



ASA Labor and Labor Movements Newsletter

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Message from the Chair: *Tom Juravich*

Dear Colleagues,

I am excited about our upcoming Labor and Labor Movements Section events scheduled at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association (ASA) on Sunday, August 8.

Of course, we will miss not seeing either for the second year in a row, but I think you will agree that we have some excellent sessions and roundtables. The ASA has streamlined connecting to sessions on Zoom this year and I am hoping to see many of you on line on Sunday. Our wonderful Newsletter editor Joey van der Naald has listed the sessions below. And, please make sure you join us at 2:30 – 3:00 PM (EST) for our annual business meeting. I will introduce our new chair Jeffrey Rothstein, and we will recognize our Section Award winners.

I also want to recognize the long and impressive list of publications and activities of our section members. Please, take a careful look. Frankly, it has been a difficult couple of years for all us on so many levels. Yet, our colleagues have made the time to stay engaged with the literature, the labor movement and the communities where they live and teach. I wish there was a way we could honor all these efforts in a more formal way.

As I pass the chair position over to Jeff, I do wish that this year could have been different – especially not being able to meet in person. Yet at the same time, it very clear to me how important this section is – the work our members do and bringing this community of practice together in the section. I will look forward to working with you to make it strong and grow.

Regards and Solidarity,



Tom Juravich
Professor of Labor Studies and Sociology
University of Massachusetts Amherst
Chair, Labor and Labor Movements Section
American Sociological Association

American Sociological Association 116th Annual Meeting, Section and Associated Sessions Zoom Schedule

Below you will find the schedule of Labor and Labor Movements Section sessions and a selection of associated relevant sessions featuring section members. All sessions will be held as Zoom meetings; however, unlike last year, *the only way to access the sessions will be through the ASA virtual meeting portal — no hyperlinks will be sent out before the meeting.* All hyperlinks to our ASA sessions are accessible through the conference's online program and [annual virtual meeting portal](#), which is accessible using your ASA username and password. To log into the meeting portal, you must be registered for the Virtual Annual Meeting beforehand. *Please note!* The Section's council meeting will take place on Wednesday at 3:00pm before the Virtual Annual Meeting begins.

Wednesday August 8

3:00—3:45pm EDT Section on Labor and Labor Movements Council Meeting

Sunday August 8

11:00a—12:35pm EDT The New Labor Activism — Paper Session

Session Organizer: *Shannon Marie Gleeson, Cornell University, ILR School*
Presider: *Shannon Marie Gleeson, Cornell University, ILR School*

Solidarity and Collective Action in the Platform Economy in India
Swati Chintala, New York University

Taming the Platform: How did Successful Strikes Occur among Atomized Workers in Hong Kong?

Ka Po Karen Hui; Tianzhu Nie, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

The resurgent strike: Union revitalization through militant identity
John Kallas, Cornell University, ILR School

Wage Boards and Labor Revitalization: Learning from Uruguay

Cesar F. Rosado Marzan, University of Iowa; Ana Ermida, Universidad de la Republica

11:00a-12:25pm EDT Community-Engaged Research as a Means to Emancipatory Sociology

Organizer: *Rebecca London, University of California-Santa Cruz*

Discussant: *Miriam Greenberg, University of California-Santa Cruz*

Panelists:

Leslie Hossfield, Clemson University

Steven McKay, University of California-Santa Cruz

Nancy Plankey-Videla, Texas A&M University-College Station

Jan C. Lin, Occidental College

2:30—3:00pm EDT Section on Labor and Labor Movements Business Meeting

Section on Labor and Labor Movements Roundtables

Session Organizer: *Tom Juravich, University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

Table 01. Contemporary Labor Issues

Table Presider: *Tom Juravich, University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

Essential or expendable? Immigrants and workers' rights in the domestic workers' activism under the pandemic

*Anna Rosinska, Ca' Foscari University of Venice (Italy);
Elizabeth Pellerito, University of Massachusetts-Lowell*

In the Interest of Everyone? A Mixed-Method Study of the Micro-Foundations of Social Movement Unionism

Frangi Lorenzo, UQAM, Montreal; Sinisa Hadziabdic, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies; Anthony C. Masi, McGill University

Table 02. Contemporary Labor Issues Two

Table Presider: *Mario Venegas, Sonoma State University*

Lost in Translation: NLRB Elections and Materials for Spanish-Speaking Workers

Breon Haskett

Targeted management can reduce pollution without effects on employment in US manufacturing

*Mary B. Collins, SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry;
Simone Pulver, University of California, Santa Barbara*

Transparency and Image-Management: Organizing and Accountability in Public Sector Unions

Mario Venegas, Sonoma State University

Table 03. Creative, Software and Platform Work

Table Presider: *Bhumika Chauhan, New York University*

Laboring in the Software Industry: Offshoring and Deskilling in a Transnational Firm

Bhumika Chauhan, New York University

The Aftermath of Capital Mobility in Platform Capitalism: Understanding the Impact on Workers and their Resistance

Youngrong Lee, University of Toronto

Table 04. International Labor Issues

Table Presider: *Karthik Balaji Ramanujam, Florida Atlantic University*

Examining Longer-Term Dynamics of the Effects of Fixed-Term Employment Trajectories on Subjective Well-Being in Germany

Sonja Scheuring, University of Bamberg, Germany; Michael Gebel

Informal Economy and its Challenges under a Neo-liberal, Nationalistic Regime in India

Karthik Balaji Ramanujam, Florida Atlantic University

Table 05. Migration and International Issues

Table Presider: *Gay Seidman, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Bigger than Workers: Union-Party Alliances in South Africa and Argentina in the Age of Neoliberalism

Irem Yildirim, McGill University

Ethnic Networks, Risk Attitudes and Migration Decisions

Tamanna A Rimi; Ahmed T Aziz; Syed Uddin

Migration and Health— Freedom of Movement and Social Benefits for Chinese Migrant Workers

Fengxian Qiu, Anhui Normal University; Heying Jenny Zhan, Georgia State University; Jing Liu, Georgia State University

Table 06. Temporary and Precarious Work

Table Presider: *Gorkem Dagdelen, Temple University*

Investigating the wage penalty of temporary workers across 30 countries using LIS data

Sophia Fauser, University of Bamberg; Michael Gebel

Precarious Work Experiences of Immigrants in the Trucking Industry

Gorkem Dagdelen, Temple University

4:15—5:40pm EDT

Labor and Race

Session Organizer: *Vanesa Ribas, University of California-San Diego*

Presider: *Rocio Rosales, University of California-Irvine*

An Investigation of the Relationship between Gig Work and Structural Inequality

Jaylexia Clark

Organizing Despite Precarity

Paula Winicki Brzostowski

Solidarity Infrastructure: Interracial Class Solidarity in Kansas City, 1917-18

Jeff Stilley, Virginia Tech

Surveilling Amazon's Essential Warehouse Workers: Racism, Retaliation, and Worker Resistance Amidst the COVID-19 Pandemic

Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, California State University-Long Beach; Ellen R. Reese, University of California-Riverside

Monday August 9

12:45-2:10pm EDT

Power in a Union? The Potential for Labor's Renewal During the Pandemic and Beyond.

Session Organizer: *Jamie K. McCallum, Middlebury College*

Presider: *Jamie K. McCallum, Middlebury College*

COVID and the Risky Immigrant Workplace: How Declining Employment Standards Socialized Corporate Risk

Andrew Wolf, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Historical Conditions for American Labor Union Resurgence: The Road South-

Chris Rhomberg, Fordham University

In the Streets or in the Courts? Determining Activist Strategies in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Catharina O'Donnell, Harvard Sociology; Barry Eidlin, McGill University

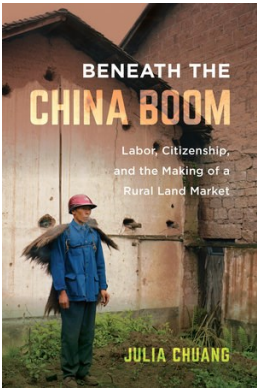
Work contexts of union effects on family-friendly policies

Eunjeong Paek, University of Southern California

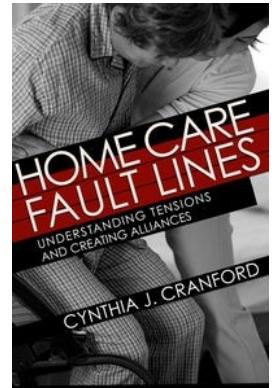
Labor and Labor Movements 2021 Section Awards

Congratulations to this year's winners!

Best Book Award Co-winners:



- Julia Chuang. 2020. *Beneath the China Boom: Labor, Citizenship, and the Making of a Rural Land Market*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cynthia J. Cranford. 2020. *Home Care Fault Lines: Understanding Tensions and Creating Alliances*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.



Honorable Mention:

- Jeffrey Sallaz. 2019. *Lives on the Line: How the Philippines Became the World's Call Center Capital*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Committee Members: Vanesa Ribas (chair), Sarah Mason, Mary Ann Clawson, Paolo Marinaro

Distinguished Scholarly Article Award:

- VanHeuvelen, Tom. 2020. "The Right to Work, Power Resources, and Economic Inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 125(5):1255–1302. <https://doi.org/10.1086/708067>.

Honorable mention to:

- Hui, Elaine Sio-ieng. 2020. "Labor-related Civil Society Actors in China: A Gramscian Analysis." *Theory and Society* 49:49–74. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11186-019-09372-2>.

Committee Members: Lu Zhang (chair), Barry Eidlin, Jeffrey Sallaz, Jeff Stille

Best Student Paper Award:

- Laura Adler, Harvard University, for her paper entitled "From the Job's Worth to the Person's Price: The Evolution of Pay-setting Practices in the US since the 1950s."

Committee Members: Rocío Rosales (chair), Yewon Andrea Lee, Erin Hatton, Amanda Pullum

Introducing the Cornell-ILR Labor Action Tracker

Johnnie Kallas and Eli Friedman, Cornell University—ILR School

Researchers from Cornell University's ILR School have recently developed a unique labor action tracker that seeks to document strike and labor protest activity across the United States. Existing data sources largely leave scholars and practitioners misinformed about the true levels of labor unrest. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) only keeps track of work stoppages that involve at least 1,000 workers and last an entire shift, leaving out the vast majority of strike activity. To help fill this void, we have created the [ILR Labor Action Tracker](#) to more accurately document strikes and labor protests across the United States. It is important to note that unlike the BLS, we are not currently collecting data on lockouts. We began tracking strikes in late-2020, though our database is most reliable beginning in March 2021.

Rather than only capturing data on strikes, we also highlight labor protests on our tracker. We distinguish between strikes and labor protests based on whether a temporary stoppage of work led by a group of workers occurred as part of the action. This definition is relatively inclusive, covering actions like unauthorized strikes and sickouts. We need to convincingly demonstrate, based on the sources we cite, that a collective stoppage of work occurred. Full information about our methodology, specifically how we add actions to our tracker and the other variables we capture, can be found [here](#).

We have discovered a much different reality of strike and protest activity in the United States than existing sources indicate. We found that 30 strikes occurred during the month of June, which includes all strikes that began after January 1, 2021 and were ongoing at some point in June. This stands in stark contrast to recent annual data from the BLS, which identified seven major work stoppages in 2017, 20 in 2018, 25 in 2019, and eight in 2020. Using the BLS standard, we would have only identified six strikes in June, excluding all actions that involved less than 1,000 workers (such as the ongoing strike by nearly 800 members of the Massachusetts Nurses Association at St. Vincent Hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts).



Even though it is clear there are many more strikes are happening than the official data reflect, we do not yet have a clear picture of how widespread labor unrest is. Workers face immense obstacles to organizing and striking that have only become more pronounced over the past few decades. We hope that our project will amplify the voices of striking and protesting workers and provide the realization that other workers are organizing too.

We welcome and encourage any feedback on how to make this tool even more useful for workers and the labor movement. Our project aims to democratize data and inform labor activists about picket lines in their communities. Please use the report button on our website, also available [here](#), if you notice that we are missing a strike or labor protest.

You can also follow us on Twitter [@ILRLaborAction](#) to stay up to date with our project and the latest labor actions that we capture.

Announcements

- **Elena Shih**, of Brown University, published an op-ed in *The New York Times* in March responding to the Atlanta spa murders, titled "[How to Protect Massage Workers.](#)"



- **Kim Scipes**, of Purdue University Northwest, conducted a series of interviews, one about his latest book *Building Global Labor Solidarity: Lessons from the Philippines, South Africa, Northwestern Europe, and the United States*, including for [Politics Art Roots Culture - Media](#), and a second with Steve Zeltzer for [Work Week Radio](#) on the AFL-CIO's foreign policy. Kim has also become Chair of the Faculty Senate at Purdue University Northwest in May 2021.



Kim's 1996 book *KMU: Building Genuine Trade Unionism in the Philippines, 1980-1994* is now available [in its entirety for free online](#). Originally published in the Philippines, the book documents the first fourteen years of the Kilusang Mayo Uno, or May First Labor Movement, an independent labor center in the Philippines.



- **Art Shostak**, a California-based retired Professor Emeritus of Sociology of Drexel University, expects to appear very briefly in a 2022 Documentary film, "*Labor's Last Strike*," which he helped guide drawing, on his co-authored 1986 book, *The Air Controllers' Controversy: Lessons from the PATCO Strike*. Art served for two years before the Strike as the Polling Director for PATCO, and assisted for years after in mass-firing recovery efforts. Since 2006 he has "reinvented" himself as a Holocaust Scholar, and authored in 2017 his first book, *Stealth Altruism: Forbidden Care as Jewish Resistance in the Holocaust*. Art now offers to help guide (pro bono) locals and International Unions interested in commemorating the Shoah on any one of three Annual Days currently noted by Labor around the world. (See in this connection, www.stealthaltruism.com).
- **Margaret Somers**, of the University of Michigan, published an op-ed in *The Guardian* in September 2020, titled "'[Even the Republican skinny relief bill failed. How is such unnecessary suffering justified?](#)'"



- **Todd E. Vachon** of Rutgers University, has accepted the position of Director of the Labor Education Action Research Network (LEARN) in the School of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers University, starting July 1, 2021 at the rank of Assistant Professor of Practice. He also published an op-ed in *The Hill* titled "[The American middle class is dead — The PRO Act would resuscitate it.](#)" Todd E. was also interviewed by several media outlets regarding the PRO Act, including NPR's *Marketplace*, *The Hill*, and *NJBiz*, and about the union election at Amazon in Bessemer for NPR's *Marketplace*, *Luckbox Magazine*, and the Norwegian Daily, *Klassekampen*.

Job Openings

ILR School, Cornell University — Assistant, Associate, or Full Professor in Labor Relations

The ILR School at Cornell University is seeking someone to fill teaching and research needs in U.S. labor relations. The department is looking for candidates who can support our growing diverse student body through advising and inclusive teaching approaches. This is a tenure track position at a rank fitting with the candidates record of accomplishments. Candidates should have a record of high-quality research published in top tier refereed outlets as well as the ability to teach effectively to both undergraduates and graduate students on the Cornell Ithaca campus. We especially welcome applicants who have studied one or more of the following topics in the United States: union growth and decline, collective bargaining, conflict resolution in unionized settings, public sector labor relations, strikes, or unions' influence on political processes.

The ILR School (www.ilr.cornell.edu) is the world's leading college focused on work, employment, and labor issues. Our faculty come from a number of disciplinary backgrounds and study a broad range of issues related to labor, employment, and organizations. Cornell University is committed to supporting the work-life balance of its faculty.

We seek applicants whose record in research, teaching or service has prepared them to contribute to Cornell's historical commitment to diversity.

To be considered, please apply via Academic Jobs Online at <https://academicjobsonline.org/ajo/jobs/18897>. Interested candidates should submit a vita, statements explaining research and teaching capabilities, [diversity and inclusion statement](#), and three reference letters. Applications from women and minority candidates are strongly encouraged.

Review of applications will begin on September 1, 2021 and continue until the position is filled. Inquiries about this position should be directed to Professor Harry Katz at hck2@cornell.edu.

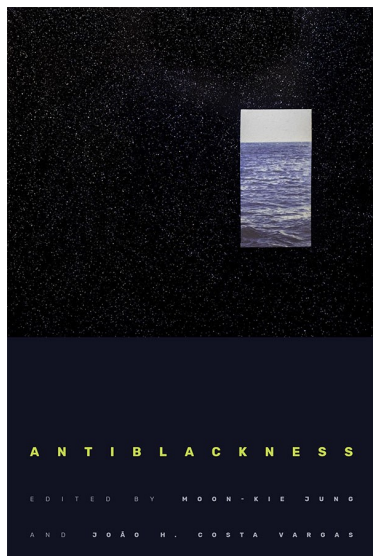
Diversity and Inclusion are a part of Cornell University's heritage. We are a recognized employer and educator valuing AA/EEO, Protected Veterans, and Individuals with Disabilities.



ILR School

New Publications by Section Members

Books



Antiblackness

Edited by Moon-Kie Jung and João H. Costa Vargas

Antiblackness investigates the ways in which the dehumanization of Black people has been foundational to the establishment of modernity. Drawing on Black feminism, Afropessimism, and critical race theory, the book's contributors trace forms of antiblackness across time and space, from nineteenth-century slavery to the categorization of Latinx in the 2020 census, from South Africa and Palestine to the Chickasaw homelands, from the White House to convict lease camps, prisons, and schools. Among other topics, they examine the centrality of antiblackness in the introduction of Carolina rice to colonial India, the presence of Black people and Native Americans in the public discourse of precolonial Korea, and the practices of denial that obscure antiblackness in contemporary France. Throughout, the contributors demonstrate that any analysis of white supremacy, indeed, of the world, that does not contend with antiblackness is incomplete.

Revaluing Work(ers): Toward a Democratic and Sustainable Future

Edited by Tobias Shulze-Cleven and Todd E. Vachon

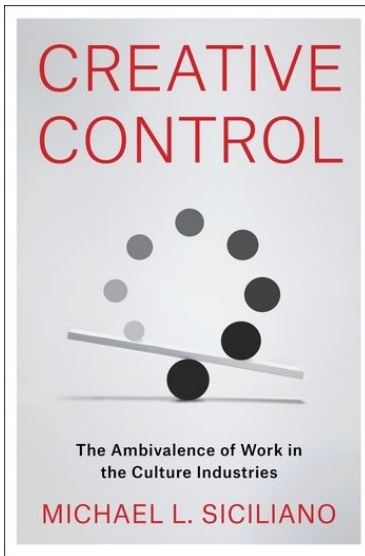
How can we build a future of work that meets pressing challenges and delivers for workers? Contemporary societies are beset by interrelated ecological, political, and economic crises, from climate change to democratic erosion and economic instability. Uncertainty abounds about the sustainability of democratic capitalism. Yet mainstream debates on the evolution of work tend to remain narrowly circumscribed, exhibiting both technological and market determinism. This volume presents a labor studies perspective on the future of work, arguing that revaluing work—the efforts and contributions of workers—is crucial to realizing the promises of democracy and improving sustainability. It emphasizes that collective political action, and the collective agency of workers in particular, is central to driving this agenda forward. Moreover, it maintains that reproductive work—labor efforts from care to education that sustain the reproduction of society—can function as a crucible of innovation for the valuation and governance of work more broadly.



REVALUING WORK(ERS):
TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC
AND SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

EDITORS: TOBIAS SCHULZE-CLEVEN AND TODD E. VACHON

Labor and Employment Relations Association Series



Creative Control The Ambivalence of Work in the Culture Industries

By Michael L. Siciliano

Workers in cultural industries often say that the best part of their job is the opportunity for creativity. At the same time, profit-minded managers at both traditional firms and digital platforms exhort workers to “be creative.” Even as cultural fields hold out the prospect of meaningful employment, they are marked by heightened economic precarity. What does it mean to be creative under contemporary capitalism? And how does the ideology of creativity explain workers’ commitment to precarious jobs? Michael L. Siciliano draws on nearly two years of ethnographic research as a participant-observer in a Los Angeles music studio and a multichannel YouTube network to explore the contradictions of creative work. He details how such workplaces feature engaging, dynamic processes that enlist workers in organizational projects and secure their affective investment in

ideas of creativity and innovation. Siciliano argues that performing creative labor entails a profound ambivalence: workers experience excitement and aesthetic engagement alongside precarity and alienation. Through close comparative analysis, he presents a theory of creative labor that accounts for the roles of embodiment, power, alienation, and technology in the contemporary workplace.

Articles, Book Chapters, and Reports

Articles

Almeida, Paul, Eugenio Sosa, Allen Cordero, and Ricardo Argueta. 2021. “Protest Waves and Social Movement Fields: The Micro Foundations of Campaigning for Subaltern Political Parties”. *Social Problems*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spab012>.

The paper examines the individual-level building blocks of getting out the vote (GOTV) for electoral parties that represent subaltern sectors in resource scarce environments. Drawing on theories of protest waves, social movement fields, and threat-induced collective action, we examine the likelihood of campaigning in left party electoral mobilization and party identification. The study implements a modified version of the Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation (CCC) survey protocol and respondent selection design. We use a sympathy pool sample of over 1,200 May Day participants in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras to explain the micro-foundations of electoral proselytizing of political parties advocating for disadvantaged populations. We found that involvement in left party electoral campaigning was largely driven by resources deposited during anti-neoliberal protest waves, including prior movement-type protest, civic organizational activity, and economic threat perceptions. Campaigning for the anti-neoliberal party was also associated with a higher level of post-election party identification. The findings

suggest that left parties may at times partially overcome economic and political resource deficits by mobilizing individuals deeply embedded in the social movement field.

Blanc, Eric and Barry Eidlin. 2021. "Moral Economies, Mobilization, and Inequality: The Case of the 2018 US Teachers' Strikes." Pp. 195-213 in *Research in Political Sociology, The Politics of Inequality (Research in Political Sociology, Vol. 28, edited by D. Pettinicchio*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0895-993520210000028010>.

Labor unions play a key role in combating inequality. Recent research focuses on unions' ability to shape “moral economies” that make greater inequality socially inappropriate. But this research largely hypothesizes moral economy pathways for combating inequality, rather than showing them in action. Through a case study of the 2018 teachers' strike wave, we identify mechanisms that allow unions to shape moral economies. Based on analysis of in-depth interviews with key strike leaders, social media discussion groups, and contemporaneous media coverage, we find that the interaction of sustained mass disruption and worker–organizer intervention were the key mechanisms that allowed the teachers and their unions to reshape moral economies. Externally, the strikes created a social and political crisis to which political elites had to respond, while tying the teachers' struggles to broader community issues, galvanizing public support for the strikes. As disruptions escalated, the

teachers' experience of collective action created a positive feedback effect, reshaping workers' understanding of what they wanted, what they deserved, and what they could win. The 2018 teachers' strike is analytically useful because it managed to reshape norms and expectations around educational and economic inequality rapidly, on a large scale.

Gurusami, Susila, and Rahim Kurwa. "From Broken Windows to Broken Homes: Homebreaking as Racialized and Gendered Poverty Governance." *Feminist Formations* 33(1):1-32. doi:10.1353/ff.2021.0001.

Broken windows policing is traditionally understood as a tactic of governing public space, but in this essay, we show how this mode of policing also constitutes a war on domestic space. We take up Joy James's call to investigate how the domestic of domestic warfare necessitates an understanding of the home and household, and we ask how the state leverages broken windows-style policing to govern the home. Drawing from three different cases in Los Angeles County—gang injunctions, post-release supervision, and housing vouchers—we use ethnographic data, interviews, and court filings to show how the state treats the homes of people of color as broken sites of disorder. We contend that it is the state that engages in homebreaking, not the residents. Contextualized within Black feminist scholarship, we identify homebreaking as the state's attempt to break the home as a site of social reproduction and refuge from oppression, one of many state practices that fracture families of color and their homes, and we identify and examine two such stages of homebreaking: spying—surveillance of the home in ways that mark everyday behaviors and conditions as disordered and punishable; and raiding—punitive state intrusion that forces changes on the home or leads to punishment for perceived disorder.

Hui, Elaine Sio-ieng. 2021. "Bottom-Up Unionization in China: A Power Resources Analysis." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12593>.

Drawing on the modified power resources approach, this article examines efforts at bottom-up unionization by rural migrant workers in China. Prior to 2010, they utilized their *associational power* to pursue predominantly *immediate economic interests*, but since 2010, they have begun to deploy associational power, and societal power at times, in attempts to form enterprise unions that could provide them with *workplace institutional power*. Through three revelatory in-depth case studies, the article investigates the efforts made by workers to unionize and the strategies used by employers, the state and the upper-level unions to sup-

press them. It highlights that the attainment and exercise of workers' power do not only play out in relation to employers but are also dependent on the role of the state and its apparatus.

Hui, Elaine Sio-ieng. 2021. "Movement-oriented Labor Organizations in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of China." *Human Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00187267211001433>.

How do labor organizations with a movement orientation arise in an authoritarian regime? How do they organize workers collectively in a repressive society? What movement roles do they play? What challenges do they face? To answer these questions, I use synthesized social movement theories to examine movement-oriented labor non-governmental organizations in China. Based on qualitative data collected through triangulated sources, I find that movement-oriented labor non-governmental organizations use political opportunities to promote one type of modular collective labor action, which consists of three tactics, namely the election of worker representatives, collective negotiation, and protest. They guide workers to build mobilizing and connective structures, formulate collective action frames, and amass movement resources. However, the movement roles of this type of labor non-governmental organization have weakened, owing to diminishing political opportunities caused by changes in government administration. This research contributes to our understanding of social movement theories, labor organizations in China, labor non-governmental organizations and worker centers generally, and state-society relations in non-democracies.

Kaldor, Yair. 2021. "Financialization and Income Inequality: Bringing Class Struggle Back In." *Critical Sociology*. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/08969205211029359>.

Financialization and rising income inequality are two of the most pronounced economic developments of recent decades, and there is increasing evidence that these trends are somehow related. However, explanations of this link are still limited, and pay little attention to workers themselves. As a result, the impact of financialization on income inequality appears at most as an unfortunate side-effect. This article takes a different approach by investigating both financialization and income inequality from within the historical development of the class struggle in the United States economy. It shows that the economic problems of the 1970s that provided the impetus for financialization were closely related to the escalating conflicts between labor and capital, in which the state served as an increasingly important terrain of struggle. Viewed from this perspective, rising income inequality appears

less as an unexpected outcome of financialization and more as its very *raison d'être*.

Kang, Minhyoung. 2021. "The Transformation of Labor Force Dualism in South Korea's Shipyards, 1974 to the Present." *Labor History* 62(3):276-296, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2021.1908525>.

This article examines the historical evolution of labor force dualism at Hyundai Heavy Industries (HHI). The proportion of precarious workers at HHI reveals a U-shaped curve over time, with its nadir in the late 1980s. There has been a transformation at HHI from *dualism without inequality* before 1987 to *dualism with inequality* after the mid-1990s. Before 1987, HHI management pursued dualism but inequality did not widen because wages were kept low for both regular and non-regular workers. Dualism without inequality at HHI disappeared in the aftermath of the 1987 labor upsurge as a result of working-class solidarity around the demand for eliminating precarious employment. However, the decline in dualism was short-lived. To achieve industrial peace while simultaneously reducing labor costs, HHI management pursued a strategy of micro-corporatism that involved granting concessions to regular workers while controlling wage increases for non-regular workers. The consolidation of this *dualism with inequality* was facilitated by the concurrent rise of business unionism. Finally, this article outlines conditions favorable to renewed class-based labor solidarity that have emerged at HHI recently, opening up the potential for a new round of successful workers' struggles against work-force dualism.

Kang, Youbin. 2021. "The Rise, Demise, and Replacement of the Bangladesh Experiment in Transnational Labour Regulation." *International Labour Review* 160(3). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ilr.12199>

Five years after the collapse of Rana Plaza – a disaster that killed 1133 garment workers – the Bangladesh Accord on Fire and Building Safety, a multi-stakeholder program designed to set labour standards for the garment industry, was closed by Bangladesh's highest court. Widely hailed as a promising example of transnational regulation, the Accord was never successfully institutionalized locally. Based on archival and ethnographic work in Bangladesh, I suggest that although the Accord successfully upgraded factory safety standards, the failure of the transnationally-supported program to build widespread support among local employers, workers, and government led to its closure and replacement.

Lei, Ya-Wen. 2021. "Delivering Solidarity: Platform Architecture and Collective Contention in China's Platform Economy." *American Sociologi-*

***cal Review* 86(2):279–309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122420979980>**

This study examines how and when labor control and management leads to collective resistance in China's food-delivery platform economy. I develop the concept of "platform architecture" to examine the technological, legal, and organizational aspects of control and management in the labor process and the variable relationships between them. Analyzing 68 in-depth interviews, ethnographic data, and 87 cases of strikes and protests, I compare the platform architecture of service and gig platforms and examine the relationship between their respective architecture and labor contention. I argue that specific differences in platform architecture diffuse or heighten collective contention. Within the service platform, technological control and management generates work dissatisfaction, but the legal and organizational dimensions contain grievances and reduce the appeal of, and spaces for, collective contention. Conversely, within the gig platform, all three dimensions of platform architecture reinforce one another, escalating grievances, enhancing the appeal of collective contention, and providing spaces for mobilizing solidarity and collective action. As a result, gig platform couriers are more likely to consider their work relations exploitative and to mobilize contention, despite facing higher barriers to collective action due to the atomization of their work.

Lei, Ya-Wen. 2021. "Upgrading China through Automation: Manufacturers, Workers and the Techno-Developmental State." *Work, Employment and Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017021999198>

This article analyses how local states, electronics manufacturers and low-skilled workers perceive and make decisions about automation under China's techno-developmentalism. Since the early 2010s, local states have made automation – specifically, the substitution of robots for human workers – the linchpin of their techno-developmental strategy and set statistical targets to facilitate policy implementation. Although manufacturers realised the limitations of such substitution, most continue to overstate the power of robots in order to receive material and symbolic benefits from local states, which rely on manufacturers to achieve their statistical targets. Meanwhile, most low-skilled workers embrace the state's vision and see automation as beneficial for national progress, although these workers are the most excluded by state policy. Essentially, China's techno-developmentalism has led to symbiotic state-capital relations that marginalise low-skilled workers, while reproducing a national sociotechnical imaginary that prioritises abstract notions of technological progress over the actual efficacy of automation, labour protection and social equality.

Terriquez, Veronica, and Ruth Milkman. 2021. "Immigrant and Refugee Youth Organizing in Solidarity with the Movement for Black Lives." *Gender & Society*. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/08912432211029396>.

In recent years, politically active Latinx and Asian American Pacific Islander youth have addressed anti-Black racism within their own immigrant and refugee communities, engaged in protests against police violence, and expressed support for #SAYHERNAME. Reflecting the broader patterns of a new political generation and of progressive social movement leadership, women and nonbinary youth have disproportionately committed to inclusive fights for racial justice. In this essay, through two biographical examples, we highlight the role of grassroots youth organizing groups in training their diverse young members to become effective allies, introducing them to intersectional frameworks that motivate solidarity across racial and ethnic boundaries.

VanHeuvelen, Tom, and David Brady. 2021. "Labor Unions and American Poverty." *ILR Review*. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/00197939211014855>.

American poverty research largely neglects labor unions. The authors use individual-level panel data, incorporate both household union membership and state-level union density, and analyze both working poverty and working-aged poverty (among households led by 18- to 64-year-olds). They estimate three-way fixed effects (person, year, and state) and fixed-effects individual slopes models on the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), 1976–2015. They exploit the higher quality income data in the Cross-National Equivalent File—an extension of the PSID—to measure relative (<50% of median in current year) and anchored (<50% of median in 1976) poverty. Both union membership and state union density have statistically and substantively significant negative relationships with relative and anchored working and working-aged poverty. Household union membership and state union density significantly negatively interact, augmenting the poverty-reducing effects of each. Higher state union density spills over to reduce poverty among non-union households, and there is no evidence that higher state union density worsens poverty for non-union households or undermines employment.

Vargas, Tracy. 2021. "Consumer Redlining and the Reproduction of Inequality at Dollar General." *Qualitative Sociology*. 44(2): 205–229. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11133-020-09473-w>

This paper extends our knowledge of consumer redlin-

ing by providing empirical evidence documenting its occurrence at Dollar General stores while also providing an explanation as to why it occurs in the first place. My data was primarily collected during six months of fieldwork working as a low-wage sales associate. It was also supplemented by additional participant observation at the eighteen other Dollar General stores in my fieldsite's district and fifty in-depth interviews with coworkers and employees. My findings revealed significant disparities in store quality and customer service between the store locations I examined. Of the nineteen stores in the district, three stand-out stores emerged as the very worst. Conditions there were dirtier and more hazardous than the rest, with under-stocked shelves, slow customer service, and a contentious atmosphere for those who worked and shopped amidst the squalor. Therefore, I identified these stores as consumer redlined. My findings illustrate how the automated management of Dollar General's labor supply undermined frontline managers' authority and workers' ability to resist precarious scheduling, contributing to the degradation of retail work. While algorithmic labor management standardized employer-driven "flexible" scheduling, the system also resulted in an unequal distribution of payroll hours amongst store locations. I argue that this automated scheduling system functioned to minimize labor cost and maximize profit, exacerbating the degradation of labor and instigating the reproduction of inequality—in this case, by generating consumer redlining. Additionally, my research shows how computer technology can intentionally undermine the power of frontline managers by automatic flexible scheduling, making it difficult to remedy the source of complaints at consumer-redlined stores: systemic understaffing.

Wallace, Michael, Todd E. Vachon, and Allen Hyde. 2021. "Two Roads Diverged: Legal Context and Changing Levels of Private and Public Sector Union Density in the U.S. States." *Economic and Industrial Democracy*. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0143831X211025078>

This article examines the causes of the different historical trajectories of US union membership in the private and public sectors, a topic relevant for understanding the link between unions and industrial democracy. The article focuses on the different legal contexts shaping membership in these two sectors, especially the role of right-to-work (RTW) and public sector collective bargaining (PSCB) laws. Using state-level data from 1984 to 2019, the study finds that RTW laws decrease, and PSCB laws increase union membership in both sectors, suggesting cross-over effects. The authors conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the prospects of ex-

panding economic and industrial democracy.

Wilmers, Nathan. 2020. "Job Turf or Variety: Task Structure as a Source of Organizational Inequality." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 65 (4):1018-1057. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839220909101>

What explains pay inequality among coworkers? Theories of organizational influence on inequality emphasize the effects of formal hierarchy. But restructuring, firm flattening, and individualized pay setting have challenged the relevance of these structuralist theories. I propose a new organizational theory of differences in pay, focused on task structure and the horizontal division of labor across jobs. When organizations specialize jobs, they reduce the variety of tasks performed by some workers. In doing so they leave exclusive job turf to other coworkers, who capture the learning and discretion associated with performing a distinct task. The division of labor thus erodes pay premiums for some workers while advantaging others through job turf. I test this theory with linked employer–employee panel data from U.S. labor unions, which include a type of data that is rarely collected: annual reporting on work tasks. Results show that reducing task variety lowers workers' earnings, while increasing job turf raises earnings. When organizations reduce task variety for some workers, they increase job turf for others. Without assuming fixed job hierarchies and pay rates, interdependencies in organizational task allocation yield unequal pay premiums among coworkers.

Book Chapters

Engeman, Cassandra. 2020. "Breaking the Liberal-Market Mold? Family Policy Variation across US States and Why It Matters," Pp. 431-458 in *The Palgrave Handbook of Family Policy*, edited by R. Nieuwenhuis and W. Van Lancker. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-54618-2_17.

Drawing from U.S. state legislative documents, this chapter examines the development of subnational leave policies across states and over time. The research identifies 72 leave laws adopted by states between 1942 and 2017 and shows how some states are more active than others. In comparison to other countries, states quickly abandoned female-targeted policies in favor of gender-neutral, individual entitlements, and leave rights in the United States can be uniquely distinguished by whether they provide time-off to address medical or caregiving needs. I argue that American lawmakers have an opportunity to layer wage-replacement benefits on top of preexisting, gen-

der-neutral and individual entitlements to job-protected leave in a step toward gender-egalitarian family policy models found in other countries.

Herbert, William A., and Joseph van der Naald. 2021. "Graduate Student Employee Unionization in the Second Gilded Age." in *Revaluing Work(ers): Toward a Democratic and Sustainable Future*, edited by T. Shulze-Cleven and T. E. Vachon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

In debates on the future of work, a common theme has been how work became less secure through the denial of employee status. Though much of the attention has focused on other industries, precarity has also affected those working in higher education, including graduate student employees, contributing to what is now called the "gig academy." While universities have reassigned teaching and research to graduate assistants, they have also refused to recognize them as employees. Nevertheless, unionization has grown considerably since 2012, most significantly at private institutions. Utilizing a unique dataset, this chapter demonstrates that between 2012 and 2019, graduate student employees voted overwhelmingly for representation. The chapter contextualizes this growth within the history of their unionization movement. We argue that legal rights have been a predominant factor, with graduate assistants confronting, and frequently overcoming, their misclassification. Those experiences provide lessons for workers in other industries facing similar obstacles.

Kang, Youbin. 2021. "Access to Justice after Rana Plaza: A Preliminary Assessment of Grievance Procedures and the Legal System in the Apparel Global Supply Chain." in *Decent Work in a Globalized World: Lessons from Public and Private Initiatives*, edited by G. Delautre, E. Echeverria Manrique and C. Fenwick. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO.

The problem of access to justice for garment workers in Bangladesh was tragically exemplified in the Rana Plaza disaster in 2013. Subsequently, various legal and institutional reforms were introduced to the garment sector in Bangladesh. This chapter asks, how did the critical moment of Rana Plaza transform the access to justice for workers? The available literature by scholars, activists, and policymakers introduce three different courses of action: the first promotes the strengthening of the domestic judicial system, the second calls for the increased participation and responsibility of transnational corporations, and the third focuses on raising the legal consciousness amongst workers and legal professionals. Through the analysis of internal documents of legal service providers, 23 informational interviews, and a longitudinal dataset of grievances filed by garment workers at a legal-aid NGO, this pa-

per details how the combination of these three courses of action led to transformations on the workers' access to justice. This chapter demonstrates that the transnational pressure to amend and strengthen the judicial system worked alongside extrajudicial initiatives that broadened the reach of labour rights in Bangladesh. It also illustrates that legal consciousness is critical for understanding possible ways of translating international labour standards to local labour rights.

Somers, Margaret R. 2021. "Toward a Predistributive Democracy: Diagnosing Oligarchy, Dedemocratization, and the Deceits of Market Justice." Pp. 56-87 in *The Condition of Democracy: Neoliberal Politics and Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 1, edited by J. Mackert, H. Wolf, and B. S. Turner, eds. New York, NY: Routledge. https://www.academia.edu/49619551_Toward_a_predistributive_democracy_Diagnosing_oligarchy_dedemocratization_and_the_deceits_of_market_justice

In an age of egregious inequality and authoritarian threats to democracy, many call for a 'moral economy'. Yet inequality, economic domination, and dedemocratization do not signal the absence of morality; they are signature expressions of the dominant neoliberal moral economy of market justice – the claim that market outcomes are morally just because rooted in the unbiased naturalism of economic society. Polanyi demystified market justice to reveal its origins not in naturalism but in a market constituted by the power of predistributive political and legal engineering, the extraction of social wealth, and the enchainment of democracy. An alternative political economy of predistributive democracy aims to mobilize countervailing predistributive powers to decommodify and redemocratize.

Somers, Margaret and Fred Block. 2020. "Polanyi's Democratic Socialist Vision: Piketty Through the Lens of Polanyi." Pp. 211-230 in *Karl Polanyi and Twenty-First Century Capitalism*, edited by R. Desai and K. Polanyi Levit. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. https://www.academia.edu/44122421_Polanyi_s_Democratic_Socialist_Vision_Piketty_Through_the_Lens_of_Polanyi

2014 was a remarkable year for political economy. It was the seventieth anniversary of The Great Transformation (TGT), Karl Polanyi's groundbreaking volume which is now recognized as one of the most influential works of twentieth-century social science. Unlike most other books, Polanyi's becomes ever more indispensable because of the destructive consequences of the market fundamentalism that he critiques. But 2014 also marked another milestone in the revival of interest in political economy with the publication of Thom-

as Piketty's *Capital in the 21st Century* (C21). An unexpected bestseller, C21 is a highly intelligible economic and social history, accompanied by graphs and tables that document and explain the trajectory of inequality since the eighteenth century.

Wolf, Andrew. 2021 "Who's the Boss? Digitally Mediated Employment's Impacts on Labour Markets and the Nature of Work." in *The Platform Economy and the Smart City: Urban Technology and the Transformation of Urban Policy*, edited by Z. Spicer and A. Zwick. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

The rise of platform-based employment generates important labour and employment issues that cities and urban planners must consider. Allowing companies to enter cities without regulation and to classify their workers as independent contractors further privatizes essential services such as transportation. While the size of platform employment remains small, its impacts can be large and concentrated in cities: taxi-app companies represent 30 per cent of New York City's traffic and employs 84,000 drivers. Additionally, benefits and costs of the platform are being felt disparately, reproducing historical inequalities of race, gender, and class on these platforms. Platform economy companies in service industries are using innovative technologies and "algorithmic management" to transform the labour process, or the organization of work, from a world of managers and workers to one of algorithms and workers. Algorithmic management is combined with "gamification," which makes work additive, and ideological appeals to workers' notions of freedom to make them consent to the employment arrangement. Nevertheless, platform workers around the world are increasingly speaking up and forming labour unions.

Reports

Juravich, Tom, Russell Ormiston and Dale Belman. 2021. *The Social and Economic Costs of Illegal Misclassification, Wage Theft and Tax Fraud in Residential Construction in Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: UMass Amherst Labor Center. <https://www.umass.edu/lrrc/research/working-papers-series/social-and-economic-costs-illegal-misclassification-wage-theft-and>

This study examines labor and employment practices in the residential construction industry in Massachusetts. Our research is based on more than 60 in-depth interviews with documented and undocumented workers, union and non-union contractors, union and public officials, and community activists involved in residential construction. The results of these interviews are complemented by a comprehensive quantitative analy-

sis of data from the Massachusetts Department of Revenue, Department of Unemployment Assistance and Department of Industrial Accidents that provides statistical projections of the extent and economic costs of worker misclassification in Massachusetts construction. Based on our extensive interviews, we have identified a new and fully institutionalized business model operating in residential construction across the Commonwealth. Practices such as the illegal misclassification of workers as independent contractors, wage theft and tax fraud, and paying workers in cash that were once at the margins of the construction industry, are now at the center of medium and large residential construction in Massachusetts.

Maich, Katherine, Jennifer Fish, and Elieen Boris. 2021. “Amplifying Rights Through Activist Research with Domestic Worker Organisations: Academic Research Reflections.” Pp. 34-37 in *Step Up Efforts Towards Decent Work for Domestic Workers in the EU: 10th Anniversary of ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)*. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO. http://www.efsi-europe.eu/fileadmin/MEDIA/Event/C189_Alliance/C189_ALLIANCE_REPORT_EN_01.pdf

Vachon, Todd E., Mijin Cha, Dimitris Stevis and Vivian Price. 2021. *Workers and Communities in Transition: Report of the Just Transition Listening Project*. Just Transition Listening Project. Takoma Park, MD: Labor Network for Sustainability. <https://www.labor4sustainability.org/jt1p-2021/>

New report underscores a critical point in the shift to much needed climate policies: Workers and their communities must not be left behind in the transition to a green economy and in fact, their role in the process of developing a just transition is critical to making it work fairly. After nearly a year of interviewing more than 100 workers and community leaders about how their lives and communities have been affected by factory closings and other major shifts in local and regional economies, the Labor Network for Sustainability and partners released its highly anticipated report “Workers and Communities in Transition.” The report captures “the voices of workers and community members who have experienced, are currently experiencing, or anticipate experiencing some form of economic transition.”

Jabola-Carolus, Isaac, Stephanie Luce, and Ruth Milkman. 2021. *The Case for Public Investment in Higher Pay for New York State Home Care Workers: Estimated Costs and Savings*. New York, NY: CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_pubs/682/

This report explores one potential solution to the mounting home care labor shortage in New York

State: substantially raising wages for the state's home care workers. The analysis presents detailed projections, based on the best available data, of the economic effects of such an intervention, estimating the costs and benefits that would result. We find that public funding to raise home care wages would require significant resources, but those costs would be surpassed by the resulting savings, tax revenues, and economic spillover effects. The net economic gain would total at least \$3.7 billion. Lifting wages would also help fill nearly 20,000 vacant home care positions each year and would create nearly 18,000 jobs in other industries by boosting local economic activity. These findings align with past studies on public investment in the care sector, which have found large effects on economic activity and on job creation both within and beyond care industries.