

On a problem for workplace democracy and its solution via a workers' dictatorship

Philipp Stehr (Utrecht
University)

13th Braga Meetings



The plan

1. Democratizing workplaces: the debate



The plan

1. Democratizing workplaces: the debate
2. Democratizing workplaces: a problem



The plan

1. Democratizing workplaces: the debate
2. Democratizing workplaces: a problem
3. A scheme tackling similar problems



The plan

1. Democratizing workplaces: the debate
2. Democratizing workplaces: a problem
3. A scheme tackling similar problems
4. Transposing that scheme to the corporation



The plan

1. Democratizing workplaces: the debate
2. Democratizing workplaces: a problem
3. A scheme tackling similar problems
4. Transposing that scheme to the corporation
5. Normative justification



Democratizing workplaces I

An accepted position in the philosophical debate:

Workplaces are unjustifiably undemocratic and should be democratized



Democratizing workplaces II

Broadly two paths to democratization:

1. Relatively minor changes: rule-of-law type protections (Anderson); transforming a liberal market economy towards a social-democratic kind of system

Put aside here: Economic democracy á la Schweickart/Malleson



Democratizing workplaces II

Broadly two paths to democratization:

1. Relatively minor changes: rule-of-law type protections (Anderson); transforming a liberal market economy towards a social-democratic kind of system
2. More radical proposals: Novel institutions that give more power to workers. Property-owning democracy, Ferrerras's two-chamber system etc.

Put aside here: Economic democracy á la Schweickart/Malleson



A blind spot

- institutional designs are very focused on the legal sphere: What laws to pass to improve things



A blind spot

- institutional designs are very focused on the legal sphere: What laws to pass to improve things
- much less attention to (roughly) the sociology of the workplace



A blind spot

- institutional designs are very focused on the legal sphere: What laws to pass to improve things
- much less attention to (roughly) the sociology of the workplace
- perhaps a position like top-down legalistic liberalism? (Cf. B. Williams's critique)



A problem: the social complexity of democratization

- democratization will not only have to be passed in law but also organized in practice



A problem: the social complexity of democratization

- democratization will not only have to be passed in law but also organized in practice
- but capitalists will have no interest in democratization



A problem: the social complexity of democratization

- democratization will not only have to be passed in law but also organized in practice
- but capitalists will have no interest in democratization
- it is, per definition, a scheme to limit their control



A problem: the social complexity of democratization

- democratization will not only have to be passed in law but also organized in practice
- but capitalists will have no interest in democratization
- it is, per definition, a scheme to limit their control
- but we might need their cooperation in democratization: skills, assets, knowledge etc.



A problem: the social complexity of democratization

- democratization will not only have to be passed in law but also organized in practice
- but capitalists will have no interest in democratization
- it is, per definition, a scheme to limit their control
- but we might need their cooperation in democratization: skills, assets, knowledge etc.
- or at least their non-sabotage!



Standing on the shoulder of giants



Figure 1: The giants

A prototype for a solution?

The dictatorship of the proletariat was conceptualized to tackle (a version of) this problem!

- a transitional institution to secure the revolution



A prototype for a solution?

The dictatorship of the proletariat was conceptualized to tackle (a version of) this problem!

- a transitional institution to secure the revolution
- using the instruments of the bourgeois state



A prototype for a solution?

The dictatorship of the proletariat was conceptualized to tackle (a version of) this problem!

- a transitional institution to secure the revolution
- using the instruments of the bourgeois state
- temporarily retaining an unjust state to enable transition to justice



A rough sketch for a solution

A workers' dictatorship in the business corporation!

- a transitional institution to secure democratization



A rough sketch for a solution

A workers' dictatorship in the business corporation!

- a transitional institution to secure democratization
- using the instruments of the undemocratic corporation



A rough sketch for a solution

A workers' dictatorship in the business corporation!

- a transitional institution to secure democratization
- using the instruments of the undemocratic corporation
- temporarily retaining a somewhat undemocratic state to enable democratization



Detailing the solution

- dictatorial competencies for a worker-elected council



Detailing the solution

- dictatorial competencies for a worker-elected council
- using the existing powers of the corporate board(s) and the hierarchy below it



Detailing the solution

- dictatorial competencies for a worker-elected council
- using the existing powers of the corporate board(s) and the hierarchy below it
- the temporary disenfranchisement of capitalists



Detailing the solution

- dictatorial competencies for a worker-elected council
- using the existing powers of the corporate board(s) and the hierarchy below it
- the temporary disenfranchisement of capitalists
- the task of securing cooperation, establishing independence for the workers and protecting against sabotage



Detailing the solution

- dictatorial competencies for a worker-elected council
- using the existing powers of the corporate board(s) and the hierarchy below it
- the temporary disenfranchisement of capitalists
- the task of securing cooperation, establishing independence for the workers and protecting against sabotage
- a strong mandate to work towards its own superfluity



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position
- but workers lack the background distribution that causes dependency



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position
- but workers lack the background distribution that causes dependency
- what then can they do to secure cooperation?



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position
- but workers lack the background distribution that causes dependency
- what then can they do to secure cooperation?
- financial incentives + moral consciousness



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position
- but workers lack the background distribution that causes dependency
- what then can they do to secure cooperation?
- financial incentives + moral consciousness
- outside of that: a normative problem of justice and coercion! (Cf. Stanczyk 2012)



The powers of the worker dictatorship

- some powers come with the position
- but workers lack the background distribution that causes dependency
- what then can they do to secure cooperation?
- financial incentives + moral consciousness
- outside of that: a normative problem of justice and coercion! (Cf. Stanczyk 2012)
- a practical problem of state support



Justifying a solution

Three dimensions of justice in transition:

1. Self-liberation



Justifying a solution

Three dimensions of justice in transition:

1. Self-liberation
2. Just rule



Justifying a solution

Three dimensions of justice in transition:

1. Self-liberation
2. Just rule
3. Public willing



Final remarks

- the dependence on legal regulation



Final remarks

- the dependence on legal regulation
- the accessibility question



The end

Thank you for your attention!

