“CLASS WITHOUT CONSCIOUSNESS” – THE POLITICS OF FRAGMENTED CLASS IDENTITIES
AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, 14-15th November 2019, Scuola Normale Superiore
Department of Political and Social Science, Palazzo Strozzi, Piazza degli Strozzi 1, 50123 Firenze

DAY 1 NOVEMBER 14th

9:30–13 | INTRODUCTION AND KEYNOTES | CONFERENCE HALL “L’ALTANA”

Donatella della Porta (Scuola Normale Superiore): *Class in Movement*

Don Kalb (University of Bergen and University of Utrecht): *Class in the Illiberal Moment, Anthropologically Speaking*

Klaus Dörre (University of Jena): *Contentious Globalization and Social Classes: 20 Theses for a Democratic Politics of Class*

LUNCH BREAK | (Individual; e.g. Ristorante ‘La Spada’, Via della Spada 62)

15-17 | A1: CLASS IDENTITIES IN ELECTORAL POLITICS | ‘L’ALTANA’

Chair: Linus Westheuser (Scuola Normale Superiore)

- **Simon Bornschier, Céline Colombo, Silja Häusermann** and **Delia Zollinger** (University of Zurich): *How ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ Relates to Voting Behavior: Social Structure and Social Identities in Swiss Electoral Politics*

- **Magne P. Flemmen** (University of Oslo): *Class, Stand, and Party in Late Modern Norway: The Homology of Social Space and Lifestyles and Political Party “Choice”.*

- **Jaro Stacul** (University of Newfoundland): *‘Working Class’ or ‘Class of Workers’? Thoughts on Right-Wing Populism in Contemporary Europe*

- **Macarena Ares** (University of Zurich): *A New Working Class? Political Preferences of Production and Service Workers and the Politicization of Class in Post-Industrial Societies*

15 – 17 | Panel B1: CLASS IDENTITIES IN MOVEMENT | ‘POLLAIOLO’

Chair: Lorenzo Zamponi (Scuola Normale Superiore)

- **Loukia Kotronaki** and **Seraphim Seferiadis** (Pantheion University Athens): *Resilience or Solidarity? Modes of Class Politicization in Crisis-Ridden Greece*

- **Ivaylo Dinev** (Scuola Superiore Sant’Anna, Pisa): *Does Class Matter in the Protest Arena? Evidence from Eastern Europe*

- **Maria del Carmen Mayer** (University of Bielefeld): *A Reflection on Marginality, Localised Political Organisation and Class Consciousness for the Praxis of a Neighborhood Committee in Milan*

17 - 18 | BOOK FORUM | ROOM ‘L’ALTANA’

Discussant: Don Kalb (University of Bergen and University of Utrecht)
Hadas Weiss (Madrid Institute for Advanced Study): *We Have Never Been Middle Class: How Social Mobility Misleads Us.* Verso Books, 2019.


**DAY 2 NOVEMBER 15th**

**A2: CLASS POLITICS ON THE RIGHT | ‘L’ALTANA’**

Chair: Manuela Caiani (Scuola Normale Superiore)

- Gabor Scheiring (Bocconi University Milan): Left Behind in the Hungarian Rust Belt. The Political Economy of Working-Class Neo-Nationalism
- Koen Damhuis (University of Utrecht): Dissecting ‘the people’: Class Positions and Social Identities of Radical Right-Wing Voters
- Paulus Wagner (Sciences Po Paris): Why Are the Populist Radical Right’s Electorates Not Fragile Along Class Lines?

**B2: NEW FRONTIERS OF CLASS FORMATION | ‘POLLAIOLO’**

Chair: Marco Deseriis (Scuola Normale Superiore)

- Peter N. Funke (University of South Florida) and Todd Wolfson (Rutgers University): *Class Struggle and the Current Wave of Resistance: Class Formation as a Series of Relations and Processes*
- Christoph Sorg (New York University): A Class of Debtors in and of itself? Reflections on Recent Attempts to Build a Debtor’s Unions in the United States
- Sarah Uhmann (Humboldt-University Berlin): “The Neighbourhood is the New Factory”: Urban Social Movements and the Recomposition of Class in the Global City
- Alexis Spire (CNRS, Paris): Rethinking Social Class Through Tax Injustice

**C1: DEMOBILIZING CLASS IN THE WORKPLACE | ‘L’ALTANA’**

Chair: Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore)

- Stefanie Hürtgen (University of Salzburg): Xenophobic Culturalization in Transnational Production

**D1: SUBMERGED CLASS IDENTITIES | ‘POLLAIOLO’**

Chair: Rossella Ciccia (Queen’s University Belfast)

- Linus Westheuser (Scuola Normale Superiore): Studying ‘Classed Consciousness’: Self Understandings of Working and Middle Class Millennials in Germany
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<td>Linda Beck (Free University Berlin)</td>
<td>Class Consciousness and Ethnic Divisions in the Construction Sector</td>
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<td>Marie C. Grasmeier (University of Bremen)</td>
<td>Race and Class on the High Seas: Intersectional Aspects of the Construction of Occupational Identities among Seafarers on International Merchant Ships</td>
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<td>Najate Zouggari (University of Lausanne)</td>
<td>The Spirit of Capitalism’s New Clothes: Deconstructing the Employers’ Concept of ‘Professional Order’ in Switzerland</td>
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<td>Giorgos Bithymitris (National Centre for Social Research, Athens)</td>
<td>The (Im-)possibility of Class Identity: Reflections on a Victorious Labour Struggle Against Right-Wing Extremism</td>
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<td>Niccolò Bertuzzi and Loris Caruso (Scuola Normale Superiore)</td>
<td>The Return of Class Politics? Representations of Power, Politics and the State among the Italian Popular Classes</td>
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<td>Marta Tonetta (University of Milan &amp; University of Turin)</td>
<td>For a Debate about Class Identities under Platform Capitalism: The New Rentier Middle Classes between Privilege and Precarity</td>
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**LUNCH BREAK | ROOM ‘POLLAILO’**

**15-17 | C2 : PRECARITY AND CLASS IDENTITY | ‘L’ALTANA’**

- **Chair: Mario Pianta (Scuola Normale Superiore)**

  - **Stefan Schmalz** (University of Jena) and **Brandon Sommer** (Erasmus University Rotterdam): Dividing Lines in Chinese Class Formation: Migrant Workers in the Pearl River Delta
  - **Lorenzo Cini** (Scuola Normale Superiore): Exploring Class Identity in Post-Crisis Italy. An Analysis (Again) Centered on Labour Conditions
  - **Angelo Moro** (University of Burgundy): Beyond a Generational Perspective on the ‘Unmaking of the Working Class’? Insights on the Transmission of ‘Cultures of Solidarity’ in an Italian Factory
  - **Christopher Wimmer** (Humboldt University Berlin): Fragmentation and Solidarity in the Marginalized Class in Germany

**15-17 | D2: CLASS, NATION, REGION, AND MIGRATION | ‘POLLAILO’**

- **Chair: Martin Portos Garcia (Scuola Normale Superiore)**

  - **Teresa Pullano** (University of Basel): Transnational Class, the Struggle for Hegemony and the Dilemma of Political Subjectivity Beyond National Identity
  - **Síresa López Berengueres** (Sciences Po Paris): Capitals Old and New: Immigration, Class Hybridization and Cosmopolitan Orientations.
  - **Delia Zollinger** (University of Zurich): Booming Cities versus Left-Behind Communities? How the Geography of the Knowledge Economy Structures Social Identities in Switzerland
  - **Oluwatobiloba Adeleke** (Humboldt-University Berlin): Social Inequality in Nigeria: Intersections of Social Class, Gender, and Ethnic Inequalities

**17 – 18 | FINAL DISCUSSION & WRAP-UP | “L’ALTANA”**