



ASA Labor and Labor Movements Newsletter

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Notes from the Chair

Sarah Swider, University of Copenhagen

Season Greetings! It was great to see many of you at the ASA Annual Meeting in Montreal. We kicked off this yearly cycle on strong footing given that our previous Chair, foreseeing the negative effects of changes in the ASA gift membership rules, spearheaded a successful early membership drive that pushed our membership over the crucial 400 mark. As such, as the new academic year has gotten underway, we have turned our attention to increasing engagement within the section, across academia and beyond. This issue of our newsletter, produced by our new editor **Joseph Reynolds van der Naald**, embodies this energy and engagement. Joseph has chosen to focus our attention on one of the most important unfolding developments facing US workers and the US labor movement today; the expected upcoming Supreme Court decision on *Janus v. AFSCME*. He has pulled in five labor experts and activists to help us understand what this decision will mean for us as labor scholars, activists and (for many of us) as public sector workers. The hope is that their engagement will arm us with tools, ideas and insights that we can use to have an impact beyond our section.

At the same time, we have moved forward with the yearly business of the section, including dealing with the proposal for raising section dues, setting the program for the upcoming ASA Annual meeting in Philadelphia and issuing Calls for Nomination for Section Awards. Our previous chair, **Chris Rhomberg**, and current secretary-treasurer **Jeff Rothstein**, have worked on the issue of raising dues over the past two years. Jeff, through analyzing the section budget and spending has demonstrated that the section is facing shortfalls. Together, Chris and Jeff proposed increasing section membership dues for regular members only from 10 to 12 and provided a lengthy and thoughtful written defense of the proposal, which was discussed at the last business meeting. Members unanimously agreed to placing the proposal on the ballot for a membership vote. We have since taken steps to move it through the ASA committee system and get it onto our ballot.

The program committee, chaired by myself, met to develop panels for the upcoming 2018 annual meeting in Philadelphia. All three are themed panels with open submission: "Citizenship and Labor", "Labor, Labor Movements and the Right," and "Race and Labor and the 50th Anniversary of the Memphis Strike." Please spread the word far and wide and submit (Call for Submissions) before the deadline, January 11, 2018 at 11:59 p.m. Eastern. Our award committees, chaired by **Penny Lewis**, **Jasmine Karrissey**, and **Joshua Bloom**, have issued Calls for Nominations for Section Awards for Distinguished Scholarly Book, Distinguished Scholarly Article, Distinguished Scholarly Student Paper awards (see details in the pages to follow). Finally, our nominations committee, chaired by **Chris Rhomberg**, has started building our slates for the next year's section elections.

There have also been members that have engaged in section work that goes well beyond our yearly business. Our student representative, **Luke Elliot-Negri**, worked with our website and media guru, **Paul Morgan**, to create an online sign-up sheet for the graduate mentoring program run by our section. Luke followed up with an outreach and publicizing campaign, which led to unprecedented demand. We had 22 people requesting mentors. Most mentor requests came from women and people of color, suggesting there is an important unmet need that this program is helping to fill. We have had many members step up to act as mentors and have almost completed the matching process. We have also created an Ad-hoc Committee on Race and Gender Issues co-chaired by our incoming Chair **Belinda Lum** and past chair **Chris Tilly**, who have provided a brief update and background on these developments, which you can find in the following pages.

The message I would like to leave you with is that our members are working hard to go beyond just sustaining this section, and if you have not already, we would like you to join us. In the past few months, many members have stepped up to do work on engaging members, growing membership and improving our section to make it as welcoming as possible for all. In today's world, which presents so many historical challenges to workers, the labor movement and democracy itself, this kind of practice and engagement is possibly one of the most powerful responses we can offer. It is more important than ever that the Labor and Labor Movements Section must not only exist, it must grow and increase its impact on the membership, the general field of sociology and the world well beyond the walls of academia. Thank you for all that you have done and will do for our section.

Symposium: *Janus v. AFSCME*

Joseph van der Naald

The Graduate Center, CUNY

On September 28, 2017, the Supreme Court of the United States officially agreed to hear the case of *Mark Janus v. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31*, known colloquially as *Janus v. AFSCME*. The case considers whether the 1977 ruling of *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*, which determined that public-sector unions may collect “agency shop” and “fair share” fees from non-members covered under bargaining agreements, shall be overruled as a violation of the First Amendment. The case is largely a reincarnation of *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*, which ended in a deadlock in March 2017 after the unexpected death of Justice Antonin Scalia, whose vote would likely have ruled in favor of the plaintiff. With President Donald Trump's appointment of Justice Neil Gorsuch, it is almost certain that he will now cast the decisive vote to side with Mark Janus, ruling the collection of the above-mentioned fees unconstitutional. As many readers of this newsletter well know, the stakes here are considerable. Public-sector union density is currently at 35.7% nationally, while the private sector is at a measly 6.4%. If Wisconsin post-2011 is any indicator, where restrictions that are even more extensive contributed to a shocking 27.6% drop in public-sector density over a five-year period, eliminating agency fee mechanisms nation-wide will surely deal a considerable blow to public-sector membership.

Nevertheless, the *Janus* decision need not be the end for public-sector unions. In November 2017, the Joseph S. Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies at CUNY hosted a conference entitled “*Janus* and Beyond: The Future of Public Sector Unions,” where organizers and labor scholars, including our very own **Ruth Milkman** and **Penny Lewis**, came together to strategize on preparing for *Janus*. Contributions to this issue's symposium will focus on this topic as well. **Dan Clawson** reflects on the Massachusetts Teachers Association's “All-In” campaign and strategies for reaching out to membership. **César F. Rosado Marzán** analyzes the Puerto Rican *bona fide* voluntary labor organizations as a source of inspiration for public-sector unions post-*Janus*. **Luke Elliot-Negri**'s essay shares experiences in preparing for *Janus* while organizing academic workers in the Professional Staff Congress local of the American Federation of Teachers at CUNY. Last, **Ben** and **Sarah Manski** reconsider aspects of the Wisconsin Uprising and the importance of leadership for the purposes of planning popular mobilization against *Janus* as well as its potential outcomes.

Fighting Back Against *Janus*

Dan Clawson, University of Massachusetts Amherst

In Wisconsin, unions were caught by surprise when Governor Scott Walker and the legislature passed devastating anti-labor legislation. For teacher unions, which I know best, the initial hit was bad, and even worse, rather than recovering and bouncing back, over time the slide continued. Since the law was passed, education unions have lost more than half of their professional (=teacher) members, and more than three-quarters of their support staff membership. In Michigan the losses were lower, but still devastating: more than 1 out of 5 teachers, and more than half the support staff.

Unions will have no excuse for being caught by surprise late this spring when the Supreme Court decides the *Janus* case, taking away any kind of “agency fee” or “fair share” payments for public sector workers who do not join. We are threatened with a tsunami. When a tsunami is coming, if there is a good alert system people have from two to eight hours notice; for this anti-union tsunami we have perhaps six months notice. If we don't get ready, that's on us.

The 116,000 member Massachusetts Teachers Association (NEA) has a left-wing rank-and-file president and a strong (but still minority) rank-and-file caucus, Educators for a Democratic Union; we have 438 separate locals scattered across the state, mostly K-12 teachers but including a range from faculty at UMass Amherst to custodians and bus drivers on Cape Cod. We faced the same question as all other public sector

units: How should unions respond? Some unions (looking at you, SEIU) have responded to the looming Janus decision by cutting staff. Our union made the decision to hire ten additional temporary (=15 month) organizers to work to build the union and to limit our losses. We estimate that in the best case we will lose 10 percent of our membership; in the worst case we might lose far more.

The “All-In” campaign we have launched is based on research, common sense, and a long history of union practice which shows (1) When the union is under attack, people stay with the union not because it gives them discounts on car insurance, museum admissions, and airport parking, but rather because the union provides solidarity, and a way of achieving people’s collective goals and (2) that if people have had personal conversations (not mass emails) about the union then they are far more likely to stick with the union.

Even the most dedicated and hard-working local union president can’t have 500 one-on-one conversations, and even if they could do so, it wouldn’t be the kind of organizing that builds solidarity and capacity. Our challenge is to recruit, train, and develop rank-and-file leaders, each of whom will agree to talk to 10 to 20 other members. (Ideally each rank-and-file leader will have multiple conversations with the member over the year, but realistically the key, at least at this point, is holding that first conversation.)

Finding and developing those leaders is a huge task, but if we can do it we will be a far stronger union. Some locals already have well-functioning systems of building reps, so for them this is not much of a challenge. But many locals do not: they rely on the local president, or on paid staff, to be “the union.” If those locals don’t change, they are likely to be in deep trouble when the Janus decision comes down. Even if each of the people we recruit has conversations with twenty (rather than ten) members, that would mean we needed to recruit 5,800 rank-and-file leaders. (I’m glad to share materials with anyone interested in helping a union campaign.)

How is the campaign going? So far there’s huge variation. Some locals have embraced the campaign and participants are energized by the conversations and the response. Many locals support the campaign in theory, but in practice have done little, continuing to work in the old ways, not knowing how to recruit member-leaders, finding it difficult to get people to talk to fellow workers. Almost no one has openly opposed the campaign, but in some locals the president has insisted that all activity must flow from the president down, and then the president has done nothing – presumably wanting to stay in control, and

fearful of what happens if dozens of their members get trained, start talking with each other, and create energy around what the union could be doing (if only it had better leadership).

We have six months or so before the Janus decision comes down. Our ability to build a strong sense of what the union is and why it matters will determine our strength going forward. We are emphasizing that when people stay in the union that builds our collective solidarity and ability to win on the issues that matter to all of us; when people leave that hurts all of us. Our case is made easier by the fact that a year ago we defeated a ballot measure (backed by \$24 million of dark money hedge fund contributions) that would have drastically expanded charter schools and devastated public schools. Next year, exactly as we are signing people up in the post-Janus world, we will be promoting a state-wide referendum to raise taxes by four percent only on *incomes* over a million dollars a year – a measure that would bring in more than two billion dollars a year, dedicated to education and transportation.

A Likely New Role for Labor After Janus: Lessons from Puerto Rico

*César F. Rosado Marzán, University of Iowa
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Can public sector labor unions survive in a voluntaristic, post-*Janus* world? Here, I use the Puerto Rican experience with voluntarism to argue that public sector labor unions could survive in a post-*Janus* world. However, in that post-*Janus* world many unions will *need* to adapt to the new institutional environment. They will need act less as collective bargaining institutions – a role that no longer will fully suit them- and more as social movements. Unions may be able to pressure the government to re-institutionalize them as collective bargaining agents, but such re-institutionalization will require a major refocus of their strategies. Perhaps, in the end, something better than our current system may also be built.

Janus v. AFSCME Council 31

More than 40 years ago, in *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education* the U.S. Supreme Court determined that

public sector unions could compulsorily charge bargaining unit members for a “fair share” or “service fee” to pay for the cost of representing workers in collective bargaining. For some years now, however, conservative groups have been taking cases to the courts aiming to overturn *Abood*. The main claim against *Abood* is that public sector unions engage in political speech, even when concerning narrow collective bargaining issues such as wages. *Abood* opponents thus claim that public sector collective bargaining is “designed to influence governmental policies.” As such, laws that force workers to pay a service or fair share fee are being compelled to support particular governmental policies in violation of First Amendment rights.

The Court came close to overturn *Abood* three years ago in *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*. Justice Antonin Scalia died, however, before the case could be decided. The Court, deadlocked in a 4-4 tie, refused to decide *Friedrichs*. Since then, a new Supreme Court justice sits on the bench, likely providing a conservative majority to overturn *Abood*. If *Abood* is overturned, will public sector unions survive?

Learning from Puerto Rico

In 1998, a public sector collective bargaining law gave public sector unions in the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico the right to bargain collectively. As part of their newfound right to bargain collectively, unions could also collect compulsory “fair share” union fees from bargaining unit members. Some union leaders, most of them affiliated to U.S. “international” unions, claimed that as a result of the new law over 100,000 workers were organized. I reported these numbers in my 2005 PhD dissertation (Rosado Marzán 2005).

However, two years later I wrote an article published in *WorkingUSA* where I reported, after taking a closer look at the numbers, that the vast majority of these “newly” organized union members were already members of labor organizations existing before the new law – the so-called “*bona fide*” associations (Rosado Marzán 2007). *Bona fide* associations were voluntary associations that, while lacking collective bargaining rights, pressured the government through political action. In essence, the 1998 law simply changed the institutional make-up of these former organizations, but did not lead to any new, substantial organizing.

Growing up in Puerto Rico in the 1980s and 1990s, I remember the *bona fides* as militant organi-

zations that periodically engaged in hybrid strike-political demonstrations known in the island as “*paros*” – or work stoppages. In some ways, they resembled French unions, known for taking on broad social issues and on the particular issues facing their memberships. Hence, for example, public school teachers would demonstrate not only for higher pay for all public sector workers, but also for quality education and the defense of Spanish-language instruction in public schools, a contentious issue in Puerto Rico given the island’s colonial relationship with the U.S.

The older system was not perfect despite perhaps being more exciting. Enough is to say that there was no effective collective bargaining in the public sector despite the *paros* and the street mobilizations. But today’s public sector unions also appear weak and ineffective. The 1998 law banned strikes, forced unions to bargain over very narrow “subjects of bargaining,” limited their use of union funds, amidst many other limitations. Unions’ public presence diminished. Their capacity to improve the wages and working conditions of public sector workers through collective bargaining also proved debatable, at best, not least given the economic depression that has hit Puerto Rico since on or about 2006. And, as stated above, the new system did not fundamentally grow the size of organized workers in the public sector.

Unions as Social Movements and the Emergence of a New Type of Collective Bargaining

Some unions may survive as effective bargaining agents despite *Janus*. In Las Vegas, for example, private sector hotel workers enjoy very strong collective bargaining agreements dispute “right to work” rules where unions cannot collect any type of compulsory union fee. But for those unions that will lose significant union funds and will not be able to sustain themselves as collective bargaining institutions, things will need to change. They will need to start acting as the Puerto Rican *bona fides*. They will have to engage in street-level political action to pressure the government on behalf of workers generally; in the words of the *Janus* plaintiffs, they will have to “influence governmental policies” but, now, nakedly outside the institutionalized structures of collective bargaining. In that fight, unions should also pressure public sector employers to bargain with them as representative of their members only. Perhaps, the new voluntary unions can induce the government to extend the collectively bargained terms to all other workers, union members or not. This type of voluntary but central-

ized system of bargaining is the one that pervades in countries with stronger union institutions, such as Germany, Belgium, Norway, and many others, and should be the aim of our own labor activists. It would be, in the words of some American labor law scholars, a “new labor law” (cf. Andrias 2016) built from the bottom up and after an arduous political process that seems difficult, uncertain, *and* necessary.

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Building Power Before *Janus* —and After: Lessons from CUNY

Luke Elliott-Negri, The Graduate Center, CUNY

As recently as 2014, just 22 percent of my co-workers were members of our chapter in our big wall-to-wall union. The rest—some 1,242 employees—paid the “agency fee,” which for us is the same as membership dues. The chapter had been defunct for several years. Few bothered to explain to new employees why it mattered to join and what power might come from engagement.

Both because of the right-wing assault in the form of legal cases like *Janus v. AFSCME*—the Supreme Court case that will make the whole public sector “right-to-work” by next year—but also because this is what unions should be doing anyway, a group of us set out to change these numbers.

Three years later, we have convinced nearly 800 fee-payers to become union members. But that’s just the union’s net gain—the real number is even more striking, because each year 200–300 new people are hired and about the same number leave. In reality we’ve signed up between 1,000 and 1,500 members

over the past three years.

Here are some lessons that may be relevant in other unions.

OUR UNION

The Professional Staff Congress is an American Federation of Teachers local (2334) representing some 25,000 full-time faculty, part-time faculty, professional staff, graduate employees, lab technicians, and more. We are part of a single bargaining unit that negotiates a single contract, and are by far the largest union at the City University of New York (CUNY), the country’s largest urban college system.

I am active in the local’s Graduate Center chapter. Its ranks include well-known authors like Frances Fox Piven, online adjuncts making an extremely low \$3,200 per course, and graduate student employees—the largest segment of the chapter—making little more (or sometimes less). It was in this highly stratified environment that we signed up more than 1,000 members over three years.

TO START, FIND A SMALL CREW

When I arrived at the CUNY Graduate Center, the union chapter had been defunct for years and there was no formal union presence in the building. A long-time leader of a different chapter, who happened to work in the building, helped orient me to the union.

Initially, I connected with two particularly agitated co-workers. Before we started organizing in earnest, we convinced the union to change a policy so as to make it easier for graduate employees to affiliate with our chapter. This took several months of planning, conversations, meetings with central leadership, and ultimately a vote of the local’s Delegate Assembly.

With this change in place, a few of us set about to sign up fee-payers as members. This team ended up being different from the one that had lobbied for the structural change, and the central union’s assigned staff organizer was eager to support us.

In the first year we didn’t have much, but it was enough to get started.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE WORKPLACE STRUCTURE

We soon learned that the 200–300 new adjunct and graduate employees who were hired every year came through one room for a large orientation over three days. A rank-and-file leader and an organizer sta-

tioned themselves there every day and together signed up more than 100 members.

Our approach to these new members was twofold. First, in our conversations we framed what their work experience would be like. Because they were just starting, they did not yet have issues, but we were able to relay common issues and help them imagine their future work experience.

As important, we told people we were organizing our constituency to make demands of management that we did not previously have the power to attain. Signing a card made them part of this effort. We also, of course, looked for potential leaders.

Now this recruitment at orientation is an annual ritual, with many more involved—eight rank-and-file leaders helped cover those three days this year, where we signed up 150 members.

We also soon took advantage of our building's bottleneck. The thousands of people who stream in and out daily come through a single entrance. We set up shop there with union membership cards at times of maximum traffic. This is the university-worker equivalent of focusing on shift changes.

People often have more time when they are leaving, and this is the opportunity for strong one-on-one conversations, not just about why it's important to be a member but also to learn about the issues that individuals and groups are facing.

STRIKE VOTE

In 2015, our union president announced a strike authorization vote for the whole PSC-CUNY bargaining unit, something that had not happened in our union since 1973. We had been working under an expired contract since 2010 with no raises in that time. Striking is illegal for public sector unions in New York state (though voting to strike is not), so the action sent a shock wave through the membership.

In the month before the vote, and during the 10 days of the vote itself, we built more leaders than before or since. Our small crew scrambled to consolidate all rank-and-file activists, however marginally engaged, and to make the vote something every member or fee-payer would know about.

We covered the building entrance all day long for the 10 days of the vote, which gave new rank-and-file leaders a chance to develop and test skills. We spoke with 1,000 members, agitating about state and city funding for the CUNY system and explaining that a big strike vote would build bargaining power for adjuncts and graduate employees.

Ultimately more than 10,000 PSC-CUNY members across the system participated, with 92 percent voting to authorize a strike. We ultimately settled without striking and gained 10 percent raises for everyone in the bargaining unit. Some 1,500 adjuncts also won three-year appointments, ending the semester-to-semester hiring insecurity they had faced. Many adjuncts and graduate employees were understandably frustrated with the across-the-board percentage increase—such raises inevitably exacerbate inequality in a wall-to-wall union, and adjuncts continue to earn just over \$3,000 per course taught.

Still, we successfully worked the central union's strategy, and, in the process, we enhanced the future bargaining power of contingent workers in the bargaining unit, especially graduate employees.

RECRUITING STEWARDS

Many of those who led this effort are now in elected office in our chapter, after barely having been active in the union before. One of the leaders who emerged is now a delegate on our chapter's executive council and leads our steward program. During the vote, we uncovered as many leaders in the various units and departments as we could. Some of these people became stewards. Half of the departments in our chapter are now covered by one or more stewards.

The new energy in our chapter enabled us to get a graduate employee on the local's bargaining team, the first in years. Our contract expires again this fall, and in preparation, we launched a balloting process for members to set priorities (at the top of the list: \$7,000 per course for all adjuncts). Over the course of a single week, we had one-on-one conversations with more than 400 members and connected with 200 online. We gained about 50 new members during this effort.

Public sector unions need to prepare for "right to work" to become the law of the land when the Supreme Court decides Janus next year. While it's a huge blow to labor, some unions may even become stronger in the process. To survive, we will need maximum rank-and-file engagement, democratic participation, and steward structures that cover every corner of every union.

All of this takes hard work, but the good news is that almost anyone can do it. Find a couple co-workers and get started.

This article was originally featured at [Labor Notes](#)

After Wisconsin 2011, Before Janus 2018: Lessons for the Next Popular Uprising

Ben and Sarah Manski, University of California, Santa Barbara

Although the Wisconsin Uprising was the early riser in the U.S. protest wave of 2011 that manifested widespread bank protests, capitol occupations, and eventually, Occupy Wall Street, what happened in Wisconsin remains understudied and generally misunderstood. Many descriptions focus on the six week occupation of the State Capitol Building and ignore the mass strikes and other direct actions that took place elsewhere throughout the state, the mobilizations that prefigured the Uprising, and the many months of intense struggle that followed the “official” occupation of the Wisconsin Capitol (e.g. daily actions at the Capitol, a tent city, popular assemblies, and mass demonstrations). More importantly, these descriptions tend to mischaracterize the importance of a few major unions in the Uprising and ignore the more critical leadership of other working class and popular organizations, unions, and communities.

Correcting accounts of the Wisconsin Uprising matters not only because of the truly unprecedented scale and militancy of that wave of mobilization, and not only because the Uprising was largely defeated, but also because the consequences of that defeat suggest that even the most grim warnings about the potential impact of *Janus v. AFSCME* may be too rosy. In Wisconsin, the enactment of Act 10 (involving annual recertification and other attacks on public sector unions) and of Right to Work legislation provide a sense of what might follow nationally from an anti-union ruling in *Janus*.

Wisconsin had long been a heartland for pro-

gressive policy and movements, electing leftwing Republicans, Progressives, and Socialists to the highest offices and building the NEA, AFSCME, NOW, USSA, USAS and other major national organizations. Yet since 2011, membership in Wisconsin’s labor unions has fallen by more than a third, with AFSCME dropping from 62,000 to 28,000 members in the first year alone. Public school closings, mass layoffs, and a real decline in teacher compensation have led to an exodus of experienced teachers from the profession and from the state. A larger section of Wisconsin’s middle class, as measured by median family income, dropped into poverty than in any other state.

While those changes can be reasonably attributed directly to the anti-union legislation of 2011 and 2012, they comprise only part of the harms felt by working people as a result of the larger structural adjustment program implemented in Wisconsin since then. The attacks on collective bargaining and the right to belong to a union were part of a cohesive

program of austerity and expropriation that included the closure of public libraries, colleges, and parks, ending food and medical assistance to hundreds of thousands of Wisconsinites living in poverty, opening the state to metal and sand mining, preempting municipal labor and welfare laws, eliminating small brewers and other producers from competition

with transnational corporations, and establishing a lasting form of minority rule through the most extreme gerrymandering in the nation. These and other harms meant that the consequences of losing the 2011 struggle would be more significant than the loss of union power on its own. Furthermore, the breadth and depth of the threat faced by millions of Wisconsinites helps to explain why the Wisconsin Uprising was, in actuality, a mass strike and not merely a set of “union protests.”

The implication for labor scholars working in the looming shadow of *Janus* should be evident: A myopic focus on *Janus* and its meaning for labor unions -- developed in isolation from a broader analysis



Michael Moore addresses the Wisconsin Wave's 03/05/2011 "We Are Wisconsin!" rally. Photo: Ben Manski

of the struggles of working class and allied organizations, networks, and communities in the broader popular movement -- will result in costly and perhaps avoidable mistakes. What then are relevant lessons from Wisconsin? We share two, drawn from Ben's ongoing social movement research as well as our shared personal experiences and discussions.

First, that in considering the possibilities for a post-*Janus* world, we need to account not only for the state of labor unions as they are today, but more broadly and deeply for the array of popular organizations, networks, communities, resources and activist cultures that have been constructed in the course of struggle over the past several decades. What made the Wisconsin Uprising possible and shaped the actions of its initiators was a history of movement building and organizing in the course of struggle on various terrains against a structural adjustment program imposed from above. Some of this struggle involved labor unions, as in strikes in Kenosha, Clintonville, Jefferson, Madison, Milwaukee, as well as across the border in the 1990s so-called "Labor Warzone" of central Illinois. Much of it took place with other or additional popular actors on other terrains, as in resistances to the corporatization of welfare, prisons, agriculture, K-12 and higher education, or in the anti-mining and treaty rights movements, or in Wisconsin's comparatively high level of engagement in international solidarity and anti-corporate campaigns. Out of all these, activists produced all the elements of the popular movement that initiated and led the rising up of Wisconsin's working class -- the practices of Capitol occupations, of sing-a-longs, of strong union-student-community solidarity around budget battles, and much more, as well as the individuals, networks, and organizations that prepared and then actually led the way.

If, in January of 2011 an otherwise uninformed researcher would have interviewed the leadership of Wisconsin's three biggest public sector unions -- AF-SCME, SEIU, and WEAC -- about their expectations for the coming months, that scholar would have had no clue that 100,000s of people would be assembling shortly on the State Capitol grounds. But if that same researcher were to have interviewed activists from smaller unions, student unions, farm organizations, and pro-democracy organizations, the expectation of uprising would have been evident.



April 9, 2011 march on Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce, from the Capitol. Photo: Wisconsin Wave

This leads to our second lesson. In this period of *Janus*, federal austerity and hatemongering, and extreme democratic collapse -- this period in which what happened earlier in Wisconsin and other labor heritage states appears to have prefigured what is happening nationally -- identifying, strengthening, and pushing forward the popular actors most prepared for the challenges of the coming period of struggle is not just advisable, it is necessary to the success of the cause of labor. One of the critical causes of the defeat of Wisconsin was the failure of the actual leadership of the Uprising to act successfully as a force capable of contradicting demobilization and overcoming resistance to escalation on the part of the biggest labor union and Democratic Party bureaucracies.

By actual leadership we mean the student organizations, member-controlled labor unions (MTI, IAFF 311, TAA and others), and other popular organizations and individual activists and elected officials that initiated nearly all the major mobilizations and escalations of the 2011, including the occupations, sectoral strikes, recall process, and even the initial action by Democratic state senators in leaving the state to deny quorum. This actual leadership experienced marginalization in the course of 2011, and as a result, this marginalization proved costly and possibly determinative.

As an illustration, in Ben's interviews with leading figures in Uprising, he found not only that activists from farm, community, racial justice, and student organizations believed themselves to have been progressively marginalized by officials from the largest unions and the Democratic Party, but also that, perhaps shockingly, the presidents and executive leadership of leading unions consistently referred to unions

as “them” or “the unions.” These included leaders from the Madison and Milwaukee teachers’ unions, firefighters union, teaching assistants, and various insurgent locals of AFSCME – all of the unions that actually led the way into the Capitol and provided the greatest muscle and militancy in the Wisconsin struggle.

To be sure, those leaders working to escalate the Uprising did engage in substantial solidarity and mutual aid through various coalitions such as the Wisconsin Wave and Wisconsin Resists!. Yet our shared analysis finds that this leadership lacked not only the necessary resources to counter demobilization, but more importantly lacked a recognition of the changed and still changing logic of the struggle. The Uprisers did the same things they had done before over the past 20 years, only on a much larger scale. They acted as if a mobilization directly participated in by up to one-in-five Wisconsinites would be bound to succeed; after all, even popular revolutions rarely get those kinds of participation rates. But their movement from below was up against a different kind of foe than in the past; a new movement from above was orchestrated by Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce and led by Scott Walker. Against a foe engaged in total war, the loss of initiative and agenda-setting to labor and political officials who sought a return to normalcy proved disastrous. Despite moves to escalate via the general strike movement, the practice of popular assemblies, and convenings of local governments to prepare for a parallel counter-government from below, the trajectory of the overall struggle turned elsewhere.

As some had earlier suggested regarding Wisconsin’s Act 10 and Right to Work legislation, there are those today who argue that *Janus* will eventually bring about the conditions for a renovated unionism. Maybe so, but in the immediate term, if the national experience comes to resemble to what Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and other labor heritage states have been through of late, we can expect major losses for union power and great harm to working and poor people. Replicating the great successes and avoiding the failures of 2011 require attention to the same central lessons. First, that the real leadership for the coming struggle is to be found in a broad rather than narrow reading of the labor and popular movement that has been built over the past several decades. Second, that having identified the national equivalents of the unions and popular organizations and practices that produced the Wisconsin Uprising, it is vital that those actors develop a nearly messianic sense of self-confidence and mutual solidarity.

Labor and Labor Movements Section's Ad Hoc Committee on Race and Gender Issues Begins Work

Belinda Lum, Sacramento City College

Chris Tilly, University of California, Los Angeles

It seems safe to say that all of us in the Labor and Labor Movements Section are keenly aware that race and gender, as well as class, inflect labor relations, processes, and structures. Nonetheless, issues continue to arise about LLM activities that do not reflect the diversity of the sociology profession, styles of communication that feel disrespectful, and missed opportunities to take gender and race into account in meeting program content. Growing out of formal and informal discussions at ASA 2017, Labor and Labor Movements Section Chair Sarah Swider created an Ad Hoc Committee on Race and Gender Issues with the two of us as co-chairs and a mandate to gather information and formulate proposals for change.

Sarah's charge was to form a small committee, and that now includes (in alphabetical order) Carolina Bank Muñoz, Pablo Gastón, Jeff Rothstein, and Sarah Swider *ex officio* (in addition to the two of us). In an October conference call, we agreed that the initial priority was to conduct research on various indicators of the racial and gender climate in the section over the last several years, to identify areas of strength, weakness, and potential action. We divided up duties and are currently compiling information on:

- Program and Awards—racial and gender composition of presenters/awardees, race and gender in paper (or book, for the book award) content
- Officers, membership, recent lapsed members (race and gender mix)
- How section by-laws address these issues (if at all), by-law innovations in other sections. It turns out that Collective Behavior and Social Movements (CBSM) has had a committee on racial diversity issues for 3 years, and is establishing or exploring a number of changes in by-laws and section institutions, and among other things we are learning about and evaluating their experiences.

Once we have this information under our belts, we plan to conduct a member survey and some targeted “post-exit interviews” of people who have left the section or sharply reduced their level of involvement. Our plan, as affirmed at our October meeting, is to do this added information-gathering and propose action responses in advance of ASA 2018 in Philadelphia, with the goal of launching an online discussion that can culminate in an in-person discussion at the meetings. That said, speaking only for ourselves, the deeper we get into the research, the more we find that though some data are fairly cut-and-dried (who have been the officers?), others are turning out to be more complex. It was sobering to learn that CBSM's committee on diversity has been functioning for 3 years and is still just getting started on some areas of work. We can commit to reporting back to section membership ahead of ASA 2018, but we are less certain now whether the work of the committee will be complete by that time—that remains to be seen.

You should expect a membership survey from us, but if you have observations, ideas, suggestions, don't wait for the survey! We are happy to hear your thoughts (bclum1974@gmail.com , tilly@ucla.edu), or if you would feel more comfortable communicating with another member of the committee, feel free to do that. To be successful, any changes will take buy-in from the membership as a whole, and our committee does not have a monopoly of good ideas. Stay tuned!

2018 Labor and Labor Movements Section Awards: Call for Nominations

*Distinguished Scholarly Article Award **DEADLINE: 3/01/2018***

The LLM section is sponsoring the Distinguished Scholarly Article Award for outstanding scholarship for the best article published between January 1, 2016 and December 31, 2017. 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. In order to be considered by the committee, the author (or authors) must join or be members of the Labor section. Nominations must include an electronic copy of (or link to) the article, and **all nominations must be received no later than March 1, 2018**. Please send all nominations to the chair of the award committee, Penny Lewis, at penny.lewis@cuny.edu.

*Distinguished Scholarly Book Award **DEADLINE: 2/1/2018***

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, 2016 and December 31, 2017, and the author must be a section member at the time of nomination. No more than one book nomination per person. Please send your nomination to the committee chair, Joshua Bloom at jbloom@pitt.edu, **no later than February 1, 2018**. Upon receipt of your email nomination, you will be provided with the mailing addresses of the award committee members. Nominators/Nominees/Publishers will have until March 1, 2018 to send hard-copies to the seven (7) committee members.

*Distinguished Student Paper Award **DEADLINE: 3/01/2018***

The LLM section's Distinguished Student Paper Award goes to the best paper written by a graduate student between January 1, 2016 and December 31, 2017. All methodological orientations and substantive topics related to labor and/or labor movements are welcome. Published papers, papers under review, and unpublished article-length manuscripts are eligible. Authors must be enrolled students at the time the paper was written and cannot have won the student paper award in the previous 3 years. In addition, authors must be members of the LLM section at the time of submission. The winner receives \$150. 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, 2018** to the Distinguished Student Paper Award committee chair, Jasmine Kerrissey, at jasmine@soc.umass.edu.

Call for Articles: Understanding the Rise of Low-Wage Jobs and Nonstandard Work Arrangements

The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences

Issue on New Developments in American Job Quality: Understanding the Recent Rise of Low Wage Jobs and Nonstandard Work Arrangements,

Edited by David R. Howell, The New School and Arne L. Kalleberg, University of North Carolina



The question of job quality has emerged as a key challenge for researchers and policy-makers in the 21st century. The growing realization that the quality, not just the quantity, of jobs is central to addressing a myriad of social and economic problems—such as economic development, family formation and social integration, poverty and inequality, and individual well-being—has put this age-old topic on the front burner for social scientists.

This issue of RSF will focus on two important dimensions of the quality of jobs created in the past three decades in the United States. First, there has been an expansion of low-wage jobs, a phenomenon that has been documented by numerous studies, many of which have been sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. This proliferation of low-wage work, especially among younger workers, has contributed to the weakening of the middle class, reversing the dramatic improvements experienced by the middle of the income distribution in the three decades following World War II.

Second, there has been a dramatic increase in nonstandard jobs such as temporary help agency workers, on-call workers, contract workers, and independent contractors or freelancers. Many of these jobs are uncertain, unstable and insecure, in which employees bear most of the risks of work (as opposed to businesses or the government) and receive limited social benefits and statutory protections. Recent studies document an increased incidence of alternative work arrangements, especially among workers hired through contract firms. While some nonstandard jobs may be good ones—such as well paid consultants who have high control over the terms and conditions of work—most such jobs are characterized by low pay, low security, and poor working conditions.

This journal issue aims to bring together papers that examine three main topics related to job quality in the United States: the causes of the increase in low-wage and nonstandard jobs; their impacts on workers and their families; and policies that are needed to enhance the quality of low-wage and nonstandard jobs. We discuss each topic area in turn, and illustrate the kinds of papers that we encourage for this journal issue.

Anticipated Timeline

Prospective contributors should submit a CV and an abstract (up to two pages in length, single or double spaced) of their study along with up to two pages of supporting material (e.g., tables, figures, pictures, etc.) no later than 5 PM EST on December 20, 2017, to: rsfjournal.onlineapplicationportal.com

All submissions must be original work that has not been previously published in part or in full. Only abstracts submitted to rsfjournal.onlineapplicationportal.com will be considered. Each paper will receive a \$1,000 honorarium when the issue is published. All questions regarding this issue should be directed to Suzanne Nichols, Director of Publications, at journal@rsage.org and not to the email addresses of the editors of the issue.

A conference will take place at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York City on June 8, 2018. The selected contributors will gather for a one-day workshop to present draft papers (due in a month prior to the conference)

and receive feedback from the other contributors and editors. Travel costs, food, and lodging will be covered by the foundation. Papers will be circulated before the conference. After the conference, the authors will submit their final drafts on or before August 1, 2018. The papers will then be sent out to three additional scholars for peer review. Having received feedback from reviewers and the RSF board, authors will revise their papers before January 10, 2019. The full and final issue will be published in September 2019. Papers will be published open access on the RSF website as well as in several digital repositories, including JSTOR and UPCC/Muse.

[Please click here for a full description of the topics covered in this call for papers.](#)

Call for Papers: 54th International Conference on Labor and Social History

Workplace Democracy Revisited: Labour and Practices of Participation, Workers' Control and Self-Management in Global Perspective

Linz/Upper Austria, 6-8 September 2018

The attempts to extend democracy from the political sphere to labour relations and the broader economy (*Self-Government in Industry*, as G.D.H. Cole wrote in 1917) keep resurfacing in various forms and under different names throughout the existence of both modern industry and agriculture. Producer cooperatives have been an alternative form of enterprise organization in capitalist economies at least since the 19th century. Very different schools of thought supporting workers' "associationism" – socialist, anarchist, Christian – have seen worker-run enterprises as the basis of a more egalitarian society. Communist revolutionaries envisioned workers' councils as the building block of post-capitalist political and social structures ever since soviets came to prominence in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia, but also a range of revolutionary stirrings in the aftermath of World War I (Germany and Austria 1918-19, Hungary 1919, Italy 1920, etc.). After the failed attempts of revolutionary change in Europe, the German, Austrian and Czechoslovakian states introduced new legislations enabling workers' participation and representation on the enterprise level to various degrees.

During the Cold War countries, such as Israel, Algeria, Peru and, most prominently, Yugoslavia, attempted to carve out a third way model of development by implementing workers' self-management structures in their economies. Many postcolonial state building projects in Africa and beyond fused the idea of workplace democracy with local communal traditions. Workers' self-management also served as an inspiration to dissidents in Eastern Europe (Hungary, Poland), while closely related terms such as *autogestion* and even *operaismo* became leitmotifs within the 1968 movement in Southern Europe as a vision of a more democratic socialism. Numerous welfare state models in the European countries, ascribed to the political "West", developed partly far-reaching legal bases for workers' participation, often relying on the concepts introduced by the legislative reforms immediately after World War I.

In the 1980s, the self-management ideals of liberation in the most developed capitalist societies and in factories worldwide often metamorphosed into management tools within the framework of neoliberal politics. While many activists in (state-)socialist Eastern Europe envisioned workplace democracy as an opportunity to introduce economic democracy from below, notions of workplace autonomy were also used by the pro-market reformists inside the communist parties to decrease guaranteed workers' rights. During the 1990s, when it seemed that the ideas of workers' engagement in economic decision-making lost validity, a movement of factory occupations emerged in Argentina and other countries in Latin America, provoking a new wave of interest and debates about the perspectives of workplace democracy in the 21st century.

State of the Art and Research Gaps

As this short historical outline shows, initiatives for democratization of labour relations were carried by vastly disparate social actors under diverse types of labour regimes and political rule in many different parts of the globe. Not surprisingly, a substantial research literature on these phenomena has developed. Yet, studies of workers' activation tend to have a narrow focus when it comes to the socio-economic complexity and the geographical scope of workplace democracy. Firstly, the topic has traditionally attracted left-leaning social scientists and heterodox economists inclined to look at the political organizing of the working class and economic performance of the enterprises respectively, thus overlooking labour relations and the inner workings of workplace democracy. Secondly, the studies were habitually framed in the context of individual nation states with the most illustrious historical projects claiming workers' emancipation attracting the greatest attention. The attempts to produce overviews on the history of workers' participation, control and self-management practices in different countries usually amounted to collections of individual case studies with moderate comparison, disregarding mutual influence, transnational exchange and transfers.

Conference Goals

In order to contribute to closing some of these gaps, the 2018 ITH Conference poses the following two strategic goals (with some potential topics listed below):

1.) To unpack and categorise the often interchanging terms and conceptualizations of workplace democracy such as *self-management*, *control*, *participation*, *co-determination* and *autogestion* (in different languages) by tracing their evolution globally and relating them to particular geographic locations, cultural contexts and historical conjunctures:

- Classifying various examples of workplace organization without conventional management. We want to approach the debates about terms and concepts not only from a theoretical point of view, but as a theme of historical enquiry through concrete case studies. The categorisations should account for the aspirations of the involved actors (autonomous coalitions, trade unions, employers/management, and the state), aiming to realize their interests within the existing order, going beyond the given boundaries or various in-between solutions.
- The circulation of ideas about economic democracy across the borders of nation states. Did individual enterprises, labour movements or states that adopted workplace democratization as an official part of their policies make conscious efforts to promote their models internationally and what impact did they make?
- Experiences of workplace democracy in the periphery. What were the peculiar challenges that advocates of workplace democracy in the Global South, yet also in economically underdeveloped societies and regions of the Global North, and in the state socialist countries had to face? Factors to be kept in mind include the peculiar features of the working class, the lack of technical expertise for the daily running of the production process and the widespread informal economy.
- The inclusion and categorization of experiments to democratize and control the organization of agricultural work, service sector as well as the less known instances of workers' involvement in the industry, regardless of whether they portrayed themselves as revolutionary or not, such as the instances of cooperativism linked to traditional communal forms of economic organization in Latin America, Africa and Asia.
- The prominence of workplace democracy as a topic inside the transnational institutions and initiatives, such as the United Nations, ILO, socialist internationalisms, Non-Aligned Movement, etc.

2.) To examine workplace democracy beyond the political history of workers' movements or business history of alternative management models by investigating the actual practices of workers' involvement, decision-making and work conditions in concrete cases:

- The altered ways in which workers conceived of themselves, their enterprise and communities after the introduction of some form of workplace democracy. Was there an increased identification with the work collective, improved work efforts, appearance of voluntary labour, broadening of concerns for social or political issues, or different forms of inequalities within the enterprise?
- The main challenges associated with the collective participation in workplaces: mock involvement, contested decision-making processes, inefficiency, lack of accountability, parochialism, bureaucratization, clientelism, emergence of unofficial leaderships, etc.

- The new concepts and definitions of economic performance and individual work efforts: What were some of the ways in which workers' ran enterprises, defined ownership rights, measured and distributed net income, wages, social service funds, etc.?
- The relations between individual self-managed collectives and the broader economy and society: What were the models and difficulties of expanding democratic economic decision-making beyond individual enterprises, and connecting economic democracy to political institutions and everyday tasks in the surrounding communities? What effect does the market have on workplace democracy?

SUBMISSION

Proposed papers should include:

- abstract (max. 300 words)
- biographical note (max. 200 words)
- full address und e-mail address

The abstract of the suggested paper should contain a separate paragraph explaining how and (if applicable) to which element(s) or question(s) of the Call for Papers the submitted paper refers.

The short CV should give information on the applicant's contributions to the field of labour history, broadly defined, and specify (if applicable) relevant publications. For the purpose of information, applicants are invited to attach a copy of one of these publications to their application.

Proposals to be sent to **Lukas Neissl**: lukas.neissl@doew.at

TIME SCHEDULE

- Submission of proposals: by **28 January 2018**
- Notification of acceptance: **9 March 2018**
- Full papers or presentation versions: by **5 August 2018**

PREPARATORY GROUP

Dario Azzellini, ILR School, Cornell University, Ithaca

Frank Georgi, Centre d'Histoire Sociale du XXème Siècle/Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Goran Musić, Central European University, Budapest

Lukas Neissl, ITH, Vienna

Brigitte Pellar, Vienna

Anne Sudrow, Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam

Advisers:

Marcel van der Linden, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam

Susan Zimmermann, ITH, Vienna

THE ITH AND ITS MEMBERS

The ITH is one of the worldwide most important forums of the history of labour and social movements. The ITH favours research pursuing inclusive and global perspectives and open-ended comparative thinking. Following its tradition of cooperating with organisations of the labour movement, the ITH likewise puts emphasis

on the conveyance of research outside the academic research community itself. Currently ca. 100 member institutions and a growing number of individual members from five continents are associated with the ITH.

- Information on ITH publications in the past 50 years: http://www.ith.or.at/publ_e/publ_online_e.htm
- Subscription to the ITH e-newsletter published twice a year: http://www.ith.or.at/rundb_e/r_index_e.htm
- Download of the ITH membership application form: http://www.ith.or.at/mitgl_e/mitglieder_e.htm

Call for Articles: Improving Employment and Earnings in Twenty-First Century Labor Markets

The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences

Edited by: Erica L. Groshen, Industrial and Labor Relations School, Cornell University

Harry J. Holzer, McCourt School of Public Policy, Georgetown University



Labor market institutions and policies are key determinants of social and economic outcomes such as poverty, inequality, and economic growth. This [call for papers](#) is for an issue of *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* which will examine recent labor market trends and policies in the U.S. and what they mean for future growth and inequality in earnings.

Submitted papers should review recent trends and developments and synthesize the research findings on their causes; speculate on how these factors may shape labor markets in the coming years; and offer policy suggestions. We seek non-technical, forward-looking papers that are accessible to both social scientists and policy-makers. The papers will be categorized into those addressing: shifting demand and supply in the labor market; worker-oriented institutions and policies; and new developments in firms and their future implications.

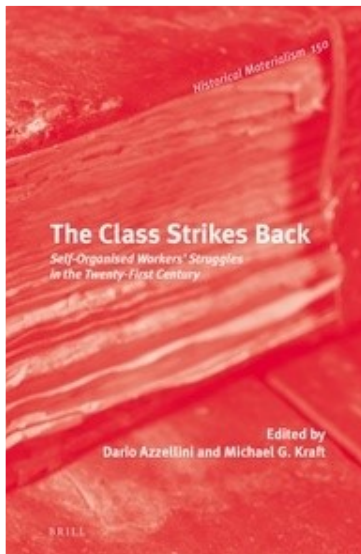
Prospective contributors should submit a CV and an abstract of their study (up to two pages in length, single or double-spaced) along with up to two pages of supporting material (e.g., tables, figures, pictures, etc.) by January 19, 2018 at 5pm ET/2pm PT.

[Click here](#) for a description of the topics covered in this call for papers, for guidelines on submitting a paper, and the issue's schedule.

Questions should be directed to Suzanne Nichols at: journal@rsage.org

New Publications by Section Members

Books



The Class Strikes Back: Self-Organised Workers' Struggles in the Twenty-First Century

Edited by Dario Azzellini and Michael G. Kraft

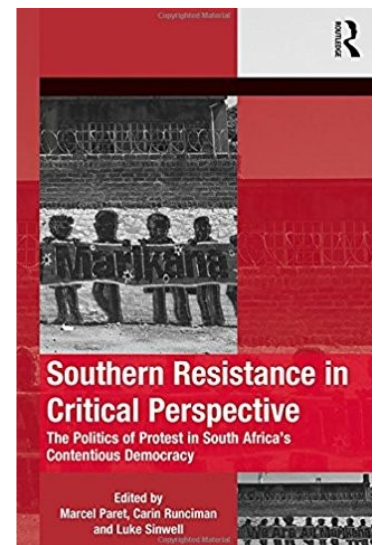
The Class Strikes Back examines a number of radical, twenty-first-century workers' struggles. These struggles are characterised by a different kind of unionism and solidarity, arising out of new kinds of labour conditions and responsive to new kinds of social and economic marginalisation. The essays in the collection demonstrate the dramatic growth of syndicalist and autonomist formations and argue for their historical necessity. They show how workers seek to form and join democratic and independent unions that are fundamentally opposed to bureaucratic leadership, compromise, and concessions. Specific case studies dealing with both the Global South and Global North assess the context of local histories and the spatially and temporally located balance of power, while embedding the struggle in a broader picture of resistance and the fight for

emancipation. Contributors are: Anne Alexander, Dario Azzellini, Mostafa Bassiouny, Antonios Broumas, Anna Curcio, Demet S. Dinler, Kostas Haritakis, Felix Hauf, Elias Ioakimoglou, Mithilesh Kumar, Kari Lydersen, Chiara Milan, Carlos Olaya, Hansi Oostinga, Ranabir Samaddar, Luke Sinwell, Elmar Wigand.

Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective: The Politics of Protest in South Africa's Contentious Democracy

Edited by Marcel Paret, Carin Runciman, and Luke Sinwell

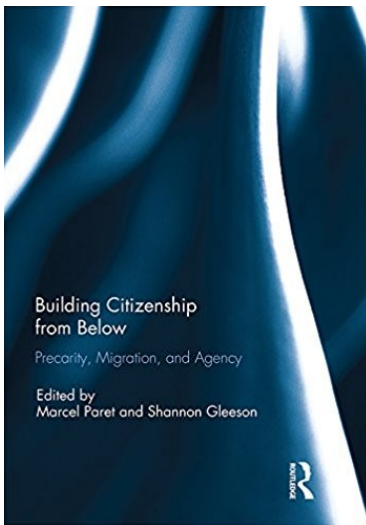
From the Arab Uprising, to anti-austerity protests in Europe and the US Occupy Movement, to uprisings in Brazil and Turkey, resistance from below is flourishing. Whereas analysts have tended to look North in their analysis of the recent global protest wave, this volume develops a Southern perspective through a deep engagement with the case of South Africa, which has experienced widespread popular resistance for more than a decade. Combining critical theoretical perspectives with extensive qualitative fieldwork and rich case studies, Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective situates South Africa's contentious democracy in relation to both the economic insecurity of contemporary global capitalism and the constantly shifting political terrain of post-apartheid nationalism. The analysis integrates worker, community and political party organizing into a broader narrative of resistance, bridging historical divisions between social movement studies, labor studies and political sociology.



Building Citizenship From Below: Precarity, Migration, and Agency

Edited by Marcel Paret and Shannon Gleeson

Focusing on what can be referred to as the 'precarity-agency-migration nexus', this volume leverages the political, economic, and social dynamics of migration to better understand both deepening inequality and popular



resistance. Drawing on rich ethnographic and interview-based studies of the United States and Latin America, the authors show how migrants are navigating and challenging conditions of insecurity and structures of power. Detailed case studies illuminate collective survival strategies along the migrant trail, efforts by nannies and dairy workers in the northeast United States to assert dignity and avoid deportation, strategies of reintegration used by deportees in Guatemala and Mexico, and grassroots organizing and public protest in California. In doing so they reveal varied moments of agency without presenting an overly idyllic picture or presuming limitless potential for change. Anchoring the study of migration in the opposition between precarity and agency, the authors thus provide a new window into the continuously unfolding relationship between national borders, global capitalism, and human freedom.

Edited Journal Issues

Kim Scipes

Special Issue of Class, Race and Corporate Power: Part II of II on "U.S. Labor and Social Justice," part of a two-part series edited by Kim Scipes, is now available for free online.

<http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/>

Class, Race and Corporate Power is an academic journal examining the politics of corporate power. This includes an analysis of capital, labor, and race relations within nation-states and the global economy

From the introduction: "Welcome to Part II of the special section on "US Labor and Social Justice." This is a continuation of the original section—see Scipes, 2017—and completes the set of articles begun in the July 2017 issue, addressing additional issues that our authors feel deserve serious attention, especially by members and supporters of the labor movement. In Part I—on-line at <http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/>—we had four people discuss issues important to them, giving us a number of approaches to the problems of the US labor movement. We had articles on the problems of top-down organization (by Staughton Lynd), the need to organize against white supremacy to build power to make social changes (Erica Smiley), an understanding of the benefits and disadvantages of growing up in a union household (Vincent Emanuele), and an argument that US labor leaders had abandoned workers in the United States so as to support the US Empire (Kim Scipes). In this issue, Part II, we continue this discussion. We begin with an article by Meizhu Lui who examines practices in a left-led local hospital union in the Boston area in the early 1970s. She starts with the argument: "As either a union or community activist, the only guidance one needs to push the moral arc toward justice—and it does not bend in that direction automatically—is to always keep this question in the forefront: 'What must be done to build the power and unity of the working class as a whole?'"

Articles and Book Chapters

Azzellini, Dario. 2017. "21st Century socialism? Venezuela's solidarity, social, popular and communal economy." in *Towards Just and Sustainable Economies. Comparing Social and Solidarity Economy in the North and South* edited by M. Scott Cato and P. North. Bristol: Policy Press.

<https://policypress.co.uk/towards-just-and-sustainable->

[economies#book-detail-tabs-stison-block-content-1-0-tab0](#)

Across the globe, the problems inherent in capitalism are becoming ever more apparent, from the dismantling of the welfare state to the threats of climate change. Yet the question of how to replace the current business model of capitalism has always been vexed. This book argues that the time is now, and that we have a model at hand, operating throughout the Global

South: social and solidarity economies, economies structured around the sharing of resources, the meeting of social needs, and the building of a sustainable future. Academics from a range of disciplines and a number of European and Latin American countries are brought together here to debate the issues at the heart of this problem, and to raise challenging questions for policy makers and citizens alike.

Azzellini, Dario. 2016. "Class Struggle in the Bolivarian Process: Workers' Control and Workers' Councils." *Latin American Perspectives*, (44)1: 126-139.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0094582X16666016>

Workers' initiatives and government measures in Venezuela to increase workers' participation in the management of their companies sharply contrast with institutional actions that intend to inhibit and reduce such participation. Despite this, the movement for workers' control in Venezuela has grown in recent years and achieved some important victories in conflicts in state companies.

Azzellini, Dario. 2016. "Constituent and Constituted Power: Reading social transformation in Latin America." Pp. 15-40 in *Popular Sovereignty and Constituent Power in Latin America: Democracy from Below* edited by E. Betances and C. Figueroa. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

<http://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137548245>

This book combines a bottom-up and top-down approach to the study of social movements in relationship to the development of constituent and constituted power in Latin America. The contributors to this volume argue that the radical transformation of liberal representative democracy into participative democracy is what colours these processes as revolutionary. The core themes include popular sovereignty, constituted power, constituent power, participatory democracy, free trade agreements, social citizenship, as well as redistribution and recognition issues. Unlike other collections, which provide broad coverage of social movements at the expense of depth, this book is of thematic focus and illuminates the relationships between rulers and ruled as they transform liberal democracy.

Azzellini, Dario. 2016. "Labour as a Commons: The Example of Worker-Recuperated Compa-

nies." *Critical Sociology* 1-14.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0896920516661856>

This article argues that labour can be understood as a commons, located in the discussion of how commons can advance the transformation of social relations and society. To manage labour as a commons entails a shift away from the perception of labour power as the object of capital's value practices, towards a notion of labour power as a collectively and sustainably managed resource for the benefit of society. Given that social change is largely a result of social struggle, it is crucial to examine germinal forms of labour as a commons present in society. I focus my analysis on worker-recuperated companies in Latin America and Europe. Worker-recuperated companies are enterprises self-managed by their workers after the owners close them down. Despite operating within the hegemonic capitalist market, they do not adopt capitalist rationality and are proven viable. Worker-recuperated companies offer a new perspective on labour as a commons.

Fox-Hodess, Katy. 2017. "(Re-) Locating the Local and National in the Global: Multi-Scalar Political Alignment in Transnational European Dockworker Union Campaigns." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 55(3):626-647.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/bjir.12222/abstract>

Labour activists have called for greater international co-ordination among trade unions in response to the assault on organized labour by global capital, but such co-ordination faces many hurdles. Under what conditions can unions overcome those barriers and co-ordinate effectively to achieve campaign goals? I examine this question through a comparison of European-level international solidarity with Portuguese, Greek and English affiliates of the International Dockworkers Council involved in labour disputes. The divergent outcomes of otherwise similar cases reveal the critical role of politics and strategy at different scales and sites of union organization in determining the successful exercise of labour internationalism.

Halpin, Brian W. and Vicki Smith. 2017. "Employment Management Work: A Case Study and Theoretical Framework." *Work and Occupations* 44(4):339-375.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0730888417720714>

Managing employment and labor market experiences is a critical activity for virtually all adults but it is undertheorized in the sociology of work. In this article, we argue for the concept of employment management work, referring to the generic, lifelong process in which everyone in a capitalist market economy engages to some degree. To grasp the significance of employment management work, we draw on and synthesize multiple streams of literature and then analyze a set of in-depth interviews from a study of low-wage workers in an effort to bridge these literatures and to highlight salient features of a theory of employment management work.

Hanvey, Chester and Elizabeth Arnold. 2017. "FLSA Exemption Update: Focus on the Duties Test." *Journal of Compensation and Benefits* 33 (6):5-13.

<https://www.thinkbrg.com/newsroom-publications-hanvey-arnold-flsa-exemption.html>

Chester Hanvey and Elizabeth Arnold write about the US Department of Labor's proposed revisions to Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) regulations, the criteria to be classified exempt from the FLSA, and the Executive, Administrative, and Professional Exemptions duties tests.

Hatton, Erin. 2017. "Mechanisms of invisibility: rethinking the concept of invisible work." *Work, Employment and Society* 31(2):336-351.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0950017016674894>

In the mid-1980s, Daniels coined the term 'invisible work' to characterize those types of women's unpaid labour – housework and volunteer work – which had been culturally and economically devalued. Scholars have since applied this term to many types of labour, yet there is little clarity or consensus as to what 'invisibility' means and what mechanisms produce it. Through an in-depth analysis of this far-reaching literature, the present article seeks to reconstruct 'invisible work' as a more robust analytical concept. It argues that work is made invisible through three intersecting sociological mechanisms – here identified as cultural, legal and spatial mechanisms of invisibility. Though they differ in function and degree, each of these mechanisms obscures the fact that work is performed and therefore contributes to its economic devaluation. Ulti-

mately, this revised concept of invisible work offers scholars a new analytic tool to untangle the systems that produce and reproduce disadvantage for workers.

Hatton, Erin. 2017. "When work is punishment: Penal subjectivities in punitive labor regimes." *Punishment & Society* 1-18.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1462474517690001>

Scholars have persuasively argued that U.S. penal and welfare institutions comprise a single policy regime that has taken a punitive turn with carceral expansion and welfare contraction. Less recognized, however, is the centrality of labor to this regime. Not only has labor been the lynchpin of welfare reform with the expansion of workfare, it has also been an important yet overlooked dimension of mass incarceration, as most able-bodied American prisoners are required to work. For prisoners and welfare recipients, work is a punitive curtailment of citizenship rights, even as it is a foundation of such rights for others. This article thus conceptualizes work as a form of punishment in the penal-welfare regime. Drawing on 83 in-depth interviews with incarcerated and workfare workers, it examines these workers' penal subjectivities—how they ideologically navigate their labor qua punishment. Through this negotiation, it finds, incarcerated and workfare workers deploy, contest, and reify the cultural narratives that justify their relegation to punitive labor regimes.

Murray, Joshua and Michael Schwartz. 2017. "Collateral Damage: How Capital's War on Labor Killed Detroit." *Catalyst: A Journal of Theory and Strategy* 1(1):117-150.

<https://catalyst-journal.com/vol1/no1/collateral-damage-murray-schwartz>

The drastic decline of the US auto industry over the last half-century, which has ravaged the city of Detroit and other former production centers in the southern Michigan region, is typically explained as the result of union contracts that escalated the cost of labor to levels that required US automakers to move jobs to other countries. In this essay, we disprove the "greedy union" narrative. Relying on an analytic history of the rise and decline of the Detroit production culture, we demonstrate that the decline of the Detroit region resulted from management's decision to reorganize production to prevent the workers from using their structural leverage to gain a share of control over production processes. This strategy for gaining the upper

hand in the class struggle, however, also undermined the flexible production system pioneered in Detroit. This reduced the rate of product innovation and undermined their ability to compete on the basis of production efficiency, leaving outsourcing jobs in order cut labor costs as the only viable option.

Joshua Murray and Michael Schwartz. 2015. "Moral Economy, Structural Leverage, and Organizational Efficacy: Class Formation and the Great Flint Sit-Down Strike, Detroit 1936-7." *Critical Historical Studies* 2(2): 219-259

Winner of the 2017 Marxist Sociology section's award for best paper

<http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/682956>

In this article we use the Great Flint Sit-Down Strike as a strategic case for examining the issue of movement success in seemingly disadvantageous structural conditions. Through an application and elaboration of social movement and organizational theory to the Flint sit-down strike we identify four key factors that help to explain the emergence of successful collective defiance by labor: (1) the violation of the autoworkers' moral economy by General Motors; (2) the organizational flexibility of the UAW in adding new, revised, or revived mobilization and direct action strategies to protest repertoires to take advantage of preexisting social structures; (3) the identification of the sit-down strike as a strategy that leveraged the positional power of autoworkers; and (4) the on-the-ground organizational model used by the UAW, which allowed for democratic decision making that took advantage of local conditions.

Paret, Marcel. 2017. "Working Class Fragmentation, Party Politics, and the Complexities of Solidarity in South Africa's United Front." *The Sociological Review* 65(2): 267-284.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-954X.12405>

Recent scholarship laments the growing fragmentation of the working class due to flexible labour regimes and unemployment. This paper examines an emerging effort in South Africa to counter this fragmentation: the United Front project, initiated and led by the National Union of Metalworkers South Africa (NUMSA). Drawing on 74 interviews conducted at two different NUMSA-led protests in Johannesburg, the analysis unpacks two sets of tensions. One set of

tensions revolves around class politics, which pertain to the divide between unionized workers in relatively stable employment, and impoverished communities ravaged by unemployment. The other set of tensions revolves around party politics, including divisions with respect to the United Front's opposition to the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC). Each dimension reveals both crucial sources of solidarity and potential obstacles, showing that forging a broad working-class unity in the current period is complex, but not impossible.

Paret, Marcel. 2017. "South Africa's Divided Working-Class Movements." *Current History* 116 (790): 176-182.

<http://www.currenthistory.com/Article.php?ID=1411>

South Africa's organized labor movement is now, arguably, weaker and more fragmented than at any other time in the past three decades. Disagreement over how unions should relate to the ruling party, the ANC, is central to this fragmentation." Eighth in a series on labor relations around the world.

Paret, Marcel, and Carin Runciman. 2016. "The 2009+ South African Protest Wave." *WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 19(3): 301-319.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/wusa.12244/full>

South Africa is not typically mentioned in studies of recent global protest. But popular resistance surged in South Africa from 2009, reaching a peak of more than one protest per day in 2012. We examine the 2009+ South African protest wave, highlighting its sources, antecedents, primary features, and key consequences. Marked by an explosion of popular resistance in both communities and workplaces, we argue that the protest wave shares key features with recent protests elsewhere. Most importantly, they are propelled by forces of marketization and critique the failures of democracy. The protest wave had a major impact on South African politics, instigating the emergence of new challenges to the dominance of the Alliance between the African National Congress (ANC)—the ruling party—the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). But the current political trajectory is far from stable, and the future is remarkably uncertain.

Scipes, Kim. 2018. "Disaster Management in the Philippines: Media, Unions and Humanitarian Action" Pp. 321-328 in R. Andersen and P. L. de Silva, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Media and*

***Humanitarian Action.* New York and London: Rutledge.**

<https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Companion-to-Media-and-Humanitarian-Action/Andersen-de-Silva/p/book/9781138688575>

In this moment of unprecedented humanitarian crises, the representations of global disasters are increasingly common media themes around the world. The Routledge Companion to Media and Humanitarian Action explores the interconnections between media, old and new, and the humanitarian challenges that have come to define the twenty-first century. Contributors, including media professionals and experts in humanitarian affairs, grapple with what kinds of media language, discourse, terms, and campaigns can offer enough context and background knowledge to nurture informed global citizens. Case studies of media practices, content analysis and evaluation of media coverage, and representations of humanitarian emergencies and affairs offer further insight into the ways in which strategic communications are designed and implemented in field of humanitarian action.

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