

Global History from Below: Explaining and Connecting Shifts in Labour Relations, 1500-2000

Project funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, Düsseldorf



Jacket illustrations, clockwise starting in left upper corner:

1. Slave labour: Sugar plantation slaves , British West Indies, 1858 engraving. Source: http://images.suite101.com/3677443_com_slaves_3.jpg
2. Wage labour: Apprentices in the metalworking training workshop of the Henkel KGaA factory, Düsseldorf, early 1950s. Source: Feldkirchen, Wilfried und Susanne Hilger, *Menschen und Marken: 125 Jahre Henkel, 1876–2001*. Edited by Ernst Primosch und Wolfgang Zengerling. (Düsseldorf 2001) p. 142.
3. Self-employment: Mozambican vendor wears clothes with picture of Pope John Paul II, in the wake of his visit to Mozambique in September 1988. Photo Alfredo Muecho, Collection IISH.
4. Reciprocal labour: Winnowing rice grains, China c. 1700. Source: *Keng-tschi t'u, Ackerbau und Seidengewinnung in China; ein kaiserliches Lehr- und Mahnbuch*. Transl. and ed. by Otto Franke (Hamburg, 1913), plate 49, ill. 1.20 Chinese woodblock edition, 1696.

Table of contents

Preliminary remarks	3
Relevance and pertinence	3
Aims	4
Achievements	5
Theoretical framework	9
Practical organization: a series of workshops on shifting labour relations	11
Appendix 1	15

Global History from Below: Explaining and Connecting Shifts in Labour Relations 1500-2000

Preliminary remarks

The Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations (hereafter: the Collaboratory) is an initiative of the International Institute of Social History (hereafter: IISH). It began its international activities in 2007 with the help of a generous grant by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung in Düsseldorf. This grant enabled the Collaboratory to appoint PD Dr Christine Moll-Murata as coordinator at the IISH, to organize a number of workshops, to pay a modest sum for the collection of data, and to prepare a publication on the perceptions and valuations of work and labour relations. All participants and external partners (including members of the Academic Advisory Board of the IISH and the Evaluation Committee of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) regard the Collaboratory as highly successful, and want the project to continue.

Relevance and pertinence

Right now, Greece and Spain suffer their highest unemployment rate in half a century. Yet, at the same time, the EU is strengthening the electric fence at the Greek/Turkish border, as well as sending armed patrols into the Mediterranean and around the Canary Islands - to stop African and Asian youngsters from gaining entry to the 'promised land' of high-wage jobs and small enterprises. All over Europe, flexibilization of the labour market is being promoted as a panacea against Asian competition. In China, our competitors appear to include a mobile workforce of some 300 million people, who accept jobs without any social security. In the United States, couples are now working more hours than their parents (or even their grandparents) ever did, for very similar or lower real incomes. These are large, rapid and consequential changes in the world of work. They are not only reshaping the daily working lives of billions of people; they are also changing our very perceptions of work in a profound way.

To comprehend such international trends, and to define policies to respond to them, economists and social scientists are forced to revise their analytical tools. Historians, too, cannot stand idly by. They have a scientific responsibility to reconsider the previously accepted ideas about the long-run trends in labour relations, and to place the changes in working life in broad historical perspective. An 'Atlantic' intellectual framework, arising from the experience of the Industrial Revolution, has for a long time dominated labour history. Such a framework is now clearly overtaken by world events.

Originally established at the IISH in 2007 with a major grant of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, the Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations not only responds to an urgent issue of scholarly understanding. It also has wider public relevance. Our long-term (1500-2000 AD) and global approach helps observers to understand the massive and rapid changes occurring today among the world's working people. The data sets collected so far, combined with the papers detailing methods and sources, demonstrate what

the long-run demographic and economic developments in the world have really been. It is a *new* approach to labour and labour relations, responding to new world realities. It has resulted in a fundamentally new taxonomy of labour relations, which applies an international standard definition of work activities. Its findings can be used by scholars in many different academic fields (including history, sociology, political science, anthropology, geography, demography and economics); by policy analysts seeking greater objectivity by means of historical relativizations; and by journalists and interested citizens around the world who are researching labour relations. The much-needed global facts produced by this project can contribute to on-going academic discussions such as the Great Divergence debate (why did some parts of the world become so rich at a certain point in time?) and other important debates about the course of global and world history.

The Collaboratory from 2007 to 2012: aims and achievements

Aims

The Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations 1500-2000 has pursued three main aims:

- To establish a worldwide inventory of labour relations—the common denominators for the wide variety of hierarchical, non-hierarchical, familial, forced, voluntary, monetary, tributary and other social relations within which work is performed, applied to five historical cross-sections (1500, 1650, 1800, 1900, 2000, and for Africa also 1950).
- To identify and explain significant shifts in labour relations across time.
- To identify the global connections between these shifts, and analyze these shifts with reference to changing valuations of work and labour relations worldwide.

The Collaboratory project is organized in two different phases. In the first phase (2007-2012), the main practical and conceptual steps taken were:

- To identify experts capable and willing to collect and provide the necessary data and to work in an international, collective project.
- To create collectively a consistent and exhaustive taxonomy of labour relations, applicable to all possible societies, at least for the period from 1500 onwards.
- To design a database template used by all Collaboratory members, as well as a digital platform for the systematic storage and exchange of data and ideas, including source descriptions and source critique.
- To collect data on labour relations in various parts of the world for the five historical cross-sections.
- To invite a group of experts on the valuation of work and work ethics, especially for the early modern period, to help us put the scarce data on the early cross-sections into context, and enhance

our understanding of the connections between changing labour relations and changing valuations of work.

- To begin analyzing these data sets, leading us to preliminary assumptions as well as to further questions to be answered.

In the second phase (2013-2018), major shifts in labour relations will be analyzed worldwide. This analysis will be done on the basis of six explanatory factors identified as important during the preliminary analyses and comparisons made in the first phase of the project. These explanatory factors are:¹

- Political change
- Economic institutional change
- Changes in family and household patterns
- Geographic mobility
- Social mobility
- Urbanization

At the same time, we will continue to collect data for a number of world regions which are still under-represented in our current data set, and, where needed, we will refine the data sets we already assembled. In the process, the data and the results of the Collaboratory will be integrated into labour history and socio-economic history, as studied by Collaboratory members and other colleagues. In so doing, we will continue to build on the theoretical framework which we have already developed.

Achievements

The results of the project are very promising. At the beginning of the project, some Collaboratory members were sceptical about its feasibility. Yet at the end of its first phase, we find that this large, international group, drawn from different continents, and having different outlooks on work and labour relations, developed a remarkable dynamic synergy. Through extensive communication during workshops and online discussions, the group produced a large number of data sets, as well as a set of analytical tools which enable us to analyze shifts in labour relations worldwide. Moreover, the analytical tools created allow for a pluralist approach to the history of labour and labour relations. The fundamentally new taxonomy of labour relations, developed by the group as a whole, has proved to be a good analytical instrument, which has by now been successfully adopted by several other projects (see the end of this section). Also, various interrelated projects were and are being developed by different Collaboratory members, based on and inspired by the Collaboratory.

¹ More detailed information on these factors is provided below in the section on practical organization.

This unexpected but very welcome ‘multiplier effect’ has enlarged the network of cooperating institutions, some of which have also been willing to support the project financially. The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) helped the project in its first phase with two grants: to finance the travelling costs of Collaboratory members not working on the cross-sections 1500-1650 (which were the focus of the initial Gerda Henkel Stiftung project), and to finance the set-up of a specific Africa network. Data collecting for Africa proved to be very complicated, not in the least because of source problems. The establishment of a group of specialists meeting on a regular basis helped greatly to initiate data collection for this continent as well.

Extensive assistance, including financial support, was also given by the International Research Centre Work and Human Lifecycle in Global History, directed by Prof. Andreas Eckert at the Humboldt University in Berlin; the Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte (WISO) of the University of Vienna, where especially Professor Josef Ehmer has been a very important supporter; the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, where Dr Raquel Varela helped us develop the *Lusophone* network; the Indian Council of Historical Research in Delhi, where Professor Shireen Moosvi was a key figure; the University of Addis Ababa, where Professor Shiferaw Bekele provided major support; and finally the Netherlands Institute in Turkey, based in Istanbul, where the director Dr Fokke Gerritsen gave us a very warm welcome. These institutions all hosted one or more workshops, and the last-mentioned three also provided free accommodation for our participants. All this cooperation was very valuable. It helped us to exchange ideas with even more colleagues internationally than the funding of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung already allowed.

The identification of experts willing and able to be active members of the Collaboratory, and to supply the necessary data, resulted so far in the cooperation of some fifty regional experts from nineteen different countries across all continents, and the list is still growing. In several regions where experience with this type of research was lacking, we organized subgroups of experts discussing sources and their interpretations in depth. These experiments were largely successful. Additional funding for such groups was received from different sources.

One of the important results of the first phase of the project was the new taxonomy of labour relations, developed by the Collaboratory as a group. In the course of industrialization from the nineteenth century, scholars and politicians realized that a new social group, the proletarianized factory workers, had formed. Many scholars, including Karl Marx, developed taxonomies of labour relations. Later, social scientists like Max Weber and Karl Polanyi made major contributions. In recent publications, Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen have proposed to address this issue on a truly global (i.e. non-Eurocentric) scale.² For that purpose, the Collaboratory developed the first exhaustive taxonomy for global labour relations since

² Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen, [*Prolegomena for a Global Labour History*](#) (Amsterdam, 1999); Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History* (Leiden/Boston, 2008); Jan Lucassen (ed.), *Global Labour History. A State of the Art* (Bern, 2006).

1500. Setting out with a very broad definition of work, including ‘any human effort adding use value to goods and services’³ the taxonomy explicitly includes *all* types of work done by *all* members of society, including women and children working in the household or in a small family business; work performed within village and feudal systems; work by tribal nomadic populations; and work by state slaves. The definitions of labour relations which the group developed as part of this taxonomy have proved to be applicable in all parts of the world, and in all five cross-sections in time. The taxonomy was developed as a collective effort, during various intensive discussions held at several international workshops organized by the project group. It represents a major and truly international collaborative achievement by the scholars involved in the project.

In the same way, a database template was developed. It is used by all Collaboratory members to record their data in a standard way. The development of a digital platform for the systematic sharing and storage of the data, including source descriptions and source critique, has facilitated the data gathering and inputting process.⁴ Research procedures have been formalized and documented. Thus, there is a Code book of the database, a Manual for gathering and inputting data in the database, and a Guideline for the methodological paper.⁵ In addition, procedures for uploading and public publishing have been agreed on. During the various workshops, data sets were presented by the Collaboratory members and discussed by the group. After several stages of data refinement, various items were published on the Collaboratory website: the data sets and accompanying methodological papers, including the context of data production; source critique; and reports on the methods used to produce the data sets. Since July 2011, most data are publicly available (see: <https://collab.iisg.nl/web/labourrelations/results>).

Another, though partially overlapping, group of experts on the valuation of work was formed, especially for the early modern period. A separate workshop was organized on this topic at the premises of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung on November 13th and 14th 2009. The papers have been published in a special Issue of the journal *International Review of Social History*, and also as a monograph.⁶ The contributions to this volume were devised according to several layers of investigation:

- 1) Identification of relevant texts and other modes of expression.
- 2) Concepts of ‘work/labour’ and ‘worker/labourer’ in the sociolinguistic perspective.

³ Chris Tilly and Charles Tilly, *Work Under Capitalism* (Boulder, 1998), pp. 22-23.

⁴ This platform can be found at: <https://collab.iisg.nl/group/labourrelations>

⁵ For the Codebook of the database see:

https://collab.iisg.nl/c/document_library/get_file?p_l_id=273223&folderId=277142&name=DLFE-71703.pdf, for the Manual on data gathering and entering see:

https://collab.iisg.nl/c/document_library/get_file?p_l_id=11332&folderId=13951&name=DLFE-69702.pdf

for the Guideline for the Methodological paper see:

https://collab.iisg.nl/c/document_library/get_file?p_l_id=11332&folderId=13951&name=DLFE-69307.pdf

⁶ Karin Hofmeester and Christine Moll-Murata (eds.), *The Joy and Pain of Work: Global Attitudes and Valuations, 1500–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011).

- 3) The social position of the workers, especially the valuation of wage labour in comparison to other labour relations.
- 4) The valuation of free and ethical legitimation of unfree labour.
- 5) The ranking of specific occupations and professions.
- 6) The valuation and ethical legitimation of 'just' wages.

Corresponding to the sources and the level of previous research, the articles addressed these questions in varying detail. The articles took up the topics of the valuation and ethical legitimation of the gendered division of labour. Another recurrent theme was the fact that normative texts issued by ecclesiastic and secular authorities often react to (undesired) changes in labour relations, rather than evoke these changes. Instead of giving rules applicable to the actual situation – as they suggested doing – they evoked a past situation deemed ideal.

Data for forty-two different cross-sections has now become available, and much more material is in preparation. On the basis of these data sets, the first analytical comparisons of developments in different countries have been made. These results have been presented and widely discussed at various international conferences. They have led us to a set of preliminary assumptions and possible factors which can explain the observed shifts in labour relations. These explanatory factors will be tested more thoroughly in the second phase of the project (see below).

Already in its first phase, the Collaboratory influenced other projects in several ways. Presentations at international conferences, publication of its findings in print and on the Collaboratory website have, of course, speeded up this process. Firstly, the taxonomy has been adopted by two other research projects: the project of Andrei Markevich (New Economic School, Moscow) and Gijs Kessler (IISH), entitled 'Electronic Repository of Russian Historical Sciences', and the project 'Fighting for a Living' under the direction of Erik-Jan Zürcher (IISH) on military labour and the specific labour relations pertaining to this branch.⁷ Secondly, some parts of the Collaboratory will become part of larger data-gathering projects. One of them is the Clio-infra project, a collaborative effort of the University of Utrecht, the Radboud University of Nijmegen and the IISH to gather long-term worldwide data sets on economic performance, in order to address the topic of global inequality.⁸ In addition, the Collaboratory – especially its approach and methods – will be shared with the Center for Historical Information and Analysis led by Patrick Manning at the University of Pittsburg.⁹ Finally, several members of the Collaboratory have set up their own projects, largely based on the theoretical framework and methodology of the Collaboratory.

⁷ See for these projects <http://socialhistory.org/en/projects/russian-historical-statistics> and <http://socialhistory.org/en/projects/fighting-living>

⁸ See for this project http://www.clio-infra.eu/index.php/Main_Page

⁹ See for this project <http://www.dataverse.pitt.edu/announcements/>

The second phase (May 2013-May 2018): Explaining and connecting long-term shifts in labour relations worldwide: figures and valuations

Theoretical framework

Building on the achievements of the first phase, the members of the Collaboratory now want to focus on *explaining* shifts in labour relations and the accompanying shift in valuations of labour, connecting these globally where possible. The established discourse tells us that an increase of work for the market occurred throughout Northwest Europe and North, Middle, and South America. This development exhibited various gradations of freedom and choice of employer and employment, ranging from predominantly free entrepreneurship and ‘free’ wage labour east of the Atlantic, to chattel slavery in various arrangements (such as slaves owning slaves and slaves-for-hire, etc.) in the America’s.

Our first analysis has shown that these shifts were certainly not unilinear, as the African case clearly demonstrates. A move away from wage-labour producing for the market to new forms of reciprocal and unfree labour can be observed, not only in present-day Africa (where this process is often called the growth of the ‘informal sector’), but also in both Indonesia and India during the period 1650-1800.

In the seventeenth century, socio-economic conditions deteriorated in both Russia and China. In China, this involved a temporary increase of bonded labour between c. 1550 and c. 1650. In the Russian Empire, the ‘second wave’ of serfdom was of a much longer duration. Factors such as population increase in China, and the expansion of imperial territory in the Russian case, will have to be weighed up to explain these simultaneous and initially similar, yet subsequently diverging trends.

These initial findings already show that a much more systematic analysis is needed. Additional data should be included to make the picture more complete. In the second phase of our Collaboratory, we intend to make a systematic comparison of the six important explanatory factors established in the first phase of the project: political change; economic institutional change; changes in family and household patterns; geographic and social mobility; and urbanization. In making these comparisons, three important imperatives should be noted:

- Any solid explanatory theory-building should take into account both shifts and counter-shifts in labour relations, as our first analysis has shown.
- The shifts mentioned have so far been analyzed in their pure form, i.e. shifts of primary occupations and corresponding labour relations between cross-sections. However, we may suppose (and the Russian evidence is a good example here) that many shifts will become visible only when the changing combinations of occupations and the associated labour relations of workers are examined.

As the data sets do contain data on these secondary (and sometimes even tertiary) occupations and labour relations, such analysis seems to be the next logical step in the process.

- The gradual and mixed shift in labour relations has been very different for men and women, and for adults and children. Texts and other sources that reflect valuations of labour relations can help us to detect these shifts. Quantitative data on the different types of labour are often difficult to find in the sources, but articles included in *The Joy and Pain of Work* demonstrate that normative texts on women's work, and to a lesser extent on child labour, are abundant.

Our systematic analysis will be deepened by additional datasets, especially those covering the earlier cross sections for Sub-Saharan Africa, and economic macro-regions in imperial and modern India and China.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, shifts from 'reciprocal' and 'tributary' labour to 'commodified' labour producing for the market will become visible (for our definitions, see Appendix 1). In Eurasia and South America, these shifts already occurred largely before 1500. In order to collect and interpret African data on earlier cross-sections, we intend to collaborate with archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists, and geneticists. Through interdisciplinary research, we intend to obtain new insights about the valuation of labour and labour relations, which will be investigated at the same time.

The importance of labour data for economic macro-regions is best explained with an example. In early modern China, just as in Europe and the Americas, commodified labour was unevenly distributed, with a concentration alongside the Yangzi and Pearl River Deltas, and around entrepot cities on the Yangzi, especially Hankou. Through the eighteenth century, copper, silver and coal mining by the state and by small-scale private entrepreneurs intensified, while both tributary and commodified labour in the mining sector increased at the same time. These important changes, which had a large impact on the economy of the Qing Empire, remain hidden unless the macro-regions are separately studied. Taiwan can be considered a separate economic macro-region, which experienced a quite different scenario. Following a large and sustained wave of immigration from mainland China which began around 1650, the indigenous hunter-gatherer and horticultural communities in Taiwan were gradually marginalized; the male hunting and defence obligations, and 'work for the community' as a particular kind of reciprocal labour, then no longer played a quantitatively significant role. In 20th century Taiwan, unlike the socialist mainland, commodified labour for the state or the polity was neither very important nor politically encouraged. A region like Taiwan therefore needs to be treated as a distinct socio-economic entity.

Practical organization: a series of workshops on shifting labour relations

Based on our experiences in the first phase of the project, a series of well-prepared, interrelated workshops promise to be the most productive way to capitalize on what we achieved in the first phase. These workshops will not just be a goal in themselves; they will function as a 'drive mechanism' for the continuously evolving Collaboratory, just as in the first phase of the project. The workshops will also result in publications on specific themes, submitted as special issues of journals, or published as separate edited volumes. The main goal of these workshops is to *explain the shifts in labour relations and the accompanying changes in the perceptions of labour which we identified worldwide during the period 1500-2000*. We want to achieve this objective by means of a systematic comparative analysis of the six important explanatory factors singled out in the first phase of the project. During each workshop, we will compare developments between regions and cross-sections. A concluding conference will link these factors, and connect the various shifts in labour relations which were identified in different parts of the world. Wherever possible, connections will be investigated between the data sets of our project (focused on labour relations) and relevant data collections in other, related fields. We are fortunate insofar as this is sometimes possible within the framework of the Clio-infra project, which also is based at the IISH. Clio-infra includes systematic global databases on urbanization, wages and prices, marriage and household systems, gender roles, political participation, etc.¹⁰

In this part of the project, we aim to link the quantitative explorations to qualitative and theory-building endeavours. Moreover, we aim to promote the framework and the recognition of the project in the academic disciplines of socio-economic and global history. For this reason, we have invited experts who did not as yet cooperate in the more quantitatively-oriented first phase of the project to co-organize the workshops, and critically assess our approach in the second phase.

¹⁰ See <http://socialhistory.org/en/projects/clio-infra>

Workshop 1. Political change as a determinant of shifting labour relations

The academic convenors for this workshop are Prof dr Maarten Prak at Utrecht University, PD Dr. Christine Moll-Murata, lecturer at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Faculty of East Asian studies and Dr Gijs Kessler of the IISH. In this workshop, we will focus on several themes:

1. *Major political changes*, including the development of Empires, colonialism and imperialism, and how these could have a direct effect on labour regimes. They could, for example, determine the formation of institutions that established or abolished slavery, the slave trade, labour markets, and entrepreneurship. In the terminology of the Collaboratory, this pertains to labour relations ('labrels') 17, 14 and 18, as well as 3 and 12 (see Appendix 1).
2. *Taxation* of income from work in money and kind by the polity, as well as competition between polities over labour resources, could lead to the establishment of specific labour relations such as forced labour or tributary labour in various forms (labrels 8-11).
3. Political changes could lead to *changes in labour regulations* affecting all types of labour relations.
4. Simultaneously, these political changes could determine the *ideological legitimations and perceptions* of the labour relations mentioned above.
5. The development of the *welfare state* may have led to more people not having to work (labrel 1), as the length of their education was extended, the duration of their working life shortened because of a pension system and rising life expectancy.

Workshop 2. Economic institutional change as a determinant of shifting labour relations

The academic convenors for this workshop are Prof. Dr Jan Luiten van Zanden, University of Utrecht, and Pim de Zwart M.A., IISH.

The development of markets and market institutions, including financial systems, is generally considered to have been a stimulus for the development of wage labour, either for private companies or for the state (in our taxonomy, labrels 14.1-3 and 18.1-3). However, numerous examples in our data sets show that this effect does not always operate. If we consider the gender division of labour, we find that more men than women worked as wage-workers.

The development of market economies also led to an increase of self-employment, to flexibilization of the labour market that might result in various combinations of waged work, and to self-employment within waged work. Here, it is important to include shifts in economic ideologies, political economy, and (religious) value systems, including ideas about the value of 'just' labour contracts.

Prof. Dr Jan Luiten van Zanden, professor of Social and Economic History at the University of Utrecht, president of the International Economic History Association and director of Clio-infra, has advised the

Collaboratory in all its phases. Two of his students, Dr Daan Marks and Pim de Zwart, M.A., junior research fellow at the IISH, have made major contributions to the Java and Ceylon databases respectively. Pim de Zwart will join Prof. Van Zanden as a junior researcher in the organization of this workshop.

Workshop 3. Family and marriage patterns as a determinant of shifting labour relations

Our approach uses a broad definition of labour, which includes the work done by women and children for the household and the family firm. It allows us to analyze labour relations not only at the individual level, but also at a household level. This gives us the opportunity to analyze the influence of family and marriage patterns on shifting labour relations. We will do so by looking at changes in reciprocal labour relations within the household (labrel 5 and 6) and the small family firm (labrel 12).

The shifts in labour relations will be analyzed in close connection with evidence about changing valuations of work, including changing ideas about the appropriateness of certain types work for the various family members according to their gender and age.

Workshop 4. Social mobility as a determinant of shifting labour relations

Within one generation, or intergenerationally, people can change their labour relationship – if they have the freedom to do so. Social mobility in that sense can be viewed as the aggregate effect of innumerable individual and household decisions to change, escape from, and/or aspire to specific labour relations and specific types of remuneration – decisions influenced by changing valuations of work. Mobility can occur, for example, from work for the household to work for the market, or from wage labour to self-employment or work as salaried employee. Downward social mobility can also lead to mobility between different labour relations.

Workshop 5. Geographical mobility as a determinant of shifting labour relations

Geographic mobility can be seen as the aggregate effect of innumerable individual and household decisions to migrate between (and within) different countries and regions, in order to improve their working conditions and labour relations. Yet people can do so only if they have the freedom to make a decision to move. Forced migration also occurs. Its most extreme form is the enslavement of large parts of the local population, and their shipment from one part of the world to another.

Workshop 6. Urbanization as a determinant of shifting labour relations

From a labour history perspective, urbanization can be regarded as an outcome of labour-specialization (including domestic slavery); of a choice between employers; and as an opportunity for collective action. At

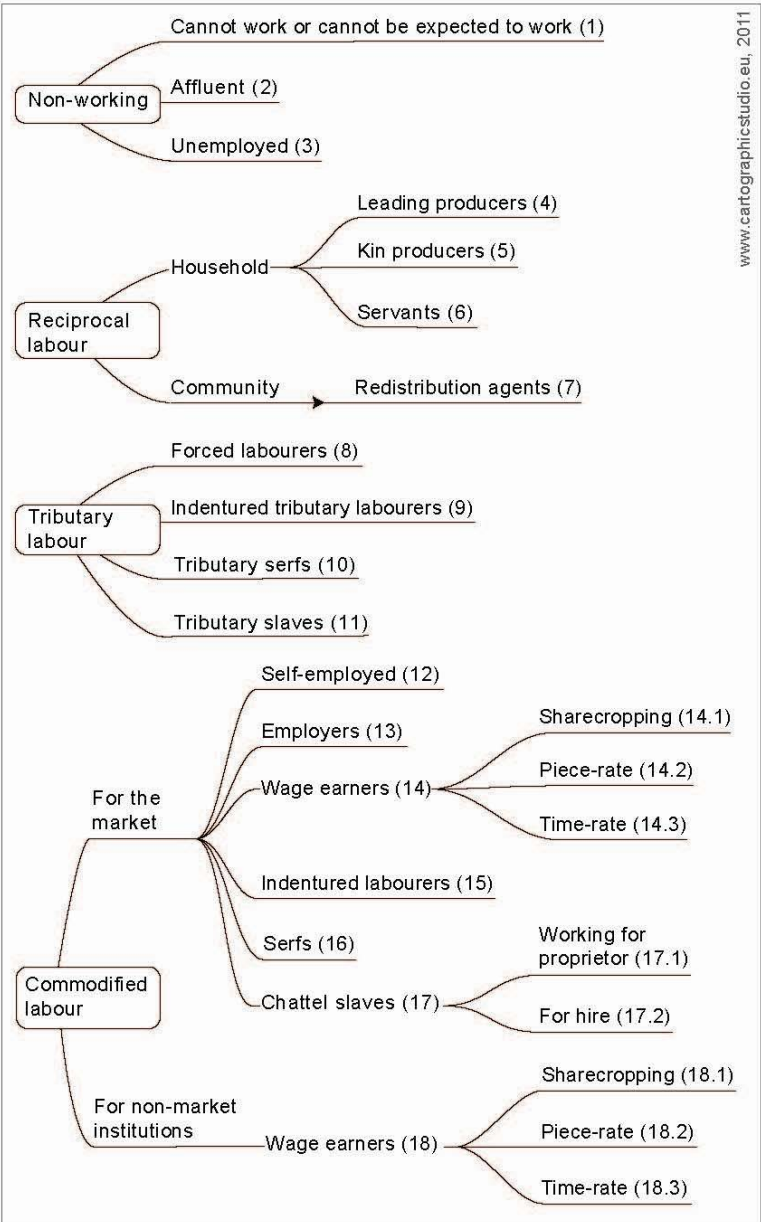
the same time, in the 20th century we can witness urbanization combined with a shift from wage labour to self-employment in parts of the economy, often designated as ‘the informal sector’.

Workshop 7. Worldwide interconnections between the developments of the six major determinants and their influence on shifting labour relations

One of the major challenges of global history, in our case global labour history, is to determine the *interconnection* of changes which we can witness around the world. During this final workshop, we are in a position to analyze the results of the previous workshops that mapped the influence of the six explanatory factors mentioned above, in various parts of the world and at various cross-sections in time. In this workshop, we want to connect the various developments and their causes, to establish if and how changes in one part of the world affected changes in another part of the world. When, for example, the trans-Atlantic trade stagnated during the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865 – which shaped the destinies of North American slaves (labrel 17) – the resulting Lancashire ‘cotton famine’ meant not only the pauperization of British workers (labrel 14). It also increased cotton production in Egypt and India (labrel 12).

The papers presented at these workshops will all use the same theoretical framework and practical set-up, which makes their collection a coherent unit, suitable for publication as a special theme of a journal, or separate edited volumes. Additional online publication of material presented at this workshop will also be pursued.

Appendix 1: The taxonomy of labour relations, showing types of labour relations (labrels) 1 to 18 in brackets



Definitions of Labour Relations

As a starting point for each geographical unit and cross-section, we take the whole population, and determine which part is as a rule not working, and, consequently, what part is working (these calculations are often based on estimates, rather than on direct data). The non-working population is divided into three categories:

- Those **who cannot work or cannot be expected to work** (because they are either too young, too old, disabled or studying).
- Those who do not have to work (because they are **affluent**).
- Those who wish to work but have no job (**unemployed**).

A central focus of the Collaboratory is the possible impact of the market economy. To help analyze that influence, the working population is also divided into three categories:

- Workers who provide labour within the household and the community are subsumed within the category **reciprocal labour**.
- Others are obliged to work for the polity (often the state, though it could also be a feudal or religious authority). Their labour is not commodified, and is owned by the polity. Those workers are included in the category **tributary labour**.
- One of the main trends we examine is the commodification of labour. The employer who 'buys' labour power may produce for the market, or for non-market institutions. Therefore, the category **commodified labour** is subdivided into those working for the market, and those working for public institutions *which may nevertheless produce for the market* (though not for the gain of private individuals). In some statistical sources, those comprising the category of commodified labour are referred to as 'gainful workers'.

Combining all these categories, we arrive at the following taxonomy of labour relations (labrels):

Non-working:

1. *Cannot work or cannot be expected to work*: those who cannot work, because they are too young (≤ 6 years), too old (≥ 75 years),¹¹ disabled, or are studying.
2. *Affluent*: those who are sufficiently prosperous, so that they do not need to work for a living (rentiers, etc.).

¹¹ These minimum and maximum ages are very much culturally determined. If these differ greatly for a certain region or a certain cross-section, this difference is indicated in the database.

3. *Unemployed*: although ‘unemployment’ is very much a nineteenth-century (and, especially, twentieth-century) concept, we do distinguish between those in employment, and those wishing to work but who cannot find employment.

Working:

Reciprocal labour:

Within the household:

4. *Leading household producers*: heads of self-sufficient households (these include family-based and non-kin-based forms, such as monasteries and palaces). In many households after 1500, ‘self-sufficiency’ can no longer have been complete. Basic foodstuffs (e.g. salt), and materials for tools and weapons (e.g. iron), were acquired through barter or monetary transactions – even in tribal societies which were, by 1500, only marginally exposed to market production.¹² ‘Self-sufficiency’ in our sense, which occurs in labour relations 4, 5, and 6, can include small-scale market transactions that aim at sustaining households, rather than accumulating capital by way of profiting from exchange-value.¹³
5. *Household kin producers*: subordinate kin (men, women, and children) contributing to the maintenance of self-sufficient households.
6. *Household servants*: subordinate kin (men, women, and children) contributing to the maintenance of self-sufficient households. This category does not refer to household servants who earn a salary, and who are free to leave their employer of their own volition, but instead to servants in feudal autarchic households.

Within the community:

7. *Community-based redistribution agents*: persons who perform tasks for the local community, in exchange for communally provided remuneration in kind – such as food, accommodation, and services, or a plot of land and seed to grow food on their own. Examples of this type of labour include work under the Indian *jajmani* system, hunting and defence by Taiwanese aborigines, or communal work in nomadic and sedentary tribes in the Middle East and North Africa. In the case of the *jajmani* workers, hereditary structures form the basis of the

¹² According to Amalendu Guha, “The Medieval Economy of Assam”, in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of India* (Cambridge, 1982), vol. 1, p. 487, “village self-sufficiency in a total sense was a myth”, even for the relatively remote sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Assam.

¹³ Marcel van der Linden, “Global Labour History and ‘the Modern World-System’”, *International Review of Social History*, 46 (2001), pp. 423-459, p. 452, referring to G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx’s Theory of History: A Defence* (Oxford, 1978). See too Akira Hayami, Osamu Saitô, and Ronald P. Toby (eds.), *The Economic History of Japan, 1600-1990*, Vol. 1: *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1859* (Oxford, 2004), who argue in a similar sense for a broader concept of “self-sufficiency”, which allows for market production as long as accumulation is not the basic goal of such transactions.

engagement, while in Taiwan the criteria for fulfilling community-based labour are gender (male) and age (between the ages of six and forty).

Tributary labour:

8. *Forced labourers*: those who have to work for the polity, and are remunerated mainly in kind. They include corvée labourers, conscripted soldiers and sailors, and convicts.
9. *Indentured tributary labourers*: those contracted to work as unfree labourers for the polity, for a specific period of time, to pay off a debt. For example, German regiments (the 'Hessians') in the service of the British Empire, who fought against the American colonists during the American Revolutionary War.
10. *Tributary serfs*: those working for the polity, because they are bound to the land owned by the polity, and compelled to perform specified tasks for a specified maximum number of days.
11. *Tributary slaves*: those who are owned by, and work for the polity indefinitely (deprived of the right to leave, to refuse to work, or to receive compensation for their labour). Forced labourers in concentration camps are an example.

Commodified labour:

For the market, private employment:

12. *Self-employed*: those who produce goods or services for market institutions, possibly in cooperation with other household members or no more than three wage labourers, apprentices, serfs, or slaves (for example, peasants, craftsmen, petty traders, transporters, as well as those in a profession). *Nota bene*: All members of a family working under a putting-out system are counted as self-employed producers.¹⁴
13. *Employers*: those who produce goods or services for market institutions by employing more than three wage labourers, indentured labourers, serfs, or slaves.
14. *Market wage earners*: wage earners who produce commodities or services for the market, in exchange mainly for monetary remuneration.
 - 14.1. Sharecropping wage earners: remuneration is a fixed share of total output (including temporarily unemployed persons).
 - 14.2. Piece-rate wage earners: remuneration at piece rates (including temporarily unemployed persons).
 - 14.3. Time-rate wage earners: remuneration at time rates (including temporarily unemployed persons).

¹⁴ As long as they are ≥ 6 and ≤ 75 .

15. *Indentured labourers for the market*: those contracted to work as unfree labourers for an employer for a specific period of time, to pay off a debt. They include indentured labourers in the British Empire after the abolition of slavery.
16. *Serfs working for the market*: those bound to the land and compelled to perform specified tasks for a specified maximum number of days (for example, the serfs working on large grain-growing estates of the nobility east of the Elbe).
17. *Chattel slaves who produce for the market*: those owned by their employers (masters). They are deprived of the right to leave, the right to refuse to work, and/or the right to receive compensation for their labour.
 - 17.1 Sharecropping chattel slaves working for their proprietor (for example, plantation slaves working in the Caribbean).
 - 17.2 Slaves for hire (for example, agricultural or domestic labour in eighteenth-century Virginia).

For non-market institutions that may produce for the market:

18. *Wage earners employed by non-market institutions*, such as the state, state-owned companies, the Church, or production cooperatives, who produce or render services for a free or a regulated market.
 - 18.1 *Sharecropping wage earners*: remuneration is a fixed share of total output (including the temporarily unemployed).
 - 18.2 *Piece-rate wage earners*: receiving remuneration at piece rates, including temporarily unemployed (for example, hired artisans in Chinese imperial silk weaving enterprises during the Ming and Qing dynasties).
 - 18.3 *Time-rate wage earners*: remuneration at time rates, (for example, hired artisans on Chinese imperial construction projects during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and workers and employees in twentieth-century state enterprises).

