Unions in the 21st Century. An International Perspective*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Vosko, L.E.. McDonald, M and Campbell, I. (2009)(eds.) *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment*, Routledge

Waddington, J.and Kerr, A. (2000) 'Towards an organising model in UNISON?: a trade union membership strategy in transition', in Terry, M. (ed.) (2000): *Redefining Public Sector Unionism. UNISON and the future of trade unions*, Routledge

Williams, S., Abbott, B and Heery, E. (2011) 'Non-union worker representation through civil society organisations: evidence from United Kingdom', *Industrial Relations Journal (42)1:69-85*

Zoll, R. (1999) 'Differenz und Solidarität – oder: Was aber ist Solidarität heute?', in Kaiser et al (eds) *Auf zu neuen Ufern – Gewerkschaftliche Organisierungsmodelle in Österreich und Europa*, OGB-Verlag

Zoll, R. (2000): *Was ist Solidarität heute?* Suhrkamp Verlag

Yates, C.A. (2010): 'Understanding caring, organizing women: how framing a problem shapes union strategy', *Transfer* (16)3:399-410

[i] Nyt fra Danmarks Statistik 31 January 2017: Many migrants are employed in cleaning.
[ii] Interviews with employee representatives and trade union branch leaders.
[iii] Repræsentantskabsundersøgelse i 3F, 2015.
[iv] Diversity Audit 2010–2013, GE&D-team May 2013. Numbers on gender and age are based on union statistics, numbers on ethnic minorities are based on a survey which 66 out of 72 branches have replied to. Not all ethnic minority branch board members are elected; some are in 'inspiration-seats' which give them the right to speak but not to vote.

[v] Memory work and research circles are collective methods developed in order to make change. Knowledge is produced collectively by the participants; the role of the researcher is as an 'organic intellectual', who is both taking part in knowledge production *and* responsible for the process. The methods are related to action research. In the study, the two methods were shorter and more focused on data production than in their original form. This was made clear for the participants from the beginning. Solidarity was the focal point for both; memory work was also part of the research circle. Please see Haug 1999, Härnsten 1995, Onyx and Small 2001, Widerberg 1994.
[vi] The discussions in the research circle and the memory workshop are presented in a compiled and compressed edition. The researcher has constructed the statements on the background of different forms of written material made through the process and presented to the participants in both groups.