

INDEX

Note: Page references in *italic* indicate tables or figures.

- A Manifesto for Labour Law*, 121
abece, 206–10, 207
 Acheson, Steve, 176, 178–79, 190
 African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, 77
 Alter, Karen J., 28, 42
 Aydın, Oya, 224
- backlash
 ECtHR, 99, 104, 186, 235–36, 238–39
 ILO, 236
 legal mobilization, 46–47, 235–36
 Baykara, Vicdan, 215
 Blacklist Support Group (BSG)
 alliance formation, 188–89
 class-based discourse, 193–96, 199, 233
 domestic litigation, 179–80, 187–88, 197–98
 ECtHR litigation, 180
 ECtHR litigation strategy, 180–82, 185
 formation of, 177
 goals of, 179
 human rights framework, 176–78, 183–87, 194, 197–200, 233, 237
 human rights framework, effects of, 186–87, 196–99
 human rights framework, influence of
 lawyers, 182–83, 185, 195–96
 media relations, 190–91
 mobilization, external, 5, 17, 182, 193, 231–32
 mobilization, internal, 192–93
 mobilization, tactical innovations, 188
 parliamentary advocacy, 191–92
Blacklisted (Smith and Chamberlain, 2016), 184
 blacklisted workers
 Acheson, Steve, 176, 178–79, 190
 Brough, Terence, 181
 ECtHR litigation, 177
 employment tribunals, 176, 178–79, 181, 185
 government inaction, 66, 178
 police involvement in, 177, 189, 198
 scope of blacklisting, 1–2, 176–77
 Smith, Dave, 1–2, 4–5, 181–82, 184–86, 189–90, 194–95
 union involvement, 183–85
 See also Blacklist Support Group (BSG);
 Consulting Association; ICO
 Blair, Tony, 65–67, 149, 152, 178, 191
 Bogg, Alan, 150–51
 Bozkurt, Ali, 208
 Brough, Terence, 181
- Cameron, David, 186–87
 Campaign Opposing Police Surveillance (COPS), 188–89
 Candoğan, Gökhan, 129–30
 Chamberlain, Phil, 184
 Çınar, İsmail, 201, 210–11
 CoE. *See* Council of Europe (CoE)
 Colombia, 40, 43, 70
 Committee of Ministers (CM)
 cases, closing, 150
 compliance negotiations, 141, 159, 161, 166–67
 compliance with ECtHR rulings, analysis of, 142–43, 167–68, 170–72, 218
 ECtHR proceedings, length of, 144
 as enforcement mechanism, 140
 evaluation process, 166–68, 170–72
 evaluations, problems with, 169
 minimal state compliance, 139–40, 144, 157, 172–73
 Consulting Association
 blacklist, 1–2, 177
 Crossrail use of, 185
 police collaboration with, 189, 198
 prosecutions, 2
 raid on, 1, 179, 189
 COPS, 188–89
 Corbyn, Jeremy, 191, 197
 Council of Europe (CoE)
 collective complaint mechanism, 80

INDEX

- Committee of Independent Experts, 116
and ECtHR, 10, 14, 77, 79–80
expansion of, 56, 81
human rights, 6–7
Istanbul Convention, 239
Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of
Europe (PACE), 77, 90
Russia, 57
Turkey, 82, 142
United Kingdom, 65
See also Committee of Ministers (CM);
ECtHR
- Czech Republic, 143
- Denmark, 99–100, 104
*Digest of Decisions and Principles of the Freedom
of Association Committee of the Governing
Body of the ILO* (ILO, 2006), 222
Duffy, Helen, 40
- ECJ
and national law, 107
pay equity, 112
trade union rights, 107, 112, 116–17, 119–20
- ECSR, 7, 80, 155–56
- ECtHR
backlash against, 99, 104, 186, 235–36,
238–39
Brighton Declaration (2012), 99
compliance with, 10, 13–14, 34, 140–44
conservative origins of, 79–80
Copenhagen Declaration (2018), 99–100
direct access, 76
evasion of rulings, 14, 34, 144, 157, 162,
226, 233
fair trial, 86
formation of, 77
ILO, reference of, 118, 127
institutional structure, 76–77, 82
judges, 27, 77–78, 81, 100–1, 103
litigation costs, 109, 121
proceedings, length of, 144
process, 77–78, 84
rise to prominence, 7–8, 80–82
rulings, execution of, 140–42
Turkey, 144
See also ECtHR compliance, Turkey;
ECtHR compliance, United Kingdom;
labor cases, ECtHR; labor rights
- ECtHR compliance, Turkey, 146
Article 10 compliance, 158–59
Article 11 compliance, 158–61
Article 13 compliance, 160
Article 14 compliance, 161–62
collective action, 165–69
collective action, limitations and violations,
169
collective bargaining, 163–64
collective bargaining, limitations and
violations, 164–66
evasion of, 162
right to unionize, 157–59
right to unionize, limitations and violations,
159–62
violations, core areas, 157
See also KESK
- ECtHR compliance, United Kingdom, 147
Article 11 compliance, 149, 154–56
control of union membership, 151–52
control of union membership, limitations
and violations, 152–53
right to strike, 154–55
right to unionize, 149–50
right to unionize, limitations and violations,
150–51
- Eğitim-Sen
constitution, 213
cooptation, 223–24
Eğit-Der, 205–6, 208–10
Eğitim-İş, 204, 210–11
Eğit-Sen, 131–33, 206, 210–11
government support, 217
membership, 217
mobilization, 225
repression of, 134, 158–59
sanctions against individuals, 167
- Egypt, 237
- Erdogan, Ayhan, 127, 210
- Ertuğrul, Feyzullah, 209–10
- ESC, 65, 80, 116
- ETUC, 123
- European Committee on Social Rights
(ECSR), 7, 80, 155–56
- European Convention on Human Rights
Article 1 of Protocol 86, 87
Article 2, 92–93
Article 3, 92–93
Article 4, 82, 90–91
Article 6, 58, 86
Article 8, 87–88, 93
Article 9, 91–92
Article 10, 88, 132
Article 11, 6, 56, 58, 75, 80, 83, 94, 97,
99–100, 102, 124, 127, 129, 132, 149
Article 14, 87–88
Article 25, 71
drafting of, 188
ECtHR use of, 83
labor standards, 107
as living instrument, 81
Turkey, 71, 209–10
United Kingdom, 3–4, 55, 65, 181
See also ECtHR compliance, Turkey;
ECtHR compliance, United Kingdom

INDEX

- European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).
 See ECtHR
- European Court of Justice (ECJ). *See* ECJ
- European Social Charter (ESC), 65, 80, 116
- European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), 123
- Ewing, Keith, 4, 120–21, 150, 153, 180–81
- Ford, Michael, 118, 122, 192
- France, 57, 62–63, 90, 143
- Germany, 62, 102–3
- Gülen, Fethullah, 220–21
- Gülmez, Mesut, 125, 129, 167, 204, 208
- Harman, Harriet, 123
- Helfer, Laurence R., 27–28, 141
- Hendy, Lord John, 106, 113–16, 120–22, 150, 180–81, 195
- Hewitt, Patricia, 123
- human rights
 human rights regimes, 32–34
 illiberal practices, 24–25
 International Criminal Court (ICC), 45
 narrative framing, 43–44, 47
 and neoliberalism, 11
 regime type, 24
 strategic mobilization, 5–6, 12, 39, 41, 43–51, 197–99, 232, 234
 See also human rights courts; NGOs
- human rights courts
 compliance with, 13–14, 22, 28, 34–35, 142, 226
 extensive authority, 28, 115, 118, 127
 external enforcement, 42, 51
 grassroots mobilization, 5–6, 231–32
 institutional capacity, 108–9
 judicial process, 41
 labor litigation, 18, 230–31
 repression, 42, 47, 59, 234–35
 state inaction, 12–13
 See also ECtHR
- ICC, 45
- ICO
 construction industry investigation, 179
 Consulting Association investigation, 1, 177, 179, 189
 Kerr prosecution, 2, 179
- IER, 121
- ILO
 backlash, 236
 Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR), 101, 119–20
 Committee on Freedom of Association (CFA), 115–16, 118–19, 204, 211, 213
 Convention 87, 71, 101, 126
 Convention 98, 71
 Convention 151, 126
 ECJ rulings, 119–20
 extensive authority, 28, 115, 118, 127
 political pressure upon, 101–2
 trade union rights, 9, 80, 107, 119
 United Kingdom, 65–66, 178
- Imamoğlu, Ekrem, 235
- Information Commissioner's Office. *See* ICO
- Institute of Employment Rights (IER), 121
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 77, 108
- International Criminal Court (ICC), 45
- International Labor Organization (ILO). *See* ILO
- International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), 61, 70, 221
- İşık, Alpaslan, 125, 129, 204, 208
- Italy, 58
- ITUC, 61, 70, 221
- judicial authority
 effects of, 28
 extensive authority, 28, 115, 118, 127
 mobilization, 46
- judicial responsiveness, 27–28, 47
- Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (KESK). *See* KESK
- Karaçay, Erhan, 130, 210
- Kaygısız, İrfan, 129–30, 226
- Kerr, Ian, 2
- KESK, 146–48
 2016 state of emergency, 221
 as civic institution, 238
 class-based discourse, 214, 233
 collective action, 146–48, 166, 169, 227
 collective bargaining, 165
 constitution, 213
 cooptation of labor, 219, 223–25, 228–29
 education unions, 206
 formation of, 124, 201, 210, 231
 government reaction to, 202
 human rights discourse, 176, 215, 225
 Kurdish movement, 128–34, 158–59
 litigation, cost of, 109
 litigation, domestic, 213
 litigation, ECtHR, 124, 128, 133, 212–13, 218, 224–29
 litigation, effects of, 215–19
 litigation, ILO, 213
 litigation strategies, 128–30
 media relations, 214–15
 membership, 217
 Milliyet, 214

INDEX

- mobilization, 212, 228
 - police violence, 171
 - public sector unions, 74, 106, 169, 229
 - public sector unions, government control, 165, 222–23
 - state repression, 161–62, 224, 234–35
 - stirgün davaları*, 134, 146–48, 159–61
 - Yurtsever Emekçiler, 131
 - See also Eğitim-Sen
- Khan, Imran, 189
- labor
 - activism, 9, 22
 - collective bargaining, 61–63, 61–62
 - human rights, 4–6, 11–12, 230–31
 - litigation, international courts, 3–4, 18, 233
 - neoliberalism, countering, 236–39
 - organizational failures, 60
 - political opportunities, 25–26, 30, 32
 - See also human rights; legal mobilization; repression
- labor, Turkey
 - abece*, 206–10, 207
 - AKP favoritism and corruption, 221–22
 - Bahar Eylemleri*, 203
 - Birleşik Metal İş, 102
 - collective action, 129–30
 - collective bargaining, 126–28
 - Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK), 68–69, 102, 124, 171
 - Enerji Yapı-Yol-Sen, 129–30
 - hukuk mücadelesi*, 202–3
 - human rights framework, 201, 206–7, 207, 237
 - Kamu-Sen, 222
 - Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP), 131
 - litigation, ECtHR, 126, 210–11
 - litigation, ILO, 125–26, 211
 - litigation, private sector unions, 124
 - Memur-Sen, 165, 169, 221–23, 223
 - public sector unions, 3, 17, 71–72, 124–25, 128, 203–4, 204, 210, 222
 - public sector unions, influence of lawyers, 204–5
 - public sector unions, state repression, 211
 - rights violations, 157
 - Tüm Bel Sen, 127, 163–64, 201
 - Tüm Haber Sen, 126, 158, 210, 217
 - Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, 68
 - TürkMetal, 102
 - Yurtsever Emekçiler, 131
 - See also ECtHR compliance, Turkey; Eğitim-Sen; KESK
- labor, United Kingdom
 - collective bargaining, 111–12
 - employment tribunals, 109, 111–13, 176, 178–79, 181, 184–85
 - Institute of Employment Rights (IER), 121
 - international courts, 116–17
 - judicial conservatism, domestic, 111
 - legislative reform, 111–12
 - litigation, ECJ, 114–17, 119–20
 - litigation, ECtHR, 112–14, 117–18
 - litigation, ILO, 115–16, 118–19
 - Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT), 180–81, 183
 - Unite, 183, 190–91, 197
 - See also blacklisted workers; ECtHR compliance, United Kingdom
- labor cases, ECtHR
 - diversity of, 84–85, 84–85
 - fair trial, 86
 - forced labor, 90–91
 - freedom of expression, 88
 - freedom of religion, 91–92
 - job access and security, 89
 - pay and benefits, 87
 - political context, 78–79, 79
 - privacy and surveillance, 93
 - workplace discrimination, 87–88
 - workplace health and safety, 92–93
- labor rights
 - blacklisting, 2–3, 182
 - collective bargaining, 99, 120
 - public sector unions, 75–76
 - right to strike, 101–3
 - rollback of, 100–1, 234
 - See also trade union rights
- Lawrance, Stephen, 189
- lawyers
 - cause lawyers, 109–10, 120–23, 135
 - international litigation, 29–30, 114
 - international litigation, cost of, 108–9
 - and labor, 23
 - legal mobilization, 9, 14–15, 134
 - litigation strategies, 45, 106–8, 120–23, 134–35
 - tensions, 110
- legal mobilization
 - case law, favorable, 27
 - grassroots mobilization, 5–6, 12, 15, 40–42, 232
 - international legal pluralism, 22–23
 - international vs. domestic, 39
 - judicial legitimacy, 28–29
 - judicial responsiveness, 27–28, 47
 - legal opportunities, 26, 30–32
 - litigation, indirect effects, 5, 34–35, 38, 40–42, 46
 - political backlash, 46–47, 235–36
 - repression, covert, 47
 - rights-based identity, 15–16, 233

INDEX

- legal mobilization (cont.)
 standing, 27
 state inaction, 12–13
 theoretical insights, 38–39
 See also ECtHR; judicial authority; lawyers
 Lester, Anthony, 123
 Liberty, 114, 122–23
- Madsen, Mikael R., 28
 McCann, Michael W., 38, 40, 44, 195
 McCluskey, Len, 190–91
 McDonnell, John, 191
 Merry, Sally Engle, 14–15, 48
Milliyet, 214
Mobilizing for Human Rights (Simmons, 2009), 36
 Moğultay, Mehmet, 217
 Moyn, Samuel P., 44
- National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL).
 See Liberty
 neoliberalism
 features of, 59–60
 labor mobilization, inhibition of, 4, 7, 16, 18, 55, 59, 69, 72–73
 rise of, 60–61
 The Netherlands, 99
 NGOs
 CM, reports to, 143, 171–72
 goals, misalignment of, 110
 human rights, 36, 48
 and institutional capacity, 108–9
 state accountability, 13, 36
 third-party intervention, 115
 United Kingdom, 94
 United States, 108
- Owens, Declan, 195
- Phillips, Victoria, 113–14, 195
 Posner, Eric A., 10
- repression
 covert, 47
 Eğitim-Sen, 134, 158–59
 human rights courts, 42, 47, 234–35
 KESK, 161–62, 224, 234–35
 public sector unions, Turkey, 211
 research design, 16–18
 Romania, 57–58, 62–63, 62
 Russia, 57, 141
- Savage, Larry, 38
 Scottish National Party (SNP), 191, 193
 Simmons, Beth A., 36
 Smith, Dave, 1–2, 4–5, 181–82, 184–86, 189–90, 194–95
- SNP, 191, 193
 social movements
 alliances, fostering of, 45–46, 234
 cyclical nature, 237
 definition, 35
 discursive frames, 43–44
 domestic advocacy, 44–45
 grassroots mobilization, 34–37, 43, 46
 group identity, 47–49
 human rights, 11, 37–38
 issues addressed, 37
 legal consciousness, 48
 litigation, 13, 15–16, 32
 NGOs, importance of, 36
 tactical innovation, 44
 See also labor
 Spain, 62, 99
 StrasLab
 content of, 16, 83
 freedom of expression, 88
 trade union rights, 17, 75–76, 100
- Tarrow, Sidney, 46
 Tiryaki, Mehmet, 226–27
 Tomlinson, Ricky, 190
 trade union rights, 155–56
 blacklisted workers, 2–3
 collective bargaining, 163–66
 ECJ, 107, 117, 119–20
 ECtHR, conservative phase, 6–8, 56, 83, 94–96
 ECtHR, expansion phase, 56–58, 96–99, 106, 117–18
 ECtHR, litigation strategy (KESK), 128–30, 133–34
 ECtHR, litigation strategy (UK), 120–23
 ECtHR, retrenchment phase, 99–103
 ECtHR litigation, 8, 56–58, 57, 75–76, 83, 95, 106–8, 113–15, 126, 134, 146–48, 224–25, 230–31
 ECtHR rulings, compliance with, 139–44, 156–57, 172–73
 as human rights, 16–17
 ILO, 9, 118–19
 litigation, cost of, 109
 membership selection, 151–53
 public sector workers, Turkey, 6–7
 restrictions on, Turkey, 69–72
 right to strike, 154–56, 166–69
 right to unionize, 149–51, 157–62
 Thatcher government (UK), 64, 123
 Trades Union Congress (TUC), 115, 123, 178
 TUC, 115, 123, 178
 Türkoğan, Öztürk, 128, 225–26
 Turkey
 1961 constitution, 68
 1982 constitution, 69, 72, 125, 156

INDEX

- 2004 constitutional amendment, 157
- 2016 state of emergency, 219–20
- Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP), 69, 219
- anti-union policies, 61–62, 69–71, 125, 211
- Doğru Yol Partisi, 216–17
- economy, 69–70
- ECtHR, 55
- European Convention on Human Rights, 71, 210
- European Union, integration with, 71
- Gülen movement, 220–21
- International Labor Organization, 71
- labor reform, 71, 217
- Law No. 657, 167, 170
- Law No. 4688, 158, 161, 163–65, 170, 218
- Law No. 6009, 164
- Law No. 6289, 158, 164–65
- Law No. 6356, 167, 169
- Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti, 216–17
- Türkiye İşçi Partisi, 68, 216
- See also* labor, Turkey
- United Kingdom (UK)
 - anti-union policies, 64–66, 105–6, 116
 - Employment Act (1988), 116
 - Employment Appeal Tribunal, 151
 - Employment Relations Act, 2004 (ERA 2004), 149, 152
 - Employment Relations Act, 2008 (ERA 2008), 152
 - Employment Relations Act, 2010, 180
 - European Convention on Human Rights, 3–4, 55, 65, 181
 - European Social Charter (ESC), 65
 - Human Rights Act (HRA), 67, 114, 118, 154–55, 186–87, 235
 - Joint Committee on Human Rights (JCHR), 150, 153
 - litigation, cost of, 109
 - National Union of Journalists (NUJ), 105–6
 - Strikes (Minimum Service Requirements) Act (2023), 156
 - Trade Union Act (2016), 156
 - Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act (TULRCA, 1992), 149–52, 155
 - See also* blacklisted workers; ICO; labor, United Kingdom
 - United Nations (UN), 7, 80, 116, 118, 185
 - United States (US)
 - cause lawyers, 109
 - individual rights, 43
 - marriage equality, 43
 - mobilization, 14
 - NGOs, 108
 - pay equity, 38, 40
 - public interest litigation, 111
 - Wedderburn of Charlton, Kenneth William, 115, 123
 - Wilson, David, 105–6
 - Yılmaz, Sakine Esen, 223–24, 227