

“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** (Pantheon 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.

Stephen Campbell (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore): *Border Capitalism, Disrupted: Precarity and Struggle in a Southeast Asian Industrial Zone*. Cornell University Press, 2018.

Alina-Sandra Cucu (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin): *Planning Labour: Time and the Foundations of Industrial Socialism in Romania*. Berghahn Books, 2019.

18 - 20 | APERICENA (Drinks & Snacks) | POLLAIOLO

DAY 2 NOVEMBER 15th)

9:30-11:30 | 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?*
- **Raphael Challier** (Paris VIII - Cresspa) : *"The World As It Is. We Deal With It". The Ambivalence of the Conservatism of Right-wing Working-Class Activists.*

11:30-13:30 | C1: DEMOBILIZING CLASS IN THE WORKPLACE | 'L'ALTANA'

Chair: Guglielmo Meardi (Scuola Normale Superiore)

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

9:30-11:30 | 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 Uhlmann** (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*

11:30-13:30 | D1: SUBMERGED CLASS IDENTITIES | 'POLLAIOLO'

Chair: Rossella Ciccio (Queen's University Belfast)

- **Linus Westheuser** (Scuola Normale Superiore): *Studying 'Classed Consciousness': Self Understandings of Working and Middle Class Millennials in Germany*

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Amélie Beaumont (Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne): <i>On the Right or at the Bottom? Contradictory Dynamics of the Practical Politicization of Working Conditions</i> ● Linda Beck (Free University Berlin): <i>Class Consciousness and Ethnic Divisions in the Construction Sector</i> ● Marie C. Grasmeyer (University of Bremen): <i>Race and Class on the High Seas: Intersectional Aspects of the Construction of Occupational Identities among Seafarers on International Merchant Ships</i> ● Najate Zougari (University of Lausanne): <i>The Spirit of Capitalism's New Clothes: Deconstructing the Employers' Concept of 'Professional Order' in Switzerland</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Giorgos Bithymitris (National Centre for Social Research, Athens): <i>The (Im-)possibility of Class Identity: Reflections on a Victorious Labour Struggle Against Right-Wing Extremism</i> ● Niccolò Bertuzzi and Loris Caruso (Scuola Normale Superiore): <i>The Return of Class Politics? Representations of Power, Politics and the State among the Italian Popular Classes</i> ● Marta Tonetta (University of Milan & University of Turin): <i>For a Debate about Class Identities under Platform Capitalism: The New Rentier Middle Classes between Privilege and Precarity</i>
LUNCH BREAK ROOM 'POLLAIOLO'	
<p>15-17 C2 : PRECARIETY AND CLASS IDENTITY 'L'ALTANA' Chair: Mario Pianta (Scuola Normale Superiore)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Stefan Schmalz (University of Jena) and Brandon Sommer (Erasmus University Rotterdam): <i>Dividing Lines in Chinese Class Formation: Migrant Workers in the Pearl River Delta</i> ● Lorenzo Cini (Scuola Normale Superiore): <i>Exploring Class Identity in Post-Crisis Italy. An Analysis (Again) Centered on Labour Conditions</i> ● Angelo Moro (University of Burgundy): <i>Beyond a Generational Perspective on the 'Unmaking of the Working Class'? Insights on the Transmission of 'Cultures of Solidarity' in an Italian Factory</i> ● Christopher Wimmer (Humboldt University Berlin): <i>Fragmentation and Solidarity in the Marginalized Class in Germany</i> 	<p>15-17 D2: CLASS, NATION, REGION, AND MIGRATION 'POLLAIOLO' Chair: Martín Portos Garcia (Scuola Normale Superiore)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Teresa Pullano (University of Basel): <i>Transnational Class, the Struggle for Hegemony and the Dilemma of Political Subjectivity Beyond National Identity</i> ● Siresa López Berengueres (Sciences Po Paris): <i>Capitals Old and New: Immigration, Class Hybridization and Cosmopolitan Orientations.</i> ● Delia Zollinger (University of Zurich): <i>Booming Cities versus Left-Behind Communities? How the Geography of the Knowledge Economy Structures Social Identities in Switzerland</i> ● Oluwatobiloba Adeleke (Humboldt-University Berlin): <i>Social Inequality in Nigeria: Intersections of Social Class, Gender, and Ethnic Inequalities</i>
17 – 18 FINAL DISCUSSION & WRAP-UP "L'ALTANA"	