



# ASA Labor and Labor Movements Newsletter

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# American Sociological Association 113th Annual Meeting, Philadelphia Section Schedule

**Saturday August 11, 2018**

**10:30am — 12:10pm**

**1255. Workers' Power in Diverse Contexts, Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Level 4, 410**

Session Organizer: *Chris Rhomberg, Fordham University*

Session Presider: *Chris Rhomberg, Fordham University*

Unions and Nonunion Pay in the United States, 1977-2015 *Jake Rosenfeld, Washington University-St. Louis, Patrick Anthony Denice, Washington University-St. Louis*

Bargaining up the Global Supply Chain *Jennifer L. Bair, University of Virginia; Jeremy Blasi, UNITE HERE, Local 11 and Penn State Center for Global Workers' Rights*

Intersectional Histories, Overdetermined Fortunes: Understanding Mexican and U.S. Domestic Worker Movements *Chris Tilly, University of California-Los Angeles*

A New Global Tide of Rising Social Protest? The Early Twenty-first Century in World Historical Perspective *Beverly Judith Silver, Johns Hopkins University; Sahar Savas Karatasli, Johns Hopkins University; Sefika Kumral, Johns Hopkins University*

**2:30 — 4:10pm**

**1456. Worker Mobilization in China and India, Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Level 4, 411**

Session Organizer: *Chris Rhomberg, Fordham University*

Building Harmonious Labor Relations: Trade Union Reform in South China *Lefeng Lin, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Constrained Agency: Worker Activism and Grassroots Union Reform in China under "Pragmatic Authoritarianism" *Lu Zhang, Temple University*

Dislocating the Radical: The Changing Culture and Structure of the Labor Movement Community in China *Mujun Zhou, Zhejiang University*

Fractured Militancy: Labor Politics in China and India's Automobile Industries *Manjusha S. Nair, George Mason University; Eli David Friedman, Cornell University*

Discussant: *Gaochao He, School of Maritime Science &TE, Southampton Solent University*

**Monday August 13, 2018**

**8:30 — 10:10am**

**3174. Labor, Labor Movements and the Right, Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Franklin Hall 10**

Session Organizer: *Smriti Upadhyay, Johns Hopkins University*  
Presider: *Samantha Agarwal, Johns Hopkins University*

An Upwelling of Expertise: The Role of Peruvian Labor Intellectuals in Shaping Fisheries Governance, 1973-1993 *Apollonya Maria Porcelli, Brown University*

Challenges to U.S. Labor's Legitimacy Under Trump *Barry Eidlin, McGill University*

Labor and the Hindu Right: The Role of Unions in Rightwing Hegemony-building *Smriti Upadhyay, Johns Hopkins University*

The War of Position: How Business took Over the GOP and Ousted Organized Labor *Johnnie Anne Lotesta, Brown University*

Discussant: *Manali Desai, London School of Economics*

**10:30am — 12:10pm**

**3281. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Refereed Roundtable Session  
Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Salon D, Level 5**

Session Organizer: Sarah Christine Swider, University of Copenhagen

**Table 01. Unions and Coalitions**

Are We All in This Together? Teachers' Unions in Cross-Movement Coalitions  
*Amanda Pullum, California State University-Monterey Bay*

What Do Unions Do in Coalitions? Campaigns for Paid Sick Leave in California and Pennsylvania *Cassandra Engeman, Stockholm University*

Chinese Workers' Tolerance, Division and Dependence on External Support within Their Initial Resistance *Changling Cai, State University of New York-Binghamton*

**Table 02. (Mis) Classification and Impact on Workers**

Borders Within Borders: The Impact of Occupational Licensing on Immigrant Incorporation *Beth Redbird, Northwestern University; Angel Alfonso Escamilla Garcia, Northwestern University*

Square Builders and High Road Operators: Successfully Organizing Against Worker Misclassification *Michael Slone, Case Western Reserve University; Timothy S. Black, Case Western Reserve University; Alicia Smith-Tran, Case Western Reserve University*

**Table 03. Workers on the Edge**

Table Presider: Sarah Christine Swider, University of Copenhagen

From Militancy to Addiction and Back Again? A Cultural Take on the Union Renewal Dilemma *Peter R. Ikeler, State University of New York-Old Westbury*

Panhandling in the Complexity of Space *Ian Palmer, Wayne State University*

Seasonal Agriculture Labor in Turkey: Problems and Potential Solutions *Fatime*

*Gunes, Anadolu University*

**Table 04. Resistance under Coersive Labor Regimes**

Table Presider: *Melissa Gouge, George Mason University*

I Gave Her a Couple of Words: Worker Resistance in Coercive Labor Regimes  
*Erin E. Hatton, State University of New York-Buffalo*

**Table 05. Labor, Gender, and Inequality**

Gendered Recruitment: Gender Inequality and Head Hunting in the Hiring Process  
*Koji Rafael Chavez, Washington University-St. Louis*

**Table 06. Voice and Union Struggle**

Sisyphus or Hercules? Institutional Outcomes of the Graduate Employee Union Movement  
*Kathleen Ragon, University of Connecticut*

The Struggle to Decommodify the Service Sector: The Canadian Auto Workers and the Casino Industry  
*Alissa Mazar, McGill University*

Worker Voice in America: A Current Assessment and Exploration of Options  
*Thomas A. Kochan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William Thomas Kimball, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Duanyi Yang, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Erin Kelly, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

**Table 07. Changing Subjectivities**

Table Presider: *Kendra Jason, University of North Carolina-Charlotte*

The Enigma of Subjective Transformation in the Labor Movements: Lessons from a Longitudinal Case  
*Alpkan Birelma, Ozyegin University*

With All That I Am, Not All That I Can Do: Navigating Labor Rights at Home  
*Katherine Maich, Pennsylvania State University*

**11:30am — 12:10pm**

**3281. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Business Meeting, Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Level 5, Salon D**

**2:30 — 4:10pm**

**3468. . Race and Labor and the 50th Anniversary of the Memphis Strike Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Franklin Hall 4, Level 4**

Session Organizer: *Chris Tilly, University of California-Los Angeles*

Presider: *Dorian Warren, Center for Community Change, Roosevelt Institute, and Economic Security Project*

Antiracist Activism: A Clerical Union's Struggle for Gender and Racial Equality, 1967-1981  
*Jennifer L. Pierce, University of Minnesota*

Carnal Framings: Race, Class and Citizenship in a Multi-racial Worker Center  
*Sebastien Chauvin, University of Lausanne*

Class, Race, and the Capitalist Crisis: From Reform to Revolution  
*Walda Katz-*

*Fishman, Howard University; Jerome Scott, League of Revolutionaries for a New America; Ralph Christopher Gomes, Howard University*

**4:30 — 6:10pm**

**3568. Race, Citizenship, and Workers. Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, Franklin Hall 4, Level 4**

Session Organizer: *Belinda C. Lum, Sacramento City College*

Contesting Contingency: Immigrant Worker Organizing in the Logistics Sector  
*Juan David De Lara, University of Southern California*

ISAP is the New Witch Hunt *Maria Heyaca, City University of New York-Lehman College*

Lookin' Out for Our Kababayan: Filipino Immigrants and Community Citizenship in San Francisco *Valerie A. Francisco-Menchavez, San Francisco State University*

The Resentful Foreigner: Racializing Chinese Workers in Sushi and Hibachi Restaurants *Tommy Wu, City University of New York-The Graduate Center*

Discussant: *Carolina Bank Munoz, City University of New York-Brooklyn College and The Graduate Center*

**7:30 — 9:30pm**

**3692 - Joint Reception: Section on Labor and Labor Movements and Section on Marxist Sociology. Offsite, International House Theater, University of Pennsylvania, 3701 Chestnut Street (the Ibrahim Theater at the International House <http://ihousephilly.org/conferencecenter/ibrahim-theater>, near the conference venue, about 20 minutes by transit).**

## 2018 Election Results: Labor and Labor Movements

Congratulations to those candidates elected to Section positions.

- **Chair-Elect**, Gay Seidman, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- **Council Member**, Vanesa Ribas, University of California, San Diego
- **Student Representative**, Amelia Fortunato, CUNY Graduate Center

## Labor and Labor Movements Student Paper and Article Awards

The Student Paper Awards committee is pleased to award two co-winners for the 2018 award:

- **Katy Fox-Hodess**, UC Berkeley *Worker Power, Trade Union Strategy and International Connections: A Cross-National Comparison of Dockworker Unionism in Latin America*
- **Pablo Gastón**, Rutgers University *The Strike and the Moral Economy of Care: The Moral Dilemmas of Economic Conflict in California Hospitals, 1946-1974*

The Article Awards committee is pleased to announce a winner and honorable mention 2018 award:

- **Katy Fox-Hodess** for her article, "(Re-)Locating the Local and National in the Global: Multi-Scalar Political Alignment in Transnational European Dockworker Union Campaigns," published in the *British Journal of Industrial Relations* in 2017
- **HaeYeon Choo** for honorable mention for her article, "In the Shadow of Working Men: Gendered Labor and Migrant Rights in South Korea," published in *Qualitative Sociology* in 2016



## PhD Members on the Market

### **Michael Gibson-Light**

University of Arizona, School of Sociology

PhD Candidate

**Email:** [mgibson@email.arizona.edu](mailto:mgibson@email.arizona.edu)

**Website:** <https://www.gibson-light.com/>

**Committee:** Jeffrey Sallaz (chair), Phillip Goodman, Ron Breiger, Jennifer Carlson, Kathleen Schwartzman

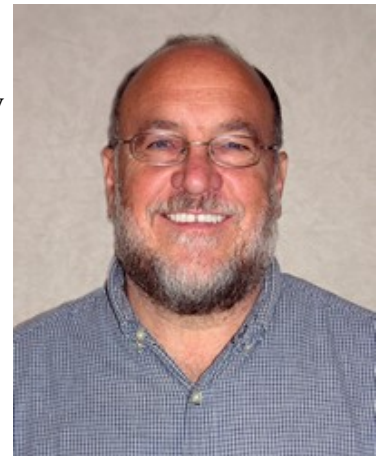
**Dissertation Description:** Michael is a scholar of work, punishment, and culture specializing in the study of prison labor and ethnographic methods. His dissertation, entitled "Punishment & Capital: How Pris-

on Labor Systems Reproduce Inequality,” examines the role of penal labor in shaping social disparities along class, racial, and ethnic lines. To do so, it draws on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork within a medium security, men’s state prison, and 82 in-depth interviews with prisoners and staff. Through the organization of prisoner work—which is often mandatory and is performed by most able U.S. prisoners—the prison acts as a *sieve*, sorting the incarcerated into different labor tracks based on their skills, resources, and characteristics. Racial and ethnic minorities, foreign nationals, and those lacking valued forms of capital or marketable work skills face significant hurdles to securing meaningful prison work, impacting their resources within prison and their prospects for release. Findings from this dissertation have been published in *Research in the Sociology of Work* and *Qualitative Sociology*, and have been covered in *USA Today*, *Atlantic*, *BBC*, *The Guardian*, *Time*, *Washington Post*, *NPR*, and over 100 other news outlets internationally. A book manuscript derived from this research is under advance review at multiple academic presses.

## Member Announcements

- Cedric de Leon, formerly of Tufts University, is now director of the Labor Center and Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He can be reached at this new email address [cedricdeleon@umass.edu](mailto:cedricdeleon@umass.edu).
- Kim Scipes, Purdue University Northwest, has been promoted to Professor. Kim will return as guest instructor at the Tôn Đức Thắng University (TDTU) in Ho Chi Minh City during the summer of 2018, having previously taught at TDTU in the summer of 2017.

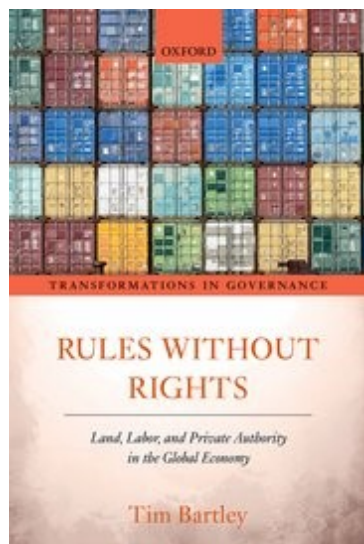
Kim is also working to update and recompile his bibliography on contemporary labor issues available at: <https://faculty.pnw.edu/kim-scipes/contemporary-labor-issues-bibliography/#ContemporaryLaborIssues> He is seeking listings from Section members as well as listings of good resources, especially work on industrial restructuring and on workers around the world. Send material to [kscipes@pnw.edu](mailto:kscipes@pnw.edu).



- Todd E. Vachon, Ph.D. University of Connecticut, has accepted a new position as a postdoctoral scholar with the Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations at Rutgers University's School of Management and Labor Relations beginning in September 2018.

# New Publications by Section Members

## *Books*



### *Rules without Rights:*

### *Land, Labor, and Private Authority in the Global Economy*

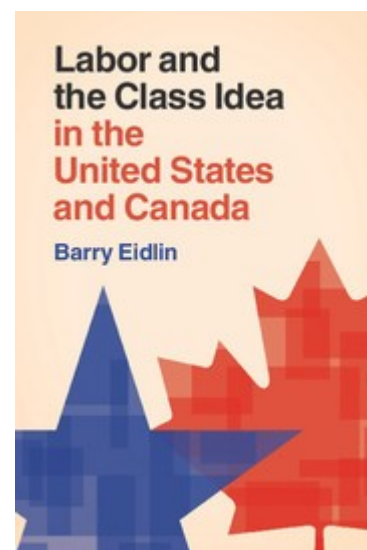
By Tim Bartley

Activists have exposed startling forms of labor exploitation and environmental degradation in global industries, leading many large retailers and brands to adopt standards for fairness and sustainability. This book is about the idea that transnational corporations can push these standards through their global supply chains, and in effect, pull factories, forests, and farms out of their local contexts and up to global best practices. For many scholars and practitioners, this kind of private regulation and global standard-setting can provide an alternative to regulation by territorially-bound, gridlocked, or incapacitated nation states, potentially improving environments and working conditions around the world and protecting the rights of exploited workers, impoverished farmers, and marginalized communities. But can private, voluntary standards actually create meaningful forms of regulation? Are forests and factories around the world actually being made into sustainable ecosystems and decent workplaces? Can global norms remake local orders?

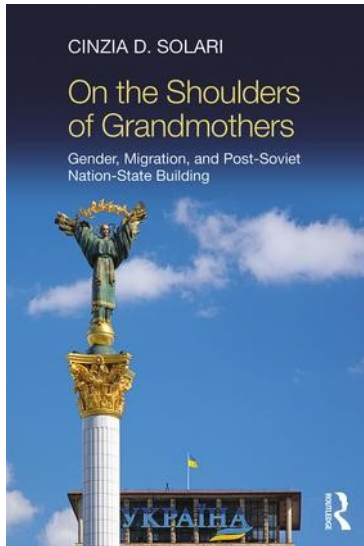
### *Labor and the Class Idea in the United States and Canada*

By Barry Eidlin

Why are unions weaker in the US than in Canada, two otherwise similar countries? This difference has shaped politics, policy, and levels of inequality. Conventional wisdom points to differences in political cultures, party systems, and labor laws. But Barry Eidlin's systematic analysis of archival and statistical data shows the limits of conventional wisdom, and presents a novel explanation for the cross-border difference. He shows that it resulted from different ruling party responses to worker upsurge during the Great Depression and World War II. Paradoxically, US labor's long-term decline resulted from what was initially a more pro-labor ruling party response, while Canadian labor's relative long-term strength resulted from a more hostile ruling party response. These struggles embedded 'the class idea' more deeply in policies, institutions, and practices than in the US. In an age of growing economic inequality and broken







*On the Shoulders of Grandmothers: Gender, Migration, and Post-Soviet Nation-State Building*

By Cinzia D. Solari

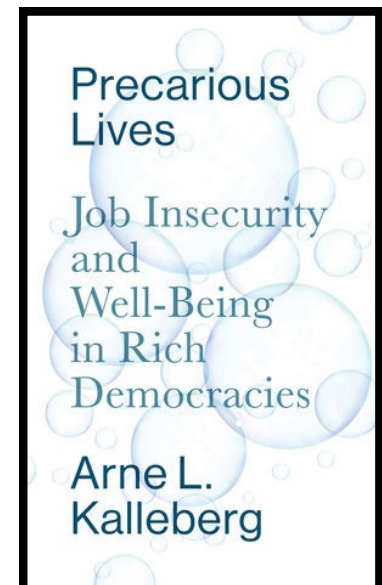
Using in-depth interviews and ethnographic data collected in three countries, Solari shows that Ukrainian nation-state building occurs transnationally. She examines the collective practices of migrants who are building the "new" Ukraine from the outside in and shaping both Italy and the United States as well. The Ukrainian state, in order to fulfil its First World aspirations of joining Europe and distancing itself from all things Soviet, is pursuing a gendered reorganization of family and work structures to achieve a transition from socialism to capitalism. This has created a labor force of migrant grandmothers who carry the new Ukraine on their shoulders. Solari shows that this post-Soviet economic transformation requires a change in the moral order as migrant women struggle to understand how to be "good" mothers and grand-

mothers and men join women in attempts to teach their children to be successful and honorable people, now that the social rules have drastically changed. Looking at individual migrant women and men and their families in Ukraine allows us to see the production of neoliberal capitalism and new nationalism from the ground up and the outside in for a region that promises to be a flashpoint in our century.

*Precarious Lives: Job Insecurity and Well-Being in Rich Democracies*

By Arne L. Kalleberg

Employment relations in advanced, post-industrial democracies have become increasingly insecure and uncertain as the risks associated with work are being shifted from employers and governments to workers. Arne L. Kalleberg examines the impact of the liberalization of labor markets and welfare systems on the growth of precarious work and job insecurity for indicators of well-being such as economic insecurity, the transition to adulthood, family formation, and happiness, in six advanced capitalist democracies: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Spain, and Denmark. This insightful cross-national analysis demonstrates how active labor market policies and generous social welfare systems can help to protect workers and give employers latitude as they seek to adapt to the rise of national and global competition and the rapidity of sweeping technological changes. Such policies thereby form elements of a new social contract that offers the potential for addressing many of the major challenges resulting from the rise of precarious work.

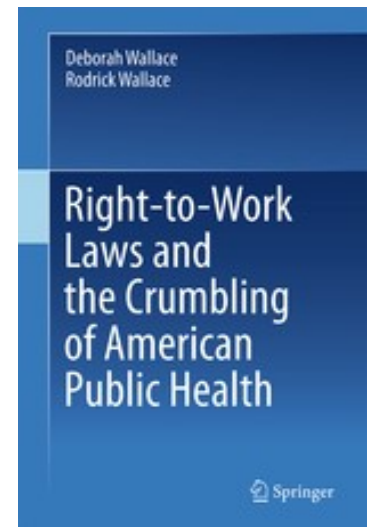


## Relevant Non-Member Books

### *Right-to-Work Laws and the Crumbling of American Public Health*

By Deborah Wallace and Rodrick Wallace

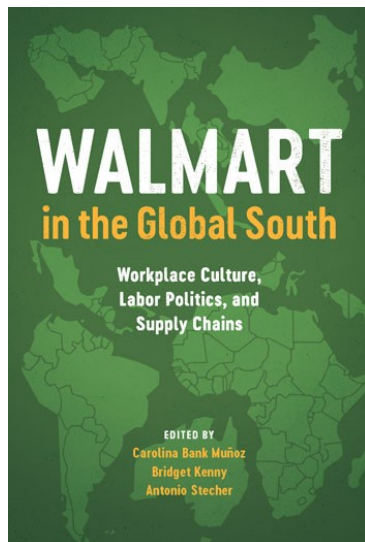
This book discusses the socioeconomic effects of Right-to-Work (RTW) laws on state populations. RTW laws forbid requiring union membership even at union-represented worksites. The core of the 22 long-term RTW states was the Confederacy, cultural descendants of rigidly hierarchical agrarian feudal England. RTW laws buttress hierarchy and power imbalance which unions minimize at the worksite and by encouraging higher educational attainment, social mobility, and individual empowerment through group validation. Contrary to claims of RTW proponents, RTW and non-RTW states do not differ significantly in unemployment rates. Unions challenge hierarchy directly at worksites and indirectly through encouraging college education, social mobility, and community and political engagement. How startling that feudal hierarchy lives in 21st century America, shaping vast differences between states in macro- and micro-economics, educational attainment, innovation, life expectancy, obesity prevalence, chronic disease mortality, infant and child mortality, risk behaviors, and other public health markers! Readers will gain insight about the coming clash between feudal individualism and adaptive collectivism, and, in the last chapter, on ways to win the clash by “missionary” work for collectivism.



## Edited Volumes

### *Walmart in the Global South: Workplace Culture, Labor Politics, and Supply Chains*

Edited by Carolina Bank Muñoz, Bridget Kenny, and Antonio Stecher



As the largest private employer in the world, Walmart dominates media and academic debate about the global expansion of transnational retail corporations and the working conditions in retail operations and across the supply chain. Yet far from being a monolithic force conquering the world, Walmart must confront and adapt to diverse policies and practices pertaining to regulation, economy, history, union organization, preexisting labor cultures, and civil society in every country into which it enters. This transnational aspect of the Walmart story, including the diversity and flexibility of its strategies and practices outside the United States, is mostly unreported. *Walmart in the Global South* presents empirical case studies of Walmart’s labor practices and supply chain operations in a number of countries, including Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Nicaragua, Mexico, South Africa, and Thailand. It assesses the similarities and differences in Walmart’s acceptance into varying national contexts, which re-

## Articles and Book Chapters

**Paret, Marcel. 2018. "Migration Politics: Mobilizing Against Economic Insecurity in the United States and South Africa." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 59(1): 3-24.**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0020715217739447>

From the mid-2000s, the United States and South Africa, respectively, experienced significant pro-migrant and anti-migrant mobilizations. Economically insecure groups played leading roles. Why did these groups emphasize politics of migration, and to what extent did the very different mobilizations reflect parallel underlying mechanisms? Drawing on 41 months of ethnographic fieldwork and 119 interviews with activists and residents, I argue that the mobilizations deployed two common strategies: symbolic group formation rooted in demands for recognition, and targeting the state as a key source of livelihood. These twin strategies encouraged economically insecure groups to emphasize national identities and, in turn, migration. Yet, they manifested in different types of mobilization due to the varying characteristics of the groups involved, and the different national imaginaries and organizing legacies they had to draw upon. The analysis demonstrates the capacity of economically insecure groups to make collective claims. It also shows that within the context of anti-migrant nationalism, economic insecurity amplifies the significance of national belonging, citizenship, and migration as important terrains of collective struggle.

**Paret, Marcel. 2018. "The Politics of Local Resistance in Urban South Africa: Evidence from Three Informal Settlements." *International Sociology* 33(3): 337-356.**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0268580918764837>

Between 2009 and 2014, South Africa experienced widespread protests. In contrast to prominent examples of global protest during the same period, they were localized and did not push for broad political and economic transformation. To explain these features, this article draws from three ethnographic and

interview-based case studies of local protest and organizing within informal settlements in and around Johannesburg. The author argues that urban poverty and the experience of market insecurity, on the one hand, and democratization and the experience of state betrayal, on the other hand, gave rise to specific political orientations. Residents responded to market insecurity by demanding collective consumption for place-based communities, and they responded to state betrayal by demanding fulfillment of a national liberation social contract through administrative fixes. Both strategies confined activism to the local level and limited broader challenges. The findings have implications for research on both the urban poor and social movements.

**Vachon, Todd E. and Sean Sweeney. 2018. "Energy Democracy: A Just Transition for Social, Economic, and Climate Justice." Pp. 63-72 in Glen Muschert et al. (Eds) *Agenda for Social Justice: Global Solutions 2018*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.**

(Taken from description of *Agenda for Social Justice: Global Solutions 2016*) The Agenda for Social Justice sheds light on some of the most pressing social problems in the contemporary United States and proposes public policy responses to those problems. Written by a highly respected team of contributors brought together by the Society for the Study of Social Problems at the University of Tennessee, it offers recommendations for key actions to be taken by elected officials, policy makers, and the public in advancing social justice. Of interest to scholars across a range of academic disciplines, from sociology to cultural studies, this book will also be an important resource for social justice advocates and activists.

**Vachon, Todd E. 2018. "A Big Win in Smalltown: Demanding Dignity in an Era of Neoliberal Austerity." *Qualitative Sociology Review* 14(3).**

(Publication Forthcoming)