

June 2003

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PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985, University of California Press, 1994.

Articles in peer-reviewed journals:

"Monitoring Multinationals: Lessons from the Anti-Apartheid Movement", forthcoming in *Politics and Society*.

"The Femocrats' Dilemma: Mobilization vs. Representation in the South African Gender Commission", forthcoming in *Feminist Studies*

"Guerrillas in their Midst: Armed Struggle in the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement," *Mobilization: An international social movement journal*, 6:2 (Fall 2001): 111-128

– excerpt reprinted in Jack Goldstone (ed.), *The Revolution Reader*, third edition, US: Thomas Wadsworth, 295-303

"Feminist Interventions: The South African Gender Commission and 'Strategic' Challenges to Gender Inequality". *Ethnography*, 2:2 (June 2001), 219-242

"Defining Interests: the South African Gender Commission", translated into German, forthcoming in *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 2/2001, special issue on gender and social movements, ed. Myra Marx Ferree and Silke Roth.

"Blurred lines: nonviolence in South Africa," *PS: Politics and Science* (APSA), June 2000.

"Is South Africa Different?: South Africa in Comparative Perspective", *Annual Review of Sociology* (1999), 219-240.

"Gendered Citizenship: South Africa's Democratic Transition and the Construction of a Gendered State". *Gender and Society*. (June 1999). 13:3, 287-307.

–translated and republished in French in *Clio*, a French women's history journal, for a special issue on citizenship, 2001

"Politics and Power in Post-Colonial Societies", *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol 12 (1998).

"Restructuring Goldmines, Redesigning Lives: Confronting Globalization in the Context of Apartheid's Legacies," *Research in the Sociology of Work* (1997), 199-221

"Social Movement Unionism in Transition: Labor and Democratization in South Africa," in F. Weil (ed.), *Research on Democracy and Society*, vol. 3 (1996), 379-396

"South Africa: Constructing nationalism, restructuring gender," *Women and International Development Annual*, vol. 4. (1995), 203-231

"Shafted: The Social Impact of Downscaling in South Africa's Goldfields Region," *South African Sociological Review*, 5:2 (April 1993): 14-34

--edited version reprinted in W. James (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries: Mine Migrancy in a Democratic South Africa*, Cape Town: Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa, 1995

"No freedom without the women!: Mobilization and gender in South Africa, 1970-1992". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 18, no. 2, Winter 1993. pp. 291-320.

--reprinted in Barbara Laslett, Joanne Brenner and Yesim Arat (eds.), *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance and the State*. University of Chicago Press, 1996.

"The Emergence of Political Unionism in Brazil and South Africa," *South African Sociological Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1990.

"Women in Zimbabwe: Post-independence Struggles," *Feminist Studies*, 10:3 (Fall 1984), 419-440.

--reprinted by Women's International Resource Exchange, 1995.

Chapters

"Deflated Citizenship: Labor Rights in a Global Era", in *Global Citizenship*, ed. Alison Brysk and Gershon Shafir. Forthcoming, Routledge.

"The other Michael Burawoy", *Contemporary Sociology* 30:5 (September 2001), 449-451

"South Africa: When the system has fallen", with Howard Winant. In Winant, *The World is a Ghetto*, Basic Books, 2001, pp. 177-217

"Adjusting the Lens: What do globalization, transnationalism, and the anti-apartheid movement mean for social movement theory?" in John Guidry, Michael Kennedy, and Mayer Zald (eds.), *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere*, University of Michigan Press. 2000, 339-57

"Gendered Politics in Transition: South Africa's Democratic Transition in the Context of Global Feminism", chapter for volume on globalization, ed. Boaventura Santos and Jane Jenson. Britain: Ashcroft Pubs.. 2000

"Opposition Identities in South African Unions" in R. Greenstein (ed.), *South Africa in Comparative Perspective*, MacMillan Press, 1998.

Workers in Racialized Societies", *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 51 (Cambridge University Press: 1997). Guest editor for special issue focusing on workers in racially-stratified societies; editor's introduction.

"Gold Mining's Labour Markets: Legacies of the Past, Challenges of the Present". With Johnny Steinberg. South African Labour Department, report #1. 1996.

--Earlier version published as Labour Studies Research Report #6, Sociology of Work Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1995.

"Facing the new international context of development," in *Global Visions: Beyond the New World Order*, ed. J. Brecher, J. Childs and J. Cutler (Boston: South End Press, 1993), p. 175-190.

Reprinted in *Z Papers* (Boston), April-June 1993, p. 8-11

Introduction for the American edition of Emma Mashinini's *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life*, Routledge, Chapman, Hall, 1991.

"The Politicization of Working-Class Organizations in South Africa," in R. Mazur (ed.), *Breaking the Links: Development Theory and Practice in Southern Africa*, Africa World Press, 1990, 223-256

"South Africa: The Current Crisis," *Democratic Left*, 1985.

-- reprinted in D. Mermelstein (ed), *Anti-Apartheid Reader*, Grove Press, 1987.

"South Africa: Revolution in the Making?" with Heinz Klug, *Socialist Review*, 84, Nov. 1985, 9-34.

--Reprinted in Patricia Case (ed), *The Alternative Press Annual 1986*, Temple University Press, 1987.

"Development Studies in Secondary Schools in Southern Africa," *Journal of Education With Production*, 2:1, June 1983 (Gaborone, Botswana).

"Zimbabwe: Old Dangers, New Dilemmas," *Socialist Review* 62, March 1982, 73-89.

Textbooks:

"The anti-sweatshop campaign of the 1990s", *Sociology for a New Century*, ed. York Bradshaw, Joseph Healey and Rebecca Smith. Pine Forge Press/Sage Pubs., 2001. Pp. 393-399.

Working for the Future, student textbook and teachers' guide for Development Studies. Foundation for Education With Production, Gaborone (Botswana), 1985. Revised for second edition, 1987. (Fifth edition currently in press.) Currently used in high school development studies courses in Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe: A New History, with David Martin and Phyllis Johnson. Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare (Zimbabwe), 1982. Second edition, 1983.

Book reviews

--Cock and Bernstein, *Melting Pots and Rainbow Nations*, *Women's Review of Books*, Oct 2002, vol 20, no. 1.

-- of M. Guigni and F. Passy (eds.), *Political Altruism? Solidarity movements in international perspective*, for *Social Forces*, forthcoming.

--of G. Adler and E. Webster (eds.) , *Unions and Democratization in South Africa*, for *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 2001

--of K. Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, for *Contemporary Sociology*, June 2000

--of K. Kendall, *Basali! Stories by and About Women in Lesotho*, for *Women's Review of Books*, July 1996

--of D. Moodie, *Going for Gold* and P. Bonner et al (eds.), *Apartheid's Genesis*, for *Contemporary Sociology*, September 1996

--of A.M. Sandoval, *Social Change and Labor Unrest in Brazil Since 1945*, in *American J. of Sociology*, September 1994.

--of Jacklyn Cock, *Colonels and Cadres*, for *Women's Review of Books*, December 1993.

--of Margaret Keck, *The Brazilian Workers' Party* and E. Sader and K. Silverstein, *Without Fear of Being Happy: The Workers' Party, Lula and Brazil*, in the *South African Labour Bulletin*, August, 1993.

--of Luise White's *Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* and Cherryl Walker (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa*, in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 18, no. 3, Spring 1993, 708-711

--of Anthony Marx, *Lessons of Struggle* and Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961*, in *Contemporary Sociology*. March 1993.

-- of Doris Lessing, *African Laughter: Four visits to Zimbabwe*, for *Women's Review of Books*, 10:4 (January 1993)

--of Iris Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, for the *Women's Review of Books*, 10:2, November 1992

--of Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, in *Contemporary Sociology*, May-June 1992

--of Alejandro Portes, Manuel Castells and Laura Benton (eds.), *The Informal Economy*, in *American Journal of Sociology* (January 1992), 1167-1169

--of Bessie Head, *Woman Alone and Tales of Tenderness*, in *Women's Review of Books*, January 1991.

--of Becker, Sklar et al, *Postimperialism: International Capitalism and Development in the Late Twentieth Century*, in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 24:3 (Fall), 1989, 70-74.

--of Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*, in *SR* 78 (1984)

--of Eleanor Leacock and Helen Saffa (eds.), *Development and the Sexual Division of Labor*, in *SR* 65 (1982), 131-136

--of Andre Astrow, *Zimbabwe: Revolution in the Making* and M. Wolfers and J. Bergerol, *Angola in the Front Line*, in *SR* 77 (1984), 129-136

--of Elizabeth Badinter, *Mother Love: Myth and Reality*, in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 27 (1982), 168-169

Interviews

-- with Francisco Weffort of the Brazilian Workers Party, for the *South African Labour Bulletin*. September/October 1993.

--with Maria Helena Alves, "The Brazilian Workers' Party," *Work in Progress* (Johannesburg), June 1990

-- with South African trade unionist, "Trade Unionism in South Africa," *Socialist Review* 67 (1983), 55-69

Other articles have appeared in *The Harvard Crimson*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *New Internationalist*, *In These Times*, *The Wisconsin State Journal*.

SELECTED PAPERS:

"Deflated Citizenship: Labor rights in a global era", presented at UCSD, April 2002; UCLA, May 2002; the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 18 2002; and the Cornell-Binghamton joint colloquium on contentious politics, Nov 2002.

"International Labor Monitoring: Lessons from the Sullivan Principles", presented at conference on "Worker-Consumer Alliances", Labor Studies Center, University of Washington-Seattle, Jan. 2002, and at Duke University, March 2002.

"The Femocrats' Dilemma: Mobilization vs. Representation in the South African Gender Commission", presented at New York University, program on Women in History, Africana Studies and Sociology, March 2001; African Studies Program, UW-Wisconsin, May 2001; Institute for Legal Studies, UW-Wisconsin, Nov 2001.

"Women, gender and feminism in South Africa", Eugene Lang visiting lecture, Swarthmore College, March 2001.

"Reflections on transnational activism and the South African Gender Commission", presented at Sociologists for Women in Society" meeting, Phoenix, AZ, Feb 2001.

"Armed Struggle, popular protest and post-colonial politics," presented at conference on "Contentious politics in developing societies," Harvard University, October 2000; revised version presented at the Social Science History Association conference, Chicago, November 2001.

"Will the real Michael Burawoy please stand up?", Society for the Study of Social Problems", Washington DC Aug 2000.

"Stepping back: Around the round table," Conference on negotiated democracy, Ann Arbor, Michigan. February 2000

"Defining Interests: South Africa's Gender Commission and the Construction of Women's Identities", presented at the American Sociological Association, Chicago August 1999; different versions also presented at: Michigan Sociology Department, November 1999; University of California-Berkeley, April 2000; University of California-Davis, April 2000; University of California-San Diego, May 2000; University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), July 2000; University of California-Santa Barbara, Nov 2000.

"Labor's Dilemmas: Union Responses to Globalization in Brazil and South Africa", presented to the American Sociological Association meeting, San Francisco, August 1998

--earlier versions presented at the Global Studies Program, "Distinguished International Lectures Series", University of Iowa, Iowa City, November 7 1997, and to the Sociology Department, Johns Hopkins University, Dec 3 1997.

"The Construction of a New World Racial Order," with Howard Winant, presented to the American Sociological Association meeting, San Francisco, August 1998

--earlier version presented at a conference on Triangular Exchanges, University of Chicago, October 11, 1997

"States and Labor in Colonial Africa: Comments on Frederick Cooper's Decolonization and African Society." Presented at the Social Science Historians Conference, October 1997.

"In a Transitional State: Inequality, Mobilization and Citizenship in South Africa, 1980-1996", invited presentation, the National Research Council/National Academy of Sciences Task Force on Economies in Transition, November 8, 1996

"Working on Race," presented to the Social Science Historians Association, New Orleans, October 1996.

"Gendered Citizenship in South Africa's Democratic Transition", presented to the American Sociological Association, New York, August 1996.

--earlier versions presented to the Center on Social Research and Organizations, University of Michigan, October 1995.

"Repression and Social Movements - South Africa", invited presentation to the Sawyer Seminar on Contested Politics, chaired by Charles Tilly, Sid Tarrow and Doug McAdam, Stanford Center for Advanced Studies in Behavior Sciences, March 1996.

"Gender and Nationalism," presented to the Social Science Historians Association, Chicago IL, October 1995

--earlier version presented at the University of Wisconsin, Havens Center, March 1995

"Labor in a Globalized World," presented at the University of Wisconsin, Global Studies Research Program, October 1995

"Strategic unionism or radical reform in the new South Africa," paper presented to the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles, August 9, 1994.

"Manufacturing militance: South African labor in transition," paper presented to Sociology Departments, University of Texas-Austin and Texas A&M, Feb. 18 and 19th, 1994.

--revised version presented to Center on Social Research and Organizations, University of Michigan, Oct 20, the Center for Comparative and Historical Studies, UC-Davis, Nov 29, 1994; International Studies Institute, University of California-Berkeley, March 15 1995

"Politics in production: Restructuring in South African industry." Paper presented to the American Sociological Association, Miami, Fla., August 16, 1993.

--Revised version presented to the African Studies Association, Boston MA, Dec 4, 1993

"If Harmony closes, will the last person to leave Virginia please turn out the lights? The social impact of downscaling on the goldfields region, South Africa".

Presented to: local community activists, Virginia (Orange Free State, South Africa), March 10, 1993; National Union of Mineworkers national executive committee, Johannesburg, March 12, 1993; Sociology of Work Program, University of the Witwatersrand breakfast series, Johannesburg, March 26, 1993; Randgold and Exploration, management representatives, March 31, 1993; National Mining Summit task force on downscaling, Virginia, April 2, 1993; Sociology Department, Univ. of the Witwatersrand, June 24, 1993; conference on policy options for mine migrancy, Cape Town, June 1994.

Articles on the findings presented in this study appeared in several South African publications: Business Day (14.4.93), Finance Week (May 13-19 and May 20-26, 1993), and Mining World (June 1993). Appeared on South African national television to discuss the study's findings, June 19, 1993.

--Revised version, "Gold, Mines and Migrancy: Unmaking Apartheid's Legacy," presented to the Institute of Public Policy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Feb 14, 1995

"Facing the new international context of development," SWOP/History workshop symposium "Class, work and culture," Johannesburg, June 29, 1993

"Rethinking Socialism in South Africa," invited presentation for presidential panel, at the Social Science Historians Association meeting, New Orleans, Nov. 1991. Also delivered to African Studies seminar, University of Wisconsin-Madison (March 1992).

"Comparative Labor Studies," presented at the Association of Sociologists of South Africa meeting, Cape Town, June 1991.

"Class, Community and Citizenship in South Africa and Brazil," American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August 11, 1990

"Strikes, Stay-aways and Social Movements: Labor Militance in South Africa's Black Townships," (invited) American Political Science Association meeting, San Francisco, August 31, 1990

"The Emergence of Political Unionism in Brazil and South Africa," Association of Sociologists of South Africa, Stellenbosch (South Africa), July 4, 1990

"No Freedom Without the Women: Migrant Labor, Women and Household Economies in Southern Africa," Northwestern University, Department of Sociology, Women Studies and African Studies Program joint colloquium, May 17, 1990.

--Revised version presented to the African Studies Association, Baltimore, Nov. 4 1990

--Further revised version presented at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, conference on "South Africa: The Political Economy of Transition," April 10, 1992 (invited)

"Labor Movements Under Authoritarian Industrialization Strategies: South Africa and Brazil," presented at the African Studies Association meeting, Atlanta, Nov. 5, 1989

"Political Unionism in South Africa," presented to Sociology Departments at Princeton University, Northwestern University, University of California-San Diego, University of Pennsylvania, University of Virginia, University of Wisconsin-Madison and Wellesley College, between November 1988 and February 1989.

"Working-class Organization and Political Alliances in South Africa," presented at the American Sociological Association annual meeting, Atlanta, August 1988.

"South African State Strategies Toward Labor in the 1980s," presented at Berkeley-Stanford African Studies Conference, "Southern Africa in Crisis," Berkeley, May 7, 1988

"Corporatismo e Cidadania: Uma comparacao do sindicalismo em Africa do Sul e no Brasil", Centro de Estudos de Cultura Contemporanea, Sao Paulo, September 1986

"Development Studies in Secondary Schools in Southern Africa," Joint Berkeley-Stanford Center for African Studies Conference, Berkeley, May 1986

"American Companies in South Africa," UC-Berkeley Forum, April 1985

"Hewlett-Packard and the Sullivan Principles," UC-Davis Forum, May 1985

"South Africa's Destabilization Policies," Union of Radical Political Economists, Berkeley colloquia series, Feb. 1984

"The State and Land Reform in Zimbabwe," Joint Berkeley-Stanford African Studies Conference, Stanford, April 1982