

# In Critical Solidarity

Vol. 12, No. 2

April 2013

## ASA Labor and Labor Movement Newsletter

### CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| From the Chair   | 2  |
| 260,000 Graduates in Minimum Wage Jobs   | 3  |
| College Athletes Have the Right to Unionize  | 4  |
| Canada's Toyota Workers Poised for Union Vote  | 5  |
| Lufthansa Pilots Plan to Strike  | 6  |
| Vegas culinary workers have authorized strike  | 6  |
| Disabled workers and Federal Contractors   | 7  |
| Most farm worker injuries are unreported   | 7  |
| New Anita Hill documentary   | 7  |
| Seven Months on the Picket Line  | 8  |
| Records especially hinder women of color in job search   | 8  |
| Older Black Women's Exploitation   | 8  |
| Toward Union Revitalization: An Assessment of the Barriers and Opportunities for Labor in the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century | 9  |
| ASA Open Access Journal  | 15 |
| The Labor Rights of Unpaid Interns   | 16 |
| Rod Bush Tribute   | 17 |
| New Books  | 18 |
| New Articles   | 20 |
| New in Paperback   | 21 |
| New Journal Issue  | 21 |
| Call for Abstracts: Precarious Labor in Global Perspective   | 22 |
| ICPSR Training Opportunities   | 23 |
| News from Members  | 24 |
| Forthcoming Conferences  | 24 |
| Looking for a reviewer for the Cesar Chavez movie  | 25 |
| Your Committee   | 26 |
| Section Website and Facebook   | 26 |

## From the Chair (Steve McKay)



Hello everyone and welcome to another edition of *In Critical Solidarity!*

We have another issue- and news-packed newsletter so thanks again to Mark Sherry for putting it all together. As you can read, it's been a busy last few months on the labor and labor movements front: from the recent decision to recognize university athletes the right to unionize, to impending auto worker actions in Canada, to the ongoing labor actions to protect unpaid interns across a range of industries. In the following pages, you can also read Todd Vachon's insightful essay on union revitalization and hopefully, some of you will be inspired to respond to Todd's call for "section members to share their thoughts in future news letters." Just these types of open discussions and exchanges are what we hope to foster through our section's activities.

We also hope you take note of other developments, such as ASA's new Open Access Journal (see page 15), and the Call for Tributes and Reflections on the Life and Work of Rod Bush (page 17), a conference being organized by *Critical Sociology* this summer in San Francisco. There are also section members' new books to celebrate, such as Rina Agarwala's *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India*, Saskia Sassen's *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, and a new paperback edition of Jane McAlevey's *Raising Expectations and Raising Hell*.

Finally, keep a look out for the full line up of the 3 Labor and Labor Movement Section panels at the ASA Annual meeting in San Francisco in August. The preliminary program will be available at the end of April.

So please enjoy the newsletter and consider contributing to our next issue!

In solidarity,

Steve McKay

## From the Newsletter Editor (Mark Sherry)



I hope you find the newsletter interesting and informative. Please consider contributing to the next edition, which will be published on June 1. I'd like submissions to be in by mid-May if possible.

Here are some things I'd love to discuss more in the next issue:

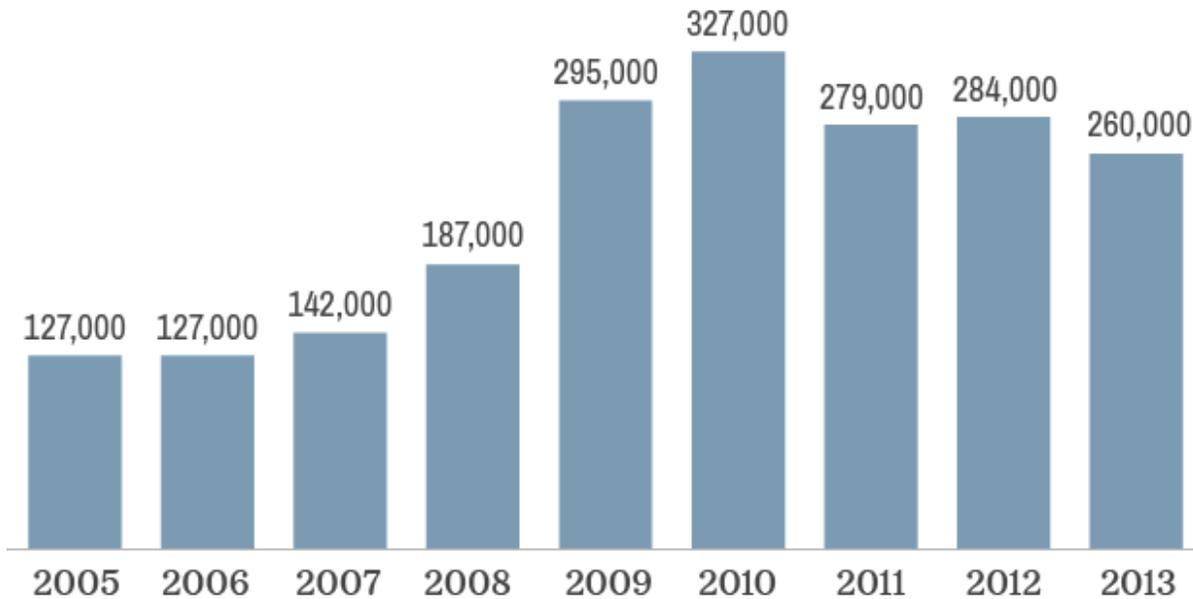
- \* The new anti-union legislation in the South (as of writing, the anti-union bills in Mississippi have not been signed into law);
- \* Grad student work – you are the ones that drive the field forward; I desperately want to encourage you to submit;
- \* Someone to do a review of the new Cesar Chavez movie;
- \* More submissions about your new books or articles.

Cheers,  
Mark

# 260,000 GRADUATES IN MINIMUM WAGE JOBS

By Mark Sherry

A Bureau of Labor Statistics report released on March 31, 2014 indicated that there were 260,000 college graduates working in minimum wage jobs. The Federal minimum wage is \$7.25 an hour, but some of these workers earn less than that.



SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

The stereotype of minimum wage earners is that they are mostly younger people (teenagers) in their first job. This is far from the truth.

The industry which is the largest employer of minimum wage workers is the fast food industry – and the myth of the ‘teenage employee’ covers up the fact that this is a racialized and gendered workforce: it is disproportionately black and female.

Unfortunately, (as a result of neoliberalism, globalization and the growth of the precarious work), the only workforce which is growing at the moment involves minimum wage jobs.

Here is a list of the lowest-paying jobs in the US, according to NBC news:

1. Food preparation and serving workers, including fast food
2. Dishwashers
3. Cashiers
4. Hosts and hostesses
5. Amusement park attendants
6. Movie theater ushers, ticket takers
7. Farm workers
8. 8. Personal and home care aides

## Sources:

<http://www.nbcnews.com/id/38168029/ns/business-careers/t/lowest-paying-jobs-america/#.UzPllvldV9A>

<http://money.cnn.com/2014/03/31/news/economy/minimum-wage-college-graduates/>

# COLLEGE ATHLETES HAVE THE RIGHT TO UNIONIZE

By Mark Sherry

On March, 26 2014 a regional National Labor Relations Board director ruled that Northwestern football players are employees of the university and therefore have the right to form a union.



Under labor law, an employee is someone who, among other things, receives compensation for a service and is under the strict, direct control of managers. Factors which were included in this decision about college athletes included the time devoted to football by these athletes (up to 50 hours a week), the control exerted by coaches, and their scholarships which were considered compensation.

College players help their schools earn \$16 billion in television contracts, but see little of that money for themselves. Among other things, the players are aiming to get guaranteed coverage of sports-related medical expenses, higher scholarships, and a trust fund which would help former players finish their degrees.

There has been a strong support for unionization from the players and the College Athletes Players Association is trying to meet with lawmakers to cement their legal victory.

However, the NCAA has said it will appeal the decision to the National Labor Relations Board, and it has also stated that it intends to take the case to the Supreme Court. Plans to engage in union-busting are already being formulated. One such suggestion involves changing the terms of athletic scholarships, to avoid them being considered “compensation” for playing.

## Sources:

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/sports/2014/03/26/nlrb-rules-college-athletes-are-employees-can-form-unions/NcgoJZ7XxzjEaBhUdQpEBJ/story.html>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/27/sports/ncaafotball/national-labor-relations-board-rules-northwestern-players-are-employees-and-can-unionize.html>

<http://www.dailylocal.com/opinion/20140331/editorial-give-college-athletes-fairer-union-busting-scholarships>

<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-03-30/ncaa-says-northwestern-union-case-will-wind-up-in-supreme-court.html>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/28/us-college-football-unions-idUSBREA2R0AE20140328>

# CANADA'S TOYOTA WORKERS POISED FOR UNION VOTE

By Mark Sherry

Employees of Toyota in Canada will vote next week on whether to unionize. If they do unionize, they will be the first wholly-owned Toyota plant to do so in North America. Previous votes to unionize at Toyota plants in Canada have failed. However, 90% of the world's Toyota plants are unionized.

In order to have a vote to unionize, a union needs to get at least 40% of workers to sign cards. This requirement has been met at the three Toyota assembly plants in Ontario, Canada. The three plants are located in Cambridge and Woodstock, Ontario.

There are approximately 6,500 employees at these plants. The workers will be represented by Unifor, if the vote is successful. Unifor is Canada's largest private-sector union and it represents approximately 300,000 workers, including 39,000 in the auto industry.

A news release from Unifor dated 31 March 2014 states:



“This is the first major organizing drive for our union, which could mean more than 6,000 new members – workers previously without a union. As Unifor, we strive to be a union for everyone. We’re committed to ensuring safer workplaces, secure employment, wages and benefits that provide a decent standard of living, dignity and respect. Fundamentally, this means helping more workers join a union – including now at Toyota. Since Unifor formed this past Labour Day weekend, our union has dedicated many resources toward this campaign and supporting the inside committee at Toyota. If we are successful, this would be a significant win for Unifor – unionizing the workforce of a large and long-time anti-union employer.”

Unifor has a Facebook site specifically related to its Toyota campaign. You can find it at

<https://www.facebook.com/Unifor4Toyota>



Sources:

<http://www.chicagotribune.com/classified/automotive/sns-rt-us-toyota-motor-unions-canada-20140331,0,4697707.story>

<http://www.unifor.org/en/whats-new/news/were-trying-unionize-toyota>

<http://www.autonews.com/article/20140331/OEM01/140339976/toyota-factory-workers-in-canada-to-vote-on-joining-unifor-union>

<http://www.businessweek.com/news/2014-03-31/toyota-workers-in-ontario-to-vote-on-first-north-american-union>

# LUFTHANSA PILOTS PLAN TO STRIKE

By Mark Sherry

Lufthansa pilots have announced a planned strike from Wednesday 2 April until Friday 4 April, 2014. The company has responded to this plan by cancelling approximately 3,800 flights.

The pilots are represented by Vereinigung Cockpit. The union gave advanced notice of the strike last week after negotiations broke down over pay and retirement benefits.

Approximately 99% of the pilots voted in favor of the strike.

Lufthansa employs 118,000 people and is the second largest European airline.

The company has been restructuring for some time, including transferring many tasks to a low-cost carrier. Security guards for Lufthansa have previously taken industrial action over similar stalemates in negotiation.

## Sources:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/29/business/international/lufthansa-pilots-plan-3-day-strike-for-next-week.html>

<http://money.cnn.com/2014/03/31/news/companies/lufthansa-strike/>

# VEGAS CULINARY WORKERS HAVE AUTHORIZED STRIKE

By Mark Sherry

99% of workers in several Las Vegas casinos have voted to strike if bargaining doesn't lead to a new contract. Their previous contract expired last September and members voted to strike or picket if a new contract isn't forthcoming. They have increased dues so that the union can provide strike pay if necessary.

These workers, who are members of Culinary Union Local 226, are employed at the following Casinos: the downtown Binion's, El Cortez, Four Queens, Fremont, Golden Gate, Golden Nugget, Las Vegas Club, Las Vegas Plaza, Main Street Station and The D properties, the Margaritaville bar on the Strip, and linen service workers at Brady Laundries in North Las Vegas.

Local 226 is the largest local in the national UNITE HERE union, and the Culinary Union has 55,000 members, making it the largest union in Nevada. It represents bartenders, food service workers, housekeepers, cooks, and porters.

Part of the negotiations revolve around protecting housekeepers from hazardous work conditions.

## Sources:

<http://globalnation.inquirer.net/101368/las-vegas-casino-workers-vote-to-strike>

[http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US\\_CASINO\\_STRIKE\\_AUTHORIZATION\\_VOTE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2014-03-28-05-52-26](http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US_CASINO_STRIKE_AUTHORIZATION_VOTE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2014-03-28-05-52-26)

# DISABLED WORKERS AND FEDERAL CONTRACTORS

By Mark Sherry

A new rule from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs came into effect on March 24, requiring Federal contractors and subcontractors to increase their efforts to recruit, hire and retain disabled workers. The unemployment rate for disabled workers is twice that of nondisabled workers. Nation-wide, there is a goal of 7% for the employment of qualified individuals with disabilities working in each job category designated in their specific affirmative-action programs. However, an employer who has less than 100 may choose to apply this 7% goal to their entire workforce. Contractors and subcontractors who do not meet the goal will have to develop remedial plans. Businesses must also survey their workers every five years to find out if employees are disabled.

## Sources:

<http://www.corpcounsel.com/id=1202649078783/Pressure%27s-on-to-Recruit-More-Disabled-Workers#ixzz2xcHB5It7>

<http://www.news4jax.com/news/government-companies-required-to-hire-disabled/25242500>

# MOST FARM WORKER INJURIES ARE UNREPORTED

By Mark Sherry

Over three-quarters of the workplace injuries and illnesses experienced by farm workers and farmers are not reported by the Federal agencies which are responsible for tracking workplace hazards, according to a new study in the *Annals of Epidemiology*. This is three times the size of previous estimates. Government statistics had relied on data gathered from mid- to large-sized farming enterprises, but these entities employ less than half the farm labor community.

The article is co-authored by J. Paul Leigh, Juan Du and Stephen A. McCurdy, and was entitled “An estimate of the U.S. government’s undercount of nonfatal occupational injuries and illnesses in agriculture.” They estimated that there were 74,932 injuries and illnesses for crop farms and 68,504 for animal farms in 2011. The government’s primary database for tracking nonfatal injuries at work missed 73.7 % of crop farm cases and 81.9 % of animal farm cases - an average of 77.6% for all agriculture.

## Sources:

[http://www.annalsofepidemiology.org/article/S1047-2797\(14\)00012-X](http://www.annalsofepidemiology.org/article/S1047-2797(14)00012-X)

<http://latinalista.com/2014/03/majority-farm-accidents-go-unreported>

# NEW ANITA HILL DOCUMENTARY

By Mark Sherry

A new documentary about Anita Hill, entitled “Anita: Speaking truth to Power”, has just been released. At the Manhattan premiere recently, the audience gave Anita Hill a standing ovation. It has been almost 23 years since she testified about experiences of sexual harassment involving then Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. At the time, she accused Thomas of making unwanted sexual advances, referring to pornographic films, and talking about his sexual prowess. Hill is now a Professor at Brandeis University.

**Source:** <http://www.bostonglobe.com/arts/movies/2014/03/31/anita-hill-steps-back-into-spotlight-subject-new-documentary-film/8Y6uG0jCyDzQ5UycMq6V5J/story.html>

## SEVEN MONTHS ON THE PICKET LINE

By Mark Sherry



For seven long months, a group of workers in Toronto has held out against manufacturing giant Crown Holdings. They are members of the United Steelworkers (USW) Local 9176.

Crown Holdings is one of the largest manufacturers of food and beverage containers in the world. Crown demanded (under Canadian law) that the workers vote as to whether they wanted to continue their picketing. The results came back: 117 to 1 in favor of the pickets.

This is how the United Steelworkers website describes what is happening: "This level of solidarity from workers, after a brutal winter and such a long period on the picket line, is virtually unprecedented in my experience," said USW representative Lawrence Hay. "After seven months on the picket line, this company thought they had starved us out," said USW Local 9176 President Ken Hetherton. "They thought they could impose a contract that would give away many of our jobs and destroy our union that we have fought so hard to maintain," Hetherton said. Crown's Toronto employees, who helped the company achieve huge profits, received a corporate award last year for their productivity, efficiency and safety record. However, Crown provoked a strike at its Toronto factory last September by demanding major concessions from employees, including a two-tier wage plan that would permanently cut younger workers' wages by up to 42%."

Source: <http://www.usw.ca/media/news/releases?id=0964>

## RECORDS ESPECIALLY HINDER WOMEN OF COLOR IN JOB SEARCH

By Mark Sherry

Women of color are disproportionately hindered in their job search activities as a result of having a criminal record, according to a new study. Legal Aid lawyers in Philadelphia suggest that women with criminal records (who are frequently women of color) are facing more obstacles in their search for employment than their male counterparts. One suggestion is that this may be due to the fact that the industries where they are applying (such as retail, childcare and healthcare) use criminal background checks more often than some male-dominated industries.

Source: <http://www.newsworks.org/index.php/local/item/66402-during-job-search-criminal-records-more-likely-to-hinder-women-of-color>

## OLDER BLACK WOMEN'S EXPLOITATION

By Mark Sherry

A report entitled "[Black Women in the United States, Progress and Challenges](#)" uses 60 years of data to highlight the massive exploitation of black women in the workforce. Some of its findings include the fact that black women are the most likely to work and have the highest labor force participation rates, even as mothers of small children. However, the report also notes the ongoing and historical exploitation of older Black women: those over 65 have the lowest household income of any demographic group in America.

Source: <http://newsone.com/3002962/recent-report-examines-the-state-of-the-black-woman/>

# TOWARD UNION REVITALIZATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR LABOR IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

By Todd Vachon

Many sociologists have attributed the decline of unionization in the United States to changes in the labor market such as deindustrialization, the rise of the service sector, and the casualization of work (see Clawson and Clawson, 1999 for a summary). These transformations of the labor market—deriving largely from the pressures of globalization and internal contradictions of the capitalist system—represent significant challenges to the labor movement, including its ability to change and adapt to a new environment. The current labor relations system, rooted in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) and the New Deal, was designed with the standard, full-time, full-year employment relationship in mind, during a period in which manufacturing employment was the center piece of the labor market and capital flight was not practical (Kochan, 2001). The current labor market bears little resemblance to that of the early postwar period and yet the labor relations system has not been modified to meet the challenges posed by the new service-based economy that is buttressed by non-standard and precarious employment arrangements. This mismatch has left organized labor adrift for several decades and union membership has steadily declined. But alas, many labor scholars and activists alike have noted that unionization pre-dates the NLRA and that the NLRA itself was largely a response to a wave of tremendous labor unrest. It is along this line of thought—toward union revitalization—that we shall proceed.

The purpose of this essay is primarily to review the theoretical and empirical literature on union revitalization; its barriers and potential for success. What are the social forces at work within unions and in their outside environment that can help or hinder this effort? Which strategies are effective and which are not? What is the relationship between the internal and external factors? Toward answering these questions, I will attempt to synthesize various lines of thought and research pursued by many of our section members in recent years. I will begin with a review of the internal barriers to union revitalization, a discussion rooted in the debate about union democracy and militancy vs oligarchy and conservatism (Voss and Sherman, 2000; Lipset, 1956; Michels, 1915). Next, I will review the literature on social movement unionism—the most often prescribed antidote to labor’s ills (Clawson, 2003; Moody, 1997; Waterman, 1991). Finally, I will assess the effectiveness of various union strategies within the current labor market, including social movement union repertoires and traditional NLRB organizing tactics. I conclude with a brief discussion of the prospects for union revitalization in the 21st century and call for section members to share their thoughts in future news letters.

## *Internal barriers to revitalization.*

In his seminal study on European socialist parties, Michels (1915) claims that all organizations (including unions) have a tendency toward oligarchy. For Michels, organization equals oligarchy. This “iron law” thesis, as it has been called, has two primary components: 1. all organizations tend to develop oligarchical leadership, despite formal democratic structures, and 2. organizational goals and tactics become more conservative as the leadership becomes concerned with organizational survival above all else (Jenkins, 1977). The most often cited piece of support for this thesis is the work of Piven and Cloward (1977). In their study of poor people’s movements, they find that the formalization of organizations reduces the use of disruptive tactics and hinders their ability to achieve their original objectives. The authors find that leaders of formal organizations are highly susceptible to cooptation and become primarily concerned with organizational maintenance rather than pursuing the goals that the organization was established to achieve. This finding, coupled with various earlier studies helped to forge a consensus among many organizational and social movement scholars that the iron law was universal.

In the case of labor unions, oligarchical conservatism comes in the form of “pure and simple” business unionism (Buhle, 1999; Kimeldorf, 1999). Business unionism is the belief that the primary purpose of a local union is to serve the economic interests of its members and its members only. This practice leads to the rise of a tremendous staff and bureaucracy dedicated to the work of “servicing” members, including negotiating new contracts and enforcing existing ones through the grievance and arbitration processes. These are of course necessary functions of a union in the current system, but what the business union model does not include is a plan for organizing new workers or building power for labor at large. It also lacks any incentive for rank and file participation as the union is seen as “the union;” an outside actor which provides a service in exchange for a fee as opposed to a member controlled organization. The vision of business union leaders is generally myopic and particularistic. In this sense, the typical business union structure can be seen as both oligarchic and conservative, as predicted by Michels.

However, not all labor and social movement scholars are prepared to accept the universality of oligarchy. Many argue instead that the move toward oligarchy and conservatism occurs as a result of certain conditions. Perhaps most relevant to our discussion of union revitalization is the classic study of union democracy conducted by Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956) who found a vibrant democratic culture—with an active two party system and regular transfer of power—within the International Typographical Union (ITU). Some of the key determinants of democracy across ITU locals included establishment size, the average skill level of workers, and outside social contact among members. Locals with more members, more highly skilled workers, and a greater degree of outside social contact among members were more likely to have regular turnover of leadership, high levels of democratic participation, and a more militant stance toward management. Work by Cornfield (1989) links the rise and fall of factionalism and opposition inside unions to the business cycle, intensity of union-employer conflict, union ideology, leader-membership ties, and dialectical internal political processes. Stepan-Norris’s (1997) in-depth examination of UAW Local 600—the “biggest local union in the world”—found the existence of factions based on Communist-influenced ideology acted as a boost to democracy, measured by the level of electoral contention. What these findings suggest is that the tendency toward oligarchy and conservatism within unions cannot be construed as a universal phenomenon and that a myriad of factors at the local level can influence the degree to which a local union is democratic (and militant).

A more recent study by Voss and Sherman (2000) takes the question one step further by exploring the means by which unions that are indeed oligarchic can break the iron law and become “revitalized.” Using data from in-depth interviews with union organizers, the authors identify three factors that have contributed to the rise of democracy and the radical transformation of goals and tactics within certain unions. First is the occurrence of a political crisis within the local which leads to new leadership; second is the presence of potential leaders with activist experience outside of the labor movement; and third is the influence of national union leadership in pressuring locals to revitalize and focus more attention (and resources) on organizing new members. The authors find that leaders with outside activist experience more often take the decline of organized labor as a clear mandate for change and innovation within the movement. Thus the transfer of power to leaders with a progressive vision coupled with the support of national leaders who want to revitalize the international union through increased organizing has led to revitalization for locals in several international unions (e.g., SEIU, HERE, AFSCME, and CWA).

### ***Social movement unionism.***

Despite decades of losses, some unions have recently been able to increase their membership and achieve some degree of organizing success (Clawson, 2003). The achievements of these particular unions is due in part to their focus on new organizing (Wallace, Fullerton, and Gurbuz, 2009), but also to their use of innovative strategies and tactics at the local level (Martin, 2008; Bronfenbrenner and Hickey, 2004; Voss and Sherman, 2000). The common theme among these success stories is the combination of grassroots mobilization, rank and file leadership, face-to-face interaction, and a strong social justice orientation that explicitly rejects the

traditional business union model (Lopez, 2004). Many of these unions bypass the standard NLRB recognition procedure (Martin, 2008) and rely instead on creative pressure strategies including direct action, the formation of community alliances, and various forms of political intervention. Taken together, this model of unionism has become known as “social movement unionism (SMU),” and as the name suggests, it envisions the labor movement acting more like a social movement than an oligarchic and bureaucratic organization (Clawson, 2003; Robinson, 2000; Moody, 1997; Waterman, 1991).

The term social movement unionism derives from writings on the industrializing nations of South Africa, Brazil, The Philippines, and South Korea (e.g. McKay, 2005; Von Holdt, 2002). Contemporary analysts described the unions in these countries as being intertwined within networks of political alliances; dedicated to democratic practices internally; and committed to the democratic transformation of the otherwise authoritarian society at large (Lambert, 1990; Scipes, 1992). Due to the broad array of demands espoused by these unions—reaching beyond the economic interests of members—and creative organizing tactics, many scholars felt inclined to designate them as a new type of unionism. Others went on to prescribe this new style of unionism as a possible solution to the decades of union decline in North America.

While there is not one authoritative definition of social movement unionism, a review of the literature reveals a number of common characteristics that can be combined to illustrate an ideal typical “social movement union” in the North American sense (Schiavone, 2007; Robinson, 2000; Moody, 1997; Waterman, 1991). First, social movement unions are democratic organizations with a high degree of rank and file member participation—they are not oligarchic. Second, they struggle in and around wage-work for more than just wage increases for more than just their members—they are not conservative. Third, they work regularly in conjunction with other community-based groups and social movements on equal footing (e.g., environmentalists, women’s rights groups, faith groups, peace groups, etc.). Fourth, they are highly committed to organizing new members, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or country of origin, and finally, they utilize innovative strategies and non-institutional tactics to achieve their organizing goals.

The extent to which this ideal type exists, or ever will exist in the real world, is of course open to debate. The only sociological study (that I am aware of) to evaluate the potential for social movement unionism to take hold in the U.S., conducted by Robinson (2000), compares ten dimensions of political economy that have fostered social movement unionism in other countries to the current conditions of the U.S. economy. Robinson finds positive signs for eight of the ten variables that have traditionally pushed union leadership culture toward social movement unionism: 1. increased labor migration and share of low skilled workers; 2. sustained negative economic changes for most workers; 3. moderate state repression of the union movement; 4. low quality democracy; 5. substantial decline in union membership and effectiveness of dominant organizing type; 6. weakened capacity of unions to win in collective bargaining; 7. high levels of income inequality; and 8. declining political power of dominant union type. He concludes that as a result of changes to the U.S. economy due to neoliberal restructuring, the U.S. labor movement is slowly moving toward social movement unionism, but still remains a long way from the ideal type.

### *Effective organizing tactics.*

The empirical research on social movement unionism is still rather sparse, but the findings provide some optimistic support for the social movement model of organizing. In an early analysis of social movement-style organizing tactics, Bronfenbrenner (1997) finds that union tactics explain more variation in election outcomes than any other variable, including bargaining unit demographics, employer tactics, organizer background, and employer characteristics. Analyzing 261 NLRB elections she finds that rank and file intensive organizing drives, relying on person-to-person contact, an emphasis on union democracy and representative participation, the use of escalating pressure tactics against employers, and an emphasis on dignity, justice and fairness can significantly increase the chances of winning a certification election. Additionally, Juravich and Bronfenbrenner

(1998) report that in the private sector, where aggressive employer opposition is the norm, union success rates are increased by more than 35% for campaigns in which organizers utilize a comprehensive grassroots union-building strategy that includes a focus on person-to-person contact, rank-and-file leadership development, and escalating internal and external pressure tactics. This strategy involves establishing an active, representative organizing committee, using small-group meetings and house calls to develop leadership, inoculating against the anti-union campaign, and building support for the union via solidarity days, community-labor coalitions, and job actions.

In addition to specific organizing tactics, many social movement unions have deployed an entirely new organizing strategy which circumvents the standard NLRB certification process. Some have argued that the institutionalization of union organizing via the NLRB combined with the postwar economic boom and capital-labor accord contributed to a conservative shift within the labor movement which left most unions completely unprepared to deal with the post-New Deal backlash by capital and later challenges of globalization and neoliberalism (Martin, 2008; Robinson, 1993; Nissen, 1990). The capitalist backlash against labor began with the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, both of which restricted the tactics of labor (including the banning of secondary boycotts) and simultaneously expanded the rights of employers to resist unionization (including the legalization of right to work laws and the use of permanent replacements for striking workers) (Gould, 2013; Rhomberg, 2012).

By rejecting the NLRB election model, unions have greater freedom to directly exploit the particular vulnerabilities of the targeted firm while they are organizing (Manheim, 2001) and deploy tactics developed by the organizing committee and the unions, not the government. Further, they can eliminate the waiting period during certification elections, a period which gives employers ample time to call in union avoidance firms and deploy scare tactics. In a study comparing the use of the standard NLRB election to the use of non-institutional organizing campaigns by 70 large local unions between 1990 and 2001, Martin (2008) finds the standard election is still the dominant method of organizing, but the use of the non-institutional strategy is on the rise and the win rate as well as the absolute number of workers organized is higher for the non-NLRB method.

### *Union revitalization.*

As noted in the introduction to this essay, only a real transformation of current labor law and revamping of the industrial relations system can lead to a rapid re-unionization of American workers. However, this necessary institutional reform can only be accomplished by building a strong enough movement in support of it. Whether it be through the institutionalized politics of a highly unionized workforce or through grassroots protest and labor unrest, the transformation of the currently outdated industrial relations system of the NLRA to one that works for working people is going to require a tremendous outpouring of collective action and a unified voice because the neoliberal political forces in Washington DC are not going to draft up a new labor bill on their own.

In addition to the democratization of local unions and the adoption of social movement repertoires to increase membership, some other lessons from U.S. labor history can be valuable. In particular, it is important to remember that unions existed long before the NLRA. Milkman (2006) suggests that many of the pre-New Deal, old AFL organizing strategies could be better suited to the current labor market than the strategies used by the post-New Deal industrial unions. For example, she notes the benefits of occupational unionization for workers in precarious employment arrangements. This has been the standing model for construction workers for over a century. Rather than organizing workers under one employer, unions can organize multiple employers and provide them with a skilled labor force on call through the union hiring hall. This model of unionism allows workers to carry their accrued benefits from one job to the next. Further, as union density within a particular occupation increases, it begins to take wages out of competition in said occupation. Another tactic for confronting the pressures of economic globalization is the move toward labor internationalism. If capital is global, then so too must be labor. Finally, worker-owned cooperatives have received increased attention in

recent years (e.g., Mondragon in Spain) for their higher than average wages and their ability to weather the frequent storms of business cycles and market crashes without laying off workers. Considering the significant political and legal barriers to unionization in the private sector, the labor movement might consider strengthening its ties to the cooperative movement and solidifying an alliance to provide a collective voice for working class interests.

What other future paths might labor pursue in order to revitalize itself and restore its historic mission of fighting *and* winning for the working class? I would love to hear the thoughts of other section members. What can we as scholars, educators, practitioners, and activists do to help?

## References

Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1997. "The Role of Union Strategies in NLRB Certification Elections." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 50:195-212.

Bronfenbrenner, Kate, and Roger Hickey. 2004. "Changing to Organize: A National Assessment of Union Organizing Strategies." Pp. 17-60 in *Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*, edited by Ruth Milkman and Kim Voss. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press/ILR Press.

Buhle, Paul. 1999. *Taking Care of Business*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Clawson, Dan. 2003. *The Next Upsurge: Labor and the New Social Movements*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Clawson, Dan, and Mary Ann Clawson. 1999. "What Has Happened to the Union Movement: Union Decline and Renewal." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:95-119.

Cornfield, Daniel B. 1989. *Becoming a Mighty Voice: Conflict and Change in the United Furniture Workers of America*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gould, William B. 2013. *A Primer on American Labor Law*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins, Craig J. 1977. "Radical Transformation of Organizational Goals." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 22:568-586.

Juravich, Tom, and Kate Bronfenbrenner. 1998. "Preparing for the Worst: Organizing and Staying Organized in the Public Sector." Pp. 262-282 in *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, edited by Kate Bronfenbrenner. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press/ILR.

Kimeldorf, Howard. 1999. *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kochan, Thomas A. 2001. "Can the U.S. Industrial Relations System be Transformed? The Role of Ideas, Reform Efforts, and Social Crisis." Pp. 83-100 in *Sourcebook of Labor Markets: Evolving Structures and Processes*, edited by Ivar Berg and Arne Kalleberg. New York, NY: Plenum.

Lambert, Rob. 1990. "Kilusang Mayo Uno and the Rise of Social Movement Unionism in the Philippines." *Labour & Industry* 3:258-280.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, Trow, Martin, and James Coleman. 1956. *Union Democracy: The Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union*. New York, NY: Free Press.

- Lopez, Steven Henry. 2004. *Reorganizing the Rust Belt: An Inside Study of the American Labor Movement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Mannheim, Jarol B. 2001. *The Death of a Thousand Cuts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Martin, Andrew W. 2008. "The Institutional Logic of Union Organizing and the Effectiveness of Social Movement Repertoires." *American Journal of Sociology* 113:1067-1103.
- McKay, Steven. 2005. "The Squeaky Wheel's Dilemma: New Forms of Labor Organizing in the Philippines." *Labor Studies Journal* 30:41-63.
- Michels, Robert. 1915. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York, NY: Hearst's International.
- Milkman, Ruth. 2006. *L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of U.S. Labor*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Moody, Kim. 1997. *Workers in a Lean World*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Nissen, Bruce. 1990. "A post-World War II Social Accord?" *US Labor Relations, 1945-1989* 1:173-208.
- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements: Why they Succeed, How they Fail*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Rhomberg, Chris. 2012. *The Broken Table: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and the State of American Labor*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Robinson, Ian. 2000. "Neoliberal Globalization and U.S. Unions: Toward Social Movement Unionism?" *Critical Sociology* 26:109-138.
- Robinson, Ian. 1993. "Economistic Unionism in Crisis: The Origins, Consequences and Prospects of Canada-US Labour Movement Character Divergence." Pp. 19-47 in *The Challenge of Restructuring*, edited by Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Schiavone, Michael. 2007. "Moody's Account of Social Movement Unionism: An Analysis." *Critical Sociology* 33:279-309.
- Scipes, Kim. 1992. "Understanding the New Labor Movements in the 'Third World': The Emergence of Social Movement Unionism." *Critical Sociology* 19:81-101.
- Stepan-Norris, Judith. 1997. "The Making of Union Democracy." *Social Forces* 76:475-510.
- Von Holdt, Karl. 2002. "Social Movement Unionism: The Case of South Africa." *Work, Employment, and Society* 16:283-304.
- Voss, Kim, and Rachel Sherman. 2000. "Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy: Union Revitalization in the American Labor Movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 106:303-349.

Wallace, Michael, Fullerton, Andrew S., and Mustafa Gurbuz. 2009. "Union Organizing Effort and Success in the U.S., 1948-2004." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 27:13-34.

Waterman, Peter. 1991. "Social Movement Unionism: A New Model for a New World." Working Paper No. 110, International Institute for Research and Education, Amsterdam.

---

## ASA Open Access Journal

### Statement from the ASA:

The American Sociological Association (ASA) is pleased to announce that it will launch a new sociology open access journal in summer 2014 with the support of SAGE Publications. The journal, which will be free to all readers, will welcome scholarly articles in any area of sociology.

The name for the ASA's open access journal is currently being discussed by the Association's Committee on Publications and Council.

It will be the Association's first open access journal covering all subfields of sociology, adding a new resource to ASA's history of publishing the highest quality peer-reviewed scholarship.

Editorial decisions will accept or reject a submission, with some conditional acceptances. "Revise and resubmit" decisions will be used only in exceptional circumstances. There will be no word limit to manuscripts that can be submitted, accepted, and published with only light editing by professional editors (not the journal editor) to ensure the published articles adhere to the *ASA Style Guide*.

Manuscripts will be submitted and reviewed online using the same SAGEtrack system employed by ASA's other journals. As with the other ASA journals, articles in this open access journal will be hosted on the SAGE HighWire online journal platform.

If accepted for publication, manuscripts will be subject to a publication fee set by the Association. The publication fees (tentatively \$400 for ASA members and \$100 for student members, with higher fees for non-members) are well below the current open access standard in today's scholarly publishing marketplace. ASA is sensitive, however, to the inability of some scholars (particularly students and un/underemployed and international scholars) to pay such fees. Therefore, any accepted author who indicates that she or he is unable to afford the publication fee and requests a waiver will be granted one. ASA will evaluate this policy after one year.

ASA currently publishes nine journals, an award-winning research-based general audience magazine, and three section-sponsored journals (all in electronic and print format), as well as an open access, e-only section-sponsored journal. This new journal will be the Association's first open access journal that covers all areas of sociology.



# THE LABOR RIGHTS OF UNPAID INTERNS

By Alexandre Frenette  
[afrenette@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:afrenette@gc.cuny.edu)

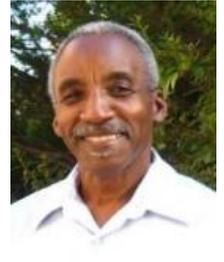
Internships, often unpaid, have become a prevalent rite of passage for youth entering the workforce. The rise of internships, especially as tied to higher education, is notable: 63% of students graduating with a bachelor's degree in 2013 reported having completed an internship, up from only 17% in 1992. In recent months, media outlets such as *The Daily Beast* and investigative journalism organization ProPublica called 2013 “the year of the [unpaid] intern.” 2013 was certainly a landmark year for those who support intern labor rights. However, commentators might soon call 2014 the year of the intern. The changing landscape of the intern economy, especially the recent challenge of unpaid internships, has been propelled by two interrelated (and persistent) developments: intern lawsuits and labor rights activism.

As I argue elsewhere, to be an intern is a challenging, highly ambiguous role (<http://wox.sagepub.com/content/40/4/364.abstract>). Unpaid interns can be seen as a source of cheap labor, an opportunity for valuable training, or both. The *legal* ambiguity of interns (as both students and workers) has helped bring this problematic issue to the forefront. An increasing number of former unpaid interns have been suing companies for back pay (and damages). According to ProPublica, two such lawsuits were filed in 2011, seven in 2012, and at least 21 in 2013 (<http://projects.propublica.org/graphics/intern-suits>). A lawsuit against the television show *Charlie Rose* resulted in a settlement for over 180 interns (\$110,000 in total). Elite Model Management recently agreed to pay \$450,000 to a group of unpaid interns to settle an unpaid wages claim – the settlement is the largest unpaid intern award to date. In June 2013, Federal Judge William Pauley handed two unpaid interns a summary judgment win against Fox Searchlight Pictures. The judge not only agreed the plaintiffs (who worked on the film *Black Swan*) were misclassified as unpaid interns instead of paid employees, but also certified a class action suit investigating unpaid intern practices at the parent company, Fox Entertainment Group. Companies, interns, and even the courts appear to be increasingly unclear about how to define and justify a legal unpaid internship.

The rise of intern lawsuits has paralleled and propelled public debate about unpaid internships. The release of Ross Perlin's *Intern Nation* in 2011 helped put the intern economy on the media's radar and launch a wave of labor rights activism. Recent examples include the following: A Tumblr account keeps track of which media companies pay interns (<http://whopaysinterns.tumblr.com/>); an New York University student circulated a petition to end unpaid internship listings on campus (which led to incremental changes in February 2014); the Intern Labor Rights group, an outgrowth of the Occupy Wall Street movement, handed out Intern Swag Bags (“Pay Your Interns” tote bags) during winter 2013 Fashion Week; in London, protesters dressed like Santa and held banners that read “All we want for Xmas is pay” in front of an art gallery that hosts unpaid interns. These and several other efforts have helped strengthen a sense of public outrage about unpaid internships. When fashion company Alexander McQueen posted an ad for an 11-month unpaid internship, Twitter, Facebook, and eventually the media were alive with outrage. Similarly, Sheryl Sandberg (Facebook C.O.O. and author of a bestselling book on women in the workplace) was publicly shamed because her foundation posted an ad seeking an unpaid intern – critics pointed out that she made over \$90 million by selling Facebook stocks that same week.

The *Black Swan* case is still awaiting a decision by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals (expected sometime in 2014) but employers are already scrambling to catch up with the threat of litigation or the fear of public shaming. In the years ahead, the fight for intern labor rights does seem to suggest more articles and editorials calling the current year *the year of the intern*.

# CALL FOR TRIBUTES AND REFLECTIONS: THE LIFE AND WORK OF ROD BUSH



Monday, August 18, 2014  
San Francisco Marriott Marquis  
San Francisco, CA  
Conference sponsored by *Critical Sociology*

On December 5, 2013 we lost a valued colleague and comrade in the person of Roderick Douglas Bush. Rod was committed in his scholarship and activism to bringing about a more just world. There is much to be learned from his legacy. Rod was highly regarded for his contributions that deepened our understanding of this unjust world, and his efforts toward what might be done to transform it. It is in that spirit that this call is being issued.

To recognize and bring honor to Rod's contributions, we seek to further explore and examine the themes of, and draw on the lessons from, his work. He was highly regarded among the most progressive scholar/activists on the struggles of African Americans in a context of capitalism and white supremacist hegemony. His books, *We Are not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* and *The End of White World Supremacy: Black Internationalism and the Problem of the Color Line*, as well as, his articles and presentations, provide an excellent frame for further explorations on the importance of his thinking.

This call invites presentations on the spirit and works of Rod Bush, both as a scholar and revolutionary activist, in one or more panels at the Critical Sociology conference. We anticipate publications that will be a lasting tribute to Rod's ideas so they can be engaged going forward. There are numerous intellectual and movement venues in which he was active and many areas of concerns that he addressed. We hope that events such as this will inspire further engagement and development.

Suggested themes might focus on the following:

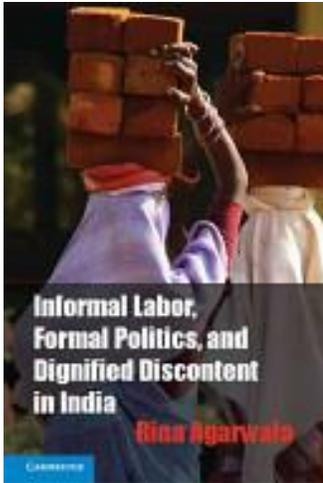
- From Black Nationalism to Black Internationalism
- Transnational Africa
- Revolutionary Activism and Praxis
- World Systems theory and application
- Revolutionary Pedagogy and Mentorship
- White World Supremacy/ Racism
- Marxist Theory
- Social Movements
- Colonialism and Internal Colonialism

Those interested in participating should submit their proposals to Robert Newby ([rnewby@frontier.com](mailto:rnewby@frontier.com)) and Melanie Bush ([melanie.e.l.bush@gmail.com](mailto:melanie.e.l.bush@gmail.com) or 917 846 6722) by April 15, 2014. Also, feel free to contact Melanie for more information about other events and activities related to Rod's life work, which will include a website hosting a variety of resources. Watch for announcements as details are confirmed.

## NEW BOOKS

**Rina Agarwala (2013) *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India*, Cambridge University Press, ISBN: 9781107663084**

*Publisher's description:*



Since the 1980s, the world's governments have decreased state welfare and thus increased the number of unprotected “informal” or “precarious” workers. As a result, more and more workers do not receive secure wages or benefits from either employers or the state. What are these workers doing to improve their livelihoods? *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India* offers a fresh and provocative look into the alternative social movements informal workers in India are launching. It also offers a unique analysis of the conditions under which these movements succeed or fail. Drawing from 300 interviews with informal workers, government officials, and union leaders, Rina Agarwala argues that Indian informal workers are using their power as voters to demand welfare benefits (such as education, housing, and healthcare) from the state, rather than demanding traditional work benefits (such as minimum wages and job security) from employers. In addition, they are organizing at the neighborhood level, rather than the shop floor, and appealing to “citizenship,” rather than labor rights.

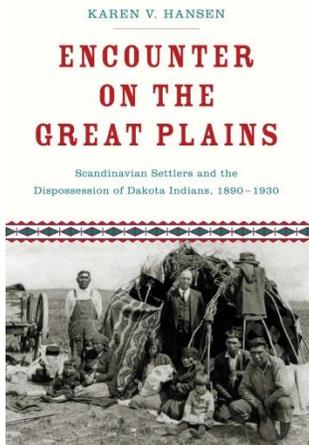
Agarwala concludes that movements are most successful when operating under parties that compete for mass votes and support economic liberalization (even populist parties), and are least successful when operating under non-competitive electoral contexts (even those tied to communist parties).

- Sheds light on the social movements of informal workers - the most understudied, yet key, actors of neoliberal globalization.
- Draws on a data set from over 300 in-depth interviews with members and leaders of informal workers' organizations and government officials.
- Offers a fresh theoretical approach to understanding contemporary state-society relations, and the first theoretical framework to explain the political and economic conditions under which informal workers' social movements succeed and fail.

***Do you have a new book or a relevant article  
that's just been published?  
Please send details to [markdsherry@yahoo.com](mailto:markdsherry@yahoo.com)***

**Karen Hansen (2013) Encounter on the Great Plains: Scandinavian Settlers and the Dispossession of Dakota Indians, 1890-1930, OUP USA, ISBN 978-0-19-974681-1**

*Author's description:*



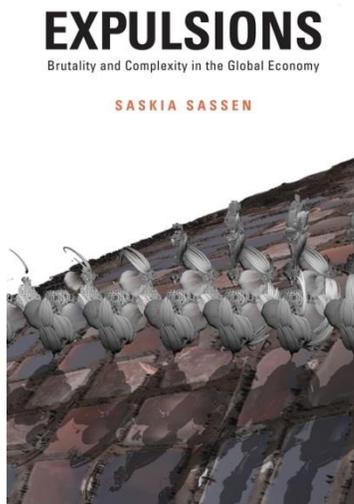
*Encounter on the Great Plains* (Oxford University Press) brings into the same frame two dominant processes in American history: the unceasing migration of people to North America, and the protracted dispossession of indigenous peoples. In focusing on the collision between immigrants and Indians on the Spirit Lake Dakota Indian Reservation, the book encapsulates the story of conquest and white settlement of North America. It demonstrates the consequences of offering land to peasants from abroad in order to recruit laborers for the U.S. mission of development. It explores the less publicized but equally important story of the dispossession and survival of Native Americans.

Karen V. Hansen reveals how the U.S. government opened the door for Scandinavians to homestead land *on* the reservation at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Bound together by place, immigrants and Indians were rarely violently at odds, but they found limited common ground. Facing anti-immigrant sentiment, trenchant racial hierarchies, and hostile English-only campaigns, each group followed a distinct path to citizenship.

In this extraordinary intersectional analysis, Hansen unearths the deeply gendered dimensions of dispossession, landtaking, and citizenship. Resourceful Dakota women gained autonomy in the use of their allotments, while Scandinavian women staked and “proved up” their own claims. Drawing on fifteen years of archival research and 130 oral histories, Hansen weaves a tapestry of everyday life, co-existence, and radical inequality that illuminates how both Dakotas and Scandinavians resisted assimilation and used their rights as new citizens to combat attacks on their cultures.

**Saskia Sassen (2014) Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy Harvard University Press. ISBN 9780674599222**

*Publisher's description:*



Soaring income inequality and unemployment, expanding populations of the displaced and imprisoned, accelerating destruction of land and water bodies: today's socioeconomic and environmental dislocations cannot be fully understood in the usual terms of poverty and injustice, according to **Saskia Sassen**. They are more accurately understood as a type of expulsion—from professional livelihood, from living space, even from the very biosphere that makes life possible.

This hard-headed critique updates our understanding of economics for the twenty-first century, exposing a system with devastating consequences even for those who think they are not vulnerable. From finance to mining, the complex types of knowledge and technology we have come to admire are used too often in ways that produce elementary brutalities. These have evolved into predatory formations—assemblages of knowledge, interests, and outcomes that go beyond a firm's or an individual's or a government's project.

Sassen draws surprising connections to illuminate the systemic logic of these expulsions. The sophisticated knowledge that created today's financial “instruments” is paralleled by the engineering expertise that enables

exploitation of the environment, and by the legal expertise that allows the world's have-nations to acquire vast stretches of territory from the have-nots. *Expulsions* lays bare the extent to which the sheer complexity of the global economy makes it hard to trace lines of responsibility for the displacements, evictions, and eradications it produces—and equally hard for those who benefit from the system to feel responsible for its deprivations.

## NEW ARTICLES

**Casanova, Erynn M. 2013. "Embodied Inequality: The Experience of Domestic Work in Urban Ecuador." *Gender & Society* 27(4): 561-585.**

Abstract: Research on bodies and work relies on theoretical perspectives that see the working body as a resource and/or symbol. This study bridges these complementary theories, incorporating two concepts (occupational habitus and body work) that extend and synthesize them into a more holistic model of embodied inequality. Drawing primarily on the accounts of women domestic workers in Ecuador's largest city, I explore the embodied dimensions of domestic work and show how unequal relations between workers and employers manifest in and on bodies, specifically through interactions around health, food, and appearance/clothing. I argue that paid domestic workers' bodies are simultaneously resources that can be used (up) for work, and symbols interpreted according to local hierarchies of gender and class.

**Friedman, Sam. What is the "working class"? *Against the Current*, 163 (March/April 2013), pp. 36, 40. <http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/3813>.**

**Friedman, Samuel R. Hegel's Absolutes and Revolution: An expanded Review of: Eugene Gogol's *Toward a Dialectic of Philosophy and Organization*. *Critical Sociology*, in press.**

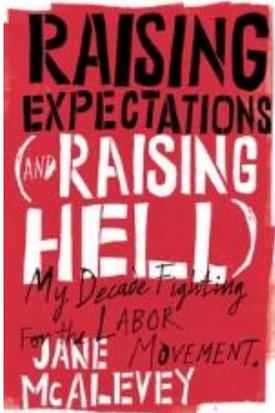
**Friedman SR (2014) Yes, There is an Alternative!: A review of Peter Hudis, *Marx's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism*. *Against the Current* 169 (March/April). 2014, 169. <http://www.solidarity-us.org/node/4111>**

**PLEASE SEND NOTIFICATIONS OF NEW ARTICLES TO THE  
NEWSLETTER EDITOR, MARK SHERRY  
[MARKDSHERRY@YAHOO.COM](mailto:MARKDSHERRY@YAHOO.COM)**

**GRADUATE STUDENTS – WE ARE  
PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN PUBLISHING  
STORIES ABOUT YOUR WORK. PLEASE  
SUBMIT TO THE NEWSLETTER!**

## NEW IN PAPERBACK

**Jane McAlevey, *Raising Expectations (And Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement* (Verso, 2012) ISBN 978-1844678853 :**



How one militant union organizer fought the bosses—and national labor leaders.

In 1995, in the first contested election in the history of the AFL-CIO, John Sweeney won the presidency of the nation's largest labor federation, promising renewal and resurgence. Today, less than 7 percent of American private-sector workers belong to a union, the lowest percentage since the beginning of the twentieth century, and public employee collective bargaining has been dealt devastating blows in Wisconsin and elsewhere. What happened?

Jane McAlevey is famous—and notorious—in the American labor movement as the hard-charging organizer who racked up a string of victories at a time when union leaders said winning wasn't possible. Then she was bounced from the movement, a victim of the high-level internecine warfare that has torn apart organized labor. In this engrossing and funny narrative—that reflects the personality of its charismatic, wisecracking author—McAlevey tells the story of a number of dramatic organizing and contract victories, and the unconventional strategies that helped achieve them.

*Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell)* argues that labor can be revived, but only if the movement acknowledges its mistakes and fully commits to deep organizing, participatory education, militancy, and an approach to workers and their communities that more resembles the campaigns of the 1930s—in short, social movement unionism that involves raising workers' expectations (while raising hell).

## NEW JOURNAL ISSUE

### **NACLA Report on the Americas—Spring 2014 – Body and Soul: Mexican Workers in the Continental Crucible**

Introduction: Repression, Resistance and Continental Integration by Richard Roman and Edur Velasco  
Energy Privatized: The Ultimate Neoliberal Triumph by James M. Cypher  
Energy, Integration, and Colonialism by Alejandro Alvarez Béjar  
Mexico's Labor Reform: A Defeat for Workers—For Now by Robin Alexander and Dan LaBotz  
Elements of the New Labor Law (Sidebar) by Robin Alexander and Dan LaBotz  
Criminal Violence and Social Control by Hepzibah Muñoz Martínez  
The Crusade Against Hunger and the Persistence of Poverty by Enrique C. Ochoa  
The State Against the Miners: Resistance and Solidarity by Oscar Alzaga  
The State Against the Electricians: A War of Extinction by José Antonio Almazán González  
The Struggle for Independent Unions in the Maquilas by Cirila Quintero Ramírez  
Immigrant Labor, Immigrant Rights by David Bacon  
Alternative Immigrant Demands (Sidebar) by David Bacon

## Call for Abstracts: Precarious Labor in Global Perspective — A special issue of *International Labor and Working-class History (ILWCH)*

We invite abstracts for this *ILWCH* special issue focused on the dynamics and history of precarious work around the world in global context. Definitions of precarious work vary, but a wide range of observers agree that in many settings jobs have become worse in terms of employment security, access to social benefits, and protection of labor rights. This is especially true in the Global North, where the 1970s marked the beginning of a shift away from relatively stable postwar labor relations based on long-term employment (along with highly gendered employment patterns) and a developed welfare state. Numerous analysts have explored these changes in work, including the International Labor Organization's many publications on precarious and decent work; Arne Kalleberg in *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs*; Tony Avirgan et al. in *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, No Jobs*, Françoise Carré et al. in *Are Bad Jobs Inevitable?*; and many others.

We seek articles that examine the *dynamics and history* of precarious work, focused on where, how, and why it has emerged, how contemporary precarious work differs (or not) from earlier low quality and unstable work (including work in the Global North before the Fordist era), the link between precariousness and long-term changes such as globalization and neoliberalism, as well as whether and how shorter-term effects such as the recent global slowdown have altered work's character. Our goal is to include analyses *from around the world and different eras that place precarious work in a global historical context*. In addition to analyses from the Global North, we especially welcome studies from the Global South, NICs, BRICs, transitional economies, and others, including cases where precarious work may be *receding* due to economic, social, and political change. We are particularly interested in articles, including comparative ones, that examine connections between precariousness and changes in the global division of labor, forms of business organization, configuration of geopolitics, and immigration flows, as well as counter-movements of regulation and resistance. Though changes in public sector employment are noteworthy in many countries, we will limit our attention to the private sector to sharpen the issue's focus.

Possible topics for articles include, but are not limited to, the following themes:

- How the shift of industrial activity to new locales, and from integrated production to global supply chains, has reshaped the quality of work around the world vs. earlier industrialization.
- Precariousness in growing service sector industries (both low-skill and professional), including how it differs from earlier precariousness, how it varies around the world, and why.
- Precarious work in agriculture and other primary sectors, including how commodities booms, migration, trade integration, and other processes have shaped these changes
- Mechanisms separating and stratifying precarious work from decent work, and sorting workforce populations between one and the other.
- Top-down and bottom-up strategies and struggles to intensify precariousness and exploitation or, conversely, to reverse, limit, or transform precariousness.
- Comparisons of companies, sectors, or countries with regard to these and other topics.

Prospective authors should send a letter and an abstract of no more than 500 words of work they wish to submit to the journal. Editors will determine whether the proposed work fits thematically in an upcoming issue. The deadline for abstracts is June 1, 2014. Style and submission guidelines will be sent to authors whose work the editors wish to review.

Send correspondence to:

Editor, *International Labor and Working-Class History*

c/o The Harry Van Arsdale Jr. Center for Labor Studies  
SUNY Empire State College  
325 Hudson Street  
New York, NY 10013

or via e-mail to: [ILWCH@esc.edu](mailto:ILWCH@esc.edu), [Sarah.Mosoetsa@wits.ac.za](mailto:Sarah.Mosoetsa@wits.ac.za), [stillerman.joel6@gmail.com](mailto:stillerman.joel6@gmail.com), [tilly@ucla.edu](mailto:tilly@ucla.edu)

---

## **ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research**

The ICPSR Summer Program is internationally recognized as the preeminent resource for basic and advanced training in social science research methodologies and technologies. We offer courses in research design, quantitative reasoning, statistical methods, and data processing. Our goal is to integrate methods of quantitative analysis within a broader context of substantive social research. Additionally, our unique and supportive social environment facilitates the sharing of ideas, approaches, techniques, and fun!

### **Training Opportunities for Researchers in Sociology:**

- Regression and linear models
- Structural equation models
- Longitudinal data analysis
- Multilevel and hierarchical linear models
- Intro and intermediate bayesian analysis
- Causal inference
- Network analysis
- Introductions to r, stata, spss, sas, and latex

### **3- to 5-day statistical workshops in 2014**

- Managing statistical research: the workflow of data analysis (ann arbor, mi)
- Introduction to regression analysis (montreal, qc)
- Mixed methods: approaches for combining qualitative and quantitative research strategies (chapel hill, nc)
- Longitudinal data analysis, including categorical outcomes (ann arbor, mi)
- Network analysis: an introduction (ann arbor, mi)
- Hierarchical linear models i: introduction (amherst, ma)

### **Registration**

Registration is now open for all 2014 courses. For further information, including a full course list, course descriptions, faculty, dates, fees, discounts, and financial support, please visit the ICPSR Summer Program website at [icpsr.umich.edu/sumprog](http://icpsr.umich.edu/sumprog)

## NEWS FROM MEMBERS

- Vicki Smith's *Sociology of Work: An Encyclopedia* (Sage, 2013) was selected by *Choice* magazine as a 2013 Outstanding Academic Title.
- Kim Scipes, Purdue University North Central, has been awarded a six month sabbatical in Spring 2015 to work on a book that looks at the interactive affects of the global environmental crisis and capitalism. Scipes has been doing work on the changing global economic system and its affects on American workers since 1984, and has been teaching an upper division undergraduate course on “Sociology of the Environment” since 2006. Scipes’ 1984 article and his peer-reviewed article on the changing global economy in 2009 can be accessed on the top page of his web site (listed under “Work on US Economy”) at <http://faculty.pnc.edu/kscipes>.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

**British Sociological Association Annual Conference**, “Changing Society”, University of Leeds, United Kingdom, April 23-25, 2014.

**8<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Sociology**, Athens Institute for Education and Research, Athens, Greece, May 5-8, 2014.

**“Re-Thinking Social Inequality”**, Volkswagen Foundation, Hanover, Germany, May 12-14, 2014

**14th International Conference of Sociology of Work**, “Margins of Work and Employment: Forms, Stakes, Processes”, University Lille 1, France, June 17-19, 2014.

**Second Annual Conference of the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies**, “Labour in East and Southeast Europe: Institutions and Practices between formality and informality”. Regensburg, Germany, June 26-28, 2014.

**XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology** “Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Global Sociology”, Yokohama, Japan, 13-19 July 2014.

**64th Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting**, “Fifty Years Later: From a War on Poverty to a War on the Poor,” San Francisco Marriott Marquis, August 15-17, 2014.

**2014 ASA Conference** “Hard Times”, San Francisco, CA. 16-19 August 2014.

**Empire And Solidarity In The Americas Conference**, University of New Orleans, October 24-25, 2014

**4th International Annual Conference of the LCSR**: “Cultural and Economic changes under cross-national perspective”, Nov 10–15 2014, Saint-Petersburg, Russia

## ASA ANNUAL MEETING REMINDER



### 109th ASA Annual Meeting

August 16-19, 2014

Hilton San Francisco Union Square and Parc55 Wyndham Hotel  
San Francisco, CA

- The **2014 preliminary online program schedule** will go live on the 2014 Annual Meeting website on April 30. The program will be searchable by participant name, session title, or individual presentation title. *No program scheduling information is available in advance of that date.*
- **Full preregistration for all events and services will be available at the end of April.** At that time, members will be able to sign up for Courses, Tours, the Employment Service, Child Care Services, the Chairs and Directors of Graduate Study Conferences, JustPublics@ASA Media Camp Conference, and the MFP and TEF Benefit Receptions, at the same time they register for the Annual Meeting (or add to an existing registration). *Preregistration closes July 9, 2014.*
- **Track the status of your paper submission.** Session Organizers were asked to notify authors on the final disposition of the submissions no later than March 14. [You may also track the status of your submission.](#) *Please note: you will need your ASA password and ID used at the time of submission to access this feature.*

**We look forward to seeing you at the Labor Section's sessions and business meeting!**

# HAVE YOU SEEN THE NEW CESAR CHAVEZ MOVIE?

**I'd like a review for the next issue!  
Contact Mark Sherry to volunteer:  
markdsherry@yahoo.com**

**"ONCE SOCIAL CHANGE BEGINS, IT CANNOT BE REVERSED.  
YOU CANNOT UNEDUCATE THE PERSON WHO HAS LEARNED TO READ.  
YOU CANNOT HUMILIATE THE PERSON WHO FEELS PRIDE.  
YOU CANNOT OPPRESS THE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT AFRAID ANYMORE."**

—CESAR CHAVEZ  
MARCH 31, 2010-MARCH 31, 2010



**CESAR CHAVEZ DAY MARCH 31, 2010  
DÍA DE CÉSAR CHÁVEZ EL 31 DE MARZO 2010**

# YOUR COMMITTEE

## ASA Labor Section Section Officers 2013-2014

**Chair** Steven McKay University of California, Santa Cruz

**Chair-Elect** Shannon Marie Gleeson Univ. of California, Santa Cruz

**Past Chair** Steven H. Lopez Ohio State University

**Secretary/Treasurer** Paul D. Almeida University of California, Merced

## Section Council

Nancy Plankey Videla of Texas A&M University 2014

Belinda C. Lum California State University, Long Beach 2015

Marcos F. Lopez Bowdoin College 2016

## Student Representative

Erin Rose Michaels The Graduate Center at the City University of New York, 2014

---

## Section Website & Facebook

Please check out the section website or our Facebook page!

<http://asalabormovements.weebly.com/>

<https://www.facebook.com/ASALaborMovements>

### ASA Section on Labor and Labor Movements

Visit our Facebook! 

