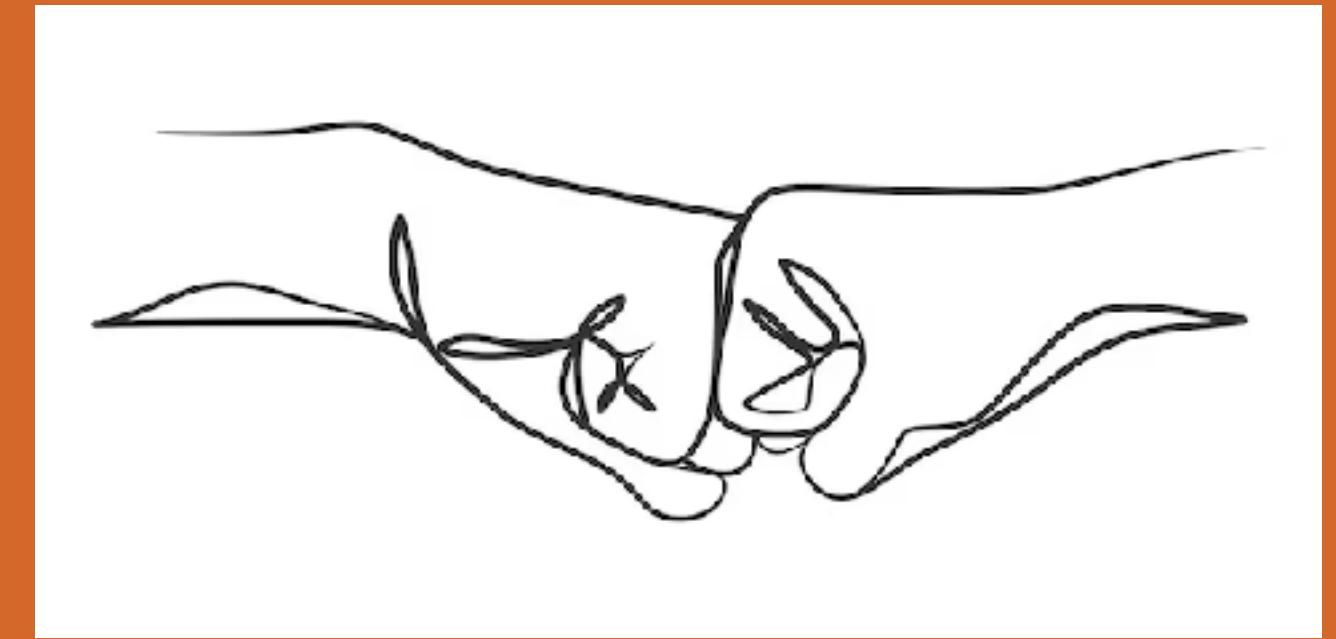


**SOLIDARITY**



**DR. WILLIAM LAYHER**

**GERMAN TEACHER, ST. LOUIS MO**



# OVERVIEW

**WELCOME  
ESSAY CONTEST DETAILS  
WARM UPS  
SOLIDARITY - CONCEPT &  
HISTORY  
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION**

**IF “SOLIDARITY” SORT OF MEANS**

**“IN PARTNERSHIP WITH”**

**THEN ...**

# FAMOUS PARTNERSHIPS

# TOM &



# BATMAN &



# LADYBUG GIRL &

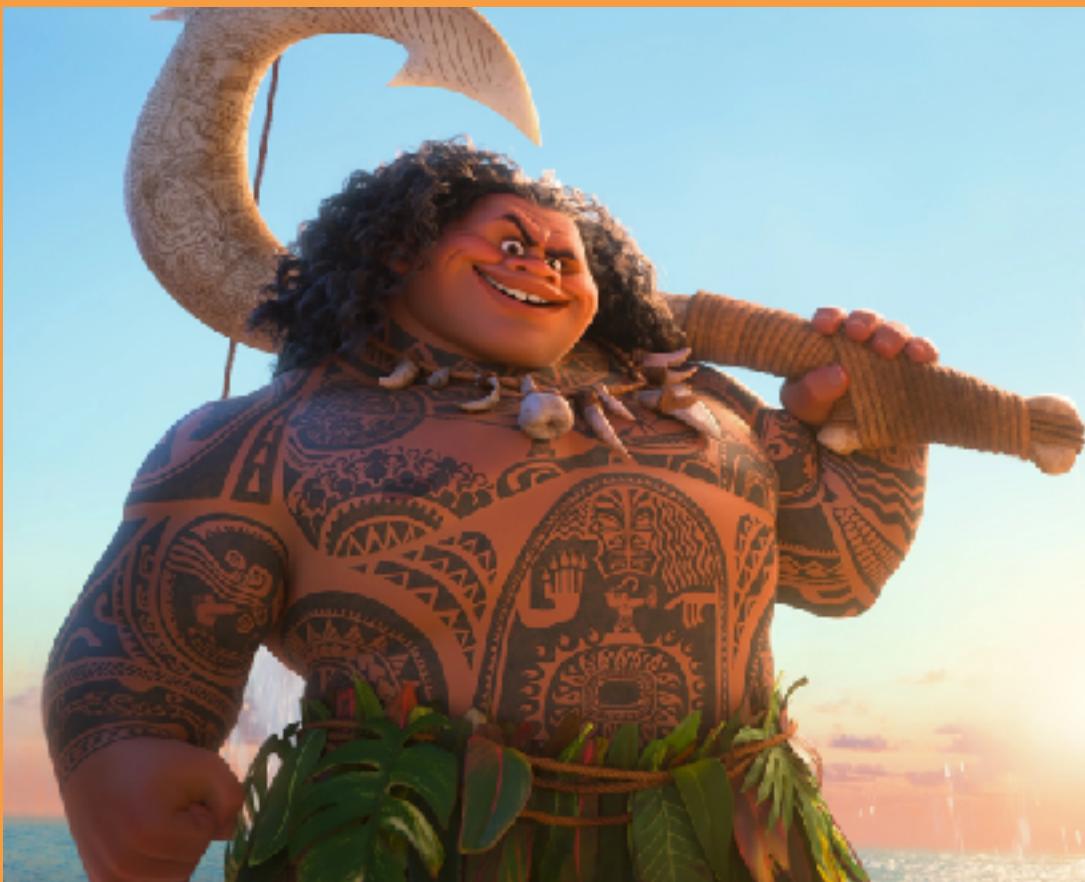


# FAST &





# MOANA &





# MOANA &

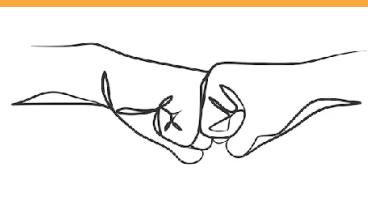


THEY WORK  
TOGETHER, THEY  
HAVE A PLAN...

BUT SOLIDARITY IS  
MORE THAN THIS...

# SOLIDARITY

# DIE SOLIDARITÄT



EINE BESTANDSAUFAHME

**WHAT DO YOU ASSOCIATE WITH  
“SOLIDARITY”?**

**TYPE YOUR RESPONSES (AT LEAST 4)  
INTO THE CHAT**

<b>Beisammensein</b> <b>Togetherness</b>	<b>Verantwortung</b> <b>Responsibility</b>	<b>Gerechtigkeit</b> <b>Justice</b>
<b>Hass</b> <b>Hatred</b>	<b>Mut</b> <b>Courage</b>	<b>Verantwortung</b> <b>Responsibility</b>
<b>Angepasstheit</b> <b>Conformity</b>	<b>Engagement</b> <b>Commitment</b>	<b>Toleranz</b> <b>Tolerance</b>
<b>Gemeinwohl</b> <b>The Common Good</b>	<b>Eigennutz</b> <b>Self-Interest</b>	<b>Freiheit</b> <b>Freedom</b>
<b>Menschenrechte</b> <b>Human Rights</b>	<b>Kleinmut</b> <b>Timidity</b>	<b>Selbstlosigkeit</b> <b>Selflessness</b>
<b>Vorurteil</b> <b>Prejudice</b>	<b>Bereicherung</b> <b>Gain</b>	<b>Unterstützung</b> <b>Support</b>
<b>Fremdenfeindlichkeit</b> <b>Xenophobia</b>	<b>Gewinnorientierung</b> <b>Profit Motive</b>	<b>Respekt</b> <b>Respect</b>
<b>Nächstenliebe</b> <b>Altruism</b>	<b>Menschenwürde</b> <b>Human Dignity</b>	<b>Rücksichtslosigkeit</b> <b>Ruthlessness</b>
<b>Freiwilligkeit</b> <b>Of One's Own Free Will</b>	<b>Überzeugung</b> <b>Firm Belief</b>	<b>Menschlichkeit</b> <b>Humanity</b>

# RESULTS

# WHAT DOESN'T FIT?

SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS  
ABOUT A TERM THAT  
YOU DON'T ASSOCIATE  
WITH SOLIDARITY

Beisammensein <b>Togetherness</b>	Verantwortung <b>Responsibility</b>	Gerechtigkeit <b>Justice</b>
Hass <b>Hatred</b>	Mut <b>Courage</b>	Verantwortung <b>Responsibility</b>
Anangepasstheit <b>Conformity</b>	Engagement <b>Commitment</b>	Toleranz <b>Tolerance</b>
Gemeinwohl <b>The Common Good</b>	Eigennutz <b>Self-Interest</b>	Freiheit <b>Freedom</b>
Menschenrechte <b>Human Rights</b>	Kleinmut <b>Timidity</b>	Selbstlosigkeit <b>Selflessness</b>
Vorurteil <b>Prejudice</b>	Bereicherung <b>Gain</b>	Unterstützung <b>Support</b>
Fremdenfeindlichkeit <b>Xenophobia</b>	Gewinnorientierung <b>Profit Motive</b>	Respekt <b>Respect</b>
Nächstenliebe <b>Altruism</b>	Menschenwürde <b>Human Dignity</b>	Rücksichtslosigkeit <b>Ruthlessness</b>
Freiwilligkeit <b>Of One's Own Free Will</b>	Überzeugung <b>Firm Belief</b>	Menschlichkeit <b>Humanity</b>

MANY STANDARD DEFINITIONS OF SOLIDARITY  
INCLUDE THE CONCEPTS OF

---

UNITY (EINIGKEIT)

MUTUAL-NESS (GEGENSEITIGKEIT)

INDEBTEDNESS (VERBINDLICHKEIT)

---



EACH IS MUTUALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF A COMMON GOAL, A SHARED PURPOSE

# HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

1. CHOCTAW NATION
2. FREDRICK DOUGLAS
3. ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT



# IRISH-CHOCTAW SOLIDARITY

1847

THE CHOCTAW NATION – TRAIL OF TEARS

IRISH NATION - POTATO FAMINE



# IRISH-CHOCTAW SOLIDARITY

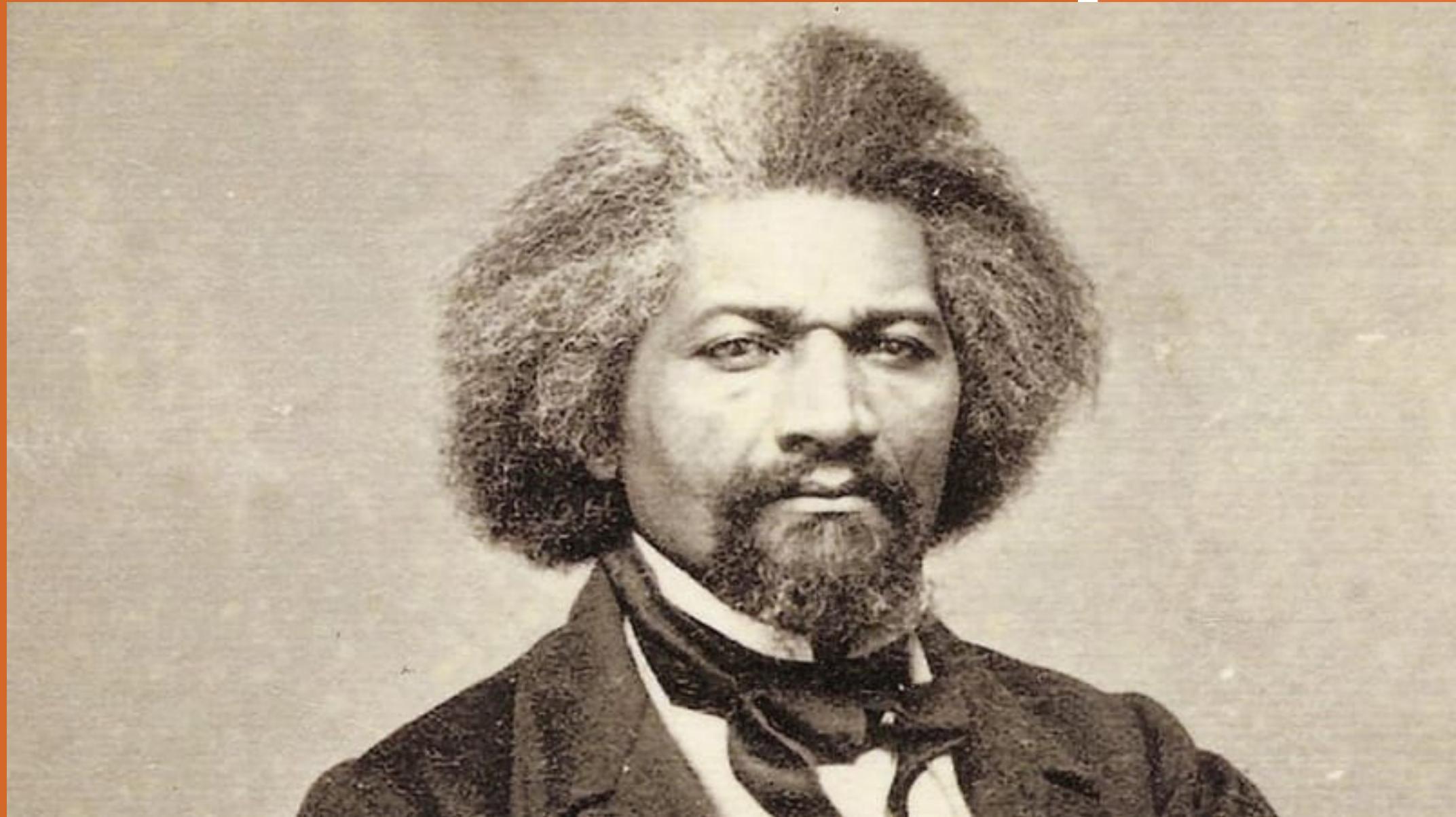
1847

THE CHOCTAW NATION DONATED MONEY (EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD LITTLE) TO SUPPORT AN IRISH COUNTY DURING THE POTATO FAMINE

YEARS LATER, THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND COMMEMORATES THE EVENT WITH A SCULPTURE IN OKLAHOMA

# FREDRICK DOUGLASS SOLIDARITY

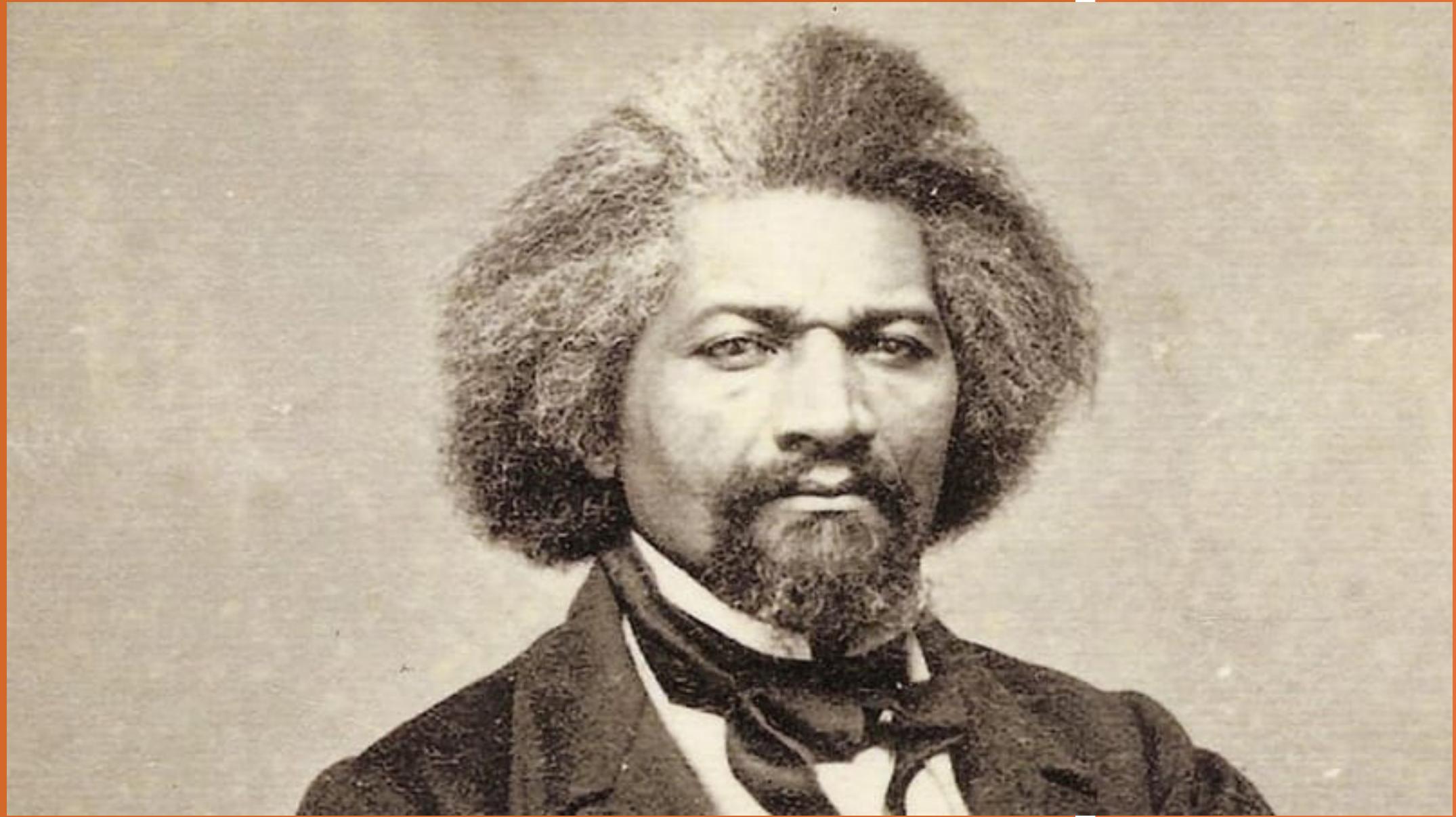
1869



OPPOSITION TO RESTRICTIONS ON CHINESE  
IMMIGRATION TO THE USA

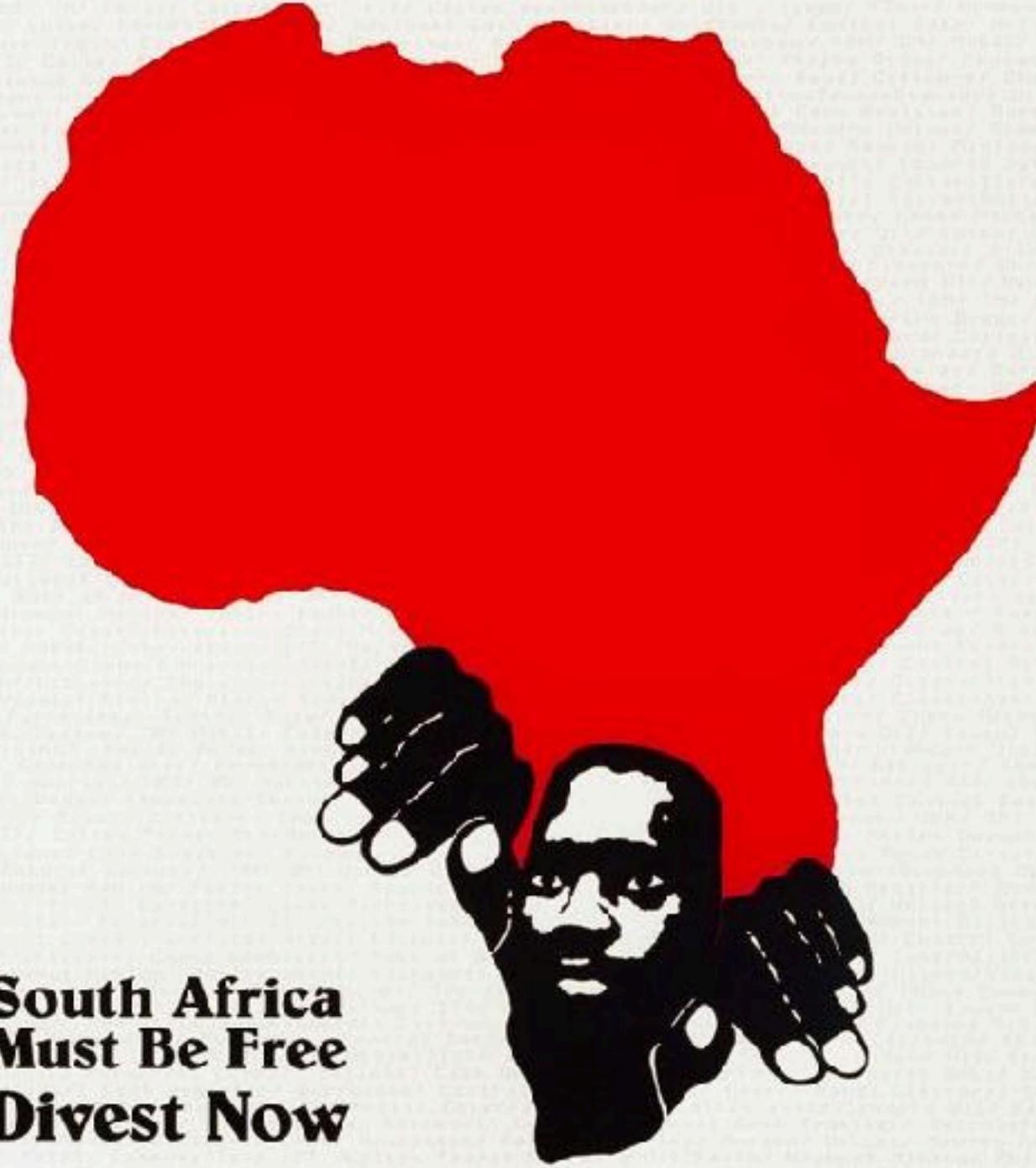
# FREDRICK DOUGLASS SOLIDARITY

1869



“IT IS THIS GREAT RIGHT [OF COMMON HUMANITY] THAT I ASSERT FOR THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE, AND FOR ALL OTHER VARIETIES OF MEN EQUALLY WITH YOURSELVES, NOW AND FOREVER. I KNOW OF NO RIGHTS OF RACE SUPERIOR TO THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY, AND WHEN THERE IS A SUPPOSED CONFLICT BETWEEN HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS, IT IS SAFE TO GO TO THE SIDE OF HUMANITY.”

**End Apartheid**



# **ANTI-APARTHEID SOLIDARITY 1959-1980'S**

**1961 - SOUTH AFRICA FORCED TO LEAVE THE  
BRITISH COMMONWEALTH**

**1962 - U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY TRADE BOYCOTT**

**1963 - ARMS BAN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA**

# UNITY

# INDEBTEDNESS

# MUTUAL-NESS

**“WHAT HAPPENS ABROAD ALSO HAS AN EFFECT ON OURSELVES.”**

**“OUR OWN VALUES ARE AT STAKE, AND IF WE FAIL TO STAND UP FOR THEM NOW, IT MIGHT BE TOO LATE TO DEFEND THEM AT HOME”.**

Dr. Caroline Moine, Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin

# KEY QUESTIONS:

- What brings people to engage in collective political struggle across long distances, hard borders and perceived boundaries?
- How might solidarity movements challenge the positions and actions of powerful states and international systems of oppression?
- What can it mean to be ‘in solidarity’ with a geographically distant cause or liberation struggle?
- Why do some causes win the support of progressive peoples and movements around the world, while others might not?

# CONSIDER THE

---

## PREPOSITIONS

SOLIDARITY

SOLIDARITY

AMONG

WITH

# SOLIDARITY

# AMONG

Among = coherence and overlap within similar social /economic groups, working on common purpose from slightly different angles

# SOLIDARITY

# AMONG

Example: Anti-Nazi Resistance movement in Denmark during WWII

# SOLIDARITY | AMONG

Example: Anti-Nazi Resistance movement in Denmark during WWII

Danish communists & Danish evangelical groups unite in Resistance to end the Nazi occupation of Denmark.

- We come to each other's aid
- We act amongst & for one another: principle of reciprocity
- We face the same challenges

# SOLIDARITY WITH

With = not shared or reciprocal arrangement, symmetry not required. Could be from a distance, or completely one-sided.

# SOLIDARITY WITH

Example: An individual or a club writes letters to support the members of a democratic political party in a distant land, who were expelled from their country by a junta.

# SOLIDARITY WITH

You and your target group do not overlap socially, geographically, economically.  
Their challenges are not your challenges.  
The other group may not even be aware of your help.

# SOLIDARITY WITH

Done for reasons of

- Compassion
- Empathy
- Reduction of harm
- Advancement of that community's goals

# CONSIDER THE

---

ACTIONS

# SOLIDARITY IS...

FUNDING

SHARING

RAISING AWARENESS

URGING

CRITICIZING

CONDAMNING

DEMANDING

“FIGHTING  
FOR THE  
CAUSE”

# SOLIDARITY IS...

FUNDING

SHARING

RAISING AWARENESS

URGING

CRITICIZING

CONDAMNING

DEMANDING

“FIGHTING  
FOR THE  
CAUSE”

Each of these carries a different dynamic, elicits a different response

# SOLIDARITY IS...

## FUNDING

Example:

If the Red Cross gets \$50 from you for every FEMA flood...

# SOLIDARITY IS...

HOW TO DRAW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN

sympathy

support

solidarity

# CONSIDER THE

---



POSTURE

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE

BLATANT VS. COVERT

SANCTIONED VS. DISCOURAGED

**UNILATERAL (I STAND BY YOU)**

**BILATERAL (WE STAND BY EACH OTHER)**

**MULTILATERAL (LOTS OF US IN THIS TOGETHER)**

No child should live in hunger

No child in this disputed border region should live in hunger

No child of this dispersed ethnic group expelled from their homeland  
should live in hunger

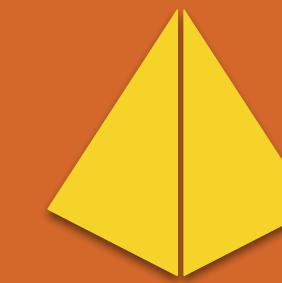
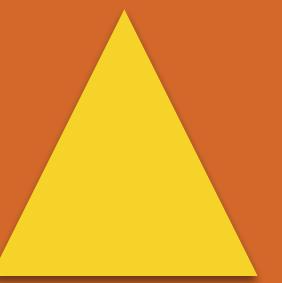
# CONSIDER THE

---

## DIMENSIONS

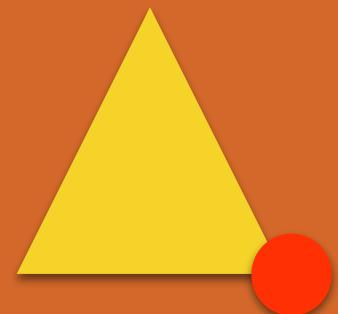
# CONSIDER THE

## DIMENSIONS

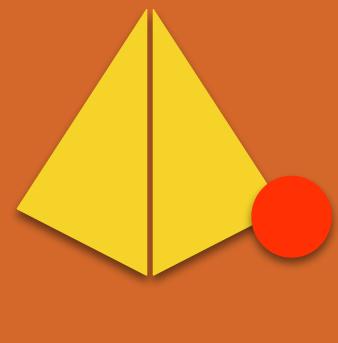


# CONSIDER THE

---



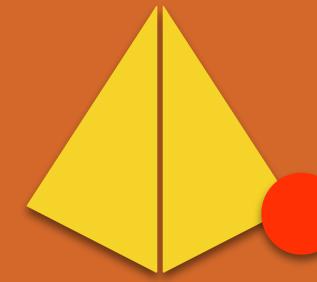
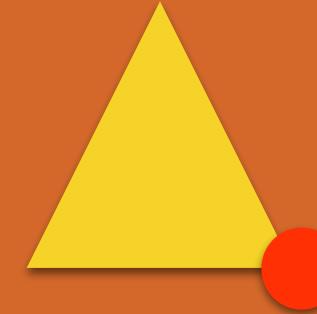
Two actors (groups, nations) acting in Solidarity  
work in this moment to achieve their common goal



Two actors (groups, nations) acting in Solidarity  
work in this moment to achieve their common goal  
at some point in the future

# CONSIDER THE

---



The difference is TIME  
Flat / immediate  
vs.  
Deep / progressing

**LET'S SHIFT GEARS FOR A MOMENT ...**

**PAUSE FOR Q & A**

BEGINNING AGAIN WITH A QUESTION ABOUT  
SOLIDARITY –

SO IS IT THE GROUP OR THE GOAL?

**SO IS IT THE GROUP OR THE GOAL?  
CAN WE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TWO?**

# SOLIDARITY IS...

INHERENTLY POLITICAL  
(WHICH MEANS: CHOOSING A SIDE AND  
ADVOCATING FOR A PARTICULAR OUTCOME)

# SOLIDARITY IS....

Sally Scholz: “Political solidarity arises in opposition to something; it is a movement for social change that may occur at many levels of social existence. ... Natural disasters may inspire strong sentiments and even bonds of connection, but they do not inspire political solidarity. Political solidarity ... has a social justice content or aim; it opposes injustice, oppression, tyranny, and social vulnerabilities.” (Scholz 2008: 54)

# SOLIDARITY IS...

From this vantage point, solidarity is focused on attacking injustice. It is oppositional, also essentially and undeniably political. It supports the out-groups and aids them in their struggle to shoulder an unjust burden and – ultimately – to throw it off.

# SO ... WHAT IS ITS VALUE?

To the extent that we could measure solidarity's value – we must ask:

- What parameters are we measuring?
- And ... its value to whom?

# VALUE = IMAGINING AN ALTERNATIVE EQUALITY

For Kolers, acting in solidarity means that “we are not only working to (teleologically) bring about the end of oppression; rather, we *constitutively embody a non-oppressive alternative world – even if, as is likely, our joint efforts ultimately fail, in part or in whole.*” (Kolers 2016: 123–4)

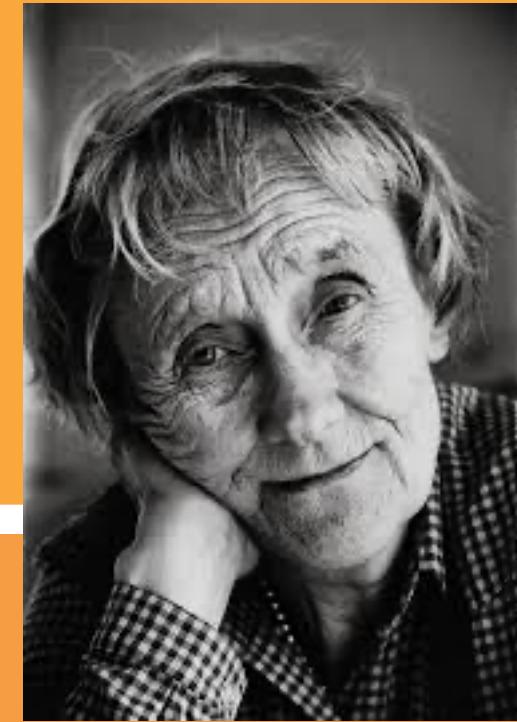
# VALUE = JOINT AGENCY

For Sangiovanni, acting in solidarity is “not just a means of realizing objectives that we would otherwise be incapable of achieving, but also constitutive of a new kind of social unity among strangers – a unity grounded in a sense of collective resolve and joint responsibility. This social unity has, at its core, a common recognition that our individual flourishing inevitably depends on the actions of myriad others in an extensive division of labor, and hence that the flourishing of all is necessary for the flourishing of each.”

# VALUE = JOINT AGENCY

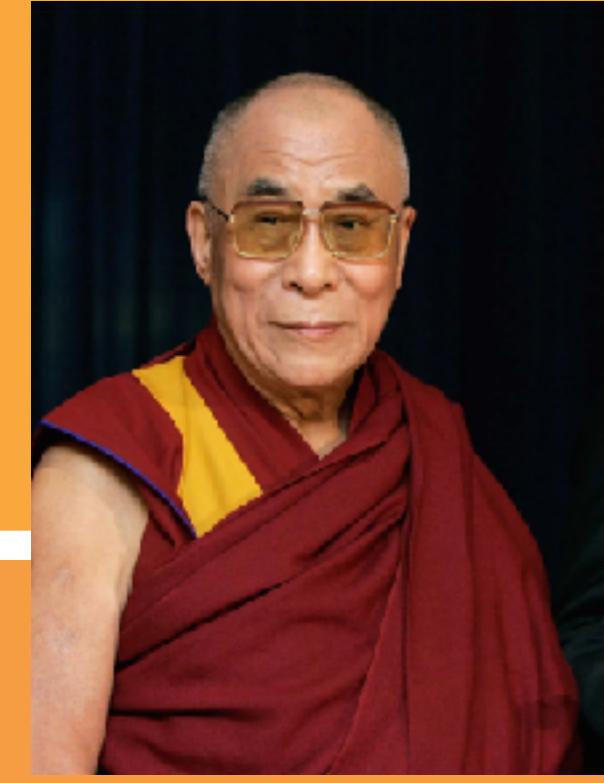
Sangiovanni goes on to write about mutual accountability. “Once our skills are developed and exercised collaboratively, we also begin to relish the mutual accountability to others that our collaborative pursuit requires. We acquire obligations to others; we rely on one another; we begin to trust each other; we develop and apply standards to each other that are intrinsic to our activity and the norms governing it. The mutual obligations and mutual subjection to shared norms are welcomed as a reflection of our joint commitment to the ends we pursue together.”

**SOLIDARITY  
IN OTHER  
WORDS**



ASTRID LINDGREN

ES IST GEFÄHRLICH, ZU LANGE ZU SCHWEIGEN. DIE ZUNGE VERWELKT, WENN  
MAN SIE NICHT GEBRAUCHT.



DALAI LAMA

MIT ANDEREN MENSCHEN ZUSAMMEN ERREICHEN WIR MEHR ALS ALLEINE.



## DIE “WEIE ROSE”

ZERREISST DEN MANTEL DER GLEICHGLTIGKEIT, DEN IHR UM EUER HERZ  
GELEGT HABT.  
WENN JEDER WARTET, BIS DER ANDERE ANFNGT, WIRD KEINE ANFANGEN.

**SOLIDARITY  
AND ITS  
CHALLENGES**

# FATIGUE

Can we imagine Solidarity to be like a reservoir ... and can it ever run dry?

# FATIGUE

Prof. Dr. Bernd Harbeck-Pingel says Yes.  
Every person has their own limits.

And:

Multitasking spreads us too thin – (Migration Issues vs. Fossil Fuels vs.  
Climate Change vs. Autocratic Repression vs. Income Inequality)

We cannot cover it all at once.

# FATIGUE

Prof. Dr. Bernd Harbeck-Pingel also says that  
Emotions are fundamental to an effective sense of solidarity.  
Emotions keep us going, keep us engaged.

Außerdem braucht Solidarität Emotionen: Sie ist das feurige, begeisterte, in gewisser Hinsicht auch kritikfreie Engagement für andere. Und drittens kann sich das durch die Erfahrung von Negativität erschöpfen. Nicht alle Erfahrungen, die man beim solidarischen Handeln macht, sind angenehm: Nicht alle Probleme kann man lösen, und Menschen werden einem auch nicht unbedingt sympathischer, nur weil man ihnen hilft. Deswegen wäre es wahrscheinlich nicht schlecht, solidarische Handlungen als Raumzeitgebiete zu verstehen – als Handlungsbündel, die aktiviert werden können und wieder verlöschen. Sie können nicht auf Dauer existieren. Wird solidarisches Handeln verstetigt, dann kommt eine Wohlfahrtsorganisation dabei heraus.

Außerdem braucht Solidarität Emotionen: Sie ist das feurige, begeisterte, in gewisser Hinsicht auch kritikfreie Engagement für andere. Und drittens kann sich das durch die Erfahrung von Negativität erschöpfen. Nicht alle Erfahrungen, die man beim solidarischen Handeln macht, sind angenehm: Nicht alle Probleme kann man lösen, und Menschen werden einem auch nicht unbedingt sympathischer, nur weil man ihnen hilft. Deswegen wäre es wahrscheinlich nicht schlecht, solidarische Handlungen als Raumzeitgebiete zu verstehen – als Handlungsbündel, die aktiviert werden können und wieder verlöschen. Sie können nicht auf Dauer existieren. Wird solidarisches Handeln verstetigt, dann kommt eine Wohlfahrtsorganisation dabei heraus.

# LONG TIME FRAMES

If we conceive of Solidarity like holding a thread linking past generations with the people of the future – how long can this thread really be?

And can we really hold it?

## **EXAMPLE: FRIDAYS FOR FUTURE**

The mistakes of the PAST demand that we act in the PRESENT  
MOMENT to preserve a livable FUTURE for the next generations

## EXAMPLE: FRIDAYS FOR FUTURE

The mistakes of the PAST demand that we act in the PRESENT MOMENT to preserve a livable FUTURE for the next generations

In order to compensate for the Exploitation of resources (fossil fuels, tropical rain forests, loss of wetlands) we must change global policies so that our world is not worse off in the decades to come

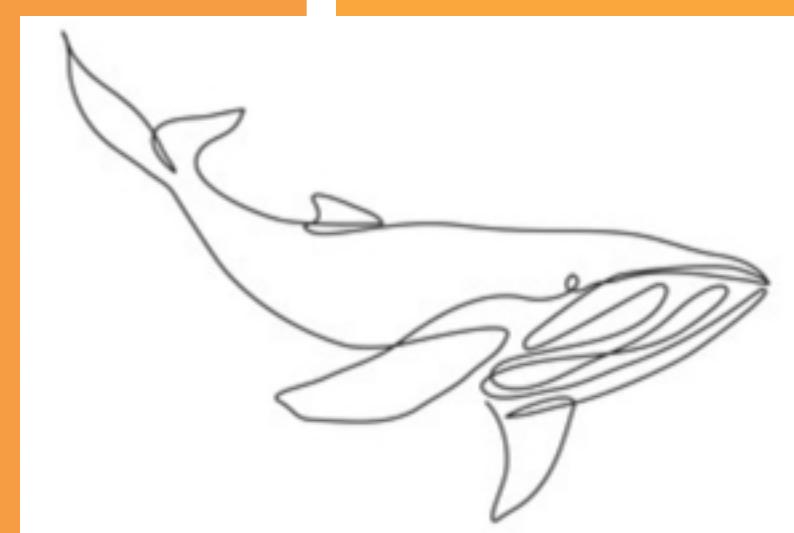
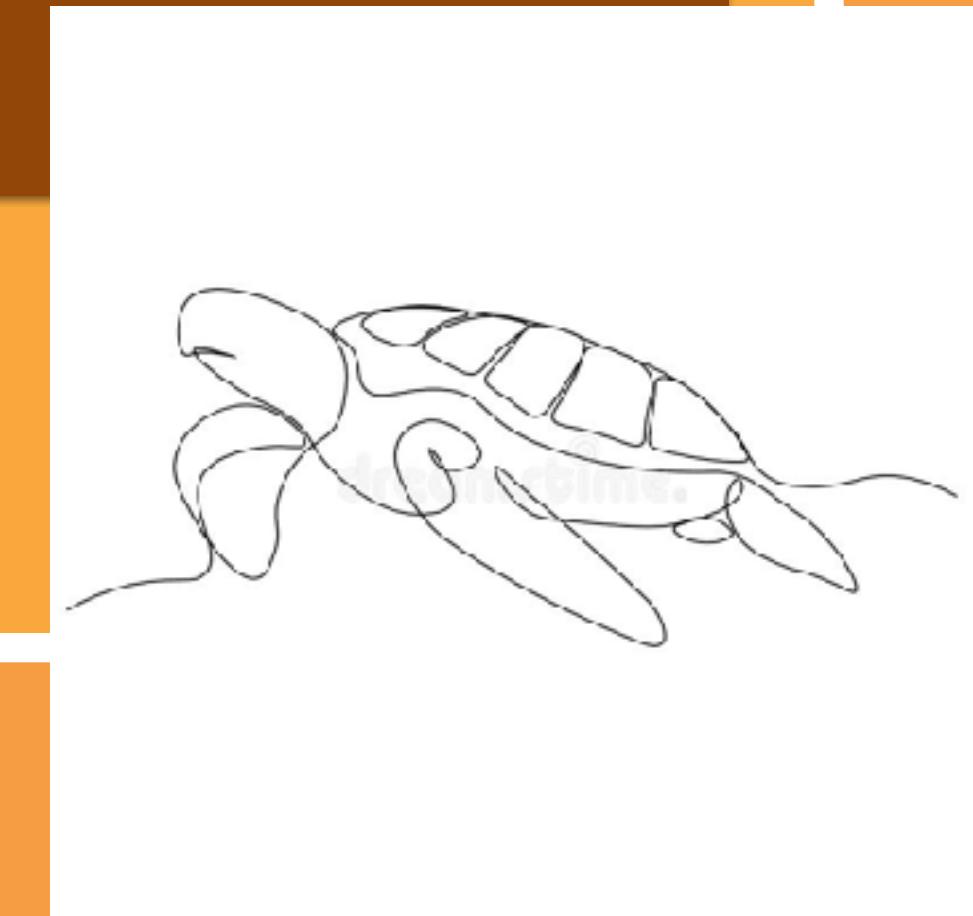
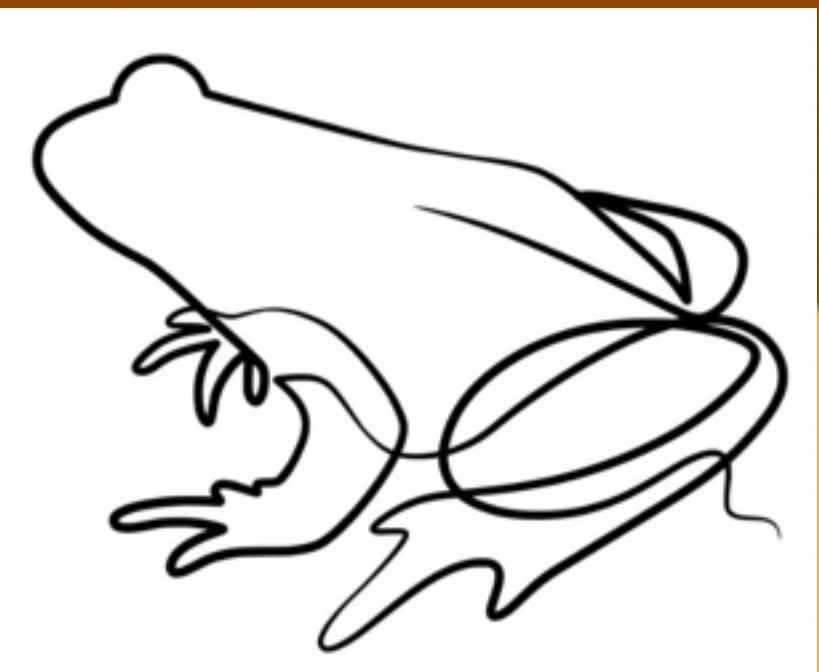
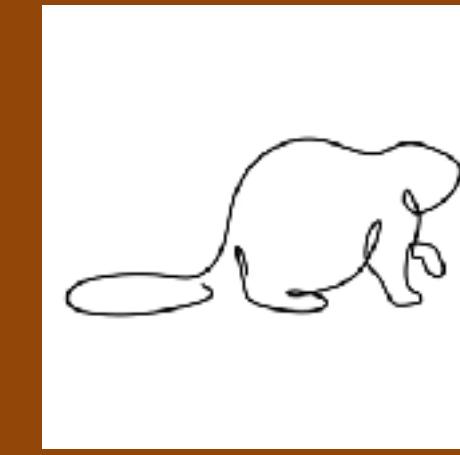
# EXPANSION OF THE ETHICS OF SOLIDARITY

Future beneficiaries are unknown ( e.g. 2125 AD)

“We” set goals to benefit “them”  
By anticipating what “their” voice would call us to do  
→ if they had been here with us

# EXPANSION OF THE ETHICS OF SOLIDARITY

And not just for ourselves...



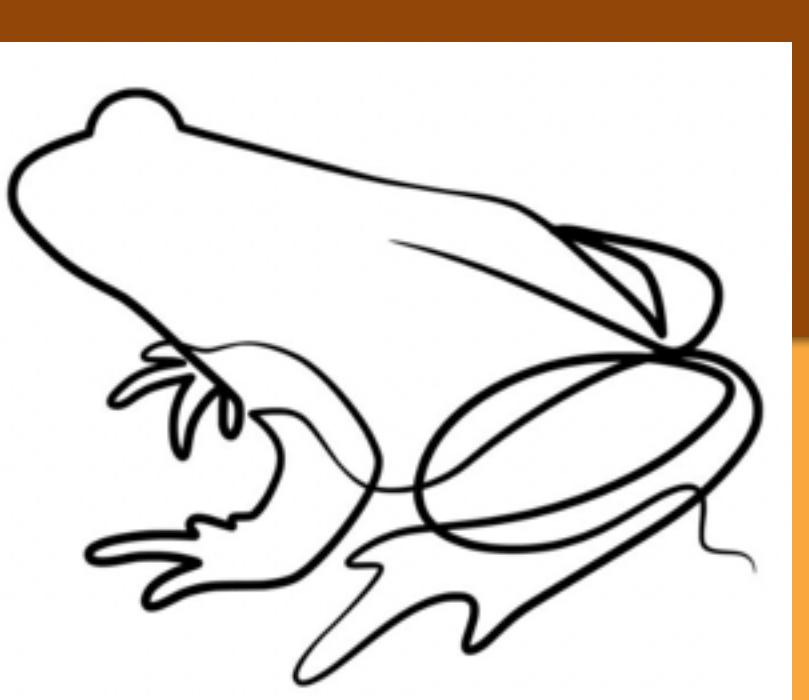
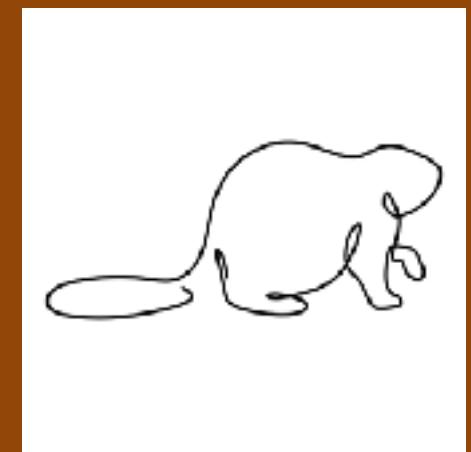
# EXPANSION OF THE ETHICS OF SOLIDARITY

Even though –

*The turtle has no voice, no agency.*

*Beavers do not have lobbyists.*

*Frogs cannot be mobilized into action...*



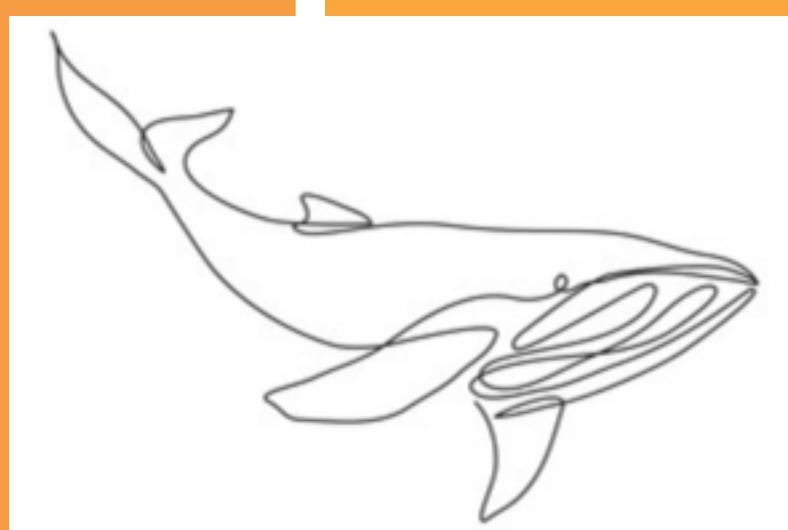
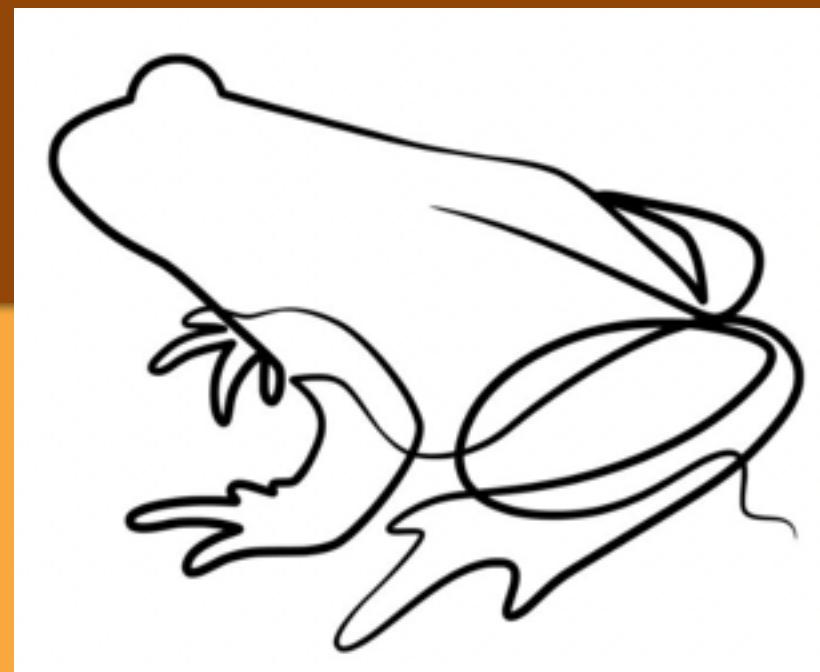
Is it possible to act in solidarity with them?

# EXPANSION OF THE ETHICS OF SOLIDARITY

Solidarity means: to imagine and work in concert for a world or an outcome which is not (yet) attainable



Imagining a third door besides ENTER or EXIT



# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

How to stand in Solidarity if our together-ness is restricted, illegal, or impossible?

# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

Let's return to the Verbs:  
Solidarisch handeln...  
**wir müssen!**  
**wir sollen**  
**wir können**  
**wir wollen...**

# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

During this crisis we need to focus on us  
vs.  
But what about them?

# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

Let's focus on us  
vs.

But what about them?

(Inward vs. Outward)

# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

A crisis is precisely the time for which one could say:  
we stand in Solidarity with those Others and  
we {must should will can} do something.

Solidarisch fühlen ... Solidarisch handeln ...  
... und folglich, nichts tun?

# CRISIS / PANDEMIC

“...dass auch in der Corona-Krise [...] die Regelbefolgung zum Ausweis der Solidarität [wurde]: Wer seinen Mitbürger\*innen etwas Gutes tun möchte, macht demnach möglichst gar nichts, verlässt nicht das Haus, trifft keine Freunde oder Bekannten, hält Abstand zu Dritten. Für ein [...] Solidaritätsverständnis ist dies Konstellation durchaus ein Problem, denn “social distancing” ist so ziemlich das genaue Gegenteil von dem, was man sich eigentlich unter einem solidarischen Zusammenschluss in Krisenzeiten vorstellen würde”

ONE FINAL CHALLENGE  
TO SOLIDARITY....

# SOCIAL ISOLATION



# SUMMARY

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .

„Solidarität bezeichnet (1) eine Haftung: die wechselseitige Verpflichtung (...), (2) in Gefahr und bei Notlagen, (3) innerhalb von Gruppen, die teils unfreiwillig (...), teils durch freie Wahl (...), teils durch ein zufälliges Schicksal eng mit einem verbunden sind.

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .

„Solidarity describes (1) an accountability or responsibility (**Haftung**): it is a mutual obligation (**Verpflichtung**) (...), (2) in times of danger or in emergencies (**in Gefahr und bei Notlagen**), (3) within & among groups that either through their own free will or by coercion, or at times by a random turn of fate (**ein zufälliges Schicksal**)(...), are closely bound together (**eng mit einem verbunden**).“

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .

A belief and practice that arises out of the Enlightenment (post 1789) – but encompasses more than just *Liberté Egalité Fraternité*

Celebrating and defending the common bonds of *Brotherhood* because of “who we are” is not really in the spirit of Solidarity as we understand it today (we don’t need Solidarity with ourselves...)

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .

More than just a quest to bring about justice (**Gerechtigkeit**)  
or to live out the Golden Rule (**Menschenliebe**)

(**Gerechtigkeit** needs a judge, a legal code, a plaintiff and a defendant, a negotiated settlement, and an enforcement mechanism...)

(**Menschenliebe** looks in all directions at once... its needs are endless...)

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .

Translational.

It emerges from the same origin as when we wonder “if we put this into different words, if we switch out the speaker...”

“If our situations were reversed...”

# SOLIDARITY IS. . .



# SOLIDARITY IS. . .



**QUESTIONS?**

**FEEDBACK?**

**SOLIDARITY**



**DR. WILLIAM LAYHER**

**GERMAN TEACHER, ST. LOUIS MO**

**DANKE SCHÖN !**