

# In Critical Solidarity

**Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's Section on Labor & Labor Movements**  
**Volume 10, Number 4** **August 2011**

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## ***In This Issue***

Labor Section ASA Reception!	2
Labor Section ASA Panels	2
Commentary: The Verizon Strike	9
Commentary: Wage & Hour Laws	12
Recent Publications	13
Job Opportunity	16
Fellowship	16
Request from Bhutan	17
Call for Papers	18

## ***Message from the Chair***

Dear Labor Section,

This newsletter highlights our exciting program at the ASA in Las Vegas. It also includes two timely articles: the first on the strike at Verizon and the second on enforcement of wage and hour laws. I am especially enthusiastic about our section reception, which will be held at the Culinary Workers Union.

The labor section has had some notable accomplishments this past year. We started a graduate-student mentoring program, which we will be piloting at this year's meeting. We are now on Facebook and in the process of updating our website. Together with other sections we launched a campaign for ASA to source their bags from unionized shops. Thanks to everyone who volunteered to serve on a committee or participate in the section in some other way. On a personal note I'd like to say that it has been a great experience to serve as the section's Chair for the past year.

All the best in the coming year,  
Carolina Bank Muñoz

## **Labor Section reception to take place at culinary workers union local**

The Labor and Labor Movements Section reception will take place from 6:30 to 9:00 pm on Monday, August 22. We are excited to be co-sponsoring the reception with Culinary Workers Local 226 ([www.culinaryunion226.org](http://www.culinaryunion226.org)), which is part of UNITE-HERE ([www.unitehere.org](http://www.unitehere.org)), the union for 250,000 hotel, gaming, and food-service workers in North America. Culinary Workers Local 226 is one of the great labor organizing success stories of the last two decades. Activists from the local will show a short video and talk briefly about the organizing drive. Also present will be Susan Chandler and Jill Jones, authors of *Casino Women: Courage in Unexpected Places* (Cornell University Press, forthcoming August 2011), which analyzes women's involvement in the casino organizing. Hors d'oeuvres and beverages will be served, with catering by the Culinary Academy ([www.theculinaryacademy.org](http://www.theculinaryacademy.org)), which provides training in a variety of hospitality careers for Culinary union and community members.

The reception will take place at:  
Culinary Workers Union Local 226  
1630 South Commerce Street  
Las Vegas, NV 89102-2705  
702-385-2131

A Bell Trans shuttle bus with a sign saying "Labor Reception" (not to be confused with the Bell Trans airport shuttle!) will be running a loop between Caesar's Palace's main entrance and the Culinary union hall starting at 6 pm, with departures about every 20 minutes until 7:20 and about every 40 minutes thereafter. (Walking is inadvisable in the August heat!) If you have any questions, e-mail Chris Tilly at [tilly@ucla.edu](mailto:tilly@ucla.edu).

We look forward to seeing you there!

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And don't forget the Section on Labor and Labor Movements Business Meeting, Tuesday, August 23, 1:30 pm, Caesars Palace (room TBA).

## **The ASA in Las Vegas: Labor Section and Labor-Related Panels and Sessions**

(All events take place in Caesars Palace. Room locations will be announced in the final program.)

### **SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 2:30 pm Sessions**

#### **87. Thematic Session. Legacies of 1886: US Class Formation and Class Conflict in Historical Perspective**

Session Organizers: *Kim Voss*, University of California-Berkeley, *Barry Eidlin*, University of California-Berkeley

Presider: *Frances Fox Piven*, City University of New York

Panelists: *Kim Voss*, University of California-Berkeley

*Robin Archer*, London School Economics  
*Michael Biggs*, University of Oxford

#### **119. Regular Session. Welfare Reform**

Session Organizer: *Rebecca Joyce Kissane*, Lafayette College

Presider: *Rebecca Joyce Kissane*, Lafayette College  
Bonding and Bridging Social Capital before and after Welfare Reform. *Judith A. Levine*, Temple  
Low-Income Women's Receipt of and Expectations for Assistance During a Recession. *Kristin Seefeldt*, Indiana Univ.

Making Ends Meet during the Great Recession: how child care subsidies matter to low-wage workers. *Ellen K. Scott*, University of Oregon; *Ann Shirley*, University of Oregon  
Pedagogy Matters: The Transmission of Dominant Cultural Capital in a Welfare Program. *Kerry Woodward*, California State University, Long Beach

Talk is Cheap: Relationship Skills and Marriage Promotion Policy for Fragile Families. *Jennifer M. Randles*, University of California, Berkeley

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 4:30 pm Sessions****128. Thematic Session. Conflict at Work**

Session Organizer: *Vincent J. Roscigno*, Ohio State University

Presider: *Vincent J. Roscigno*, Ohio State University  
We Can't Win This on Our Own: Unions, Firms, and the Mobilization of External Allies in Labor Disputes. *Marc Dixon*, Dartmouth College  
The Origins of Litigation: Discrimination Disputes at Work. *Elizabeth Hirsh*, University of British Columbia  
Changing Terrains of Contestation in Advanced Economies. *Paul Edwards*, University of Warwick  
Discussant: *Alexandra Kalev*, University of Arizona

**129. Thematic Session. Economic Utopias and Dystopias: Possible Trajectories from the Financial Crisis**

Session Organizers: *Greta R. Krippner*, University of Michigan, *Gerald F. Davis*, University of Michigan  
Presider: *Erik Olin Wright*, University of Wisconsin  
Reviving the Non-utopian Utopia: Prospects for a New Social Democracy. *Fred Block*, University of California-Davis  
Toward a Diversified American Capitalism: Cooperatives, Mutuals and Local State-owned Enterprise. *Marc Schneiberg*, Reed College  
Building with the Ruins of the Past: Opportunities for Social Organization Created by the Collapse of Shareholder Capitalism. *Gerald F. Davis*, University of Michigan  
Economic Categories in Neoliberal Society. *Marion Fourcade*, University of California-Berkeley; *Kieran Healy*, Duke University

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 8:30 am Sessions**  
**159. Thematic Session. The Middle Class at the Bottom: How the Recession Harmed Average Americans**  
Session Organizer: *Deborah Thorne*, Ohio U.  
Presider: *Deborah Thorne*, Ohio U.  
Panelists: *Kevin T. Leicht*, University of Iowa,

*Angela Lyons*, University of Illinois,  
*Katherine Porter*, Harvard University, *Gregory D. Squires*, George Washington University

**188. Section on Organizations, Occupation, and Work Paper Session. The Relational Aspects of Workplace Inequality**

Session Organizer: *Emilio J. Castilla*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Relational Inequality: A Model for Within Workplace Earnings Variation with an Application to Swedish Immigration. *Donald Tomaskovic-Devey*, University of Massachusetts;  
*Martin Hällsten*, Stockholm University;  
*Dustin Avent-Holt*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst  
Filling the Managerial Pipeline: Gender and Prior Relationships in the Executive Search Sector. *Isabel Fernandez-Mateo*, London Business School; *Marko Coh*, London Business School  
When Dr. Miller is a Man. *Laura Hunter*, University of Arizona  
Gender and Supportive Coworker Relations in the Medical Profession. *Jean E. Wallace*, University of Calgary  
Department Climate and Faculty Job Satisfaction in STEM Disciplines: Differences by Race and Gender. *Megumi Watanabe*, University Nebraska-Lincoln; *Christina Falci*, University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
Discussant: *Jennifer L. Glass*, University of Iowa

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 12:30 pm Sessions****233. Thematic Session. Bread and Roses: Dignity and Respect as a Dimension of Labor and Working Class Struggles**

Session Organizer: *Robert J.S. Ross*, Clark Univ.  
Presider: *Robert J.S. Ross*, Clark Univ.  
Panelists: *Carolina Bank Munoz*, City University of New York-Brooklyn College and Graduate Center  
*Gene Bruskin*, American Federation of Teachers  
*Janice Loux*, Local 26, Unite Here, Boston  
Discussant: *Jennifer J. Chun*, University of British Columbia

**239. Author Meets Critics Session. *Inventing Equal Opportunity* (Princeton University Press, 2009) by Frank Dobbin**

Session Organizer: *Randall Collins*, University of Pennsylvania

Author: *Frank Dobbin*, Harvard University

Presider: *Vincent J. Roscigno*, Ohio State

Critics: *William T. Bielby*, University of Illinois-Chicago

*John Skrentny*, Univ. of California, San Diego

*Vincent J. Roscigno*, Ohio State

**264. Section on Organizations, Occupation, and Work Paper Session. The New World of Work**

Session Organizers: *Beth A. Bechky*, University of California-Davis

Better Off Jobless? Scar Effect of Contingent Employment in Japan. *Wei-hsin Yu*, University of Texas-Austin

Suddenly Doing Security Work: Institutional Mandates and Socio-Technical Systems in the New York Subway. *Noah McClain*, New York University

How Financial Institutions Shape Labor Process Practice: An Ethnographic Study of a Dot-Com Startup. *Linus Huang*, University of California - Berkeley

"I'm not Here to Make Friends! Spontaneous Communication in a "Winners-Take-All"

Organization. *Valery Yakubovich*, University of Pennsylvania; *Roman V. Galperin*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

From Organization to Organizing: Mobilization and the Evolution of Vertical Production

Networks. *Josh Whitford*, Columbia University; *Francesco Zirpoli*, University of Venezia

Discussant: *Lisa E. Cohen*, McGill University

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 2:30 pm Sessions****291. Regular Session. Gender and Work: Managing Gender and Gendering Work**

Session Organizer: *David A Cotter*, Union College

Gender Discrimination at Work and the Gender System. *Donna Bobbitt-Zeher*, Ohio State

When Women Groom Men: Negotiating Sexual Commodification in Beauty Service Work.

*Kristen Barber*, Southern Illinois University

Fatherless Forestry: The Transformative Potential of Gender Norms. *Piper Coutinho-Sledge*,

University of Chicago

Women Helping Other Women? Female

Managers and Gender Inequality. *Mabel*

*Abraham*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology-Sloan

**305. Section on Organizations, Occupation, and Work Paper Session. Work, Power, and Inequality**

Session Organizer: *Beth A. Rubin*, University of North Carolina-Charlotte

Presider: *Beth A. Rubin*, University of North Carolina-Charlotte

Explaining Perceived Employment Insecurity and the Post-Socialist Gap in the EU: Worker Power

and Its Constraints. *Andrew S. Fullerton*,

Oklahoma State University; *Jeffrey C. Dixon*,

College of the Holy Cross; *Dwanna Lynn*

*Robertson*, University of Massachusetts

Overwork and the Slow Convergence in the

Gender Gap in Wages. *Youngjoo Cha*, Indiana

University; *Kim Weeden*, Cornell University

Social Closure or Financialization: Stratification

and Race in the Service Economy. *Beth A. Rubin*,

University of North Carolina-Charlotte; *Stephanie*

*Moller*, University of North Carolina-Charlotte

Culinary Consent: Control and Cooperation of

Undocumented Workers in the Food Service

Industry. *Brian William Halpin*, University of

California-Davis

We Aren't Widget-Builders! Nursing, the

Unionist/Professional Contention and its

Consequences for Collective Identity. *Tuneka*

*Tucker*, University of North Carolina

**MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 8:30 am Sessions****314. Thematic Session. Conflict, Bargaining, and Pay: The Sociology of Earnings Inequality**

Session Organizer: *Thomas A. DiPrete*, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Presider: *Thomas A. DiPrete*, University of

Wisconsin, Madison

The Strategic Logic of Conflict Socialization: Labor, Community and the Politics of Low-wage Work. *Dorian T. Warren*, Columbia University  
Executive Pay and Perceptions of Inequality and Opportunity. *Leslie McCall*, Northwestern  
Worker Advocacy in Freelance Occupational Labor Markets. *Daniel B. Cornfield*, Vanderbilt  
Power, Workers, and Inequality. *David Brady*, Duke University

**340. Section on Economic Sociology Paper Session. Inequality and the Crisis of American Capitalism**

Session Organizer: *Bruce Western*, Harvard  
Presider: *Vanesa Estrada Correa*, University of California, Riverside  
Executive Compensation in the Economy of Permanent Crisis: Do Institutional Pressures for Change Matter? *Ed Carberry*, Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University  
Financialization, Wealth, and Income Inequality. *Michael David Nau*, Ohio State University  
It's Good to Be a Capitalist: Why Capitalists are Getting More and Workers are Getting Less. *Tali Kristal*, University of Haifa; *David B. Grusky*, Stanford University  
The Incidence of Low-Wage Work in the United States, 1949-2007: A Structuralist-Regulationist Analysis. *Pablo Andres Mitnik*, Stanford  
Discussant: *Vanesa Estrada Correa*, University of California, Riverside

**344. Section on Political Economy of the World-System Paper Session. Global Labor Movements in the Era of Dispossession**

Session Organizers: *Phillip A. Hough*, Florida Atlantic University; *Jennifer L. Bair*, University of Colorado  
Spaces of Marginalization: Economic Oppression and Resistance in Bolivia. *Brent Z. Kaup*, College of William & Mary  
US Autoworkers, Globalization, and Discourses of Dispossession. *Nicole Aschoff*, Boston Univ.  
"Accumulation by Enclosure" and the Alternatives of the Counter-Enclosure Movements of Our Times. *Farshad A. Araghi*, Florida Atlantic University

Local Livelihoods, Global Implications: South African Workers' Responses to the Decline of Labor. *Ben Scully*, Johns Hopkins University  
Discussant: *Beverly Silver*, Johns Hopkins Univ.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 10:30 am Sessions**

**352. Presidential Panel. The Future of Capitalism**

Session Organizer: *Georgi M Derluguian*, Northwestern University  
Presider: *Georgi M Derluguian*, Northwestern  
Information Technology, the Disappearance of Work, and the Long-term Crisis of Capitalism. *Randall Collins*, University of Pennsylvania  
Coming Unstuck: Capitalist Crisis, Geopolitics, and Global Prospects. *Craig Calhoun*, Social Science Research Council  
Structural Crisis of Capitalism: How Serious? How Imminent? *Immanuel Wallerstein*, Yale  
Discussant: *Georgi M Derluguian*, Northwestern

**366. Regular Session. Gender and Work: Gender, Jobs and Earnings** Session Organizer:

*David A Cotter*, Union College  
Presider: *Reeve Vanneman*, University of Maryland  
A Doctor's Worth: Pay for Performance and the Gender Gap in Physician Compensation. *Louise Marie Roth*, University of Arizona  
Do Female Dominated Jobs Really Pay Less Than Male Dominated Jobs? *Kevin Stainback*, Purdue University; *Zhenyu Tang*, Purdue University  
Gender Earnings Disparity among College Educated Workers: Fields of Study, Occupational Segregation, and Family Structure. *ChangHwan Kim*, University of Kansas; *Hyeyoung Woo*, Portland State University  
Up the down staircase: women's upward mobility and the wage penalty for occupational feminization, 1970-2007. *Hadas Mandel*, Tel Aviv University  
Discussant: *Reeve Vanneman*, University of Maryland

**368. Regular Session. Labor/Labor Movements**

Session Organizer: *John Brueggemann*, Skidmore

Gender, Unionization, and the Gendered Nature of Organizations. *Nicholas A Jordan*, Ohio State  
Grow Fast, Grow Strong: How Industry Structure and Managerial Autonomy Shaped Two Unions' Organizing Models. *Pablo U. Gaston*, University of California, Berkeley

Why is Social Movement Unionism Social? *Kyle John Arnone*, UCLA

Discussant: *Marc Dixon*, Dartmouth College

**381. Section on Organizations, Occupation, and Work Paper Session. The Organization of Informal and Illegal Work**

Session Organizer: *David Brady*, Duke University

Presider: *Lane Marie Destro*, Duke University

Buying Local with Community Currency:

Participation in Time Banking. *Ed Collom*,

University of Southern Maine; *Judith N. Lasker*,

Lehigh University; *Corinne Kyriacou*, Hofstra

Immigrant Informal Work as Stepping Stone? The

Case of Los Angeles Fruit Vendors. *Rocio*

*Rosales*, University of California-Los Angeles

Informal Entrepreneurs: Negotiating the Extra-

Legal Costs of Business Ventures within the

Informal Economy. *Daphne Demetry*,

Northwestern University

Networks of Prostitution, Communities, and

Risky Sexual Services: An Exploratory Study of

Online Escort Services. *John Scott*, University of

North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Peripheral Accumulation in the World-Economy:

A Cross-National Analysis of the Informal

Economy. *Anthony Roberts*, University of

California-Riverside

**382. Section on Political Economy of the World-System Invited Session. The Changing Nature of Global South Women's Work**

Session Organizer: *Wilma A. Dunaway*, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Presider: *Torry D. Dickinson*, Kansas State Univ.

From WID to GAD to MAD: Revisiting

Paradigms of Women's-Gender Work in

Globalization. *Kathryn B. Ward*, Southern Illinois

The Indentured Mobility of Migrant Women.

*Rhacel Salazar Parrenas*, USC

Impacts of Global Neoliberalism on Indigenous

Women's Work and Livelihoods: Necessity,

Mothers and Invention. *Kathleen Sherman*,

Colorado State University-Fort Collins

Revising Theories of Household Labor: World

Capitalism Cannot Be Profitable without

Women's Nonwaged Work. *Wilma A. Dunaway*,

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State Univ.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 4:30 pm Sessions**

**444. Regular Session. Gender and Work in Cross-national and Comparative Perspective**

Session Organizer: *David A Cotter*, Union College

Presider: *David A Cotter*, Union College

Social Policies and Gender Gaps in

Entrepreneurship: Institutional Foundations of

Inequality across 24 Countries. *Sarah Thebaud*,

Princeton University

The Gap Between Women's Work Values and

Employment Trajectories in 18 OECD Countries.

*Alexander L. Janus*, University of California-

Berkeley

Three Worlds of Marriage Effects? Gendered

Marriage Earnings Differences in the United

States, Germany, and Sweden. *Claudia Geist*,

University of Utah

Workplace Matters: The Use of Maternity and

Childcare Leave Policies in Japan. *Mary C.*

*Brinton*, Harvard University; *Eunmi Mun*,

Harvard University

**445. Section on Race, Gender, and Class Paper Session. Immigration, Guestworkers, Arizona and Beyond (cosponsored with Section on Labor and Labor Movements)**

Session Organizers: *Belinda C. Lum*, University of San Diego; *Robyn Magalit Rodriguez*, Rutgers University

Guest Worker Racial Images and Flexible Labor

Practices in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *Edwin*

*Lopez*, University of California, Santa Barbara

Return to Sender: the Efficacy of Subnational

"Attrition through Enforcement" Immigration

Initiatives. *Angela S. Garcia*, UC San Diego

The Facilitation of Unauthorized Migration

Attempts: New Evidence from the Arizona-

Sonora Border Region. *Daniel E. Martinez*,

University of Arizona

Immigrants' Social Networks' Value in Global Capital: Insights from Indian IT Workers in the United States. *Payal Banerjee*, Smith College

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 8:30 am Sessions****480. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Employment Insecurity and Unemployment in Boom and Recession**

Session Organizer: *Chris Tilly*, UCLA

Presider: *Chris Tilly*, UCLA

"Luckily, My Wife Still Works:" Balancing Masculinity and Economic Dependence on Women During Unsettled Times. *Ilana Demantas*, University of Kansas; *Kristen Myers*, Northern Illinois University

Deeper Cuts, Greater Scars: Inequality in Reemployment Outcomes for Displaced Workers During the Great Recession. *Michelle Lee Maroto*, University of Washington; *Brian Serafini*, University of Washington

Perceived Employment Uncertainty and Adult Health in the Michigan Recession and Recovery Study. *Sarah Burgard*, University of Michigan; *Kristin Seefeldt*, Indiana University

The Enterprising Self: Entrepreneurship in America's Industrial Heartland. *Andrea L. Hill*, Northeastern University; *Justin C Betz*, Northeastern University

Trends in employment stability for public vs. private workers in the United States, 1983-2010. *Matissa Hollister*, Dartmouth College

**508. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Invited Session. From Republic Windows to Wal-Mart: Social and Labor Conflict in the Windy City**

Session Organizer: *Dorian T. Warren*, Columbia University

**520. Thematic Session. Work-Family Conflict as a Public Issue**

Session Organizer: *Erin Kelly*, University of Minnesota

Presider: *Erin Kelly*, University of Minnesota  
Work-Family Reconciliation Policies and Parental Well-Being: Evidence from Cross-National Data. *Jennifer L. Glass*, University of Iowa

Do Work-Family Policies and Legal Mandates Reduce the Bias against Caregivers in the Workplace? An Experimental Evaluation. *Shelley J. Correll*, Stanford University

Work, Family and Health: Leverage Points and Linkages. *Joseph G. Grzywacz*, Wake Forest University  
Daily Job Stressors and the Crossover Stress Responses in Children. *David Almeida*, Pennsylvania State University

Discussant: *Rosalind Berkowitz King*, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 23****12:30-1:30 pm Roundtable Session****538. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Roundtable Session**

Session Organizer: *Carolina Bank Munoz*, City University of New York-Brooklyn College and Graduate Center

**Table 1. Employment Strategies**

Table Presider: *Manjusha S. Nair*, State University of New Jersey-Rutgers

Complying with the Crisis? The Management and Experiences of Job Searching across Race and Class. *Madison Van Oort*, University of Minnesota

Contradictions in Empowerment as a Discursive Field. The Employability Debate in the Netherlands. *Hans Pruijt*, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam; *Pascal Dérogée*, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

Getting a Better Job: Job Search Strategies and Employment Outcomes in Urban China. *Kuang-Chi Chang*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; *Lei Jin*, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

**Table 2. Employment**

Table Presider: *Kate Bronfenbrenner*, Cornell University  
Trends in the Employment of Married Mothers of Preschool-Aged Children in Taiwan. *Yu-han Jao*, Academia Sinica-Taiwan; *Jui-Chung Allen Li*, Academia Sinica-Taiwan

Why Women and Men between 45-64 Retain Part-Time Employment. *Antje Daub*, Case Western Reserve University

Does Deregulation Work? The Consequences of Deregulating Temporary Employment for European Youth Labor Markets. *Clemens Noelke*, University of Mannheim

'Boomtown' Youth: Exploring the Impact of an Economically Prosperous City on School and Work Decision-making. *Christopher D O'Connor*, University of Calgary

Beyond the Duality of Work and Family: The Case of Low Wage Workers. *Brandy Farrar*, North Carolina State University; *Peter J. Stein*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; *Kendra Jason*, North Carolina State University; *Jennifer Craft Morgan*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Table 3. Employment Insecurity

Table President: *Chris Tilly*, UCLA

A Critical Survey of Sociological Theories of the 'Employment Problem'. *R. Jamil Jonna*, University of Oregon

Learning to be Poor: Middle Class Welfare Use in the Great Recession. *Beth Red Bird*, Stanford

Off to Market: Neighborhood and Individual Employment Barriers for Women in Post-Welfare Reform U.S. Cities. *Timothy James Haney*, Mount Royal University

Out of Work: Reactions to the Closure of a John Deere Plant. *Norene Pupo*, York University; *Ann Doris Duffy*, Brock University; *June Shirley Corman*, Brock University

Table 4. Labor Empowerment and Control and Resistance

Table President: *Carolina Bank Munoz*, City University of New York-Brooklyn College and Graduate Center

Cultivating Consent, Reaping Resistance: Identity-based Control at a High End Natural Foods Company. *Tricia McTague*, Missouri State

"We have to help each other out." Routine Resistance and Reciprocity among Nursing Assistants. *Jillian Crocker*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Land Rights and Migrant Labor Shortage in China: A Market Path for Labor Empowerment. *Shaohua Zhan*, Johns Hopkins University; *Lingli Huang*, Johns Hopkins University

Table 5. Unemployment

Table President: *Belinda C. Lum*, University of San Diego

The Effect of Unemployment on the Social Adjustment of Unemployed Saudis. *Mohammed A. Albakr*, IPA

The Impact of Unemployment on Fertility Timing. *Signe Hald Andersen*, Rockwool Foundation; *Berkay Ozcan*, Yale University

Involuntary Job Loss: Returns from the Displaced Worker Supplements of 2008 and 2010. *Cheryl Elman*, University of Akron

Table 6. Globalization and Labor

Table President: *Valerie A. Francisco*, City University of New York-Graduate Center

A Race to the Bottom? US Hegemony and Labor Repression in Latin America's Banana Industry. *Phillip A. Hough*, Florida Atlantic University

Dividing Work and Welfare: Gendered Citizenship and Constructing the Social in Urban and Rural China. *Sophia Woodman*, University of British Columbia

Globalization, Work, and the Status of Chilean Women. *Evelyn Clark*, University of Kansas

New Middle Class at Risk in Japan? *Yoshimichi Sato*, Tohoku University

Table 7. Organizing

Table President: *Julia Tomassetti*, UCLA

Contested Capacity: Market Disruptions, Consumer-Labor Coalitions, and Health Care Reform. *Charlie Eaton*, University of California-Berkeley; *Margaret Weir*, University of California-Berkeley

The Hot Autumn of 2010 and the Transformation of Labor Contention in France. *Marcos Ancelovici*, McGill University

Trade Union Organizing in Eastern Europe: A Viable Pathway to Trade Union Revitalization? *Adam Mrozowicki*, University of Wroclaw

Climate, Trade Unions and Revitalization. *Carsten Strøby Jensen*, University of Copenhagen

Table 8. Labor Politics and History

Table President: *Kyle John Arnone*, UCLA

Beyond Grievances: Institutional Context and Labor Disputes in China's Foreign-Invested



Enterprises. *Yang Cao*, University of North Carolina-Charlotte  
 How Organized Labor Made American Old-Age Security Exceptional, 1940-1965. *Michael Alexander McCarthy*, New York University  
 Labor Union Mergers' Effects on Union Democracy, 1900-2005. *Jasmine Olivia Kerrissey*, University of California-Irvine  
 Political Partisanship and the Changing Character of the National Labor Relations Board. *Daniel B. Tope*, Florida State University

Table 9. Employment and Income Low-Wage Mobility During the Early Career. *Colin S. Campbell*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill  
 Migrant-specific Labour Market Segregation and the Earnings of Migrants and Natives in Germany. *Boris Heizmann*, Friedrich Schiller University-Jena; *Elke Holst*, German Institute for Economic Research  
 Race, Nativity and Household Income Strategies in the United States. *Patricia A. McManus*, Indiana University

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 23**

**1:30 pm -- Section on Labor and Labor Movements Business Meeting**

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 2:30 pm Sessions**

**560. Section on Economic Sociology Paper Session. Culture and Exclusion in the Organization of Work**

Session Organizer: *Alexandra Kalev*, University of Arizona  
 Presider: *Alexandra Kalev*, University of Arizona  
 Cultural Labor & Industrial Upgrading in India's IT Enabled Service Industry. *Eric Richard Eide*, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor  
 Organizational Culture and Politics of (In)visibility: On the Blind Spots of Women's Discrimination in the Academy. *Nitza Berkovitch*, Ben Gurion University; *Anat Waldman*, Ben Gurion University; *Riza Yanay*,  
 Branding Femininity at Hooters: Permissible Sex Discrimination. *Emilie Dubois*, Boston College

The Equal Employment Opportunity Law and the Institutionalization of Sex Segregation in Japan. *Eunmi Mun*, Harvard University  
 Off to a Green Start? How State Agents Shape the Employment Outcomes of Foreign Nationals. *Ben A Rissing*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; *Emilio J. Castilla*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**562. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Labor in the Global Economy**

Session Organizers: *Manjusha S. Nair*, State University of New Jersey-Rutgers  
*Valerie A. Francisco*, City University of New York-Graduate Center  
 Field of Fire: The Colombian Sugarcane Workers Strike. *Louis Edgar Esparza*, University of Denver  
 From Detroit to Shanghai? Globalization, Market Reform, and Labor Unrest in the Chinese Automobile Industry. *Lu Zhang*, Johns Hopkins  
 Indentured Workers 2.0?: Contemporary Chinese Migrant Laborers in Trinidad and Tobago. *Andrew N Le*, The University of British Columbia  
 Mapping Morality: Young Women's Encounter with the Global Knowledge Economy in Small-Town India. *Gowri Vijayakumar*, UC Berkeley  
 Power To Frame: The Human Rights Turn On Labor Rights In Chile. *Cesar F. Rosado Marzan*, Illinois Institute of Technology

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**Commentary**

**Obama's Gift to Verizon: The Poison Pill in PPACA Used to Extract Concessions from Labor**

by Steve Early

Since August 6, 45,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) have been on strike from Massachusetts to Virginia -- in the largest private sector work stoppage in the last seven years.

Health care cost shifting is high on the list of givebacks demanded by their employer, Verizon, which reported \$10.2 billion in profits in 2010 and net income of \$6.9 billion during the first half of this year.

The two unions involved walked out in 1986, 1989, 1998, and 2000 to maintain decent employer-paid medical coverage. In 2003 and 2008, they waged militant contract campaigns over the same issue, but narrowly avoided striking.

Some current strikers are veterans of the epic battle 22 years ago against NYNEX, a predecessor of VZ that operated just in New York and New England. In one of the few successful anti-concession campaigns of the 1980s, 60,000 IBEW and CWA members stayed out for four months to beat back management demands for premium sharing.

Two union members died, directly or indirectly, as a result of that struggle. Scores were arrested, more than 250 were fired or suspended, and all employer-paid health insurance was cut off by NYNEX, to pressure workers and their families into a concessionary settlement.

As I reported in *Civil Wars in U.S. Labor* (Haymarket Books, 2011), NYNEX strikers countered this attack by carefully framing the main strike issue in a way that resonated far beyond their own ranks. Their buttons, banners, press releases, and leaflets all made it clear that the solution to medical cost inflation was "Health Care for All, Not Health Cuts at NYNEX!"

Backed by allies like Jesse Jackson and Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP), the NYNEX strike became a popular focal point for ongoing public agitation and membership education about the need for Canadian-style national health insurance. This community-labor coalition building, plus the enormous sacrifices of the strikers themselves, paid off in the end.

When the strike was over, telephone workers in the northeast still made no premium contributions for comprehensive individual or family coverage.

The same is true today, at a time when almost all other workers are paying an even bigger share of the cost of their job-based benefits, if they have any.

### **"Cadillac" Tax Impact**

After two decades of battling to keep their own insurance affordable (while calling for Medicare-for-All as a better alternative for themselves and everyone else) ex-NYNEX strikers felt quite betrayed last year when leading Democrats like Max Baucus, Harry Reid, and President Obama targeted their medical benefits (and other union-negotiated plans) for unprecedented taxation to fund the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA).

What union activists always thought was a "Chevy" -- that everyone should have in their garage via a tax-supported social insurance system -- was routinely described (and demonized) in Congress as "Cadillac coverage."

According to the Obama Administration, such "luxury plans" must be taxed -- to restrain rising health care costs (and discourage "overuse"), raise more federal revenue for expanded Medicaid eligibility, and cross-subsidize the less generous private insurance coverage mandated, for individuals but not employers, by PPACA.

After frantic union lobbying, the resulting 40 percent "excise tax" on part of the value of higher cost medical plans was ultimately postponed until 2018 (and its impact mitigated in other ways).

Nevertheless, as the current benefit imbroglio at Verizon illustrates, this is a poison pill in PPACA that's already making union bargaining more difficult, even at hugely profitable firms.

Just last month, VZ management sent a message to all of its union-represented "associates" in the northeast, which informed them that they must pay more for their benefits now, thanks to

Obama's version of "health care reform." Said Verizon:

Under the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, an excise tax will be levied on healthcare plans with very generous plan design components (so-called "Cadillac plans"). . . . This excise tax is projected to cost the company as much as \$200 million in 2018 when the tax is imposed; however, Verizon is required to account for this cost now. Accordingly, we will need to modify plan designs to avoid the impact of this tax.

Not surprisingly, Verizon's tax-avoidance scheme requires shifting costs to workers. According to the company, its "current average annual medical coverage" expense is nearly \$14,000 a year for each union member, which is "twice the average for comparable companies in the eastern U.S. whose employees make contributions toward their healthcare." In addition, "99 per cent of companies now charge for family health coverage." So this disparity needs to be corrected by forcing workers with dependents to pay \$1,300 to \$3,000 a year for such benefits. (Overall, the total, per employee, cost of all pay and benefit concessions currently sought by Verizon is \$20,000, according to CWA President Larry Cohen.)

As Mark Dudzic, from the Labor Campaign for Single Payer, points out, if management was "really concerned about the well-being of its 'associates,' the company would work with the unions to transform PPACA into an improved and expanded Medicare for All program. More practically, they could set up joint committees to work on plan design and cost savings to keep under the 2018 excise tax triggers."

### **The Single-Payer Alternative**

Instead, Verizon has always maintained fierce ideological opposition to any single-payer legislative proposals. And, in bargaining this summer, it has spurned "cost-containment" committee schemes as well -- because other

unionized companies, like GE and AT&T, have already won cost reductions through recently negotiated increases in medical plan contributions by their employees.

As Dudzic notes, it's becoming increasingly difficult, under these circumstances, to defend benefit packages that only those with remaining bargaining clout or strike capacity still have. "We've got to find ways to turn around this race to the bottom and do what our brothers and sisters in the rest of the industrialized world have already done -- remove healthcare from the bargaining table and establish it as a birthright for everyone in America," he said. "In the meantime, we need to inspire all workers to fight for Verizon-quality benefits, rather than resent those few who have fought and sacrificed to maintain them."

Some CWA and IBEW strikers who are trying to uphold their valiant tradition of fighting for real health care reform -- while resisting benefit cuts sought by management -- face an additional political challenge this year. Locally and nationally, "health care for all" was still an unmet demand, with multiple meanings, two decades ago. Now, many workers have been told by their own unions that "universal coverage" has been achieved -- in the form of "Romneycare" in Massachusetts and through PPACA, the national plan that Obama modeled on Romney's.

Meanwhile, even Democrat-dominated state legislatures (like ours in the Bay State) are imposing curbs on the scope of public employee bargaining about medical benefits, to allow municipal governments to shift costs unilaterally, if necessary. And, in the private sector, even deep-pocketed employers like Verizon are using their union contact negotiations to win similar concessions from workers, wherever they can.

Clearly, Romneycare and Obamacare aren't providing their promised cost-shifting relief. In the case of the latter, the "excise tax" is already adding to the pressure for give-backs. The only effective response is what's worked before in telecom: linking workplace militancy and strikes

to revived political action that blows the whistle on PPACA (and its multiple poison pills), while mobilizing labor and its allies for more Vermont-style single-payer initiatives, no matter how many obstacles they face, at the state level or nationally.

*Steve Early is a labor journalist, lawyer, and former national union representative for the Communications Workers of America, based in Boston. For more on SEIU's call center servicing experiment, see Early's latest book, The Civil Wars in U.S. Labor, available at [www.civilwarsinlabor.org](http://www.civilwarsinlabor.org). Reprinted from [www.mrzine.monthlyreview.org](http://www.mrzine.monthlyreview.org).*

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## **Commentary**

### **Inconsistent Enforcement of State Wage and Hour Laws Could Lead to “Regulatory Race to the Bottom,” New Study Finds**

Source:

[http://www.law.columbia.edu/center\\_program/ag/policy/Labor/wagehour](http://www.law.columbia.edu/center_program/ag/policy/Labor/wagehour)

APRIL 5, 2011: The National State Attorneys General Program at Columbia Law School has issued a report on state wage and hour law enforcement, analyzing survey responses from 37 states and the District of Columbia.

The study is the first of its breadth and depth to be conducted on a national scale, and includes an objective analysis of wage and hour enforcement on the state level, measuring the methods and extent of enforcement, and the ability of states to track and share data on wage and hour enforcement. It is based on data available in the fall of 2010.

The full report can be found here:

[http://www.law.columbia.edu/null?&exclusive=filemgr.download&file\\_id=551819&rtcontentdispos](http://www.law.columbia.edu/null?&exclusive=filemgr.download&file_id=551819&rtcontentdispos)

[ition=filename%3DWage%20and%20Hour%20Report%20FINAL.pdf](#)

As the report notes, while 45 states have minimum wage laws, the mere existence of such laws does not mean they are followed. “Without meaningful enforcement by state regulators, some employers will simply disregard their legal obligations if doing so allows them to save time, money or effort, putting the majority who wish to abide by the law at a significant competitive disadvantage,” the report warns. “This creates a regulatory race to the bottom by states as they seek to compete to attract businesses.” Among the study’s key findings:

- \* Most states surveyed saw a significant increase in the number of low-wage workers in 2009. That increase was often matched by corresponding cuts or freezes in resources devoted to wage and hour enforcement. Alleged violations over pay for low-wage workers generate the most wage and hour complaints.
- \* The degree and scope of wage and hour enforcement varies widely among the states. Some state labor departments have more comprehensive mandates, which include oversight of child labor, worker training, and employment discrimination, while Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida have no state agency that enforces wage and hour standards. In these states, complaints are referred to the federal government or private attorneys.
- \* The most common way that states identify potential wage and hour violations is via individual complaints by employees. Of the few states that engage in more proactive enforcement, their primary focus was violations of prevailing wage laws—which establish wages for public works projects—and employee misclassification laws—which aim to prevent employers from evading wage and hour and other labor laws.
- \* The number of complaints trailed off as the recession began in 2008, which the study suggests could be linked to employees being more hesitant

to challenge employers in the midst of harsh economic conditions. Wisconsin noted specifically that it had experienced lower complaint totals during prior economic slowdowns.

The study was conducted by attorneys Jacob Meyer '09 and Robert Greenleaf, under the direction of James Tierney, director of the National State Attorneys General Program. Funding for the study came from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other unions, as well as employer groups such as the National Electrical Contractors Association.

The report does not issue any recommendations other than to call for more research by states and other stakeholders about how to improve wage and hour enforcement, especially in the face of sharply curtailed state budgets.

“We realize the fiscal realities faced by the state, but this is one area that can’t be ignored,” said Tierney, who served as Maine’s attorney general from 1980-1990. “But without sufficient enforcement, families, law abiding businesses and the communities where they live in will be hurt. That would only be a further drag on the economy. We hope that this report will stimulate discussion and result in increased state-by-state research on the effectiveness of state wage and hour enforcement.”

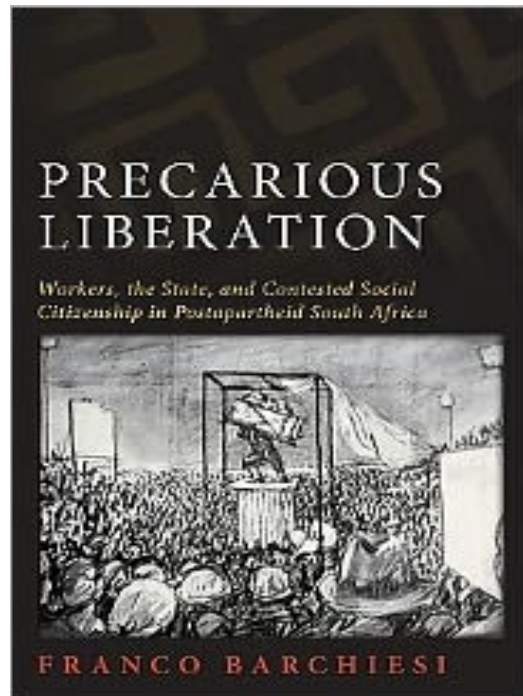
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## Recent Publications

**Franco Barchiesi, *Precarious Liberation: Workers, the State, and Contested Social Citizenship in Postapartheid South Africa* (State University of New York Press, 2011).**

Millions of black South African workers struggled against apartheid to redeem employment and

production from a history of abuse, insecurity, and racial despotism. Almost two decades later, however, the prospects of a dignified life of wage-earning work remain unattainable for most South Africans. Through extensive archival and



ethnographic research, Franco Barchiesi documents and interrogates this important dilemma in the country’s democratic transition: economic participation has gained centrality in the government’s definition of virtuous citizenship, and yet for most workers, employment remains an elusive and insecure experience. In a context of market liberalization and persistent social and racial inequalities, as jobs in South Africa become increasingly flexible, fragmented, and unprotected, they depart from the promise of work with dignity and citizenship rights that once inspired opposition to apartheid. Barchiesi traces how the employment crisis and the responses of workers to it challenge the state’s normative imagination of work, and raise decisive questions for the social foundations and prospects of South Africa’s democratic experiment.

**Franco Barchiesi** is Assistant Professor in the Department of African-American and African Studies at the Ohio State University. He is the

coeditor (with Tom Bramble) of *Rethinking the Labour Movement in the "New South Africa"*.

“Franco Barchiesi provides a detailed, critical account of how the discourse and ideology of the postapartheid government cast waged work as a primary source of virtue for social subjects and key to the rights of citizenship, even at a time when employment for the majority of workers is becoming ever more precarious. He adds to this a wonderfully rich ethnographic investigation of workers' views, desires, and fears regarding work, which are complex and at times surprising.

Although firmly grounded in South Africa, Barchiesi's analysis is essential for anyone trying to understand and contest the intimate relation between work and governmentality.” — **Michael Hardt**, coauthor of *Empire; Multitude; and Commonwealth*

“In his tour de force, Franco Barchiesi shows how the reduction of citizenship to wage labor, inherited from the struggles against apartheid, has left South Africa's working class defenseless against the neoliberal offensive. Desperation takes over and violence spreads. Capturing disillusionment among subject populations, *Precarious Liberation* is sure to make waves in the field of South African studies and beyond.” — **Michael Burawoy**, author of *The Extended Case Method*

A volume in the SUNY series in Global Modernity, Arif Dirlik, editor  
 Available June 2011; \$29.95 paperback, \$90.00 hardcover  
 Published in cooperation with the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Press  
[www.sunypress.edu](http://www.sunypress.edu) ▪ State University of New York Press ▪ 877-204-6073

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**Erynn M. Casanova, “Multiplying Themselves: Women Cosmetics Sellers in Ecuador,”**  
*Feminist Economics* (2011) 17(2): 1-29.

**Erynn M. Casanova, *Making Up the Difference: Women, Beauty, and Direct Selling in Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).**



Globalization and economic restructuring have decimated formal jobs in developing countries, pushing many women into informal employment such as direct selling of cosmetics, perfume, and other personal care products as a way to "make up the difference" between household income and expenses. In Ecuador, with its persistent economic crisis and few opportunities for financially and personally rewarding work, women increasingly choose direct selling as a way to earn income by activating their social networks. While few women earn the cars and trips that are iconic prizes in the direct selling organization, many use direct selling as part of a set of household survival strategies.

In this first in-depth study of a cosmetics direct selling organization in Latin America, Erynn Masi de Casanova explores women's identities as workers, including their juggling of paid work and domestic responsibilities, their ideas about professional appearance, and their strategies for collecting money from customers. Focusing on women who work for the country's leading direct

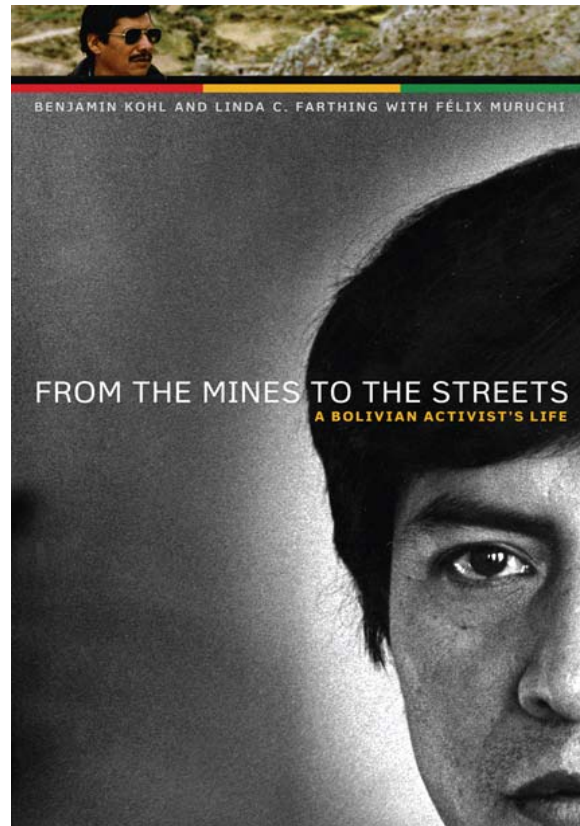
selling organization, she offers fascinating portraits of the everyday lives of women selling personal care products in Ecuador's largest city, Guayaquil. Addressing gender relations (including a look at men's direct and indirect involvement), the importance of image, and the social and economic context of direct selling, Casanova challenges assumptions that this kind of flexible employment resolves women's work/home conflicts and offers an important new perspective on women's work in developing countries.

\* \* \*

**Benjamin Kohl and Linda C. Farthing, with Félix Muruchi, *From the Mines to the Streets: A Bolivian Activist's Life*** (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

*From the Mines to the Streets* draws on the life of Félix Muruchi to depict the greater forces at play in Bolivia and elsewhere in South America during the last half of the twentieth century. It traces Félix from his birth in an indigenous family in 1946, just after the abolition of bonded labor, through the next sixty years of Bolivia's turbulent history. As a teenager, Félix followed his father into the tin mines before serving a compulsory year in the military, during which he witnessed the 1964 coup d'état that plunged the country into eighteen years of military rule. He returned to work in the mines, where he quickly rose to become a union leader. The reward for his activism was imprisonment, torture, and exile. After he came home, he participated actively in the struggles against neoliberal governments, which led in 2006—the year of his sixtieth birthday—to the inauguration of Evo Morales as Bolivia's first indigenous president.

The authors weave Muruchi's compelling recollections with contextual commentary that elucidates Bolivian history. The combination of an unforgettable life story and in-depth text boxes makes this a gripping, effective account, destined to become a classic sourcebook.



“Felix Muruchi's narrative makes a significant contribution by providing an insightful view of Bolivian union and social movements in the second half of the twentieth century. This work should be of great importance to political scientists, sociologists, and economists, as well as anthropologists, as it demonstrates precisely how the personal experience introduced in the autobiography enriches the analysis of social processes.”—June Nash, Distinguished Professor Emerita in Social Anthropology, CUNY Graduate Center

“The autobiographical story told by Felix Muruchi Poma is compelling and brings to life aspects of contemporary Bolivia (and other parts of Latin America) that have rarely if ever been brought together in a concise yet elegantly readable account. At a time when Bolivia is experiencing dramatic social and political transformation, this book provides important insights into the historical context that makes those changes so remarkable. Our understandings

of indigeneity, labor, exile, and activism are advanced substantially through this book, which is ideally suited for course adoption. I recommend it highly.”—Eric Hershberg, Director, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, and Professor of Government, American University



## **Job opportunity**

Cornell University, Department of Development Sociology—The Department of Development Sociology in the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University is seeking applicants for a 9-month tenure-track position (Assistant Professor) in Sociology of Food Systems. This position is part of an interdisciplinary cluster hire that also includes a position in Sustainable Cropping and Food Systems in the Department of Crop and Soil Sciences. The position start date is negotiable and salary is competitive and commensurate with background and experience.

Responsibilities: This position has 50% Teaching and 50% Research responsibilities. Qualified applicants must have a demonstrated ability to establish a distinguished record of scholarship with clear relevance to food system issues, and demonstrated ability to participate in and/or lead interdisciplinary projects. Appointees will be expected to develop an internationally recognized and externally funded research program on the social organization of food systems. Teaching will consist of 2.5 courses per year focusing on the social organization and restructuring of food systems in the U.S. and/or internationally. More information on food system and other related research, teaching and outreach in Development Sociology can be found at <http://devsoc.cals.cornell.edu>.

Qualifications: Ph.D. in Sociology or related disciplines. The candidate must be able to work in a multi-disciplinary and multi-cultural setting and create a collegial professional environment.

Applications: Candidates are requested to submit a cover letter stating why she/he is a good candidate for this tenure track position, together with a curriculum vitae, a brief research plan, and a statement of teaching interests and experience. All application materials, including the cover letter, curriculum vitae, research plan, statement of teaching interest and selected reprints should be incorporated into a single PDF file and submitted electronically to Ms. Cynthia Twardokus ([ct259@cornell.edu](mailto:ct259@cornell.edu)). Review of applications will begin after 15 July 2011, continuing until the deadline of October 1, 2011. Inquiries may be sent to Professor Philip McMichael, Development Sociology, Search Committee Chair ([pdm1@cornell.edu](mailto:pdm1@cornell.edu)). Applicants should also provide names and email addresses of three individuals who may be contacted to provide letters of recommendation.

Cornell University, located in Ithaca, New York, is an inclusive, dynamic, and innovative Ivy League university and New York’s land-grant institution. For information about the home department, visit <http://devsoc.cals.cornell.edu/>. Cornell University is an equal opportunity, affirmative action educator and employer. Applications from women and minorities are strongly encouraged.



## **Fellowship**

### **2011 Abe Fellowship Competition**

Deadline: September 1, 2011  
<http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/abe-fellowship/>

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership (CGP), and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) announce the annual Abe Fellowship competition. The Abe Fellowship is



designed to encourage international multidisciplinary research on topics of pressing global concern. The Abe Fellowship Program seeks to foster the development of a new generation of researchers who are interested in policy-relevant topics of long-range importance and who are willing to become key members of a bilateral and global research network built around such topics.

The Abe Fellowship Research Agenda—Applicants are invited to submit proposals for research in the social sciences and related fields relevant to any of the following three themes:

- 1) Traditional and Non-Traditional Approaches to Security and Diplomacy—Topic areas include transnational terrorism, internal ethnic and religious strife, infectious diseases, food safety, climate change, and non-proliferation, as well as the role of cultural initiatives in peace building.
- 2) Global and Regional Economic Issues—Topic areas include regional and bilateral trade arrangements, international financial stability, globalization and the mitigation of its adverse consequences, sustainable urbanization, and environmental degradation.
- 3) Social and Cultural Issues—Topic areas include demographic change, immigration, the role of civil society and media as champions of the public interest, social enterprise, corporate social responsibility, and revitalization of multi-cultural urban areas.

Research projects should be policy relevant, contemporary, and comparative or transnational.

Fellowship Terms—Terms of the fellowship are flexible and are designed to meet the needs of Japanese and American researchers at different stages in their careers. The program provides Abe Fellows with a minimum of three and maximum of 12 months of full-time support over a 24 month period. Part-time residence abroad in the United States or Japan is required.

Eligibility—This competition is open to citizens of the United States and Japan as well as to

nationals of other countries who can demonstrate a serious, long-term affiliation with research communities in the United States or Japan. Applicants must hold a Ph.D. or the terminal degree in their field, or equivalent professional experience at the time of application. Applications from researchers in professions other than academia are encouraged.

Contact Details—For further information and to apply, go to:

<http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/abe-fellowship/>.

Contact SSRC staff at [abe@ssrc.org](mailto:abe@ssrc.org).

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## Request from Bhutan

The Sociology Department of Sherubtse College in Kanglung, Bhutan ([www.sherubtse.edu.bt](http://www.sherubtse.edu.bt)) is requesting your kind assistance. The department is now concluding its second year offering sociology courses. Because we do not yet have a sociology library we are asking for book donations from the global community of sociologists. Our need for literature is vital in that Bhutan is undergoing profound and rapid social change and we believe that the discipline of sociology – and your book donations – can significantly contribute to its betterment. Both contemporary and time-tested classics will be greatly appreciated with single-subject books more useful than textbooks. We especially need books that focus on social theory, qualitative research methods, social statistics, the sociology of development, political economy, globalization, environmental sociology, rural sociology, social change, sociology of the family, sociology of religion, the sociology of health and medicine, technology and social forecasting and social demography. Questions can be directed to [sherubtsebookdonations@gmail.com](mailto:sherubtsebookdonations@gmail.com). Please send your donations by October 15, 2011 to our North American collection point at:

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 NY 11377

Thank you,  
 The faculty of Sherubtse College



## Call for Papers

### **Labor, Democracy and Global Capital XXXVI Annual Conference on the Political Economy of the World System, Clark University, April 19-21, 2012**

Crisis and stagnation, growth and industrialization; upward mobility among the hierarchy of nations and growing inequality within nations: all these are part of the world scene. In the core nations of the world system laborers and the labor movement were able to attain a modicum of social inclusion during the middle of the 20th Century. Can this be regained or duplicated on a world scale? In the course of the 19th and Twentieth Centuries, again among the rich countries, many previously excluded or marginalized groups obtained both the formal franchise and the promise of social inclusion. Under the institutional conditions of global capitalism can democratic aspirations once again be realized? This conference will focus on Labor and Democracy for the coming era.

1. The Race to the Bottom: Labor, Environmental and Social standards in the global market. What is the evidence for geographical/political shift of investments from higher wage/ social standards jurisdictions to lower ones? What are the consequences? What should be done?

2. The Fate of the "Welfare State." In the Era of Neoliberalism and Globalised Capital can high wage, high benefit social regimes survive? Long term trends seem to indicate rising inequality and erosion of social benefits even among the more

generous of the welfare capitalist nations. Is this temporary or reversible? Can workers in peripheral social formations enjoy the fruits of growth under conditions of neoliberal competition? What can be learned from the Chinese case?

3. Democracy for Whom? Global Governance and International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund have been subject to long term criticism as agents for the rich in the rich countries. But now they claim to have reformed. Have they changed, and if so how? Are the IFIs a skeleton of world governance? If so, are the Enlightenment ideals of republican and democratic government relevant to the global future? If not, how are they to be governed and by whom?

4. Formal/ informal: globalization, gender, and livelihood strategies. The flows of people from countryside to city or from poor or crisis regions to richer or growing regions highlight the challenges individuals, families, and communities face as they are incorporated into the global wage worker economy. How are formal and informal economies being (re)integrated in Northern and Southern contexts through migrations and livelihood strategies among the poor and disenfranchised? How are marginalized or subordinated groups, such as workers, women, and migrants, experiencing the global market and how are the forces of global capitalism supporting or neglecting these groups in new (or old) ways?

Submissions should be sent to: [pewsconference36@clarku.edu](mailto:pewsconference36@clarku.edu). Abstracts of 250 words on the general theme or on one of the specific subthemes, including full contact information for all authors should be sent by **December 23, 2011**. Accepted will be considered for a planned edited volume. Send other inquiries to Robert J.S. Ross ([rjsross@clarku.edu](mailto:rjsross@clarku.edu)). The Conference will be hosted at historic Clark University in Worcester, MA.