

# In Critical Solidarity

Vol. 12, No. 3

June 2013

## ASA Labor and Labor Movement Newsletter

*Please note, the last issue was incorrectly numbered Vol. 12, No.3. It should have been Vol. 12, No.2. Sorry!*

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**This edition is provided in 14 and 16 point font for increased accessibility for vision impaired readers.**

# **SECTION RECEPTION**

**Monday, August 18  
6:30 - 8:30 pm  
UNITE HERE! Local 2  
209 Golden Gate Ave.,  
San Francisco, CA 94102**

**Please come and join members of the section for the Reception at UNITE HERE! Local 2. This is a great chance to make, and renew friendships; catch up with news in the labor field, and network. We would love to see you there!**

# **SECTION BUSINESS MEETING**

**MON, AUGUST 18,  
11:30AM TO 12:10PM, TBA**

**We will be presenting the three section awards at the business meeting (the best scholarly book award, the best article award, and the grad student paper award), introducing the newly elected section officers, and planning for the year ahead.**

**See you there!!!**

# ABOUT UNITE HERE! LOCAL 2



## About Local 2

UNITE HERE! Local 2 represents about 12,000 workers in the hospitality industries of San Francisco and San Mateo. Local 2 members work at many job sites – including hotels, restaurants, food services, laundries and San Francisco International Airport. They include room cleaners, cooks, bartenders, bellmen, food and beverage servers, bussers, and dishwashers. Local 2's parent union, UNITE HERE!, represents hotel, food service, and gaming workers throughout the US and Canada.

### **A Decent Living Standard**

San Francisco's hotel workers work at the core of the region's economy. Last year, according to the San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau, 4.7 million visitors spent \$5.3 billion on their hotel stay. Hotel tax generated \$233 million, constituting 44% of City revenues from the tourism industry.

Through their union, hotel workers in San Francisco have been able to uphold livable wages and benefits that keep them from having to resort to MediCal and other government assistance programs. This stands in stark contrast to the condition of workers in cities that, unlike San Francisco, are predominantly non-union. A typical hotel worker in San Francisco earns roughly \$30,000 per year. Because of the seasonality of the tourism industry, workers average considerably less than 40 hours per week, and many work second jobs. Though these wages make it difficult to meet the Bay Area's high cost of living, combined with affordable healthcare, job security, and retirement benefits they permit hotel workers to raise their families with dignity.

### **The Members of Local 2**

Local 2's members are the face of San Francisco's hospitality industry. A majority have come to San Francisco from overseas, including China, Latin America, and the Philippines. They take enormous pride in delivering world class hospitality to San Francisco's guests, and the average member has worked at their hotel for over 12 years.

From <http://www.unitehere2.org/about/>

## From the Newsletter Editor (Mark Sherry): Labor Roundup



Although there is a lot of information in this Newsletter about the ASA meeting, I would also like to remind everyone that the daily struggles of the labor movement go on.

Since the last newsletter, the Senate blocked the Fair Minimum Wage Act, preventing 30 million of our lowest paid workers from having a better life.

There is a court case (Harris v. Quinn) which threatens the very future of public sector unions, because it has the potential to overturn the right to collect fair share fees. It's not just a matter of recognizing the right of public home care providers to collectively bargain (as the following Jobs With Justice link suggests):

[http://afl.salsalabs.com/o/4023/c/33/p/dia/action3/common/public/?action\\_KEY=8617&track=NAT\\_140531\\_hvq\\_e](http://afl.salsalabs.com/o/4023/c/33/p/dia/action3/common/public/?action_KEY=8617&track=NAT_140531_hvq_e) If the Supreme Court decides to overturn the right to collect fair share fees (which is what 'Right to Work' laws also do) – public sector unionism will be decimated.

Another very important case is being heard by the National Labor Relations Board. It involves the Communication Workers of America and Purple Communications Inc, and will determine whether employers can legally prevent unions from sending e-mails over the business email system.

I also want to make sure you're aware of the strike which has been occurring in Germany at Autogrill (the world's biggest provider of catering and retail services for travelers). Please see the following link for more information:

[http://www.labourstartcampaigns.net/show\\_campaign.cgi?c=2313](http://www.labourstartcampaigns.net/show_campaign.cgi?c=2313)

In the UK, over a million and a half of public servants are expected to walk off the job for 24 hours next month in protest against the government's paltry pay offer - those at lower grades will be paid £6.75 an hour, only 25p more than the minimum wage.

Throughout the globe, many workers face incredibly dangerous conditions on the job. One May 13, there was a mining disaster in Soma, Turkey which killed 301 people.

In Australia on May 20, Toll Shipping worker Anthony Attard, 42, was crushed to death on the Melbourne wharves. A number of workers had been seriously injured there before this incident, and yet employer representatives at the Australian Logistics Council have subsequently rejected a stevedoring code of practice which would set minimum safety standards.

Also in Australia, new anti-union laws are being drafted, which some unions have called "fascist", which would mean that individual construction workers who go on strike could have their homes seized if they do not pay the penalties for their industrial action.

Closer to home, the recent protests by low-paid food workers against McDonalds in major cities of America such as New York are another reminder just how tough it is for a low paid worker trying to make ends meet. But it is also a sign for optimism – people are rallying together collectively, they are making demands (in this case, a minimum fast food wage of \$15 per hour) and they are garnering national (and sometimes, international) attention.

Likewise, thousands of people came out to support the workers at Johns Hopkins Hospital who are being paid unacceptably low wages. The starting wage is \$10.71 an hour, and 1,400 employees--including some 15-year veterans--are paid less than \$10.91, qualifying a family of four for food stamps.

The New York Times recently exposed the terrible labor conditions experienced at the NYU Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates campus. Workers were being charged up to \$3000 in recruitment fees, forced to live in overcrowded conditions, made to work 11 and 12 hour days, having their passports confiscated, and so forth. A protest was held at the Guggenheim Museum on May 26.

Throughout the US, postal employees & local unions are still organizing protests against the sweetheart deal between the USPS and Staples that puts postal retail operations in Staples stores — and staffs them with low-wage, high-turnover Staples employees.

Interestingly, workers at the Guitar Center in Las Vegas followed their co-workers at Guitar Centers in New York and Chicago in voting to unionize. Is this proof that unions rock?

In our own industry, the contingent faculty at Seattle University are voting on whether to unionize, and Monday June 2 is the last day of voting. If the vote was successful, they would join the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 925.

We are also mourning the loss of Maya Angelou, who passed on May 28. As well as her many other achievements, she had strong labor connections, having attended the California Labor School and being the first black female streetcar conductor in San Francisco.

The labor movement also lost General Gordon Baker, Jr. on May 18 at the age of 72. He is best known for his work in organizing a 1968 wildcat strike of thousands of automotive workers and for demanding better inclusion and respect of black workers within the United Auto Workers (UAW) union.

On a personal note, unfortunately, I won't be able to attend ASA this year... so I hope you all have a great conference. But I will put out another newsletter on August 1 – just before the conference... so please email me your news to [markdsherry@yahoo.com](mailto:markdsherry@yahoo.com) by July 26.

# BOYCOTTS OF SOME SAN FRANCISCO HOTELS

**BOYCOTT! Hyatt Fisherman's Wharf**  
555 North Point St,  
San Francisco, CA 94133

A graphic with the word "BOYCOTT!" in bold, red, sans-serif capital letters on a grey, textured background.

## **Leading the city in back-breaking workloads**

In the summer of 2008, Hyatt Fisherman's Wharf became the first of 15 non-union Hyatt hotels where workers publicly called on the company to give them a fair and neutral process to organize. The Hyatt Fisherman's Wharf was sold earlier this year. However, Hyatt continues to profit from the hotel as a franchisee. Even under new ownership many of the same working conditions that led workers to organize for a fair process still exist. Housekeepers continue to suffer from work injuries due to back breaking workloads. In December of 2012 Hyatt Fisherman's Wharf agreed to an unprecedented settlement with Cal/OSHA resolving a set of citations, two of which pertained to repetitive motion injuries. Unfortunately the new owner has maintained many of the same housekeeping work rules that led to high rates of injuries for housekeepers when the hotel was under Hyatt management. Workers at the Hyatt Fisherman's Wharf just want the same things that unionized hotel workers across San Francisco have: quality affordable health care, job security, and a secure retirement.

See more at: <http://www.hyatthurts.org/hyatts-under-boycott-or-at-risk-of-dispute/#sthash.phFfG5JW.dpuf>

**BOYCOTT! Le Meridien San Francisco**  
333 Battery Street  
San Francisco, CA 94111

A graphic with the word "BOYCOTT!" in bold, red, sans-serif capital letters on a grey, textured background.

There is a national protest again HEI Hospitality, which manages Le Meridien, around the issue of the right to form a union. 350 people protested outside this hotel in August 2013, claiming that the hotel has not agreed to a fair process to decide on unionization. According to Unite Here Local 2, a survey of HEI's Le Meridien workers in San Francisco and Cambridge found that 93 percent believe HEI does not care about their well-being and 68 percent think the company does not care about guest service. Nearly 85 percent of workers polled said they do not believe they have adequate supplies or are given the appropriate amount of time to deliver high-quality guest service. See more at:

<http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/2013/08/hotel-workers-protest-le-meridien-san.html>

**If you are ever wondering whether a hotel is under a union boycott, go to this site:** <http://www.hotelworkersrising.org/HotelGuide/>

# SECTION PAPERS AT THE ASA CONFERENCE

## **Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. A Question of Scale: Where and How to Mobilize Worker Rights**

**Mon, August 18, 8:30 to 10:10am, TBA**

**Session Submission Type: Paper Session**

This panel will focus on the scale, strategies, and broader politics of worker organizing primarily in the contemporary US, but also globally and with case studies of other countries. It will broadly address different "terrains of struggle" and sites of intervention - from electoral politics, corporate campaigns, community coalitions, and new forms of legal mobilization.

Session Organizer: [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

Session Presider: Prof. Shannon Gleeson, Cornell University

### *Individual Submissions*

[\*\*Labor Power and Governance: Theorizing a New Terrain of Struggle - Jamie McCallum, Middlebury College\*\*](#)

A new spirit of labor movement activity has emerged in the last three decades. Whereas traditional union strategies seek to exert pressure on management or the state to increase wages or benefits packages, or to respect a panoply of rights, new strategies I call governance struggles target the corporation at a level removed from the workplace in the hope of creating a new rules of engagement that will enable workers to exercise power. In other words, the dominant forms of labor organizing have changed dramatically, reflecting a new analysis of power resources in the global political economy. Governance struggles are typically associated with processes of globalization, and constitute the heart of labor transnationalism since the late 1960s, but are also emblematic of domestic movements too. I argue that this new paradigm represents a significant development based on a revised understanding of the role of workers and states in today's global economy. This paper theorizes this perspective through an analysis of different campaign strategies—neutrality campaigns in healthcare, corporate campaigns with janitors, and global framework agreements with large multinational corporations.

## **Understanding How to Revitalize the Labor Movement by Analyzing Alinsky's Legacy - Jane McAlevey, City University of New York-Graduate Center**

At the AFL-CIO's quadrennial convention in September, 2013, much ado was made about workers formally excluded from protection under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), as well as about the abject failure of the NLRA to protect worker's rights in traditional workplaces. The top solutions discussed were about "making real alliances" and linking up with "the community." In light of the discussions reverberating throughout the labor movement about "the community," I argue a review of the strengths and weaknesses of the ideas first proffered by Saul Alinsky, often referred to as the 'dean' or 'father' of community organizing, are timely if not urgent. Critical engagement with Alinsky's work is important because his legacy remains strong today. His work is particularly influential in the New Labor movement as many of the current leaders, notably the United Farm Workers (UFW), the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union (UNITE-HERE), and by extension the remaining Change-to-Win Federation unions, were trained in Alinsky-like formations.

## **Space, Opportunities and Labor Protest Across Political Regimes: Chilean Metalworkers' Mobilization, 1945-2011 - Joel P. Stillerman, Grand Valley State University**

Students of contentious politics have recently focused how opportunity and threat shape social protest in the Global South. Additionally, researchers have considered how space, place, and scale shape collective action. This paper integrates these two approaches to understand four strikes among metalworkers in Chile. I first consider the conditions under which opportunity and threat can facilitate or constrain labor protest. Using Lefebvre's conception of the production of space (1991), and Brenner's (2004) notion of state spaces, I examine how changes in the spatial structure of capital and government in Chile affected labor mobilization. I integrate these concepts with the ideas of spatial routines, time-distance costs, safe spaces, and sense of place (Tilly 2000). Drawing on 100 oral histories, participant observation, and documentary evidence, I argue that under Chile's democratic-Keynesian state space (1939-1973), the concentration of factories, housing, and union infrastructure in Santiago, the country's capital, facilitated the creation of a sense of place among workers and provided political allies, facilitating successful labor mobilization. Under authoritarian-neoliberal state space (1973-1990), political repression as well as industrial, state, and housing decentralization and fragmentation eroded the sense of place, eliminated labor's political allies, and decreased labor's mobilization capacity. Under democratic-neoliberal state space, the legacies of fragmentation continued though a political opening led workers to "jump scale" (Miller 2000). The political conjunctures for each strike shaped labor's and capital's spatial strategies. These findings have broad implications for the evolution of social protest over short- and long-term changes in the spatial configuration of economy and state.

## **The National Labor Relations Act in the Non-unionized Workplace: Workers' Mobilization of Section 7 - Jessica Garrick, University of Michigan**

Contemporary socio-legal scholars argue that deunionization has resulted in the increased salience of individual—versus collective—rights in the workplace. While some scholars have focused on the increased importance of non-union organizations in helping individuals to mobilize their rights, others argue that workplace rights are still largely inaccessible. I suggest here that deunionization also has resulted in new attention to another form of collective legal mobilization in the workplace: the "protected concerted activity" rights provided by the National Labor Relations Act's Section 7, which apply to all private-sector workers regardless of their union membership. I argue that the non-union mobilization of the NLRA sheds light upon other forms of legally defensible resistance for workers, as well as the existence of overlooked possibilities within the law. I use both quantitative and qualitative analyses to examine whether and where non-union workers have mobilized the law. I find that direct and indirect ties to unions are the strongest predictors of this variety of legal mobilization, and that new labor movement strategies are being built with the human and legal resources of the old system.

## **Our Time to Speak is Now: Electoral Tactics in Defending Teachers' Collective Bargaining Rights -Amanda Pullum, University of California-Irvine**

Although state and corporate efforts to weaken unions are nothing new, recently these efforts have shifted to target public employees' unions, which now include the majority of organized workers. Public school teachers in many states have been targeted by legislation that weakens or removes their collective bargaining rights, tenure, and other benefits. In this paper, I discuss electoral tactics, such as veto referenda or recall campaigns, as one approach to opposing such legislative threats. Methods of placing legislation on the ballot or bringing a vote on whether an elected official should stay in office exist in 34 states, yet teachers' unions rarely used them in efforts against legislation threatening collective bargaining or tenure rights. I use qualitative comparative analysis to determine the causal conditions under which teachers' unions did not use electoral tactics in states where they had the legal ability to do so.



# **Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Organizing the Unorganizable: Labor Activism among Informal and Low-Wage Workers**

Mon, August 18, 2:30 to 4:10pm, TBA

Session Submission Type: Paper Session

This panel examines labor activism among informal and low-wage workers—groups who are often characterized as “unorganizable.” Addressing issues of race, gender & global comparisons, this panel brings together research on a diverse array of labor from India to the U.S., including illegal sex workers, informal mine workers, temporary warehouse workers, and immigrant day laborers (both men and women). This research examines both the opportunities and limits of resistance and organizing among these marginalized workers.

Session Organizer: [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

Presider: [Erin E. Hatton, State University of New York-Buffalo](#)

## *Individual Submissions*

[\*\*Street Work and the Organization of Informal Work - Carolyn Pinedo Turnovsky,  
University of Washington\*\*](#)

Drawing on qualitative research, this paper examines closely the social order of a community of Latino immigrant day laborers on an urban street corner to broaden our understandings of how regulations and protections are still enacted in informal work sites. For nearly three years on a street intersection in New York City, workers shared with me how they managed work matters amongst themselves, i.e. pay scale, who to work for, how long to work, etc. establishing rules that helped maintain a stable and satisfactory work environment at their makeshift office. In examining social order, social scientists will argue that we need to have formal structures to provide regulation to avoid disorder and corruption. For some marginalized workers, like day laborers, worker centers have been successful in providing this kind of scrutiny, regulation and protection. But can we find such activity outside of formal places? And if so, what do those activities look like and are these efforts successful? Drawing on observations and interviews, this paper explains how the workers transformed a public place – the street corner –into a space that served their specific needs, both economic and social. Fieldwork uncovered that day laborers developed rules that served as regulatory mechanisms and practices on the corner as well as a support system that served labor needs as well as cultivated a discussion about rights, membership and belonging.

**Working for God's Chosen People: Gender, Race and Religion on a Brooklyn Corner - Erika Denisse Grajeda, University of Texas-Austin**

On any given day, women day laborers gather across a curved asphalt shoulder overlooking the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway in the predominantly ultra-Orthodox section of South Williamsburg, Brooklyn. The women wait, rain or shine, in bitter cold or under broiling sun, to be hired mostly as domésticas in the homes of the local Hasidic Jewish community. While this Brooklyn corner was originally the domain of Eastern European immigrant women and a handful of mexicanas, in recent years it increasingly attracts Latinas seeking to break into this labor market niche and acquire work experience, skills and employer contacts. Given declining employment prospects in manufacturing, day labor provides immigrant women a chance to regain a foothold in the urban economy. For others, it represents an opportunity to earn an income when full-time employment is unfeasible given competing family obligations. Like many lower-wage occupations, day labor has been characterized by routine violations of workers' rights including wage theft and workplace safety concerns. However, New York-based immigrant advocacy groups have recently noted that women day laborers may be particularly vulnerable given the privatized nature of their work, its unpredictability, and the insular nature of the Hasidic community. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in this Brooklyn corner and a day labor program located in San Francisco, I examine some of the gendered assumptions that undergird the activism and extensive research on day labor. I argue that the day labor literature fails to capture how these experiences stretch unevenly across social space and occupy a variety of different forms.

**Organizing Temporary and Immigrant Workers: Lessons from Change to Win's Warehouse Workers United Campaign - Ellen R. Reese, University of California-Riverside; Jason Y. Struna, University of California-Riverside**

Since 2008, Warehouse Workers United (an affiliate of Change to Win) has organized thousands of low-wage warehouse workers in Riverside and San Bernardino Counties in California, using innovative organizing methods. Warehouse Workers Resource Center (WWRC), a non-profit workers' center formed in 2011, has also helped to provide additional legal services and other resources to warehouse workers. Combining protest tactics with an innovative legal strategy, WWU and WWRC have helped warehouse workers to win back millions of dollars of stolen wages by 2013. The success of this campaign is particularly remarkable given its uneven and, at times, limited funding. The decentralized structure of the warehouse industry along with the heavy reliance on labor subcontracting and temporary and immigrant labor also complicated the use of traditional union organizing and collective bargaining strategies and made workers highly vulnerable to employer intimidation and retaliation. The Republican domination of regional politics also constrained what could be won at the local level. In this paper, we examine the strategies employed by WWU and WWRC in this campaign and their outcomes drawing on participant observation, information provided to us by staff and student interns, and media and internet sources. This campaign provides important lessons for those seeking to organize other low-wage temporary and immigrant

workers who are a growing share of the U.S. workforce and highly vulnerable to employer intimidation and retaliation. Yet, it also reveals the need for greater union investment in organizing the logistics industry, a critical sector of the contemporary global economy.

**Making Sex Work Labor: Sex Worker Unionization and Informal Labor Politics in India - Gowri Vijayakumar, University of California-Berkeley; Shubha Chacko, Aneka; Subadra Panchanadeswaran, Adelphi University**

That sex work is work is a central symbolic and empirical claim in sex worker activism, but collective action by sex workers as workers, in trade-union-inspired organizing structures, remains under-analyzed by scholars (Sukthankar, 2012). Much sex worker organizing around the world has aligned itself, if somewhat uneasily with feminist movements, more consistently with LGBTIQ movements. There is also a tradition, both in the global North and the global South, of sex workers linking gender and sexuality politics to labor organizing. While sex workers' interests align closely with those of other informal workers in the global South, though, they face the particularly pronounced challenges of deep social stigma, secrecy, and criminalization, linked with multiple oppressions on the basis of sexuality, gender, class and race or caste. We analyze the experience of the Karnataka Sex Workers' Union (KSWU), a union of women, transgenders, and men in sex work, to highlight the ways in which a labor framework has been transformative for their activism and aligned them with the goals of the informal labor movement. While the union has struggled to balance a long-term commitment to decriminalization and labor solidarity with members' demands for social welfare services in the short term, it has responded by addressing violence, supporting access to social services and rights, and providing emotional support. By forging links with both labor unions and other progressive social movements, it has also worked toward building a labor approach to sex work and a sexuality- and gender-driven approach to labor from the ground up.

**Relational Use of Class, Citizenship and Community: Informal Workers' Mobilization in Central India - Manjusha S. Nair, National University of Singapore**

Recent scholarship has replaced the prototypical concept of working class-consciousness with what are considered to be empirically more grounded categories such as citizenship, neighborhood networks and community. In this article, I argue that good citizenship, class-consciousness and community affiliations exist concurrently: they are relational identities that emerge from workers' varied interactions within the complex social world of state, capital, rival unions, public, reporters, intellectuals and their own community. The case I examine is Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (Chhattisgarh Liberation Front or CMM), a contract-workers' union, in the state-owned iron-ore mines in the Chhattisgarh- a state in central India. The evidence is generated from eighteen- month ethnographic research. The workers, in personal interviews, underlined a class-consciousness, which they projected over peasant, regional and even citizen identities. Yet they demanded social citizenship from the state, recognition of rights and entitlements as citizen-workers, equal treatment with regular workers, improvement in everyday living, and general inclusion in the space of the nation-state, from which they were

partially excluded. They used their community affiliations, affections and networks to expand the union to the country side and to the neighboring towns, and gain leverage as a regional political party. It could be argued, citing a single one of those versions that the workers “were acting” as workers, as citizens, or community members. I show, however, that these identities exist simultaneously, each expressed within a particular relation in which the workers were engaged.



# **Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session.**

## **Work and Workers Across Global Value Chains**

Mon, August 18, 4:30 to 6:10pm, TBA

### **Session Submission Type: Paper Session**

Globalization has prompted widespread concern for labor standards as supply chains are diversified and spread around the world. Value chains analyses have been key to understanding the power dynamics of different firms within these chains. This panel explores the implications of these power dynamics for workers' rights, standards, and working conditions in a variety of industries and countries around the world.

Session Organizer: [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

Presider: [Jeffrey S. Rothstein, Grand Valley State University](#)

#### *Individual Submissions*

**[Your Paper has been Outsourced: How Publishers Sweat Labor to Streamline Science - Jeffrey J. Sallaz, University of Arizona](#)**

The “supply chain revolution” first swept through manufacturing, then basic services such as customer support. Today the cutting edge lies with complex functions essential to professions such as law, medicine, and science—a phenomenon dubbed “knowledge process outsourcing,” or KPO. This paper reports upon an ethnographic study of a Filipino KPO vendor that contracts with academic publishers to handle various stages of the publication process. During the author’s fieldwork, this firm experienced two intertwined crises. On one hand, a struggle with publishers over the quality of its copyediting of scientific papers; on the other, a struggle with copyeditors to squelch discontent and forestall a unionization movement. The firm’s partial (in both senses of the term) resolution of these crises illustrates how publishing firms increasingly sweat labor in the global south to streamline science.

**[Suicides and Rebels in a World Factory: How the Global Fragmented Despotism Works in Foxconn - Thung-hong Lin, Academia Sinica](#)**

In this article we describe some special characteristics of the world’s greatest factory—in terms of the number of employees—belonging to the Taiwanese enterprise, Foxconn group in Shenzhen, China. We argue that the factory regime has been shaped by three key elements: (1) internal globalization: it refers to the global brand names, especially the Apple group’s authority and interventions of the production process in the factory; (2) organizational fragmentation: the fragmented structure of corporate governance, that is, the vertical fraction of business groups

(BGs) and the horizontal segmentation of employees belonging to different nationalities. The fragmentation led to the strong autonomy of BGs and incomplete information between BGs; and, (3) workplace despotism: the surplus of Chinese low-skilled rural workers enforced the arbitrary managerial power on the shop floor. According to the three elements, we name the factory regime as a “global fragmented despotism.” The organizational structure of world factory may be helpful for explaining Foxconn’s poor labor conditions and workers’ suicides happened in 2010.

**Draying and Picking: Precarious Labor in the Logistics Supply Chain - David D. Jaffee, University of North Florida**

Recent research on labor market conditions and dynamics in the United States point to a rise in “precarious work”. It tends to be characterized by low wages, unstable work arrangements, temporary employment relationships, underemployment, economic insecurity, and an absence of employer provided benefits. As the United States, under neo-liberalism, has restructured the organization of economic production nationally and globally, certain sectors and industries have expanded. One of these is transportation and logistics, functioning to move and distribute the goods now produced abroad into US consumer markets. This paper highlights two industries in this sector – drayage trucking and warehouse/distribution centers (W/DCs) – and the conditions that have contributed to the expansion of precarious work. The paper concludes with recent actions taken to improve conditions for workers in this sector.

**Keeping the Workers Clean: Disciplining the Sanitation of Indigenous Farm Workers in Mexico - Marcos F. Lopez, Bowdoin College**

In 1997 a hepatitis outbreak in Michigan schools prompted the immediate and wide-scale shutdown of fresh strawberry exports from Mexico. The CDC traced the source of the contamination to San Quintin, Baja California, a small desert community where indigenous migrant farm workers carry out the harvest. Drawing on ethnographic findings, this paper argues that a focus on sanitation uncovers a contradiction that haunts transnational agricultural firms operating in the region. To protect their interests, firms now use sanitation experts to advise them on best practices for eliminating the spread of infectious diseases, such hepatitis, and most recently, swine flu. Most evidently, firms train workers on how to 'properly' clean their bodies before entering the field and maintain their health. However, structural violence limits the application of these policies. Because migrants are characterized as a racialized and flexible workforce, firms use an array of unofficial policies to maintain the status quo in the valley. Workers learn to act for the sake of company policy, such as washing their hands, but at the same time they do not have the opportunity to accumulate sick days, and have access to some of the most basic facets to sanitation, such as access to drinking water and bathrooms in the fields.

**REFEREED  
ROUNDTABLES  
Section on Labor and  
Labor Movements  
Roundtables (one-hour).**



# **Table 01. Shifting Labor Conditions in the Wake of the Great Recession Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am, TBA**

Table President: **Steven H. Lopez, The Ohio State University**

## *Individual Submissions*

**Aging Workers and the Experience of Job Displacement** - Lora A. Phillips Lassus, The Ohio State University; Steven H. Lopez, The Ohio State University; Vincent J. Roscigno, The Ohio State University

Older workers experience the longest unemployment spells of any segment of the labor force and are much more likely than their younger counterparts to drop out of employment entirely. These longstanding patterns have been exacerbated by the Great Recession and its aftermath. In the face of such patterns, it is striking how little we know about older workers' perceptions and experiences of these processes. Do they see themselves as structurally disadvantaged? If so, in what ways? And, what are the consequences for self-perceptions, notions of fairness and even mental health? Our analyses fill this gap by drawing on 55 semi-structured qualitative interviews with workers aged 40 to 65 who were displaced during the Great Recession. Notable is respondents' keen awareness of age-specific labor market disadvantages. Indeed, as findings show, they articulate sophisticated analyses of ways that employer biases, credentialism, the job search process, and changes in the economy present very real barriers to their reemployment. No less important, these experiences have far-reaching social-psychological consequences, including loss of belief in meritocracy within major institutions, questioning of self-worth, and feelings of loss, isolation, hopelessness and depression. Such experiences and perceptions are especially informative relative to the fact that many older workers ultimately become discouraged and drop out of the labor force.

**America's Working Poor in the Aftermath of the Great Recession: Conceptualization, Measurement, and New Estimates** - Brian Thiede, Cornell University; Daniel T. Lichter, Cornell University

The "Great Recession" and its aftermath have refocused attention on high unemployment and chronic poverty in the U.S. Our paper places the spotlight on America's "working poor," which has replaced the "welfare poor" as a focal point for policy intervention following the implementation of work-based welfare reform in the late 1990s. We highlight a number of serious conceptual and measurement challenges that have contributed to the small and inchoate social science literature on the working poor. First, we review alternative measurement schemes used in past research, and then discuss the conceptual assumptions that underlie each. Second, based on previous literature, we use up-to-date data from the March Current Population Survey to estimate and evaluate over 80 alternative measures that produce different national and race-specific estimates of working poverty. Third, using a factor analytic measurement approach, we

evaluate the degree to which each alternative measure of the working poor is associated with the “true” or latent construct of working poverty. Finally, we create a working poverty index, and estimate the association between this indicator of working poverty and a set of conventional social and demographic predictors (e.g., race, education, age) in a series of multivariate regression models. The overall goal is to provide new substantive insights and a conceptual and empirical baseline for future research on the working poor.

**Workers, Unions and Plant Closures - Norene Pupo, York University; Ann Doris Duffy, Brock University**

In many working-class communities, a litany of plant closures and the crumbling industrial landscape has meant a significant decline in union presence, a loss of collective spirit, and a dispirited will toward collective action. Based on interviews with over 50 unionized industrial workers who recently experienced a plant closure and the local union leaders who were involved in negotiating the closure agreements, the authors explore the reactions of the workers toward their unions as they face unemployment and uncertain futures. This paper examines the workers’ relationship to their union and the role of the local as the plant is dismantled. How do workers experience the dismantling of their local and the loss of relationships with their union brothers and sisters during a plant closure? We assess the workers’ reactions to the level of union support during the process of closure and the workers’ evaluation of the negotiated settlement. We argue that the union’s role in the process of plant closure, the final settlement, and the differential outcomes for various groups of workers shook the confidence of a committed union membership and has raised questions regarding the efficacy of the collective bargaining process for workers in their time of crisis. The paper raises questions about how unions react to closure, workers’ priorities with regard to settlements, and the impact of de-unionization on workers and their communities.

**American Reindustrialization: Industrial Work in the American Rust Belt - Evren Mehmet Dincer, Cornell University**

American car manufacturing based in and around Detroit --which used to be called the Big Three and is now called the Detroit 3-- has been restructured fundamentally with the two-staged bailout program initiated in the final weeks of the Bush administration and continued under the Obama administration. Eventual bankruptcy and controlled reorganization of GM and Chrysler reshuffled the cards on and off the shop floor and altered labor-capital dynamics at an unprecedented level. New ‘bailout’ policies ushered in a two-tier wage system, where higher tier workers' wages are frozen while new hires start with wages equal to non-union transplants. The bailout exposed a host of generational differences, including vastly different expectations around labor processes and compensation between long-time employees and recent hires. Additionally, changes in benefit structure altered the conditions of social reproduction. However, while the bailout 'saved' the industry from a complete shut down, it also paved the way for American reindustrialization. In this paper, I will present findings from my ethnographic work based in Buffalo, New York, and discuss the meanings of such

transformation in the context of deindustrialization, which provides an ideal setting for reindustrialization, and debate implications for working class subjectivity under globalization.

## **Table 02. Race, Gender, Solidarity and the Changing Conditions of Work Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am**

*Session Organizer:* [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

*Table Presider:* [Marcos F. Lopez, Bowdoin College](#)

*Individual Submissions*

### **The Cost of Being Hispano: Disposability and Cross-Racial Solidarity in the Workplace - Vanesa Ribas, University of California-San Diego**

In this paper, I draw on 16 months of participant observation working entry-level production jobs at a North Carolina meatpacking plant, coupled with 25 interviews with workers, to examine the rather surprising claim that it is “worth it” to be black at Swine’s. In the first section, I propose that a crucial corollary to the vulnerability through deportability that illegality produces for the migrant is the vulnerability through disposability that illegality produces for the migrant worker, especially in the context of intensified immigration enforcement policies in the U.S., particularly in the South. In the second section, I demonstrate the challenge that group-based vulnerabilities such as those produced by illegality, which radiate onto the entire group of hispanos, poses for solidarity among workers in the struggle for dignity and justice on the shop floor. In the third section, I argue that Latinos’ perceptions of the different positions African Americans and they occupy within the social organization of labor may well be rooted in reality, a possibility that should not be surprising given the bases for employer preferences in hiring.

### **Coding Productive Masculinity: Gendered Meaning of Exploitation in High-Tech Corporations - Tongyu Wu, University of Oregon**

The project examines the labor process through which masculine character of labor power is exploited for capitalist production. By conceptualizing gendered meanings of worker subjectivity as a malleable structure that is constituted and operationalized through daily labor practices and struggles, I will look at how organizational-specific femininity and masculinity is in-the-making on contextualized work floor at the micro level to maximize productivity. This project also attempts to produce a macro level analysis by linking the micro dynamics of localized constitution of masculinized labor exploration and the macro dynamics of global capitalism in the realm of information technology industry. Through an ethnographic examination of Chinese immigrant software engineers’ gendered subjectivity in a multinational

high-tech corporation in Seattle, this project will investigate why and how does masculinity matter for maximization of productivity, with a highlight on intersections of masculinizing and racialized practices and discourses? Specifically, 1) what are basic cultural frames of masculinity used by the high-tech corporations as a ground for constructing “productive masculinity”; 2) how do managers draw on and redefine original masculinity frames to produce “productive masculinity” to maximize productivity; 3) as a result of these constructions, how is “productive masculinity” interpreted, managed to achieve, or resisted by workers throughout labor process.

**Women as Managers in Shadowed Hierarchies: Examples of the Logic of Inequality Regimes - Marcia Marx, California State University-San Bernardino**

In this research, 48 face-to-face interviews were conducted with nurse managers in two hospitals and office managers in one university. The findings revealed that a logic of inequality forms the basis upon which bureaucratic hierarchies emerge and that this logic helps us to understand how women in management positions experience their work. Women as managers serve as buffers between elite professionals—mostly white men--and lower status, yet highly skilled positions dominated by ethnically diverse women. Responsibilities of women as managers are assumed to be associated with operational functions, regardless of whether their scope of responsibility extends beyond that. An understanding of the logic of inequality that structures bureaucratic hierarchies will help women as managers reverse the trends of segregation entrenchment and give them the analytical resources in their struggle to realize increased wages and status.

**Table 03. Labor Movements and Protest Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am, TBA**

*Session Organizer:* **Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz**

*Table Presider:* **Marcel Paret, University of Johannesburg**

*Individual Submissions*

**Immigrant Rights Protests or Xenophobic Attacks? Divergent Class Struggles in the United States and South Africa - Marcel Paret, University of Johannesburg**

In Spring 2006, between 3 and 5 million protesters, primarily Latino immigrants, took to the streets in the United States in a massive wave of protests for immigrant rights. Two years later, in May 2008, a wave of xenophobic violence against black immigrants spread through poor black communities in South Africa, leaving more than 60 people dead and up to one-hundred thousand displaced from their homes. This paper uses the lens of working class struggle to

interpret these divergent outcomes. Drawing from and extending Bonacich's theory of the split labor market, I argue that each event may be understood in terms of the collective struggles of two groups: the organized working class, including unionized workers; and the precarious working class, including insecurely employed, low income, and non-unionized workers. The divergent outcomes in the two places – immigrant rights protests versus xenophobic attacks – are traced to three contrasts regarding the composition of the precarious working class, the political orientation of their collective struggles, and the response to those struggles by the organized working class.

***Powerful Events? Comparing San Francisco Unions in the Aftermath of the 1934 General Strike - Leslie A. Bunnage, Seton Hall University***

In this paper on the 1934 San Francisco general strike, I demonstrate empirically the transformative impact of an event, an approach that William Sewell (1996) calls “eventful sociology.” His perspective entails viewing events not as unique occurrences and thus outside the scope of (structuralist) sociology, but rather as the sites of both personal and structural transformation. Though Sewell’s approach encouraged, and indeed inspired, subsequent work that highlighted the importance of events, it has generated far more theorizing than empirical analysis. By examining controlled comparisons of subsequent levels of solidarity exhibited by San Francisco unions that participated in the general strike with those that did not, I add an analysis of systematic empirical data to the body of work intended to elucidate this crucial topic.

***Labor as Social Movement: A Reassessment - K Mann, Cardinal Stritch University***

Largely due to its conservative profile at the time, the labor movement was largely absent from modern social movement literature as it developed in response to the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Recent labor mobilizations such as the Wisconsin uprising and the Chicago Teacher’s strike have been part of the current international cycle of protest that includes the Arab spring, the anti-austerity movements in Greece and Spain, and Occupy Wall Street. These struggles suggest that a new labor movement is emerging that shares many common features with new social movements. This paper offers a general analysis of these and other contemporary labor struggles in light of contemporary modern social movement literature. It also critically reviews assumptions about the labor movement from the 1950s and 1970s and reexamines several social movement concepts.

***Vernacular Utopias: Worker Protests of 2009 in Turkey as a Precursor of the Gezi Protests - Utku Balaban, Ankara University***

The protests of June 2013 in Turkey attracted a great deal of attention around the world. This paper looks into the question of how people managed to form a political collectivity that summer, even though there was no strong former organizing. The paper argues that this was the

outcome of a collective learning process, which started in 2009 with a nationwide spectacle that the international audience mostly missed: worker protests in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. Protestors in 2009 took the first steps to build a new repertoire of contention in Ankara. Protestors in 2013 followed the path.

In 2009, workers of a recently-privatized company began protests in Ankara that later turned out to be the longest public space occupation in Turkish history. This article focuses on the relevant dramaturgical dynamics for a wider conceptual discussion about the on-site factors that contribute to the occupation movements' access to the public. Protestors in this case were initially not familiar with the notion of occupation, the site of occupation was a politically peripheral location in the city, and workers were not acquainted with Ankara's citizens. Nevertheless, particular on-site dynamics about the narrative, space, and agency turned these disadvantages to protestors' favor. First, protestors adopted a mimetic performance representing a political ideal. Second, this performance produced a vernacular utopia embodying this ideal. Third, this vernacular utopia blurred the distinction between actors and the audience and bypassed the reflexive-repressive tolerance perpetuated by social and mass media.

## **Table 04. States, Workers and Labor Movements Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am, TBA**

*Session Organizer:* [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

*Table Presider:* [Barry Eidlin, University of Wisconsin-Madison](#)

### *Individual Submissions*

[Citizenship and Precarious Work under Neoliberalism: Turkey and the United States, 1980 to the Present - Kaan Agartan, Framingham State University; Cedric de Leon, Providence College](#)

How do the dispossessed remain governable under conditions of mounting economic inequality? Drawing on a comparison of citizenship epistemologies in Turkey and the United States since 1980, we synthesize macro-historical and Foucauldian approaches to neoliberalism by demonstrating that state actors have linked citizenship to wage work in a time when fewer and fewer people can earn a wage in the formal sector. In deploying this “work-citizenship” discourse, states have created a disciplinary mechanism of tiered citizenship, in which a shrinking minority retains full citizenship, while a growing majority becomes reviled and struggles to attain the rights and privileges of the formally employed. In addition to offering a much needed theoretical synthesis, this research also offers methodological clues for how to do comparative historical research on transnational processes. For though the articulation of the

work-citizenship discourse is distinct in our two cases, we hold that these are parallel and related “moments” in an overarching transnational process.

***Labor Reform by American States, 1900-1917: A Test of the Sanders’ Hypothesis - Robert Biggert, Assumption College***

Why did some states adopt pro-labor laws while other states passed more anti-labor legislation during the Progressive Era, 1900-1917? One explanation is offered by Elizabeth Sanders in her book, *Roots of Reform*. She argues that regional differences, class alliances, and contender mobilization are central to understanding policy shifts. The key is a coalition between farmers and workers. Unfortunately her focus is on social policy at the federal level. This paper tests her theory to analyze labor reforms at the state level. Panel regression is used to assess policy change by the 48 states over an 18 year period. Labor reform is measured using the data recently collected and disseminated by Fishback. The results show partial support for Sanders’ theory. States outside the core do adopt more pro-labor reforms. However, adoption is higher in diverse regions relative to peripheral ones contrary to her prediction. Farmer mobilization and Democratic control have inconsistent and weak effects. Socialist strength is important for generating policy outcomes favorable to labor. Diverse states may create more favorable conditions for alliance formation given more equal numbers of farmers and workers. The Socialist Party could act as a “bridge” contender with linkages both inside and outside the polity. Future research will attempt to clarify the effects of regional disparities considering mixed agricultural and manufacturing states and to consider the role of third parties as policy brokers.

***Rentier States and the Resource Curse: The Origins of Development-promoting Institutions in Trinidad and Tobago - Zophia Yolande Edwards, Boston University***

The rentier state and resource curse literatures have failed to explain the observed variation in economic outcomes across resource-rich developing countries. More recently, what we may call a “post-curse” literature has amassed compelling evidence that not all states in resource-rich developing countries are the same, and that this variation in the institutional quality of these states determines the developmental success (or failure) of these countries. However, we do not yet fully understand why some resource-rich states developed the institutional quality to channel resource wealth toward economic development. This paper seeks to answer this question through a unique case study of oil-rich Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad and Tobago, despite receiving large amounts of income from external sales of oil and gas, possesses higher quality state institutions than most other resource-rich states. Using a postcolonial approach, I trace this institutional outcome to two factors: (1) the strength and autonomy of labor, which, in turn, is a legacy of a set of prior social relations between the colonial state and labor with regard to the principal economic sectors; and (2) the geostrategic importance of Trinidad oil to the British empire during WWI and WWII. I show how the intersection of these two factors qualify the construction of higher quality state institutions, which are better able to successfully manage resource wealth. This analysis challenges existing frameworks that over-emphasize the

homogeneity of rentier state institutions, and draws attention to the role of labor unions in institutional development, which is largely ignored in rentier state theory.

*Commodity Chain Formations: Capitalist Fixes and the Social Contradictions of Latin America's Banana Industry - Phillip A. Hough, Florida Atlantic University*

This article introduces the concept of 'commodity chain formations' to draw attention to the contingent and dialectical processes that shape the structure and historic durability of contemporary commodity chains. It uses this concept to explain the growth, expansion, and contraction of Latin America's banana chain over the *longue durée*. Drawing from Silver's (2003) analysis of global labor-capital conflicts, the author argues that the growth and transformation of the banana chain has been shaped by a series of capitalist 'fixes' that have acted as partial solutions to demands from workers and developmentalist producer states on transnational banana corporations. While 'spatial' and 'technological' fixes provided early partial solutions to these demands during its formation, transnational banana corporations have shifted to 'product' and 'financial' fixes in ways that have intensified rather than ameliorated the social contradictions underlying banana production in the contemporary context.

## **Table 05. Worker and Union Strategies: International Comparisons Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am, TBA**

*Session Organizer:* *Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz*

**Table Presider:** *Jeffrey S. Rothstein, Grand Valley State University*

### **Individual Submissions**

*Between Strategy and Pragmatism: Shifting Union Coalitions in Germany - Andreas Pekarek, University of Melbourne; Martin Behrens, Hans-Boeckler-Foundation*

Labor unions across the developed world are using a variety of strategies to address their ongoing decline. While the development of alliances with other progressive organizations in civil society is often seen as particularly promising for union revitalization, the seemingly more mundane but long-standing strategy of coalitions between different unions has received relatively limited scholarly attention. In particular, little is known about the factors that cause unions to recalibrate their intra-movement alliances at a national level. In this paper we draw on different views of union strategy to develop a more theoretically grounded understanding of the dynamics of movement-level union alliances. We use the empirical case of Germany to highlight the changing role of union ideology and internal politics in shaping the patterns of union alliances over time. Our findings suggest that both the loss of institutional support for

collective bargaining and structural changes through union mergers are central to explaining shifts in union alliances in this age of decline.

***Diplomacy and the Parties in the Danish Labour Market - Carsten S. Jensen, University of Copenhagen***

The article is analysing developments in the Danish diplomatic services arguing that tendencies toward the development of multi-stakeholder diplomacy and public diplomacy can be observed. Focus is on how the Danish trade union movement and the Danish diplomatic services interact and cooperate in order handle common interest in an increasingly internationalised world. Through two case studies focusing on 1) the international climate debate and on 2) the promotion of the Danish flexicurity model, it is shown that the diplomatic services cooperation with Danish trade unions can be seen as a way of developing soft power in an international community and a way to create alliances with non-state actors from other countries. Key words: Public diplomacy, multi-stakeholder diplomacy, trade unions, flexicurity, The Danish labour market model, EU, network diplomacy, soft power.

***Consumer Co-operatives and Action in Organizations - Tad P. Skotnicki, University of California-San Diego***

In this paper, I examine conflicts between consumer co-operatives, trade unions, and businesses at the turn of the twentieth century. These practical conflicts with business and labor, provide a window into the process through which the balance of motives shift from “global” or principled motives to “local,” differentiated ones. While activists “values” clearly mattered to their activism, it would be more accurate to focus on the institutional situations with which they dealt, thus emphasizing their practical concerns with business and labor, on particular. Furthermore, this shift to situations need not signal, as David Stark suggests, a shift in modern organizational forms from hierarchy to heterarchy. Rather, this approach allows us to rethink studies of organizations in terms of theories of practical action, which permits us to design clearer explanations of how people make and remake organizations. As a consequence, we can specify more precisely how and why certain identifications such as class, nationality, and gender might shape the strategies that activists pursue.

***Organizing with International Framework Agreements: An Exploratory Study - Cesar F. Rosado Marzan, Illinois Institute of Technology***

While union density falls we have experienced the rise of international framework agreements (IFAs), or agreements signed by global union federations (“global unions”) and multinational corporations. IFAs can be construed to contain employer pledges not to oppose workers who want to organize. Can a global employer’s pledge not to oppose the union facilitate organization? In an exploratory fashion, I interviewed union and multinational firms in the private security and auto industries that signed IFAs to better comprehend how IFAs can help to organize workers. The results of this study show that organizational inroads with IFAs could

vary from nonexistent to very modest, even with the employers' pledges not to oppose unionization. Economic, political, and legal obstacles seem to significantly hinder union organization even when the employers sign IFAs. However, all of these organizational inroads considered here only involved the contemporary American form of collective worker representation, the so-called "exclusive representation" union. IFAs offer workers the promise to organize something different: minority unions with full strike rights. These organizations, which American unions could experiment with, would help to restore some level of workplace representation for workers. Lacking strong rights in U.S. law, IFA-sustained minority unions would need to significantly depend on global solidarity. While far from entirely resolving labor's woes, minority unions with full strike rights and backed by global solidarity could contribute to the reorganization of American workers.

## **Table 06. Changing Employment Structures and the Impacts on Workers Mon, August 18, 10:30 to 11:30am, TBA**

*Session Organizer:* [Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz](#)

### **Individual Submissions**

[Compensation for Overwork Deaths \(Karoshi\) and Japan's Changing Employment Culture - Scott North, Osaka University](#)

Japanese cultural tradition holds superiors responsible for the wellbeing of subordinates and the "right to benevolence" has been a prime consolation for social inferiors. Since the 1970s, citizens' groups and labor lawyers have combined medicine and law with this cultural right to benevolence in lawsuits about overwork. This paper considers key cases of karoshi (death from overwork) and their effects on reform of standards for granting workers' compensation payments. If work is recognized as cause of death, Japanese law provides state support for victims' families, aiding them in suing employers for damages as well. Since the first cases of karoshi were "diagnosed," Japanese courts, including the Supreme Court, have gradually recognized worker claims and expanded the conception of employer responsibility for worker health to include accumulated fatigue and mental health. In December 2013 a Basic Law for the Prevention of Karoshi began to make its way through the legislative process. However, at the same time, employment relationships have shifted from an authority-ranking style, in which the benevolence of superiors could be expected, to market pricing arrangements, in which benevolence cannot be presumed. The rise of karoshi and the medico-legal movement that uses litigation to secure compensation parallels the shift toward market-centered employment relationships. These two historical moments mark both declining traditional expectations of particularistic benevolence and rising hopes for employment relations based on universal legal care obligations. Against this hope, new forms of exploitation continue to appear.

**Cross-Sector Job Shifts in Urban China's Economic Reform Era (1978-2003): A Cohort Perspective** - *Wen Fan, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities; Fangsheng Zhu, Harvard University; Phyllis Moen, University of Minnesota*

Based on occupational histories collected from a Chinese nationally representative sample (2003 Chinese General Social Survey), we examine variations in attainment of a state-sector first job and shifts from the state to nonstate sector job, across four cohorts who entered the labor market in distinct historical (and often tumultuous) periods from 1949 to 2003. We find more recent cohorts have increasingly higher odds of having a first job in a nonstate-sector work unit, as well as higher propensities to shift jobs from the state to the nonstate sector compared to early cohorts. Cohort variations are also reflected in the changing role of structural locations (gender, education, and fringe benefit receipt) in the prediction of first job sector and sector shifts across cohorts. For example, a high school degree offers the least advantage of entering the state sector for members of the Cultural Revolution cohort (labor market entry 1966-77), while the disincentive of sector shifting of fringe benefits offered by the state sector is weakened in the latest two reform cohorts (labor market entry 1978-91, and 1992-2003).

**Subjective Well-being and Type of Contract in Europe: Is there any Effect of Labour Legislation Institutions?** - *Natalia Soboleva, State University-Higher School of Economics*

The paper aims to disclose the effects of employment type (permanent/temporary, formal/informal, self-employed/hired, part-time/full-time) on subjective well-being across Europe (27 countries). At the end of the 20th century a bigger demand for flexible labour relations was accompanied by a value shift to the expansion of individual freedom, tolerance and creativity (Inglehart & Welzel). The authors use European Social Survey (2010) as empirical basis for the analysis. The main tested idea of the paper is that countries with more liberal labor legislation have higher rates of subjective well-being as less people employed on temporary basis. The results from regression analysis showed that temporary and informal employment negatively affect subjective well-being whereas self-employment influences subjective well-being positively. Employment protection legislation has a negative impact on subjective well-being, especially for informal workers and temporary contractors.

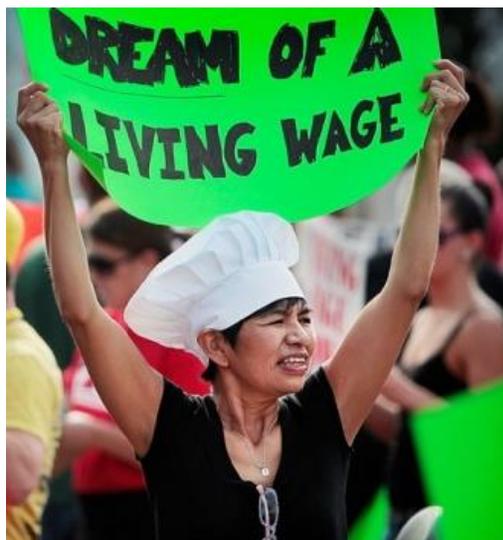
**The Making of an Apolitical Party: The Rise of New Labour in Britain, 1983-95** - *Shannon Ikebe, University of California-Berkeley*

This thesis examines the rise of New Labour in Britain, as the paradigmatic case of social democratic parties' acceptance of neoliberalism in the past thirty years. Despite the prevalent Downsian conception of parties as unitary and solely electoralist, grassroots Labour Party activists in the early 1980s saw the party as a movement to transform society rather than to pursue governmental power for its own sake. The party leadership's rightward shift after 1983 was fiercely resisted by the activists; therefore, it required the leadership's successful

consolidation of oligarchical domination over the party's grassroots through intra-party struggles. Michels' theory of oligarchy in political parties provides a relevant framework for examining these struggles. The Michelsian theory has two major foundations: structural concentration of power into leaders and natural passivity of grassroots party members. Based on archival and interview research of local party activities in Sheffield, England, I argue that while the structural oligarchical tendencies were crucial in enabling the leadership to impose its strategy upon the members, passivity of members can hardly be assumed. Thus, I propose a modified Michelsian thesis, which historicizes the creation of passivity in the course of struggles. The consolidation of the oligarchy in the Labour Party led to the feeling of powerlessness among the activists, mass exodus from the party, and erosion of party branches as active political communities, which further accelerated the structural oligarchical tendencies by weakening resistance to the leadership. New Labour, once unthinkable in the socialist, working-class party, arose based upon the hollowed-out grassroots party.

**Gain or Pain? Employment, Childcare Conflict, and the Mental Health of Low-Income Urban Women** - *Anna Weller Jacobs, Vanderbilt University; Terrence D. Hill, University of Utah; Daniel Tope, Florida State University*

Extant literature suggests that becoming employed promotes mental health. Although this body of work has made significant contributions to our understanding of socioeconomic variations in mental health, there may be conditions under which the usual mental health benefits of employment are attenuated or perhaps reversed. We ask two questions: Does becoming employed improve the mental health of low-income women with children? Is this relationship moderated or attenuated by employment conflicts with childcare arrangements? We find that low-income urban women with children who gained employment reported fewer symptoms of distress from baseline to follow-up than respondents who remained unemployed. We also find that respondents who gained employment that did not conflict with childcare also exhibited more favorable mental health changes than women who remained unemployed. Conversely, those who found employment that did conflict with childcare arrangements exhibited poorer mental health changes than those who remained unemployed. These findings suggest that valuing the benefits of paid work over unpaid work is an oversimplification, and that the emphasis of placing poor mothers into paid work might be misguided.



"PRETTY WOMEN WONDER WHERE  
MY SECRET LIES. I'M NOT CUTE  
OR BUILT TO SUIT  
A FASHION  
MODEL'S SIZE  
BUT WHEN I START  
TO TELL THEM,  
THEY THINK  
I'M TELLING LIES.  
I SAY, IT'S IN THE  
REACH OF MY ARMS  
THE SPAN OF MY HIPS,  
THE STRIDE OF MY STEP,  
THE CURL OF MY LIPS.  
I'M A WOMAN  
PHENOMENALLY.  
PHENOMENAL  
WOMAN,  
THAT'S ME."

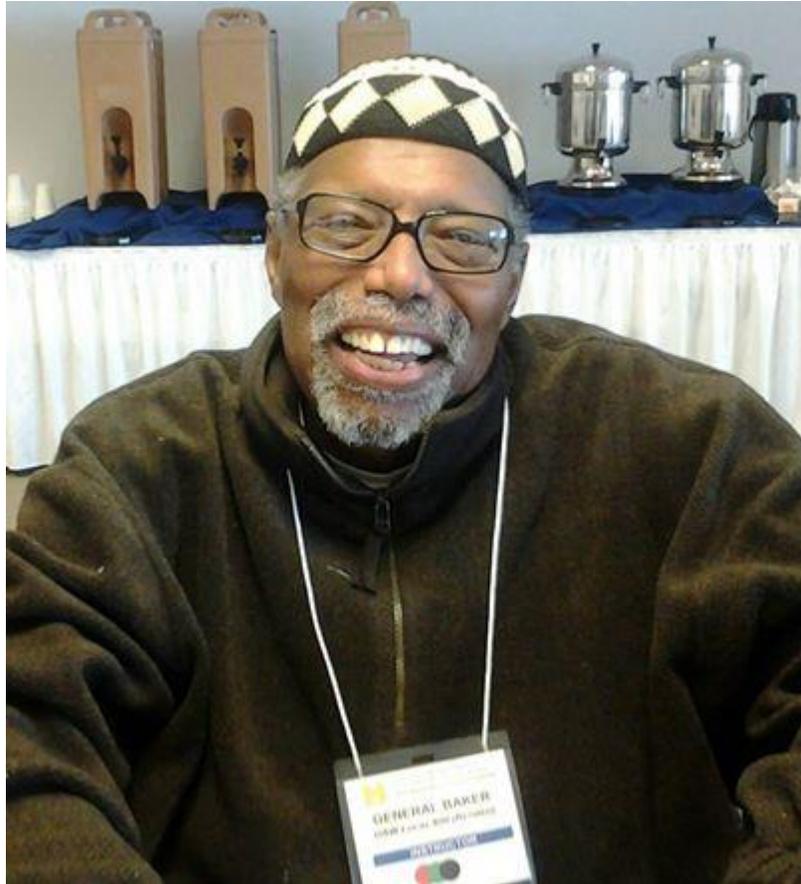
- MAYA ANGELOU: "PHENOMENAL WOMAN"



**RIP MAYA ANGELOU (1928-2014)**

# **RIP GENERAL GORDON BAKER**

**(1941-2014)**

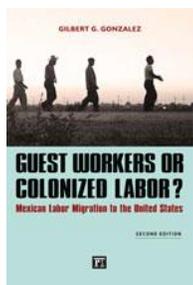


**General Baker was a legendary auto worker unionist and union leader. He became famous from his role in leading the wildcat automotive strikes of the late 1960s and for challenging the racism of the leaders of the Union of Auto Workers (UAW). "Don't judge your leaders in the sunshine, judge them in the rain," he said. He was an autoworker for 30 years, and a champion of unemployed and unorganized people as well. He also played a major part in a statewide campaign to support Detroit's homeless tent city.**

# BOOK REVIEWS

**Gonzalez, Gilbert G. 2013. *Guest Workers or Colonized Labor? Mexican Labor Migration to the United States*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Second Edition.**

**Reviewed by Laurie Michaels, The Ohio State University**



Gilbert Gonzalez's "*Guest Workers or Colonized Labor? Mexican Labor Migration to the United States*" examines how Mexican and Central American labor is being utilized, and perhaps exploited, by American corporations. He argues that the flow of immigrants from Mexico into the U.S. chiefly serves the economic interests of the American corporations which have become accustomed to the inexpensive and disposable labor force of migrant guest workers.

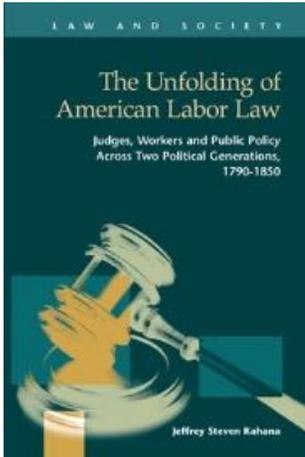
Gonzalez's analysis is thorough, and he examines how Mexican emigration is a consequence of America's control over segments of Mexico's economy. He takes issue with the reductive theory that Mexicans cross the border into the U.S. in order to escape poor economic conditions independently created in Mexico - this simplistic notion is seen as an attempt to remove responsibility from American free trade policies. Rather than Mexico's own economy, Gonzalez argues that the United States' free trade agreements have been the driving force behind the influx of guest workers – documented and undocumented – into the U.S.

The North American Free Trade Agreement has pushed many small family farms out of business, leaving desperate farmers with little choice but to migrate north. Gonzalez writes that NAFTA is responsible for uprooting almost two million Mexican peasants and forcing them into the U.S. in order to escape financial devastation. Once in the United States, these individuals face many cultural barriers and are marginalized as “illegal aliens.” Gonzalez argues that free trade agreements between nations almost always take advantage of cheap labor of legal and illegal migrants. Additionally, there is rarely any concern over their quality of life or well-being in the host country - most migrant workers in the United States live in dire poverty.

Gonzalez highlights just how pervasive and devastating the effects of free trade agreements and guest worker programs have become. He writes that almost every corner of Mexico has been affected by free trade agreements crafted in Washington; of Mexico's 2,443 municipalities, 2,350 have migrants living and working in the U.S. He studies the United States' current guest worker program, which he argues takes advantage of Mexican and Central American migrants, utilizing their cheap labor to effectively cut costs and increase the profit margin of American corporations.

Gonzalez is able to cut through the politically-charged discourse that so often permeates the conversation around labor and immigration reform. This book successfully links the political climate and cultural landscape of the Central and North American nations with the everyday exploitation of guest workers, and in doing so, makes a significant contribution to the field.

**Kahana, Jeffrey Steven. 2014. The Unfolding of American Labor Law: Judges, Workers and Public Policy Across Two Political Generations, 1790-1850. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC. El Paso, TX.**



**Reviewed by Laurie Michaels, The Ohio State University**

Jeffrey Kahana's "The Unfolding of American Labor Law" provides a comprehensive analysis of the historical underpinning of America's labor law and how noneconomic forces – such as the cultivation of American values and the pursuit of democracy – worked to shape the legal system into a distinctly American body of law. He addresses the complexities at the intersection of law and society and examines the relationship between labor laws and American society following the nation's newfound independence from England.

Kahana refutes the work of previous scholars who argue that American labor law was replete with the remnants of English common law and rife with inequality. Instead, he argues that early American laws reflected a changing social climate and were in many ways a reaction to shifts in the political and cultural landscape of the new nation. He analyses how the labor laws of a post-Revolution America pivoted sharply from the conventions of England's established common law to encompass the burgeoning American values of democracy, social responsibility, and individual freedom. Kahana highlights the significance of American judges who courageously pioneered a new tradition and resisted the temptation to default to English common law. He comprehensively engages with the decision of these judges to deliberately change the direction of the law to reflect shifting American virtues and to root the law deeply in the rules of nature, reason, and common sense. In doing so, early American judges crafted not only law, but shaped a new American identity.

Kahana provides one of the most comprehensive engagements between America's first labor laws and the new nation's shifting cultural landscape to date. This is an exceptionally well structured and well written book; Kahana is able to cut through the established discourse that so often permeates the conversation around labor law and make a valuable and original contribution to the broader field of labor studies.

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*Are you interested in writing a review of a new book? Please email the Newsletter Editor [markdsherry@yahoo.com](mailto:markdsherry@yahoo.com)*

# **NEWS FROM MEMBERS**

**Announcement from Kim Scipes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology, Purdue University North Central, Westville, IN, USA; Chair, Chicago Chapter, National Writers Union, UAW #1981, AFL-CIO.** Working with Manny Ness, the issue of *Working USA* on “Global Labor Solidarity” that I have edited has now been published as Vol. 17, No. 2, June 2014. As argued in the Introduction to this special issue, workers and unions in a number of countries are no longer waiting for the “established” labor movement of the Global North to provide ideas about building global labor solidarity—or even resources: they are moving forward on their own. This is a new stage of development. Here are the articles included:

Kim Scipes (from the US): “Theoretical Reflections on the Emergence of *Global Labor Solidarity*.”

Bruno Dobrusin (Argentina): “South-South Labor Internationalism: SIGTUR and the Challenges to the Status Quo.”

Zia Rahman (Bangladesh) and Tom Langford (Canada): “International Solidarity or Renewed Trade Union Imperialism? The AFL-CIO and Garment Workers in Bangladesh.”

Ashok Kumar (originally from the US, now living in the UK) and Jack Mahoney (originally from the US, now living in El Salvador): “Stitching Together: How Workers are Hemming Down Transnational Capital in the Hyper-Global Garment Industry.”

Katharine Nastovski (Canada): “Workers Confront Apartheid: Comparing Canadian Labor Solidarity Campaigns against South Africa and Israeli Apartheid.”

Kevin Young (US) and Diana C. Sierra Becerra (US): “How ‘Partnership’ Weakens Solidarity: Colombian GM Workers and the Limits of UAW Internationalism.”

Michael Zweig (US): “Working for Global Justice in the New Labor Movement.”

I also added a review essay of a 2013 book, *American Labor’s Global Ambassadors: The International History of the AFL-CIO during the Cold War*,” ed. by Robert Anthony Waters, Jr., and Geert van Goethem.

Kim Scipes was also an invited speaker to the graduate conference on “International Solidarity Reloaded: Trade Unions and Other Social Movements Between the Challenges and Opportunities of Globalisation.” Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, April 2-4 in Göttingen, Germany. Scipes presented a paper, “Learning from the Past and Present to Use in the Future: The *Kilusang Mayo Uno* Labor Center of the Philippines Efforts to Build International Labor Solidarity.”

# **DON'T FORGET ABOUT THE LРАН CONFERENCE**

## **4th Annual LРАН National Conference Washington DC, June 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>**

In two weeks, the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual LРАН National Conference will occur. Explore the intersection of cutting-edge labor research and innovative worker organizing campaigns, and hear from the AFL-CIO Executive Vice President Tefere Gebre, Harvard University scholar Theda Skocpol, journalist Rick Perlstein, and many more scholars and practitioners. The LРАН conference is an opportunity for academics, labor leaders, activists, and supporters to think creatively and daringly about the future of the labor movement. It's a space to question fundamental assumptions, reflect critically on victories and challenges, and propose new pathways that can propel our movement forward.

Topics which will be discussed in the conference include:

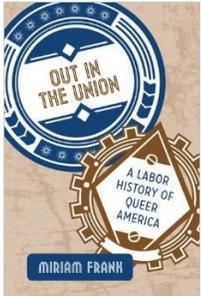
- Unionization Strategies and Recent Developments in Organizing the South
- Working Together: How Community-Labor Coalition Successfully Collaborated to Win Earned Sick Days Ordinances in Jersey City and Newark, New Jersey
- Building Justice: Innovation in Construction Organizing Partnerships
- The 1970s: Unearthing the Roots of Today's Political Economy
- Planning for Disaster or Exploitation? Day Laborers and Hurricane Reconstruction after Sandy and Katrina
- New Models of Organizing in the Taxi Industry
- Bargaining for the Common Good: The role of research in a campaign to fundamentally alter public-sector bargaining
- Outsourcing and responsible contracting initiatives
- Labor Leadership Development: What Is Being Done? What's Working? What Needs To Be Done?
- Two Cheers for Vertical Integration: Why and How Labor Needs to Identify the Real Bosses and Make them Responsible and Accountable
- Recent Developments in Labor Law and Labor Policy
- Jobs to Move America—Building Accountability for Good Jobs Into Transportation Procurement
- Reclaiming Jobs for the Middle Class: Challenges and Strategies in Turning Low Wage Jobs into Good Jobs
- New Research and Organizing Models in Construction

See [www.lranetwork.org](http://www.lranetwork.org) for the program.

# NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS

**Please note: all of these are taken from the Publisher's descriptions.**

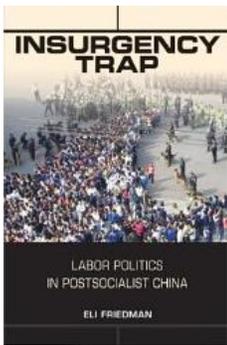
**Miriam Frank (2014) *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America*, Temple University Press**



*Out in the Union* tells the continuous story of queer American workers from the mid-1960s through 2013. Miriam Frank shrewdly chronicles the evolution of labor politics with queer activism and identity formation, showing how unions began affirming the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender workers in the 1970s and 1980s. She documents coming out on the job and in the union as well as issues of discrimination and harassment, and the creation of alliances between unions and LGBT communities. Featuring in-depth interviews with

LGBT and labor activists, Frank provides an inclusive history of the convergence of labor and LGBT interests. She carefully details how queer caucuses in local unions introduced domestic partner benefits and union-based AIDS education for health care workers-innovations that have been influential across the U.S. workforce. *Out in the Union* also examines organizing drives at queer workplaces, campaigns for marriage equality, and other gay civil rights issues to show the enduring power of LGBT workers.

**Eli Friedman (2014) *Insurgency Trap: Labor Politics in Postsocialist China*, ILR Press**



During the first decade of the twenty-first century, worker resistance in China increased rapidly despite the fact that certain segments of the state began moving in a pro-labor direction. In explaining this, Eli Friedman argues that the Chinese state has become hemmed in by an “insurgency trap” of its own devising and is thus unable to tame expansive worker unrest. Labor conflict in the process of capitalist industrialization is certainly not unique to China and indeed has appeared in a wide array of countries around the world. What is distinct in China, however, is the combination of postsocialist politics with rapid capitalist development.

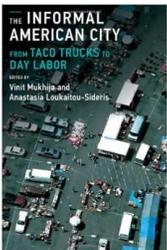
Other countries undergoing capitalist industrialization have incorporated relatively independent unions to tame labor conflict and channel insurgent workers into legal and rationalized modes of contention. In contrast, the Chinese state only allows for one union federation, the All China Federation of Trade Unions, over which it maintains tight control. Official unions have been unable to win recognition from workers, and wildcat strikes and other forms of disruption continue to be the most effective means for addressing workplace grievances. In support of this argument, Friedman offers evidence from Guangdong and Zhejiang provinces, where unions are experimenting with new initiatives, leadership models, and organizational forms.

**Dan Gallin (2014) *Solidarity: Selected Essays*, LabourStart**



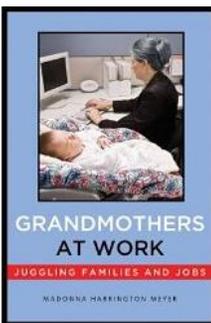
A collection of 19 essays by Dan Gallin, the former general secretary of the Geneva-based International Union of Foodworkers (IUF). The essays include two autobiographical articles, three pieces from the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the remainder from the last two decades. Gallin writes about a broad range of issues including the Algerian revolution, the French Left, Victor Serge, Scandinavian social democracy, the international labour movement, domestic work, the informal sector and much more. Often controversial, always interesting, this is essential reading for social change activists, trade unionists and everyone on the left.

**Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris (Editors) *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, The MIT Press**



Every day in American cities street vendors spread out their wares on sidewalks, food trucks serve lunch from the curb, and homeowners hold sales in their front yards -- examples of the wide range of informal activities that take place largely beyond the reach of government regulation. This book examines the "informal revolution" in American urban life, exploring a proliferating phenomenon often dismissed by planners and policy makers as marginal or even criminal. The case studies and analysis in *The Informal City* challenge this narrow conception of informal urbanism. The chapters look at informal urbanism across the country, empirically and theoretically, in cities that include Los Angeles, Sacramento, Seattle, Portland, Phoenix, Kansas City, Atlantic City, and New York City. They cover activities that range from unpermitted in-law apartments and ad hoc support for homeless citizens to urban agriculture, street vending and day labor. The contributors consider the nature and underlying logic of these activities, argue for a spatial understanding of informality and its varied settings, and discuss regulatory, planning, and community responses.

**Madonna Harrington Meyer (2014) *Grandmothers at Work: Juggling Families and Jobs*, NYU Press**

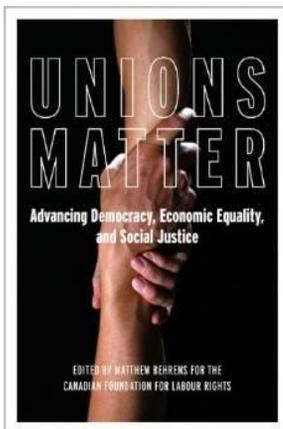


Young working mothers are not the only ones who are struggling to balance family life and careers. Many middle-aged American women face this dilemma as they provide routine childcare for their grandchildren while pursuing careers and trying to make ends meet. Employment among middle-aged women is at an all-time high. In the same way that women who reduce employment hours when raising their young children experience reductions in salary, savings, and public and private pensions, the mothers of those same women, as grandmothers, are rearranging hours to take care of their grandchildren, experiencing additional loss of salary and reduced old age pension accumulation. Madonna Harrington Meyer's *Grandmothers at Work*, based primarily on 48 in-depth interviews

conducted in 2009-2012 with grandmothers who juggle working and minding their grandchildren, explores the strategies of, and impacts on, working grandmothers.

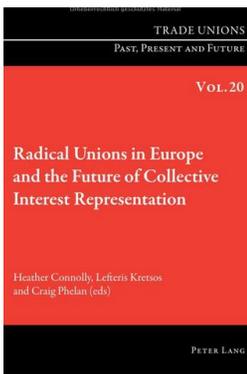
While all of the grandmothers in Harrington Meyer's book are pleased to spend time with their grandchildren, many are readjusting work schedules, using vacation and sick leave time, gutting retirement accounts, and postponing retirement to care for grandchildren. Some simply want to do this; others do it in part because they have more security and flexibility on the job than their daughters do at their relatively new jobs. Many are sequential grandmothers, caring for one grandchild after the other as they are born, in very intensive forms of grandmothering. Some also report that they are putting off retirement out of economic necessity, in part due to the amount of financial help they are providing their grandchildren. Finally, some are also caring for their frail older parents or ailing spouses just as intensively. Most expect to continue feeling the pinch of paid and unpaid work for many years before their retirement. *Grandmothers at Work* provides a unique perspective on a phenomenon faced by millions of women in America today.

**Matthew Behrens (Editor) (2014) *Unions Matter*, The Canadian Foundation for Labour Rights (CFLR)**



Income inequality has risen rapidly over the past three decades. In Canada it is now at its highest level since 1928. One of the root causes: the consistent chipping away of labour rights. The labour movement has been left unable to maintain membership levels and incapable of narrowing the income gap through collective bargaining, with profound implications for Canadians. Labour rights are human rights. They provide a powerful democratic counterweight to the growing power of corporations and the wealthy, and are key to a functioning democracy. *Unions Matter* affirms the critical role that unions and strong labour rights play in creating greater economic equality and promoting the social wellbeing of all citizens.

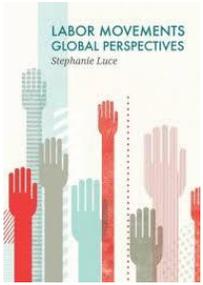
**Heather Connolly, Lefteris Kretsos, Craig Phelan (Eds.) *Radical Unions in Europe and the Future of Collective Interest Representation*, Peter Lang International Academic Publishers**



This book analyses contemporary trends in radical unionism in Europe. It contains nine country case-studies that probe the limits and possibilities of trade union renewal with a focus on radical activity. The editors follow a broad definition of radical unionism, including trade union organisations that can be characterised as radical either in terms of ideology and political identity or in terms of organising and mobilising activity. The ongoing economic crisis and consequent austerity measures, and employers' strategies for increasing labour market flexibility have encouraged the deregulation of capitalism in Europe. The question this book asks is whether radicalised

unionism, political action and grassroots activism present opportunities for union renewal and collective interest representation in this economic context. This question is examined in nine national contexts with diverse industrial relations frameworks and trade unions. The editors assess the degree to which we are witnessing the emergence of ‘radical political unionism’ as an alternative model of trade unionism in Europe, focused on class struggle, engagement in social movement activity beyond the workplace, and politicised union strategies aligned to new left-wing political formations.

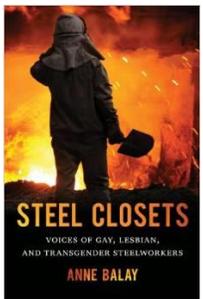
**Stephanie Luce (2014) *Labor Movements: Global Perspectives*, Polity Press**



Fewer than 12 percent of U.S. workers belong to unions, and union membership rates are falling in much of the world. With tremendous growth in inequality within and between countries, steady or indeed rising unemployment and underemployment, and the marked increase in precarious work and migration, can unions still play a role in raising wages and improving work conditions?

This book provides a critical evaluation of labor unions both in the U.S. and globally, examining the factors that have led to the decline of union power and arguing that, despite their challenges, unions still have a vital part to play in the global economy. Stephanie Luce explores the potential sources of power that unions might have, and emerging new strategies and directions for the growth of global labor movements, such as unions, worker centers, informal sector organizations, and worker co-operatives, helping workers resist the impacts of neoliberalism. She shows that unions may in fact be more relevant now than ever.

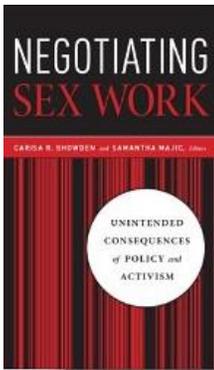
**Anne Balay (2014) *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers*, The University of North Carolina Press**



Even as substantial legal and social victories are being celebrated within the gay rights movement, much of working-class America still exists outside the current narratives of gay liberation. In *Steel Closets*, Anne Balay draws on oral history interviews with forty gay, lesbian, and transgender steelworkers, mostly living in northwestern Indiana, to give voice to this previously silent and invisible population. She presents powerful stories of the intersections of work, class, gender, and sexual identity in the dangerous industrial setting of the steel mill.

The voices and stories captured by Balay--by turns alarming, heroic, funny, and devastating--challenge contemporary understandings of what it means to be queer and shed light on the incredible homophobia and violence faced by many: nearly all of Balay's narrators remain closeted at work, and many have experienced harassment, violence, or rape. Through the powerful voices of queer steelworkers themselves, *Steel Closets* provides rich insight into an understudied part of the LGBT population, contributing to a growing body of scholarship that aims to reveal and analyze a broader range of gay life in America.

**Carisa R. Showden and Samantha Majic (Eds.) (2014) *Negotiating Sex Work: Unintended Consequences of Policy and Activism*, University Of Minnesota Press**

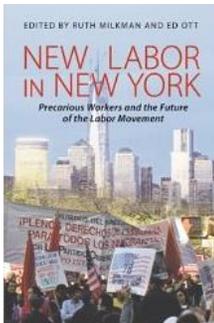


Globally, discussions about sex work focus on exploitation. The media regularly provides us with stories about teen girls coerced to perform sexual acts for money, frequently beaten and robbed by their pimps or traffickers. While one would have to be hard-pressed to deny that sex workers are victimized, the popular media and our political leaders emphasize sex work as exclusively exploitative. In *Negotiating Sex Work*, Carisa R. Showden and Samantha Majic present a series of essays that depict sex work as an issue far more complex than generally perceived.

Positions on sex work are primarily divided between those who consider that selling sexual acts is legitimate work and those who consider it a form of exploitation. Organized into three parts, *Negotiating Sex Work* rejects this either/or framework and offers instead diverse and compelling contributions that aim to reframe these viewpoints. Part I addresses how knowledge about sex work and sex workers is generated. The next section explores how nations and political actors who claim to protect individuals in sex work often further marginalize them. Finally, part III examines sex workers' own political-organizational efforts to combat laws and policies that deem them deviant, sinful, or total victims.

A timely and necessary intervention into sex work debates, this volume challenges how policy makers and the broader public regard sex workers' capacity to advocate for their own interests.

**Ruth Milkman and Ed Ott (Editors) (2014) *New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement*, ILR Press**



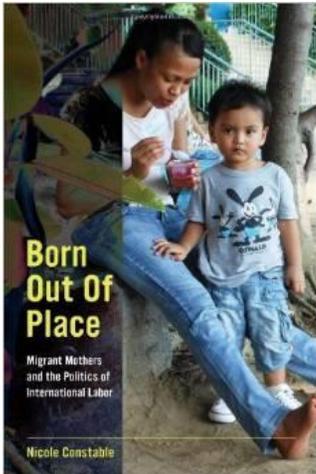
New York City boasts a higher rate of unionization than any other major U.S. city—roughly double the national average—but the city's unions have suffered steady and relentless decline, especially in the private sector. With higher levels of income inequality than any other large city in the nation, New York today is home to a large and growing "precariat": workers with little or no employment security who are often excluded from the basic legal protections that unions struggled for and won in the twentieth century.

Community-based organizations and worker centers have developed the most promising approach to organizing the new precariat and to addressing the crisis facing the labor movement. Home to some of the nation's very first worker centers, New York City today has the single largest concentration of these organizations in the United States, yet until now no one has documented their efforts.

*New Labor in New York* includes thirteen fine-grained case studies of recent campaigns by worker centers and unions, each of which is based on original research and participant

observation. Some of the campaigns documented here involve taxi drivers, street vendors, and domestic workers, as well as middle-strata freelancers, all of whom are excluded from basic employment laws. Other cases focus on supermarket, retail, and restaurant workers, who are nominally covered by such laws but who often experience wage theft and other legal violations; still other campaigns are not restricted to a single occupation or industry. This book offers a richly detailed portrait of the new labor movement in New York City, as well as several recent efforts to expand that movement from the local to the national scale.

**Nicole Constable (2014) *Born Out of Place: Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor*, University of California Press**



Hong Kong is a meeting place for migrant domestic workers, traders, refugees, asylum seekers, tourists, businessmen, and local residents. In *Born Out of Place*, Nicole Constable looks at the experiences of Indonesian and Filipina women in this Asian world city. Giving voice to the stories of these migrant mothers, their South Asian, African, Chinese, and Western expatriate partners, and their Hong Kong–born babies, Constable raises a serious question: Do we regard migrants as people, or just as temporary workers? This accessible ethnography provides insight into global problems of mobility, family, and citizenship and points to the consequences, creative responses, melodramas, and tragedies of labor and migration policies.

**PLEASE SEND NOTIFICATIONS OF NEWS, NEW BOOKS,  
REVIEWS AND ARTICLES  
FOR THE AUGUST ISSUE  
TO THE NEWSLETTER EDITOR, MARK SHERRY  
BY JULY 26**

**[MARKDSHERRY@YAHOO.COM](mailto:MARKDSHERRY@YAHOO.COM)**

**WE NEED MORE CONTRIBUTORS... PLEASE GET INVOLVED!**



**Reasons** why you should

## *Thank* a **Union**

1. Weekends
2. All breaks at work, including your lunch breaks
3. Paid vacation
4. FMLA [Family and Medical Leave Act]
5. Sick leave
6. Social security
7. Minimum wage
8. Civil Rights Act/Title VII  
(Prohibits Employer Discrimination)
9. 8-Hour work day
10. Overtime pay
11. Child labor laws
12. Occupational Safety & Health Act (OSHA)
13. 40 Hour Work Week
14. Worker's Compensation (Worker's Comp)
15. Unemployment Insurance
16. Pensions
17. Workplace Safety Standards and Regulations
18. Employer Health Care Insurance
19. Collective Bargaining Rights for Employees
20. Wrongful Termination Laws
21. Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967
22. Whistleblower Protection Laws
23. Employee Polygraph Protect Act  
(Prohibits Employer from using a lie detector test on an employee)
24. Veteran's Employment and Training Services (VETS)
25. Compensation increases and Evaluations (Raises)
26. Sexual Harassment Laws
27. Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA)
28. Holiday Pay
29. Employer Dental, Life, and Vision Insurance
30. Privacy Rights
31. Pregnancy and Parental Leave
32. Military Leave
33. The Right to Strike
34. Public Education for Children
35. Equal Pay Acts of 1963 & 2011  
(Requires employers pay men and women equally for the same amount of work)
36. Laws Ending Sweatshops in the United States