

In Critical Solidarity

Vol. 14, No. 1 December 2015

ASA Labor and Labor Movement Newsletter

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Please remember to send any announcements (including job ads, publication announcements, notes from the field, etc.) to our editor, Valarie J. Bell: vbell4@twu.edu

Notes from the Chair, Nancy Plankey Videla

Dear Fellow Labor and Labor Movements Folks,

Welcome to the first installment of our section's *In Critical Solidarity Newsletter*. Many thanks to our new editor Valarie Bell and our outgoing editor Mark Sherry for their hard work and enthusiasm, which keeps us informed of ongoing labor struggles, members' work, and section activities. Please make a special note of the call for section awards and their upcoming deadlines.

The next ASA Conference, with our very own Ruth Milkman as president, promises to be spectacular. The Labor and Labor Movement Program Committee has put together an array of sessions to capture the exciting work done by our members, as well as taking advantage of leading labor scholars and activists that will gather in Seattle for the meetings. The themed session, "Barriers and Opportunities for Building A Labor Movement across Differences of Race, Gender, and Legal Status" focuses on current challenges to building a strong, inclusive, and successful labor movement. Building upon key scholars and activists present at the meetings, our second panel will debate what labor movement strategies are most appropriate under different industrial relations and regulatory environments. Lastly, we will have an open panel, as well as roundtables, to provide space to include the wide-ranging scholarship from our members. One of the roundtables will be a forum on mentorship for graduate students and early career scholars. This discussion is part of the LLM Mentorship Program, initiated by Carolina Bank Muñoz several years ago. Make sure to submit your proposal by January 6 at http://www.asanet.org/AM2016/callforpapers.cfm to be part of the section and conference panels.

The 2016 ASA Program, organized around the theme *Rethinking Social Movements:* Can Changing the Conversation Change the World?, also includes many sessions on labor movements from fighting Wal-Mart to striking in higher education settings, from building grassroots movements to global campaigns. Other planned session focus on local and global social

justice movements such as those built around disability rights, public education, racial justice, mass incarceration, global surveillance, environmentalism and climate change, feminist struggles, welfare reform, civil rights, and immigrants' rights. I can't wait to see you all in Seattle!

In Solidarity,

Nancy Plankey-Videla

Notes from the Newsletter Editor, Valarie J. Bell



Let me begin by extending my thanks and best wishes to Mark Sherry and his family. As editor, he manifested unparalleled enthusiasm and dedication, ensuring the Newsletter's success. We owe him a debt. As I follow in his footsteps, I welcome your suggestions and submissions. Furthermore, I intend to introduce some new features aimed at fostering greater collaboration and scholarship among our section members.

Working people and their families have always been close to my heart. I grew up in a double-union home; my father was IAM (Caterpillar, Inc.) and my mother was a Teamster. They both died relatively young: two more casualties of working-class life. My union roots go back still further, to the earliest days of the American labor movement. Most of my ancestors left Ireland and Wales to mine coal in Appalachia and southern Illinois. Many of my family today still mine the very same seams, while other family members have worked as organizers. And I too have experienced the honor of union solidarity, as an IAM member, shortly after college.

I hold a B.A. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (philosophy & sociology), an M.A. in social psychology from the University of Nevada-Reno, and I'm currently working on my dissertation at Texas Woman's University.

My research interests include labor unions as a tool of social mobility, working-class culture as a predictor of adverse life outcomes, neo-liberalism's de-legitimation of labor unions as un-American and criminal, and promoting unionization among occupations

not traditionally unionized. To study these phenomena, I primarily create agent-based or advanced multivariate statistical models and apply data mining techniques.

Now that you know more about me, I hope that you will contact me and share your contributions, suggestions, and ideas.

In service and solidarity,

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Dallas City Council Mandates Rest Breaks for Construction Workers



The Dallas City Council has passed an ordinance that mandates workers receive a 10-minute rest break per every four hours worked. The December 9th vote of 10-5 was fueled by the July 19th death of 25-year old construction worker Roendy Granillo who had been denied water and food breaks as well as rest breaks in the brutal Texas heat and humidity. His parents reported "he often didn't get any breaks during work, and on those days his lunch would return uneaten, his parents said. When he collapsed near the

end of a 12-hour day, there was no food in his stomach, according to a Collin County Coroner's report. Even after his body was transported to the hospital, its temperature was still 110 degrees. The coroner ruled that he died of heat stroke (*Dallas Morning News* http://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/local-politics/20151208-dallas-proposal-to-mandate-rest-breaks-for-construction-workers-faces-divide-on-council.ece).

In addition to the rest breaks, the ordinance mandates the posting of signs on job sites explaining the rest break requirements and the addition of compliant-based Code Compliance Services (CCS) and Building Inspections (BI) enforcement program designed to receive, process, and dispatch inspectors to any site with a reported violation within 24 hours. Employers will face a criminal penalty for non-compliance. Austin, Texas already passed such an ordinance although the state of Texas considers

rest breaks, even in the stifling and dangerous heat and humidity conditions of Texas summers to be "an optional employee benefit."

A number of organizations were present at the vote, in addition to construction workers, and family members, including those who have lost loved ones due to heat-related deaths on the job. The Worker's Defense Project of Austin. The group's support for the ordinance is backed by a 2013 University of Texas study indicating that "66 percent of Dallas construction workers reported that their employers failed to provide them with drinking water. In addition, 33 percent said they did not receive rest breaks and 12 percent said they witnessed a co-worker faint due to heat exhaustion." (*Insurance Journal* http://www.insurancejournal.com/news/southcentral/2015/12/17/392300.htm).

2015 LABOR VICTORIES

While we have a very long way to go to achieve the promised American Dream, the year 2015 was marked by a number of encouraging victories for working Americans and their families. Let's recap a few of the most important.

1. Browning-Ferris: In a major victory for workers, the NLRB ruled that corporations will no longer be able to avoid liability for employees of franchises. The largest affected companies include McDonald's, over 90% franchise, Subway, KFC, Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, and Burger King, among many others (see Franchise Direct database at http://www.franchisedirect.com/top100globalfranchises/rankings/). To understand the immediate scope, a 2015 report by the International Franchise Association Educational Foundation noted that over 9 million Americans are employees of franchises (read the IHS Economics report at http://emarket.franchise.org/FranchiseBusinessOutlookMarch2015.pdf.

Corporations utilizing the franchise business model are now legally a "joint employer" along with their franchisees, with this ruling effectively closing the loophole enabling corporations to continue to pay starvation wages while flouting Social Security and Medicare taxes, as well as the costs for worker's compensation premiums and unemployment taxes. Such companies also had hundreds or thousands of employees working at facilities they owned and for whom they made decisions concerning hiring, firing, pay, job responsibilities, and working conditions all the while asserting that they were not responsible for or accountable to those employees. For complete details on this ruling see the piece by The Economic Policy Institute's Ross Eisenbrey at http://www.epi.org/blog/nlrb-decision-in-browning-ferris-restores-employer-accountability-for-wages-and-working-conditions/.

2. The 21st-century economy is being turned on its ear.

Independent contractors fight to unionize

So-called independent contractors, like drivers for Uber and Lyft, are uniting to fight for better pay, working conditions and protections. While their efforts to unionize have already been met with fervent corporate opposition, on December 14th the city of Seattle in a unanimous vote became the first American city to permit drivers of companies like Uber and Lyft to unionize.(see the CNBC report at http://www.cnbc.com/2015/12/14/seattle-allows-uber-lyft-drivers-to-unionize.html).

Preceding the move by Seattle's Uber and Lyft drivers, the California App-Based Drivers' Association (CADA) was formed in 2014. In August they met with Teamsters Local 986 of El Monte, California to gain their support and guidance in lobbying and organizing when Uber management "flatly refused to sit with members of CADA's steering committee, and privately stated that it does not, and will not recognize any association that seeks to speak on behalf of drivers..." (Teamsters Local 986 http://www.local986.org/news.php). You can learn more about CADA at their website http://www.cadateamsters.org/.

In June the California Labor Commission found that San Francisco Uber driver Barbara Ann Berwick is indeed an employee and not an independent contractor, making the way for a potential watershed moment in the struggles of working Americans. She was awarded \$4152.20 to reimburse expenses such as mileage, and toll charges, along with interest; she had previously been denied these monies from Uber who categorized her as an independent contractor. While this decision at present is limited to Berwick, the case sets a precedent that can be used for other such drivers to organize. Uber, a \$50 billion company, has appealed. Nonetheless, other lawsuits are already in process in California. With the state as a national leader in progress, the impact of this ruling and future rulings can reverberate nationwide. See the Berwick case details in Connor Wolf's piece at http://dailycaller.com/2015/06/18/california-uber-ruling-is-a-huge-win-for-unions/.

Online media outlets unionize for the first time

In an even more surprising development for "The New Economy," online media outlets started organizing in June with *Gawker* the first, followed by online giant *Salon*, whose writing staff organized. By August, *Vice* had voted to unionize and high profile "pro-corporate liberal Dana Milbank" from *The Washington Post*, as a sign of journalistic solidarity, joined the Communications Workers of America Local 32035. See Labor writer Adam Johnson's piece at http://www.alternet.org/labor/labors-surprisingly-great-year-5-victories-workers-so-far-2015. Other media outlets are also unionizing. See the Communications Workers of America for more details at http://www.newsguild.org/node/3503.

3. Big chains chose employees and their families over profits on Thanksgiving. For the last couple of decades each year has seen the hastening of the Christmas shopping bacchanalia earlier and earlier. Consequently, Thanksgiving was no longer family time for retail employees and their families. Store employees were forced to work the holiday, while company executives and the board of directors enjoyed the day with their families, secure in the knowledge that the money was rolling in. It seems they just couldn't wait 24 hours. In one of the most welcome business changes, many of the nation's biggest and most influential retailers decided this year to market themselves as 'pro-employee,' 'pro-family,' and 'pro-Thanksgiving' by returning the start of the Christmas shopping season to the traditional Black Friday. Of course, there was still a payday for such retailers; many branded their competitors open on Thanksgiving as the Grinch responsible for "ruining Thanksgiving" (Brad Tuttle 2013; http://business.time.com/2013/10/19/hey-thanksgiving-shoppers-macys-isnt-the-only-one-to-blame-for-ruining-the-holiday/).

Retailers who closed on Thanksgiving: Costco, DSW Shoe Warehouse, Nordstrom, Dillard's, Burlington Coat Factory, REI, American Girl, Crate and Barrel, T. J. Maxx, Marshall's, Home Depot, Sam's Club, Lowe's, Staples, Gamestop, Barnes and Noble, Bed, Bath and Beyond...and many others.

List courtesy of http://www.eonline.com/news/600232/30-stores-that-refuse-to-stay-open-on-thanksgiving .

ASA-LLM CALL FOR AWARDS

Nominations are being accepted for the following section awards:

Distinguished Student Paper Award DEADLINE: 3/1/2016

The LLM section is sponsoring the Distinguished Student Paper Award for the best paper written by a graduate student between January 1, 2014 and December 31, 2015, who was enrolled at the time the paper was written. Eligible papers: published papers, papers under review, and unpublished article-length manuscripts. Winners of the student paper award in the previous 3 years are ineligible. The winner receives \$300. All methodological orientations and substantive topics related to labor and/or labor movements are welcome. Section members may self-nominate, and faculty should encourage graduate students to submit promising work. Nominations must include an electronic copy of the paper and must be sent no later than March 1, 2016 to the Distinguished Student Paper Award committee chair, Joshua Bloom at ioshuabloom@ucla.edu.

Distinguished Scholarly Article Award DEADLINE: 3/31/2016

The LLM section is sponsoring the Distinguished Scholarly Article Award for outstanding scholarship for the best article published between January 1, 2014 and December 31, 2015. The article is open to both qualitative and quantitative orientations and can reflect work that is U.S.-based or global in scope. Section members are strongly urged to nominate articles for the prize. Self-nominations are welcome. All nominations must be received no later than March 31, 2016. Please send all nominations to the chair of the awards committee, Jeff Sallaz at jsallaz@email.arizona.edu.

Distinguished Scholarly Book Award DEADLINE: 2/1/2016

The LLM's section's book award goes to what the Book Award Committee judges "the best book published in the sociology of work, the labor process, the working class, labor unions, or working class movements, based on original research." To qualify, the book must have been published between January 1, 2014 and December 31, 2015. No more than two book nominations per person. Please send your nomination(s) to the committee chair, Marcos Lopez at mlopez@bowdoin.edu, no later than January 15, 2016.

Descriptions per the ASA website:

http://www.asanet.org/sections/labor_awards.cfm

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

United Association for Labor Education research grants: **DEADLINE**: 1/18/16

UALE is pleased to continue awarding grants to fund research related to workers, unions, and employment policy. Preference will be given to UALE members in determining award recipients. UALE has allocated up to \$5,000 for this purpose. We will select a maximum of two award recipients. The total number of awards for 2016 will be determined by the UALE executive board.

Applications for the 2016 grants are due by **January 18, 2016**. The recipients will be announced by February 5, 2016. UALE requests that successful applicants present the results of their research at a UALE conference within a few years following receipt of a UALE research grant. For details on this opportunity see the UALE website: https://uale.org/about-uale.

LRAN New Scholars Research Grant Competition: DEADLINE: 1/31/16

LRAN is pleased to announce a <u>competition for seed grants</u> for seed grants for graduate students and untenured faculty for research on U.S. labor-focused projects, broadly defined. Applications for the 2016 grants are du LRAN e by **January 31**, **2016**.For details on this opportunity see the UALE website:

https://lranetwork.org/images/content/conferences/2016-LRAN-Conference-Callfor-Proposals.pdf

If you are seeking others with whom to develop projects or collaborate, learn of unique opportunities for funding, or would like to share quantitative or qualitative methods that you think others could apply to their own research, please forward them to vbell4@twu.edu .

Call for submissions – Work in Progress blog: ONGOING

The Work in Progress blog, of the Organizations, Occupations and Work section of the ASA, invites submissions (800-1,200 words) on all topics related to organizations, occupations and work, broadly understood. The primary purpose of the blog is to disseminate sociological findings and ideas to the general public. Articles should be accessible and jargon-free, written like a *New York Times* op-ed.

We will publish summaries by authors of all monographs related to organizations, occupations and work. Additionally, we invite proposals for three types of article: research findings (from your own study or summarizing the findings of others), news analysis, commentary. Interested authors should send a proposed title and topic (one paragraph maximum) to Matt Vidal (matt.vidal@kcl.ac.uk). The WIP Editorial Team will decide whether to invite a full submission.

ASA-LLM SECTION AWARDS

We congratulate the following people for their remarkable achievements!

Distinguished Scholarly Book Award

WINNER

Clawson, Dan and Naomi Gerstel. 2014. *Unequal Time: Gender, Class and Family in Employment Schedules.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

The struggle over the working day has long been a key feature of the labor movement, from the Haymarket martyrs with the struggle for the eight-hour day in 1886 right up to the present. The committee felt that the methodological sophistication displayed through the rich ethnographies, combined with the strong theoretical framework made

this book especially deserving of this award. Dan Clawson and Naomi Gerstel's (2014, Russell Sage), Unequal Time: Gender, Class, Family in Employment Schedules returns to the question of unequal time, with methodological sophistication, taking into account the importance of race, class, gender and the family. By opening up the window on the haves and have-nots, those who control time and those who don't, and attendant inequalities therein, from the workplace to the home, with nuance and vigor, Clawson and Gerstel have reopened the question of struggles over time, never to be viewed the same way again. In raising issues such as unpredictability, official schedules, time off, the intersection between family and work, class, race and gender, in a country renowned for its lack of time-off and adequate family leave and childcare, the authors have added an important dimension to our understanding of contemporary workers, and the second, and third shifts. Ironically, at a time of massive underemployment, when nearly one in seven are either unemployed or underemployed, the authors draw attention to the overwork and the heartbreaking choices confronting workers today, often forced to choose between their own health, work, or their kids, when they or their children get sick, through a detailed examination of medical occupations and organizations, specifically doctors, nurses, medical technicians and nurses assistants. The authors make innovative arguments about what they call "normal unpredictability." struggles to control schedules, as part of the larger intersectional dynamics of race, class and gender, as well as occupational stratification as a whole, in the web of time, including the cascading effects of changes in time schedules on co-workers, family and friends. Original arguments, brilliant explications of people escaping work to go home, or escaping home through work, organizational constraints of flexible/unpredictable justin-time workplaces, make this a compelling read and adds much to our understanding of contemporary inequalities.

HONORABLE MENTIONS

Zhang, Lu. 2015. *Inside China's Automobile Factories: The Politics of Labor and Worker Resistance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lu Zhang's (2015, Cambridge University Press), *Inside China's Automobile Factories: The Politics of Labor and Worker Resistance* offers a detailed look at autoworkers in the new workshop of the world. The committee felt the rich ethnographic work took us to place where labor resistance has great meaning but is the least well known. Drawing on extensive multisite ethnographic field research and interviews, Zhang details class struggle in China's auto zones, and the important changes China's auto workers have won with their activism. Drawing on the concept of workplace bargaining power and legitimacy leverage, a form of ideological power, Zhang shows the legacy of Chinese communism/state-socialism, and class in the epicenter of world auto production and the world class struggle in China's so-called transition to capitalism in the 21st century. Moreover, it integrates all these findings into a sophisticated framework, looking at the product cycle, industrial development and the making of the Chinese working class in the context of broader patterns of working-class formation, the state-led triple alliance of multinational, state and local (albeit state-owned) capital groups, in the context of changing labor regimes. By focusing on shop-floor, national

and global process, Zhang, has offered us a powerful window into both Chinese working-class politics and the future of China and the global system. This book, so far, offers the strongest book in our field about the Chinese Working Class.

Rosenfeld, Jake. 2014. *What Unions No Longer Do*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jake Rosenfeld's (Harvard, 2014) What Unions No Longer Do, is a critical sociohistorical work illuminating the implications of the collapse and ongoing fall of the socalled house of labor in the US and its effects on the increasing inequality. The committee felt that the strength of this book is rooted in the use of strong intersectional quantitative analysis that provides clear empirical evidence that shows the big picture impact of labor's decline, including stagnant and declining wages, decreased strikes, and increasing race-class inequalities. This is an important book about "what we have lost," and "why we have lost it," and what might be needed to reverse the tide. Rosenfeld persuasively argues why this effect of anti-unionism is a massive blow for those seeking a fairer and more equitable country. This book offers readers an important understanding of the ways in which the decline of the union has led to the persistence of inequality in the United States.

Distinguished Scholarly Article Award

WINNER

Sallaz, Jeffrey J. 2014. "Permanent Pedagogy: How Post-Fordist Firms Generate Effort but Not Consent." Work and Occupations, 10/20/14. Online First http://wox.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/10/14/0730888414551207.abstract

Drawing on ethnographic research carried out at a U.S. based subcontracted call center, Sallaz's article draws our attention to control in the post-Fordist labor process. Contrary to the assumption that the post-Fordist labor process brings back direct forms of despotic labor control, Sallaz argues that CallCo, the call center he studied, used a learning game to elicit effort without providing rewards to its workers. He found that management left workers alone when learning how to master calls. The unease this created motivated new workers to generate high amounts of short-term effort. However, without rewards, such as raises, promotions, or other substantive incentives to purchase commitment, new workers departed CallCo. Sallaz shows that a high turnover rate created an indirect labor system he calls permanent pedagogy, whereby a learning game is always present at the call center because of the firm's reliance on new workers. The Committee was impressed with Sallaz addition to the discussion on control in the labor process. One committee member stated: 'Sallaz's paper is exactly what we need to be talking about... Sallaz's fresh and provocative answer focuses on a classical preoccupation of our section: the labor process, whereby workers are thrown in the water to sink or swim on the job with little to no training.' While another member stated:

'This is a wonderfully well-written piece that contributes to our understanding of precarious work by explaining why people work so hard at a 'bad' job.'

HONORABLE MENTION

Kimeldorf, Howard. 2014. "Worker Replacement Costs and Unionization: Origins of the U.S. Labor Movement." *American Sociological Review* 78(6): 1033-1062.

In his article Kimeldorf seeks to understand the patterns the successes and failures that gave rise to organized labor during its formative years in the early 1910s. Kimeldorf finds that most successful organizing campaigns occurred where workers had the greatest disruptive capacities due to the high cost of being replaced. High replacement costs were associated with the scarcity of skilled workers, geographically isolated worksites where it was too expensive to import workers, and time-sensitive tasks where it was too costly to replace workers. Kimeldorf's piece provides convincing evidence that should be looked at closely by the contemporary labor movement. As one committee member commented, 'The main payoff of Kimeldorf's piece is that he spells out the means by which the contemporary U.S. labor movement can be revived by looking at the determinants of replacement costs in the turn-of-the century movement.'

Distinguished Student Paper Award

WINNER

McAlevey, Jane, Ph.D. candidate, CUNY. "The Crisis of New Labor and Alinsky's Legacy."

The ASA's Section on Labor and Labor Movements grants its Undergraduate Paper Award to Jane McAlevey, for her paper "The Crisis of New Labor and Alinsky's Legacy: Revisiting the Role of the Organic Grassroots Leaders in Building Powerful Organizations and Movements." This meticulously researched, well-argued, and engaging paper challenges a central assumption in our field: that decentralized "new unionism" is the best technique for fighting organized labor's sustained decline in the United States over the past half-century. McAlevey exposes the weaknesses of new union techniques for organizing workers, and traces these to the movement's rootedness in the famed writings of Saul Alinsky. She argues that Alinsky's program for mobilization is not inherently flawed, but that it has been uncritically accepted as gospel by the adherents of new unionism. Alinsky's techniques may in fact be ill-suited for confronting the challenges posed by globalization and financialization. For organized labor in America to find new pathways forward, the paper argues, may well entail finding new paradigms to undergird the movement.

POST-DOCTORAL SCHOLAR ANNOUNCEMENT

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY: DUE 3/11/2016

Job ID: 60781

The School of Labor and Employment Relations at The Pennsylvania State University invites applications for the position of Post-Doctoral Scholar with the Center for Global Workers' Rights. This is a twelve-month position that begins on August 12, 2016. The Center for Global Workers' Rights was established in the fall of 2012 with the goal of promoting scholarly research and scholar-practitioner exchanges on issues related to workers' rights. It has a broad focus that includes, but is not limited to, sweatshops. precarious work, labor standards, international labor and employment law, worker organizing, and strategic corporate research and campaigns. Candidates should possess a Ph.D. in a relevant discipline, or a J.D., earned in the last five years, as well as evidence of an emerging research program relevant to the Center's interests. Scholars will receive salary, benefits, and a research/travel fund to support their work. Postdoctoral candidates will be expected to teach one course each semester. This may include teaching for the School's Labor and Global Workers' Right MPS program, which is part of the Global Labor University network (http://www.global-labouruniversity.org/). Teaching obligations could include a course in one of the School's other residential or online programs. Candidates also are expected to actively participate in School activities.

The School of Labor and Employment Relations is a multidisciplinary department with a large undergraduate program, a strong residential Masters of Science in Human Resources and Employment Relations (HRER), and a fully-online Masters of Professional Studies in HRER. The School has existing strengths in workers' rights, labor relations, human resources, and international and comparative employment relations. Submit a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and a writing sample at https://psu.jobs/job/60781. Please also arrange to have three letters of recommendation sent directly by letter writers to Lisa Pierson, lkh13@psu.edu. If you have additional questions, please contact the Center at 814-865-0751 or write Center Director, Dr. Mark Anner, at msa10@psu.edu. Review of applications will begin on March 11, 2016, and continue until the position is filled. CAMPUS SECURITY CRIME STATISTICS: For more about safety at Penn State, and to review the Annual Security Report which contains information about crime statistics and other safety and security matters, please go to http://www.police.psu.edu/clery/, which will also provide you with detail on how to request a hard copy of the Annual Security Report.

Penn State is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer, and is committed to providing employment opportunities to all qualified applicants without regard to race, color, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, disability or protected veteran status.

2016 ANNUAL MEETINGS & CONFERENCES

American Sociological Association (ASA) 111th Annual Meeting

Rethinking Social Movements:

Can Changing the Conversation Change the World?

Seattle, WA, August 20-23

PROPOSALS CURRENTLY BEING ACCEPTED

Early registration by 7/8/2016	After 7/8 must register on-site
Member \$210	\$260
Non-member \$370	\$470
Student Member: \$110	\$150

PROPOSALS: DEADLINE 1/6/2016 (SEE SUBMISSION DETAILS AT CONFERENCE

WEBSITE: http://www.asanet.org/AM2016/callforpapers.cfm)

For details see the conference website: http://www.asanet.org/AM2016/am 2016.cfm .

Labor and Labor Movement Panels:

1. Themed Submission Panel: "Barriers and Opportunities for Building A Labor Movement across Differences of Race, Gender, and Legal Status"

The labor movement is variably organized by region, industry, and historical period. While workers may share a class interest in organizing to improve working conditions and build a power base, inequalities rooted in race, gender and legal status often work against movement goals. Submissions to this panel will examine how race, gender, legal status, or other axes of inequality affect the emergence, process, and outcome of labor campaigns and labor movements.

2. Invited Session Panel: "Power by Disruption: Strikes, Comprehensive Campaigns, and Beyond"

The precipitous decline in union density in the U.S. has accompanied a steep decline in strikes. Changes in employment relations and weakened regulatory protections have neutralized the strike threat in many workplaces. In recent years, some workers have continued to strike effectively. At the same time, comprehensive campaigns – while clearly not a panacea – have wielded community, corporate, and political threats to win

new union contracts. Under what conditions can the strike still be effective? The comprehensive campaign? What characteristics of the industrial relations and regulatory environment limit the efficacy of such practices? What emergent forms of disruptive labor practice promise new inroads into worker power?

- 3. Open Submission Panel. All topics are welcome
- 4. Roundtable Sessions, including one on mentoring.

2017 American Sociological Association (ASA) 112th Annual Meeting

Culture, Inequalities, and Social Inclusion Across the Globe?

Montréal, Québec, Canada, August 12-15

PROPOSALS CURRENTLY BEING ACCEPTED FOR INVITED

PANELS FOR 2017 MEETING

PROPOSALS: FOR THEMATIC SESSIONS CLOSED; PROPOSALS FOR ALL
OTHER SESSIONS DUE 2/5/2016 (SEE SUBMISSION DETAILS AT CONFERENCE
WEBSITE: http://www.asanet.org/meetings/member suggestions.cfm)

For details see the conference website: http://www.asanet.org/AM2017/AM2017.cfm .

Jobs with Justice National Conference Washington, D.C., February 12-13

Early registration by 1/8/2016

PROPOSALS: CLOSED

For details see the conference website: http://www.rsvpbook.com/event.php?561660

Labor & Employment Relations Association

(LERA) 68th Annual Meeting

(Jointly with Industrial Studies Association Conference)

Our Workplaces...Learning from Our Past: Assessing Our Present Inventing Our

Future in an Ever-changing World!

Minneapolis, MN, May 26-29

Early registration 2/6/2016 through 4/17/2016:

Fees not yet available

PROPOSALS: CLOSED

For details see the conference website: https://lera.memberclicks.net/68thannualmtg

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Labor Notes Conference

Chicago, April 1-3

Early registration by 2/15/2016:

From 2/16/2016:

All attendees \$105

All attendees \$150

For details see the conference website: http://labornotes.org/conference .

Labor Research and Action Network (LRAN) National Conference Chicago, June 24-25

Registration & fee details not yet available

PROPOSALS: CLOSED

For details see the conference website:

https://lranetwork.org/events.php?page=conferences...

Pacific Northwest Labor History Association
(PNLHA) International Conference
Labor, Justice and the Environment:
Historical Insights, Alliances and Challenges
Portland, OR, May 20-22

PROPOSALS CURRENTLY BEING ACCEPTED

Registration & fee details not yet available

PROPOSALS: DEADLINE 1/25/2016 (SEE SUBMISSION DETAILS AT

CONFERENCE WEBSITE: https://pnlha.files.wordpress.com/2015/10/2016-pnlha-

cfp-final.pdf)

For details see the conference website: https://pnlha.wordpress.com/category/2016-pnlha-conference/

Precarious Work:

Domination and Resistance in the U.S., China, and the World Seattle, WA, August 19

PROPOSALS CURRENTLY BEING ACCEPTED

Registration & fee details not yet available

PROPOSALS (ABSTRACTS): DEADLINE 1/31/2016 (SEE SUBMISSION DETAILS AT CONFERENCE WEBSITE: http://irle.ucla.edu/events/2014/CallForPapers.php)

For details see the conference website:

http://irle.ucla.edu/events/2014/PrecariousWorkRegistration.php.

United Association for Labor Education Annual Conference

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BOOK REVIEWS



Labor's Love Lost: The Rise and Fall of the Working-Class Family in America by Andrew

J. Cherlin (Russell Sage 2014)

We in the labor and labor movements tradition often focus on the ups and downs of unions in the United States: their membership, their militancy, their relative power vis-à-vis employers, their internal democracy (or lack thereof). What we focus on less are the subterranean aspects of everyday life that shape workers'

capacity for collective action. Andrew J. Cherlin's recent book, *Labor's Love Lost* (2014a), is a welcome supplement to this relative oversight. A demographer by training, Cherlin provides a remarkably fluid narrative that charts the rise of distinctly American forms of patriarchy—"middle-class" and "working-class" families, the latter's unravelling and the former's transition towards greater equality in the neoliberal era. Based on exhaustive analysis of Census data, *Labor's Love Lost* reinforces the view that America's post-war prosperity—and associated family forms—constituted an exception rather than the norm under capitalism. The book climaxes with a qualitative study of working people's intimate lives, which Cherlin and chapter co-author Timothy Nelson argue are indicative of today's "would-be working class". In the conclusion, however, Cherlin backs away from far-reaching conclusions that seem to flow naturally from his analysis and instead proposes a policy initiatives that seem tailor-made not to offend Democrats or foundation funders.

The central protagonist of *Labor's Love Lost* is an abstraction: the working-class family. Cherlin attributes the birth of this form to the interplay of two imperatives in the context of early industrialization: the subsistence imperative and the masculinity imperative. The former was the age-old "imperative to provide enough income, food, and clothing for a family" (28); the latter "the importance to [one's] father of maintaining male power and self-respect" (30)—a likely hangover from pre-industrial patriarchy. Cherlin then traces the influence of industrial work time (borrowing heavily from Thompson), immigrant subcultures and racial ideology on the formation of the American working-class family, which by the end of the nineteenth century typically had four children, the father was often absent performing manual labor, and the mother, in addition to performing household and reproductive tasks, contributed substantially to family income via piecework and the serving of boarders.

But a secondary character whose development is followed almost as closely is "the middle-class family". Here as elsewhere, Cherlin bases his depiction on a combination of Census data and secondary source material, in this case Ryan (1981) and Mintz (2004), for the working-class Hareven and Langenbach (1978), among others. The middle-class family, engendered among the petit-bourgeois in the nineteenth century and transmitted to professional-managers in the twentieth, is defined as having some commonalities with its subaltern counterpart—the male breadwinner ideal and, initially, some income-generating roles for the wife. Yet Cherlin is guick to emphasize the divergence of these two forms. The driver, he explains, was the fact that "middle-class" male earners received incomes that could actually support a family, whereas workingclass male earners, for all but a short period (1945-75), typically did (and do) not. In its rise to prominence, however, the middle class family exercised strong influence on working-class aspirations. Both the male breadwinner and female "homemaker" ideals were largely a product of this secondary family form, Cherlin argues, as well as more nurturing approaches toward children and "companionate" as opposed to transactional intimate relationships. To buttress his claims about shifting norms and values, the author makes use of Google-enabled content analysis to map the frequency of key terms—"homemaker" and "housewife", "blue collar" and "white collar" (65, 110)—in published works over time.

A core argument of *Labor's Love Lost* is that the male-breadwinner model played an important part in structuring the goals and shortcomings of the American labor movement. Cherlin also accounts for the central role of race: "By the end of the nineteenth century," he states, "[I]eaders of the labor movement were...advocating for a 'family wage' that would ensure that no wife need work outside the home. They were doing so on behalf of white workers, who constituted the overwhelmingly majority of the members of the leading unions" (55-56). To be sure, when the surge of organizing in the 1930s achieved the family wage for large portions of male workers, outright racial exclusion was more muted. Nevertheless, Cherlin provides compelling evidence that the white male orientation of American labor, forged in the crucible of late-nineteenth-century capitalism, funneled its achievements down a narrow road that set it apart from the movements for racial and gender equality that emerged in the 1960s. Though the author does not explicitly make the point, many (e.g. Cowie 2010) cite labor's failure to connect with these as a primary reason for the unraveling of its gains in the 1980s.

A second argument of *Labor's Love Lost* is that the family trajectories of twenty-first-century workers mirror those of their early twentieth-century counterparts. Again, this reinforces similar arguments (e.g. Milkman 2006, 2013) from a new angle. Cherlin has a running debate with conservative authors such as Murray (2012) who attribute the decline of "white America" to an erosion of moral values. Cherlin's contention, made most succinctly in his recent op-ed (Cherlin 2014b), is that the decline of marriage among working Americans is a rational response to stagnant wages and deteriorating job quality: "The distinctive changes we have seen in the family lives of less-educated young adults today are the result of a globalized, skill-biased economy that has

negatively affected those who, in an earlier era, would have flocked to factory jobs" (147). A central difference, however, between today's working class and that of a hundred years ago is the decoupling of childbirth and marriage, with the former occurring more often outside the latter and providing for increasingly "complex" family structures.

In his conclusion, misleadingly titled "What Is to Be Done?", Cherlin lays out the prescriptions of several camps for the challenges faced by contemporary workers. At this point, the tone of Cherlin's argument breaks from that of foregoing chapters, as he cobbles together a piecemeal set of proposals from different groups, adopting least from 'radical' Europeans such as Piketty, Standing and Beck (?). A ready interpretation of the first six chapters of Labor's Love Lost—explicitly endorsed by the author—is that the overarching tendency of capitalism is to provide insufficient means for the harmonious reproduction of working-class life. At the same time, workers are continuously bombarded with unattainable family models that are themselves based on racialized sexism at odds with the egalitarian ethos Cherlin seems to value. A practical conclusion would be that there is a deep-seated pathology to the reproductive forms engendered by capitalism and that appropriate "policy" must seek to drastically shrink the scope of the wage-effort bargain in favor of non-commodified productive and reproductive relations. But such conclusions appear too far "beyond labor market intervention" (191) for Cherlin to endorse, and one can only speculate as to the political rather than purely intellectual motivations for such modesty.

Aside from the concluding chapter, *Labor's Love Lost* makes for a compelling read that provides a fresh take on issues that American labor scholars have long considered. It is a work of self-consciously 'mainstream' sociology, but one based on an engaged and nuanced understanding of class. It will be of prime interest to students of work and gender, and provides an important milestone in the continuing effort to unravel the meaning of class in twenty-first-century America.

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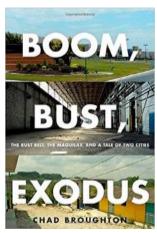
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Boom, Bust, Exodus: the Rust Belt, the Maquilas, and a Tale of Two Cities by Chad Broughton (Oxford University Press 2015)

Review by Joseph C. Bazler

Boom, Bust, Exodus tells the story of a Maytag refrigerator plant in the midst of a transnational relocation. The massive "Appliance City" factory in Galesburg traces its roots to before the Great Depression, though its final owner, Maytag, would end

the factory's run by moving its production lines to Reynosa, Mexico. Broughton's work focuses on the experiences of workers in the 1990s and 2000s in these two disparate cities connected by a common employer. In exploring the experiences of workers in Galesburg and Reynosa, Broughton frames his book as a tale of two cities; the author seeks to describe and explore the personal results of economic globalization and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This book adds an important and essential examination of the personal stories of those on both ends of a factory relocation driven by the search for lower cost production. In tracing the life cycle of this manufacturing plant, Broughton brings us a look at the personal and social results of deindustrialization in the U.S. and maquila-style industrialization in Mexico.

The book's title attempts to encapsulate the experiences of industrialization more broadly, but it seems to match the experience of the Galesburg plant more than the maquilas in Reynosa. Residents and workers in Galesburg enjoy Appliance City's "boom" in employment and production driven by the explosion of U.S. consumer purchasing power after World War II. But this boom is enjoyed in large part because of the successes workers and their unions had in demanding a commensurate share of corporate gains. The plant "busts" in 2004, however, after struggling under the combined pressures of industry centralization, foreign competition, and massive

mismanagement from the corporation. It is in the subsequent exodus of workers from Appliance City (and Galesburg) that Broughton's narrative is at its best and most heartwrenching. Broughton provides a mosaic of post-Appliance City experiences, from those who successfully change careers to those who seem doomed to misfortune, telling each story with honesty and humanity. In these stories the reader is presented with important questions about the effectiveness of education and retraining as a response to layoffs. For some workers the fight to keep Appliance City open, and the pain of defeat when the plant finally closes, is simply too much to bear; subsequent struggles with depression, unemployment, and instability lead some workers on a path to ruin. Access to federal funds designated to help train workers for new careers empowers some workers, but even the most successful struggle to regain the stability they once enjoyed working at Appliance City. Those who are able to reintegrate into the workforce often earn less, work in nonunionized environments, and have to endure either long commutes or relocation.

Throughout the book Broughton switches between chapters on Galesburg/the U.S. and Reynosa/Mexico. Yet in the Reynosa case the cycle of boom, bust, and exodus is less clear. In the chapters on Mexico, Broughton traces the growth of Reynosa and its maquila-driven boom, and explores smaller agricultural areas further from the border to understand "exodus" patterns of migrants from small agricultural towns "busted" by the results of NAFTA. In Mexico, the booms, busts, and exoduses seem to be occurring concurrently, and are the result of very different factors with very different results, sometimes making it hard to discern the parallels between Galesburg and Reynosa. But the lack of symmetry between the two cases serves to illuminate an important characteristic of maguila-style industrialization. In the U.S., workers were able to wrestle a share of the profits during the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s. Contrastingly, the more recent maquila boom in Mexico is based on a system of production that preempts workers from sharing in corporate profits. The stories from the Mexican side of Broughton's narrative are no less gripping than the American ones, though the author gathers interviews from a wider range of places, experiences, and circumstances in Mexico. Whereas in Galesburg we get an almost step-by-step history of former workers from Appliance City, in Mexico, Broughton displays more of a constellation of the post-NAFTA experiences of maquila workers, agricultural workers, and those contemplating migration to the border, or beyond, in search of better work.

Throughout the text Broughton identifies and explores an impressive variety of issues, more so because of the way the discussions flow from the interviews, ideas, and experiences of the workers themselves. Perhaps one of the most intriguing discussions Broughton develops surrounds the "Mike Allen" question, a question named after and often used by a man named Mike Allen, one of the major players in the economic development of the border region of McAllen, Texas and Reynosa, Mexico. The Mike

Allen question is a zero-sum, all-or-nothing, totalizing question; the answerer is forced to choose whether he/she would prefer the current state of affairs in McAllen-Reynosa—with maquilas providing low-wage, low benefit jobs to struggling workers—or if it would be better to close the maquilas down entirely—thereby depriving Reynosa of 75,000 jobs. While Broughton notes the built-in biases and over-simplifications of the Mike Allen question, he adopts it, putting the question to a number of different interviewees during one of his visits to Reynosa. None of the interviewees supply a cathartic rejection of the question or the maquila model, but the responses do help highlight the messy contradictions of maquila-style employment (and indeed, any form of low-wage development). While the working conditions, wages, and experiences of working in the maquilas are heartily decried, at the same time no one abandons their maquila jobs to face unemployment and an oversaturated labor market. Broughton's discussion supplies the reader with fodder that could generate lively discussion, both in and out of the classroom, concerning the issues facing workers in countries that have adopted economic development based on low-skill, low-wage jobs.

Similarly the book touches on a number of the most important questions surrounding not only globalization and outsourcing, but factory work in general. The issue of defining a "good job" is touched on a number of times, though sometimes only subtly. Like the Mike Allen question, determining which jobs are good and which are bad proves quite complicated and often relative. Jobs at Appliance City were good jobs in the sense that workers could earn relatively high wages and benefits, enjoy healthy collective representation, and expect some stability; the aches, pains, and injuries suffered by Appliance City workers seemed a somewhat fair trade for these "good jobs." Yet as Appliance City began the multi-year shutdown process, workers increasingly described the unfairness of the physical sacrifices they had endured, as they would have to reenter the labor market years beyond on their prime and with an almost-useless set of company-specific skills. In Reynosa the maquila jobs were "good jobs" when compared to what workers had earned in previous work, usually agricultural, often seasonal, and extremely low-paying, and certainly better than no job at all. But these maguila jobs became "bad" when the discussion shifted to the authoritarian work regimes, long hours, and instability of maquila employment. In both cases, the only advancement the jobs seem to offer exists within the plant. When Maytag leaves Galesburg, and eventually Reynosa as well, workers have very few transferable skills to show for their toil.

In focusing his text on the experiences of the real people affected by this factory relocation, Broughton eschews overly disciplinarian analysis. The author offers fine-grained discussion and analysis which often means that the book asks more questions than it answers. What can these workers do in the face of companies' global machinations and the continued trend toward free trade? Laid off workers in the U.S.

and maquila workers alike seem hard-pressed to (re)gain financial and social stability persevering through years of hardship to find themselves only a little better off, and often worse off, than before; how can these workers also be expected to push back against the tide of free trade agreements, corporate power, and globally flexible capital? Though the questions remain, the wonderful contribution of this book lies in the stories of the people, their struggles to overcome, to achieve, to create a better life for their children at least, if not for themselves. Broughton may not offer the answers, but the characters and questions in this text provide a valuable look at the real people and community-level effects of free trade and outsourcing.

Overall this book is written to be accessible both to academics and to general readers. Broughton discusses and displays the experiences of workers on both sides of the relocation of a Maytag refrigerator manufacturing plant, American workers who lose their jobs and Mexican workers who gain new job opportunities. Along the way, the author dips into many different topics, and in doing so does well to frame the personal stories of workers on opposite ends of a firm's outsourcing movement. Each chapter provokes and explores questions on international trade, and they do so in a way that would generate great discussion among students, academics, and the general public. This addition to the NAFTA literature does well to remind readers that the personal struggles to gain/regain economic stability continue; that the adjustment to free trade continues for workers displaced by the agreement; and that while free trade agreements have benefitted companies and consumers, workers in the U.S., Mexico and around the world are still waiting to realize their share of the benefits.

NEW ARTICLES

Elizabeth A. Hoffmann. 2016. "Emotions and Emotional Labor at Worker-Owned Businesses: Deep Acting, Surface Acting, and Genuine Emotions." *The Sociological Quarterly* 57(1).

Members of worker co-operatives – organizations collectively owned and democratically run by their workers – report substantial differences in how they can or must perform various emotions, compared to previous work at conventional, hierarchical organizations. First, some emotions not allowed in conventional workplaces are fully permitted at worker co-operatives, including negative emotions, like anger, but also positive emotions, like enthusiasm. In contrast, other emotions must be displayed, even if insincere. Sometimes, these displays are accomplished through surface acting, like pretending to happily accept the slow pace of committee-lead change. Other times, through deep acting, members internalized new emotional reactions, such as pride, instead of resentment, when helping co-workers even after their own shifts had ended.

Paul F. Lipold. 2014. "Striking Deaths' at their Roots: Assaying the Social Determinants of Extreme Labor-Management Violence in U.S. Labor History--1877-1947." *Social Science History* 38 (3-4): 541-575.

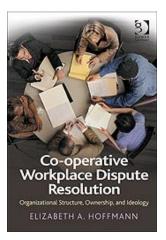
The seven decades framed by the Great Railway Strike of 1877 and institutionalization of organized labor in the wake of World War II constituted a unique period of US labor relations, one that labor historians have identified as the most violent and bloody of any Western industrialized nation. Despite longstanding scholarly interest in the issues of labor-management conflict, however, important questions regarding the causes of extreme labor-management violence within the United States have never been adequately addressed. In this paper, I utilize a recently compiled and unique data set of American strike fatalities to statistically model the causes of extreme strike violence in the United States. The time-series evidence suggests that picket-line violence increased in association with (1) the struggle for and against unionization and (2) economic desperation associated with tightening labor markets. The results also both depict the stultifying effect of massacres and suggest that state support for labor's right to organize tended to decrease the likelihood of violence and vice versa. This paper not only thus provides fresh insights into classic questions, but also offers a basis for both transhistorical and international comparison.

Kim Scipes. 2014. "Social Movement Unionism or Social Justice Unionism? Disentangling Theoretical Confusion within the Global Labor Movement." *Race, Class and Corporate Power* 2(3): article 9. Available as a free download at http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/vol2/iss3/9

After the election of John Sweeney as President of the AFL-CIO in October 1995, activists and supportive intellectuals in the United States began thinking about how to revitalize the almost moribund American labor movement. A key part of this literature has revolved around the concept of "social movement unionism." This term touched a nerve, and has garnered widespread usage in North America over the past two decades. However, most researchers using this term have no idea that it was initially developed to understand the new unionism developed by members of specific labor movements in Brazil, the Philippines and South Africa, a type of unionism qualitatively different from that found in North America. This paper argues that the term "social movement unionism" should be confined only to labor organizations developing the same type of unionism, wherever in the world such should be found. Accordingly, this concept should not be utilized in North America today as there are no labor centers or unions present that are developing this type of trade unionism. It is important to clarify this confusion because it is leads to incorrect understandings and

miscommunication. Accordingly, the current situation—whereby the same term is used to refer to two qualitatively different social phenomena —theoretically works against efforts to build global labor solidarity. What about the progressive, broadscope unionism emerging in North America over the past two decades? Taking a page from labor history, this article argues that the proper precedent is progressive unionism developed by the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, and others, and therefore should be referred to as "social justice unionism." An Appendix provides a measurement tool. The argument is empirically grounded and theoretically developed, allowing us to better understand trade unionism around the globe.

NEW BOOKS



Elizabeth A. Hoffmann Co-operative Workplace Dispute Resolution: Organizational Structure, Ownership, and Ideology

Reviews: 'Hoffmann's fascinating book provides the first comparative study of worker cooperatives and conventionally structured enterprises in similar industries. This unprecedented methodological approach allows Hoffmann to isolate the effects of flattening the hierarchy on a central feature of all organizations-workplace disputes. Her findings are illuminating. Hoffmann discovers, for example, that while members of worker cooperatives generally have more options for resolving disputes than their counterparts in conventional workplaces, power differentials associated with gender and social status do not

necessarily disappear in a worker cooperative, meaning women and people from working class backgrounds sometimes face the same kind of difficulties pursuing their grievances they face in the larger society.'

James Tucker, University of New Hampshire, USA

'The book offers useful practical suggestions that can be readily incorporated into all organizations, whether they are conventional or cooperative, large or small, or for-profit or non-profit.'

Labor Studies Journal, vol. 39, no. 4

For details see the publisher website at http://www.gowerpublishing.com/isbn/9781409429241.

INTERESTING READING

For those interested in building global labor solidarity, Kim Scipes recommends the special thematic issue on "Building Global Labor Solidarity" (Vol. 17, No. 2, June 2014) for *Working USA*, edited by Kim Scipes. For any questions or to contact Kim: kimscipes@earthlink.net.

Labor Notes has published a review of an important new book on worker health and safety: Workers' Guide to Health and Safety by Todd Jailer, Miriam Lara-Meloy, and Maggie Robbins. You can read the review on the Labor Notes website at http://labornotes.org/blogs/2015/07/review-practical-guide-tackling-factory-hazards.

