

# In Critical Solidarity

Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's Section on Labor and Labor Movements

Volume 9, Number 2

July 2009

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## **SPECIAL ISSUE: Focus on ASA Annual Meeting**

### **Message from the Chair**

The ASA convention in San Francisco is packed with programs relating to Labor and Labor Movements. We are going to have more sessions than usual because the ASA—based on our recommendation and the commitment of Patricia Hill Collins—has made the 1934 SF General Strike a regional spotlight issue, thus amplifying our decision to emphasize the strike and its legacy.

The centerpiece of our program will be the ASA-sponsored Regional Spotlight session on the General Strike, taking place on Monday (August 10) at 10:30 am. The session will address not only the historical significance of the most important general strike in U.S. history, but also its continuing legacy within and beyond the labor movement. It will not only include academic authorities Victoria Johnson, Howard Kimeldorf, Margaret Levi, and Jon Agnone—all of whom have published or are currently involved in important research related to the strike and its lasting legacy—but also Peter Olney, Organizing Director of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), which led the strike. (*Continued page 2*)

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The ASA is also hosting a striking (!) photographic chronicle of the strike, developed by the ILWU from historical visuals and documents, and which has been featured in major exhibition venues. The exhibit will be in the same hall as the book publisher's booths, so it will be easily accessible during the convention. Everyone should take a look at this breathtaking display.

That is not all. The ASA is sponsoring a **walking tour** of the key sites and events of the 1934 General Strike, led by labor historian and strike expert Harvey Schwartz, assisted by our own Barry Eidlin and Howard Kimeldorf. There are only 20 slots available for this tour (although no one is going to stop others from tagging along), which will not only take you to key sites from the strike, but also provide a nitty gritty tour of San Francisco's incredibly rich working class heritage.

The **Section Reception** (on Sunday, starting at 6:30 pm, just after the Presidential Address) is going to build on this theme. It will not be a routine hotel-sited party, but rather will take place at the historic ILWU Local 10 hall, located close to the waterfront where much of the strike action occurred. This will allow all of us to get outside the aesthetic and cultural confines of the convention hotels, escape the straitjacket of convention food and drinks, and get a real feel for San Francisco labor culture while partying. And we will have live entertainment featuring the ILWU Local 10 Drill Team, whose performance is not to be missed. Don't worry about getting there; since we will not be paying the exorbitant prices of a hotel reception, we will gather at the Hilton and go in groups to the reception by cab or cable car, which stops just outside the hotel (the Powell-Hyde cable car will take you from the turnaround at Powell Station to a stop just a few blocks away from the union hall, which is located at 400 North Point St.).

And, then, of course, there are the sessions directly sponsored by our section, which also build off the themes of the general strike:

**“Taking on the Neo-Liberal Agenda”** (Sunday, 8:30-10:10 am), our Session on Political Strikes, will fall squarely in the legacy of the 1934 General Strike's broad political purposes. Organized by Kate Bronfenbrenner, the session will investigate when and if current labor struggles address questions beyond immediate workplace issues.

**“The Workers United?”** (Sunday, 10:30-12:10 pm), our session on race, ethnic and gender divisions within the labor movement, speaks to issues that were central to the 1934 strike, and which remain key determinants of success or failure in labor struggles. Organized by Angie Beeman and Hector Delgado, the session will feature both historical and contemporary cases providing instructive insight into these divisions.

**“Activism in the Classroom”** (Sunday, 2:30-4:10 pm), our session on how to make activism a part of the teaching process, speaks to overcoming the endemic institutional segregation of higher education from the political action, a problem that has been addressed with varying success by all working class movements, including the SF General Strike, since the rise of higher education. Organized by Gabriella Raley, Daisy Rooks and Jason Stanley, the session will feature important case studies that illuminate detailed pedagogical issues as well as larger institutional barriers to advocacy in the classroom.

Our **section roundtables** (Sunday, 12:30-1:30 pm) will also have outstanding papers on important topics. This session, organized by Mark Thomas and Rachel Meyer, features research addressing issues of employment, labor-state relationships, and the relationship of the labor movement to imperialism.

But maybe the most exciting sign of the progress the section has made in integrating labor issues into the texture of the ASA is the **over forty relevant sessions** sponsored by the program committee and other sections. Among many others, those that caught my eye were:

- “Current Labor Movement Issues in Comparative Perspective: Union Representation, Worker Mobilization, and Institutional Context,” a regular ASA session organized by section member Rachel Sherman (Monday, 10:30 am).
- Author Meets Critic session featuring Section member Gay Seidman's important book, *Beyond the Boycott* (Monday, 4:30 pm).
- The “Labor Markets” session featuring Bruce Western and Jake Rosenfeld's paper “Unions, Norms, and the Rise in Earnings Inequality” (Monday, 8:30 am).
- The “Politics of Markets” session featuring Jennifer Bair's paper “Embattled Labor, Embattled Ties” (Sunday, 2:30 pm).

- The “Transnational Communities” session featuring Ann Brooks’ paper “Female Migrant Domestic Labour as a Transnational Community” (Saturday, 2:30 pm).
- The “Latina Destinations” session featuring Laura Lopez-Sanders’ paper, “Trapped at the Bottom: Racialized and Gendered Labor Queues in New Latino Destinations.”
- An Organizations and Occupations Section Roundtable on “Labor Unions.”
- A Comparative and Historical Section Roundtable on “Unions and Labor Movements.”
- A Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable on “Labor Movements.”

And that is just a sampling of the many, many sessions that take up our issues.

FINALLY, DO NOT FORGET TO ATTEND THE SECTION MEETING, SUNDAY FROM 1:30 TO 2:10 PM. IT WILL BE SHORT, BUT EXCITING, WITH THE PRESENTATION OF OUR AWARDS, INTRODUCTION OF OUR NEW OFFICERS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS FOR THE 2010 SESSIONS.

See you there,  
Michael Schwartz

**Section Reception**

**Sunday, August 9**  
**6:30pm - 8:10pm**

**ILWU Local 10 Union Hall**  
400 North Point Street  
San Francisco, CA 94133

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Featuring live entertainment by the ILWU  
Local 10 Drill Team

*For directions and details about  
transportation to the reception, see the  
“Message from the Chair”*

**Congratulations to the  
Labor and Labor Movements  
Section Scholarly Award  
Winners for 2009!**

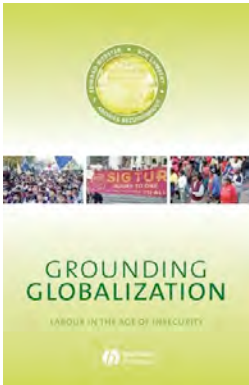
**SAVE THE DATES:**

As a member of the Section on Labor and Labor Movements, you are invited to attend the following special events at the 2009 ASA Annual Meeting in San Francisco.

**Section Business Meeting**

**Sunday, August 9**  
**1:30pm - 2:10pm**  
**Hilton San Francisco**

**Distinguished Scholarly Monograph**



**Grounding Globalization: Labour in the Age of Insecurity.** (Malden, MA: Blackwell Press, 2008.)

**Edward Webster**, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP) University of the Witwatersrand

**Rob Lambert**, Chair of Labour Studies, Business School, and Director of the Australian Global Studies Research Centre, University of Western Australia

**Andries Bezuidenhout**, Senior Researcher in the Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP) University of the Witwatersrand

**Distinguished Scholarly Article**

**Paul Almeida**, Associate Professor of Sociology, Texas A&M University  
 "The Sequencing of Success: Organizing Templates and Neoliberal Policy Outcomes" *Mobilization: The International Quarterly* 13(2): 165-187.

**Distinguished Graduate Student Article**

**Anna Wetterburg**, UC Berkeley  
 "Codes, Coercion and Culture: Explaining Labor Self-Regulation in the Apparel Industry."

Honorable Mention:

**Joshua Bloom**, UCLA  
 "Ally to Win: Black Community Leaders and SEIU's LA Security Unionization Campaign."

**John-Paul Ferguson**, MIT  
 "Space Invaders: Social Valuation and the Diversification of Union Organizing Drives, 1961-1999."

**Gabriel Hetland**, UC Berkeley  
 "Labor in Movement: Contradictory Articulation of Union, Community, and State in Neoliberal New York."

**Section on Labor and Labor Movements Sponsored Sessions**

**Sunday, August 9**

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Taking on the Neo-Liberal Agenda: Union and Community Strike Against the State*

Session Organizer: Kate Bronfenbrenner (Cornell University)

Presiders: Kate Bronfenbrenner (Cornell University) and Chad Gray (Cornell University)

Social Movements and Organizations in Relation: Local Union Involvement in Immigrants' Rights Movements in L.A.

\*Cassandra Dawn Engeman (University of California-Santa Barbara)

ILWU Contract Negotiations: The Confluence of State-level Politics, Economics and Labor  
 \*Devin Patrick Kelly (University of Washington), \*Jon Agnone (University of Washington)

The Welfare State in Contention: Opposition to Neoliberalism in Contemporary Costa Rica  
 \*Jeremy Rayner (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Conditions of Solidarity: The Case of the Korean Retail Workers' Struggles Against the Employment 'Protection' Act  
 \*Joohee Lee (Ewha University)

Discussant: Peter Olney (International Longshore Warehouse Union)

**Abstract:** A mixed session of papers and speakers focusing on the limits and opportunities presented by recent examples of community labor actions which have aimed to challenge corporate and state interests in the neo-liberal agenda in the US, Asia, and Latin America. The session will feature speakers from the 2008 West Coast Dockers Strike Against the War in Iraq and for Immigrant Rights.

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. The Workers United?: Bridging Ethnic, Gender, and Racial Divides in the Labor Movement*

Session Organizers: Angie K. Beeman (University of Connecticut) and Hector L. Delgado (University of La Verne)

Presider: Angie K. Beeman (University of Connecticut)

The Civic Life of Labor Leaders in the 1940s  
 \*Jaesok Sonn (University of Chicago)

Unions and Social Inclusiveness: A Comparison of Changes in Union Member Attitudes.  
 \*Ann Shirley (University of Oregon)

Let my People Work: Advancing Justice for Immigrant Workers at the Regions and Federal Level  
 \*Diana Rashid (East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy)

The New March Inland: Ending Economic Apartheid in the Marine Supply Chain

\*Peter Olney (International Longshore Warehouse Union)

**12:30pm to 1:30pm**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizers: Mark P. Thomas (York University) and Rachel Meyer (Harvard University)

Table Presider: Rachel Meyer (Harvard University)

In Solidarity? Re-examining the Determinants of Failure: The 1996 Port Truckers' Campaign  
\*Kyle John Arnone (UCLA)

Labor in Movement: Contradictory Articulations of Union, Community, and State in Neoliberal New York  
\*Gabriel Bodin Hetland (University of California-Berkeley)

Organizing/Gendering Workers: An Immigrant Worker Center's Practices and Possibilities  
\*Katherine Maich (University of California, Berkeley)

Perceptions of the state among contract workers in India, 1977-2006.  
\*Manjusha S. Nair (Rutgers University)

**12:30pm to 1:30pm**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizers: Mark P. Thomas (York University) and Rachel Meyer (Harvard University)

Table Presider: Mark P. Thomas (York University)

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: A History of AFL-CIO Foreign Policy  
\*Wesley Strong (Independent Scholar)

How Globalization Resurrects Marxist Wage Theory -- and Current Proposals for Solutions  
\*Allen H. Barton (University of North Carolina)

What Enables Transnational Solidarity to Be Built among Workers?: the Specificity of the Service Industry  
\*Nobuyuki Yamada (Komazawa University)

Why Labor Imperialism? Reflections on Empirical Findings  
\*Kim Scipes (Purdue University North Central)

**12:30pm to 1:30pm**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizers: Mark P. Thomas (York University) and Rachel Meyer (Harvard University)

Table Presider: Norene Pupo (York University)

Do Employment Protections Diffuse Temporary Employment Practices?  
\*Soohan Kim (Harvard University)

Structural Closure and Performance in Networks of Competition: ATP Professional Tennis 1997-2006  
\*Wonjae Lee (University of Chicago)

Wealth and Race, Educational Credentials, Residential Segregation, Origins, and Work  
\*Shane Aaron Lachtman (University of Oxford)

Effects of Group Resources and Labor Market Structure on Earnings Assimilation in the U.S.  
\*Asaf Levanon (Stanford University)

**2:30pm to 4:10pm**

*Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Activism in the Class (co-sponsored with the Section on Teaching and Learning in Sociology)*

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Session Organizers: Gabrielle Raley (University of California-Los Angeles), Daisy Rooks (Rutgers University) and Jason T. Stanley (New York University)

Prioritizing Politics: Organizational Solutions to Detached Social Science  
\*Michael Alexander McCarthy (New York University),  
\*Jason T. Stanley (New York University)

Do as I Do, Not as I say: An Ambivalent Approach to Bringing Activism into the Classroom  
\*Chris Tilly (University of California-Los Angeles)

Human Rights: Linking Classroom, Barrio, and Advocacy  
\*Judith Blau (University of North Carolina)

How Learning Works: Community Service-Learning in the Context of Labor and Workplace Studies  
\*Janna L. Shaddock-Hernández (University of California-Los Angeles)

Discussant: Rachel Sherman (New School for Social Research)



## Monday, August 10

**10:30am - 12:10pm**

*Regional Spotlight Session. The San Francisco General Strike*

Session Organizers: Michael Schwartz (Stony Brook State University), Rick Fantasia (Smith College), and Barry Eidlin (University of California-Berkeley)

Presider: Victoria L. Johnson (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Panelist: Howard A. Kimeldorf (University of Michigan-Ann Arbor)

Panelist: Margaret Levi (University of Washington)

Panelist: Jon Agnone (University of Washington)

Panelist: Peter Olney (International Longshore Warehouse Union)

**Abstract:** The year 2009 will mark the 75th anniversary of the 1934 San Francisco longshore and general strike, one of the single most significant events in the history of the U.S. labor movement. This panel focuses on the legacies of the strike and its implications for the future of the US labor movement.

### Featured Tour: San Francisco Strike

**Saturday, August 8, 2:30 – 5:30 PM**

*Fee:* \$20

*Leaders:* **Barry Eidlin**, University of California-Berkeley; **Gene Vrana**, International Longshore and Warehouse Union

*Description:* Co-sponsored with the ASA Section on Labor and Labor Movements, this walking tour will highlight the history of the 1934 West Coast Longshore Strike. Longshoremen on the West Coast ports had either been unorganized or represented by company unions since the years immediately after World War I, when the shipping companies and stevedoring firms had imposed the open shop following a series of failed strikes. Longshoremen in San Francisco, then the major port on the coast, were required to go through a hiring hall operated by a company union.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the Communist Party had both attempted to organize longshoremen, sailors, and fishermen in the 1920s. Those activists soon joined the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), when passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 led to an explosion in union membership in the ILA among West Coast longshoremen. The union made contacts with like-minded activists at other ports. They pressed for a coastwide contract, a union-run hiring hall, and an industrywide waterfront federation. They led the membership in rejecting the "gentlemen's agreement" that the conservative ILA leadership had negotiated with the employers. When the employers offered to arbitrate, but only on the condition that the union agree to the open shop, the union struck every west coast port in 1934.

**NOTE:** The admission price will include the roundtrip transportation on San Francisco's transit system. The transit cards will be distributed onsite to paid attendees at the Tour Assembly/Departure Area located at the Taylor Street Entrance of the Hilton San Francisco. Attendees in wheelchairs should be advised that there is often construction on some streets. Every effort will be made to avoid less accessible routes or to provide alternate routes. (Subway/walking tour; limited to 20 participants.) Reservations are required and will be accepted on a first-come, first-served basis. Confirmations will be emailed prior to the Annual Meeting. If insufficient enrollment causes cancellation of a tour, fees will be refunded. See the ASA website for further details about reservations.

### Other Sessions of Interest to Section Members

#### **Saturday August, 8**

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Thematic Session. New Kinds of Coalitions: Labor and Community*

Session Organizer: Dan Clawson (University of Massachusetts)

Consumer Boycotts and Human Rights: A Global Perspective on Limitations for Union Coalitions  
\*Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Challenges to Building Labor-Community Coalitions

\*Stephanie A. Luce (University of Massachusetts)

Overcoming the New City Trenches: Lessons from Anti-Wal-Mart Labor/Community Coalitions

\*Dorian T. Warren (Columbia University)

Innovative California Issue-based Labor Coalitions

\*Paul R. Kumar (National Union of Healthcare Workers)

**Abstract:** Labor has increasingly come to recognize that it can succeed only in coalition with community groups, and that to address the concerns of its members unions must make community issues central. Included among the many forms this takes are living wage struggles, global consumer boycotts to enforce “human rights,” and coalitions that take on political issues central to members’ lives, such as fighting Wal-Mart’s spread.

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Regular Session. Jobs, Occupations, and Professions*

Session Organizer: Jacqueline Johnson (Adelphi University)

Feeling the Pinch: African American Women Workers on the Sales Floor, 1970-2000

\*Katrinell M. Davis (University of California-Berkeley)

Serving Men and Mothers: Workplace Practices and Workforce Composition in Two U.S. Restaurant Chains and States

\*Anna Haley-Lock (University of Washington),  
Stephanie Ewert (University of Washington)

Gender and Racial Training Gaps in Oregon Apprenticeship Programs

\*Larry S. Williams, Gunseli Berik (University of Utah),  
Cihan Bilginsoy (University of Utah)

Immigration and the Dynamics of Occupational Segregation in European Union Countries, 1992-2005

\*Christel Kesler (University of Oxford)

Inequality and Caring: Wage Penalties Associated with Caring Occupations in the UK

\*David N. Barron (University of Oxford), Elizabeth West (Royal College of Nursing)

Autonomy and Compliance: How Qualitative Sociologists Respond to Institutional Ethical Oversight

\*Matt Patterson (University of Toronto),  
\*Judith Karyn Taylor (University of Toronto)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Open Refereed Roundtable Session I*

Session Organizer: Oscar Miller (Tennessee State University)

Producing an Explicitly Gendered Cultural Object: Women’s Experiences of “Doing Hooters Girl”

\*Miriam M. Newton-Francis (American University)  
\*Gay Young (American University)

Reinscribing and Challenging gender at work

\*Nancy Plankey Videla (Texas AM University)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Regular Session. Surveillance*

Session Organizer: Aaron Kupchik (University of Delaware)

President: Torin Monahan (Vanderbilt University)

Electronic performance monitoring technology (EPM) and the psychosocial work environment

\*Gudbjorg Linda Rafnsdottir (The University of Iceland, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences)

Social Inequality and the Pursuit of Democratic Surveillance

\*Torin Monahan (Vanderbilt University)

Theorizing Neoliberal Logics, Surveillance and Popular Response through Contemporary Online Practices

\*Patrick B McLane (Univeristy of Alberta)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Regular Session. Gender at the Interface of Home and Work*

Session Organizer: Alexandra Kalev (University of Arizona)

Braiding, Slicing, Dicing: African American Women's Home As a site of Work

\*Marlese Durr (Wright State University), Thomas S Lyons (Zicklin School of Business , Baruch College)

Rethinking Maternalism: Employer/Employee Interactions in Paid Domestic Work

\*Amanda Moras (University of Connecticut)

Providing in Poverty: Work and Tensions of Gender in an African Slum

\*Robert Wyrod (University of California-San Francisco)

Career Prioritizing in Dual-Earner Couples and Spouses' Relative Career Gains to Major Decisions

\*Joy E. Pixley (University of California, Irvine)

**Abstract:** This session explores the interface between home work and public sphere work. Papers include an analysis of how career prioritizing among dual-earner couples affects the gender pay gap, a study of African American homes becoming site of work, an ethnographic analysis of the effect of poverty and unemployment on masculinity and intimate relations in Uganda; and an interview-based study of the labor process in upper middle class domestic help work.

### 2:30pm to 3:30pm

*Section on Political Economy of the World System Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Sandra Curtis Comstock (Cornell University)

Cohesion and Conflict among State, Capital and Labor in the Formation of the World Labor Regime

\*Michael Mulcahy (University of Connecticut - Stamford), Lwendo Moonzwe (University of Connecticut), Mustafa Enes Gurbuz (University of Connecticut)

The Migration-Development Model Can Serve Two Masters: Transnational Capitalist Class and National Development

\*Rubin Patterson (University of Toledo)

Viewing the US-China-Russia Configuration through a Bukharinist Lens, Darkly

\*John Lawrence Gulick (Hanyang University)

### 2:30pm to 4:10pm

*Section on International Migration Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Susan K. Brown (University of California-Irvine)

Table Presider: Steven J. Gold (Michigan State University)

Earning a Living: Experiences of Albanian Immigrants in Greece

\*Brikena Balli (Michigan State University)

Private Recruitment and Placement Agencies in the U.S. Labor Market for Philippine-educated Nurses

\*Kristel Acacio (University of California-Berkeley)

Labor and Marriage Migration and Multicultural Policy of Taiwan and South Korea: A Political Economic Approach

\*In-Jin Yoon (Korea University), \*Yang-Sook Kim (Korea University)

Paths to Mobility: The Mexican Second Generation at Work in a New Destination

\*Sarah Morando (University of California-Los Angeles)

### 2:30pm to 4:10pm

*Regular Session. Transnational Communities*

Session Organizer: Patricia Fernandez-Kelly (Princeton University)

Between "Europe" and "Africa": Building the "New" Ukraine on the Shoulders of Migrant Women

\*Cinzia D. Solari (University of California-Berkeley)

Cinderella and the Ugly Stepsisters: The Tale of Diasporic Koreans, Nationality and Ethnicity

\*Helene K. Lee (UC Santa Barbara)

Female Migrant Domestic Labour as a Transnational Community In the Asia-Pacific and the US

\*Ann Irene Brooks (The University of Adelaide)

Unexpected Connections: Religion, Music and Gang Ties Linking a New Destination and the Little Motherland

\*Ruben Hernandez-Leon (University of Calif.-Los Angeles)

Discussant: Patricia Fernandez-Kelly (Princeton University)

### 4:30pm to 6:10pm

*Regular Session. Precarious Employment*

Session Organizer: Karen E. Campbell (Vanderbilt University)

Presider: Karen E. Campbell (Vanderbilt University)

Cultivating the Good Precariat: The Role of Temp Agencies in the Labor Market

\*Emine Fidan Elcioglu (University of California, Berkeley)

Up and on, or down and out? Gender, race, immigration status, and temporary work trajectories

\*Sylvia A. Fuller (The University of British Columbia)

Grounding the Regime of Precarious Employment: Homeless Day Laborers' Negotiation of the Job Queue



\*Damian T. Williams (Vanderbilt University)

Contexts of Perceived Employment Insecurity in the United States

\*Sarah Burgard (University of Michigan)

Discussant: Abel Valenzuela (Univ. of California-Los Angeles)

**4:30pm to 6:10pm**

*Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizer: Rachel L. Einwohner (Purdue University)

Table Presider: Marcos Ancelovici (McGill University)

From Polity to Fields: The Contribution of Field Theory to the Study of Antisweatshop Campaigns

\*Marcos Ancelovici (McGill University)

Resource Work in Social Movements

\*Pepper Glass (UCLA)

Durkheim on Social Movements

\*Sandro Segre (University of Genoa, Italy)

On Religion, Revolution, and the Politics of Resistance: Notes on Antonio Gramsci and E.P. Thompson

\*Jean-Pierre Reed (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)

**4:30pm to 6:10pm**

*Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable Session: Labor Movements*

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Session Organizer: Rachel L. Einwohner (Purdue University)

Table Presider: Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur (Rhode Island College)

Queering the Academy: Explaining the Emergence of Queer Studies Programs in American Higher Education

\*Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur (Rhode Island College)

Media Framing, Moral Framing: A Study of the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey

\*Joelle M Sano (Villanova University)

Teachers' Unions and the Revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in Japan

\*Yoko Iida Wang (University of Hawaii-Manoa)

**4:30pm to 6:10pm**

*Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizer: Rachel L. Einwohner (Purdue University)

Table Presider: Miriam H. Abu Sharkh (Stanford University)

Why Workers Mobilize. Working Conditions and Activism Attitudes

\*Miriam H. Abu Sharkh (Stanford University), Irena Stephanikova (University of South Carolina)

Network Isolation of Korean Labor Unions

\*Jinu Kim (Nuffield College, University of Oxford)

Positional Power of Korean Labor: Mining and Manufacturing Industry, 1992-2003

\*Woo Seok Jung (Yonsei University), Joon Han (Yonsei University)

**4:30pm to 6:30pm**

*Regular Session. The Organization of Gender Inequality at Work*

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Session Organizer: Alexandra Kalev (University of Arizona)

Presider: Lauren K. O'Brien (University of Arizona)

Gendered Transformations of Academic Institutions in a Globalizing Academic World

\*Kathrin Zippel (Northeastern University)

Gender Segregation by Jobs and Industries: A Sequential Partitioning Model

\*Bliss Cartwright (U.S. EEOC), Patrick Edwards (U.S. EEOC), Ronald A. Edwards (Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica), Qiu Wang (Michigan State University)

The Paradox of Meritocracy: Hidden Risks of Merit-based Performance Systems

\*Emilio J. Castilla (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), \*Stephen Benard (Indiana University)

Gender and Organizational Barriers Inside Japanese Companies

\*Kumiko Nemoto (Western Kentucky University)

Gender Earnings Gaps among Young Professional Managers: How Career Patterns Differentially Affect Earnings

\*Jennifer M. Hitler (University of Chicago), Stanislav D. Dobrev (INSEAD)

**Abstract:** This session looks at gender at work from an organizational/ stratification perspective. All the papers in the session use novel data and contribute new insights to our understanding of the organizational mechanisms that affect gendered work conditions and outcomes: a paper based on laboratory experiments explores the gendered meaning of meritocracy; a paper using newly released federal data comparing gender gaps in top management ranks and more traditional female occupations; a paper on new challenges to gender inequality in the globalized academic job market; a paper reevaluating the effect of women's career patterns on gender pay gaps, and a paper looking at gender inequality in Japan beyond the traditional focus on life time employment and seniority. This session will have a unique structure where presenters will begin their presentation by relating their work to the previous work discussed. This structure will emphasize the overarching themes without the need of a discussant (thereby allowing five papers to be presented – 12 minutes each).

## Sunday August, 9

### 8:30am to 9:30am

#### *Section on Marxist Sociology Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Arthur J. Jipson (University of Dayton)

Table Presider: Daphne E. Phillips

Systematized and wasted praxis in popular education:  
Lessons from Brazil  
\*Ana Margarida Fernandes Esteves (Brown University)

The Political economy of HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean  
\*Daphne Ethlyn Phillips (The University of the West Indies)

Measuring Class Consciousness in Contemporary China  
\*Thung-hong Lin (Hong Kong University of Science Technology)

### 8:30am to 9:30am

#### *Section on Marxist Sociology Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Arthur J. Jipson (University of Dayton)

Table Presider: Fernando Cortes Chirino (University of California, Irvine)

Split Labor Market Simulation: A Network Look at Solidarity  
\*Fernando Cortes Chirino (University of California, Irvine)

Segmented Credit Markets and the Problem of Surplus-Value, Salvatore Babones  
\*Ray Elling

### 10:30am to 12:10pm

#### *Regular Session. Corporate Targets and Corporate Sites for Social Movements*

Session Organizer: David S. Meyer (University of California-Irvine)

Presider: Paul D Almeida (Texas A&M University)

Scaling the Shifting Terrains: Struggling for Gay-inclusive Workplace Policies  
\*Nicole C. Raeburn (University of San Francisco-California)

Economies of Contention: Antecedents of Corporate-targeted Protest in U.S. States, 1972-1990  
\*Edward T. Walker (University of Vermont), John D. McCarthy (Pennsylvania State University)

Oil Company Action on Climate Change: Liability or Opportunity for ENGOs?  
\*Simone Pulver (Brown University)

Resource Rebellion: Social Movements, Subsistence, and the Bolivian Water Wars  
\*Erica S. Simmons (University of Chicago)

Discussant: Benjamin Elliott Lind (University of California-Irvine)

### 12:30pm to 1:30pm

#### *Section on Asia and Asian America Roundtable Session*

Table Presider: Lisa Sun-Hee Park (University of Minnesota)

Session Organizer: Yanjie Bian (University of Minnesota)

Path to America: A Portrait of Recent Undocumented Migration from China to the United States  
\*Miao David Chunyu (University at Albany, SUNY)

Revisiting the Role of Place of Education: A Consideration of Visa Type  
\*Lulu Chen

Movement in Spaces of Liminality: Chinese Dance and Transnational Immigrant Identities

\*Hui Niu Wilcox (College of St. Catherine)

An exploration of forced migrant characteristics in a comparative perspective

\*Elizabeth Miller

### 12:30pm to 1:30pm

*Section on Asia and Asian America Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Yanjie Bian (University of Minnesota)

Table Presiders: Xiaogang Wu (Hong Kong University of Science and Technology) and Ningxi Zhang (Cornell University)

From Job Search to Hiring to Advancement: The Labour Market Experiences of Ethnic Minorities in Beijing

\*Reza Hasmath (University of Cambridge)

Symbolic Domination in a Circular State -- Pension disputes of the state workers in central China

\*Xiuying Cheng (University of California-Berkeley)

"Let us help the countless earthquake orphans":

Evolution of a frenzy after China's Sichuan earthquake

\*Xiaojiang Hu (Beijing Normal University), Miguel A. Salazar (Beijing Normal University)

A Woman with Masculine Temperament—Life History of a Rural Chinese Woman

\*Xingkui Zhang (The University of Sydney)

### 12:30pm to 2:10pm

*Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. The Role of Community Organizing in Democratic Renewal*

Session Organizer: Richard L. Wood (University of New Mexico)

Presider: Richard L. Wood (University of New Mexico)

Organizing and the Transformation of the American Labor Movement

\*Kim Voss (University of California-Berkeley)

Transforming Philanthropy: Taking Organizing to the Funders.

\*Niki Jagpal (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy), \*Aaron Dorfmann (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy)

Religious/Moral Framing of the National Healthcare Reform Debate

\*Michael-Ray Matthews (PICO National Network),

\*Gordon Whitman (PICO National Network)

Political Theology and the Transformation of Church/State Relations

\*Luke Bretherton (King's College-London)

Religious/Moral Framing of National Healthcare Reform Debate

\*Adam Krugel (PICO National Network)

Discussants: Robert Kleidman (Cleveland State University) and Marshall Ganz (Harvard University)

**Abstract:** Deepening democracy in America requires not only political leadership, but also institutional and cultural work to reshape the broad political culture of American society. This panel will analyze the role of community organizing in promoting that transformation in labor, foundation, healthcare, and religious sectors. What changes are taking place that hold promise for long-term democratic renewal, in parallel with current changes in political leadership? Where must organizing efforts be challenged to greater ambition or more effective work? Panelists and discussants are outstanding scholars and/or public intellectual leaders in these efforts, and discussion will draw on grounded experience and theoretical insight to analyze the path ahead.

### 12:30pm to 2:10pm

*Regular Session. Migration Patterns and Settlement Processes in the Local, Regional, and Global Context*

Session Organizer: Zulema Valdez (Texas A&M University)

Presider: Zulema Valdez (Texas A&M University)

The Informal Economy as a site of Competition between Disadvantaged Populations and Ethnic Merchants

\*Steven J. Gold (Michigan State University)

Guatemalan Migration to the United States: A Spatial and Transregional Perspective

\*Nestor P. Rodriguez (University of Texas at Austin),

\*Susanne Jonas (University of California-Santa Cruz)

'Stepping Stones' and 'Dream Destinations': Stepwise Migration among Low-Skilled Filipino Domestic Workers

\*Anju Mary Paul (University of Michigan)

The Labor Sending State as a Determinant of International Migration  
\*Robyn Magalit Rodriguez (Rutgers University)

### 2:30pm to 4:10pm

*Section on Economic Sociology Paper Session. Politics of Markets: Controversies, Tools, and Policies*

Session Organizers: Daniel Beunza (Columbia University) and Yuval Millo (London School of Economics)

Presider: Liang YU (University of Oxford)

Embattled Labor, Embedded Ties: Industrial Relations and Inter-firm Networks in New York's Garment District  
\*Jennifer L. Bair (University of Colorado)

Peer Comparisons of CEO Pay: Fair Pay or Power Play?  
\*Taekjin Shin (University of California-Berkeley)

The Business of Budgetary Concepts: Political Debates over Participation Certificates  
\*Sarah Quinn (University of California-Berkeley)

The Political Dynamics of Market Reorganization: Neoliberalism and the Deregulation of the U.S. Airline Industry  
\*Dustin Avent-Holt (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

### 2:30pm to 4:10pm

*Section on Marxist Sociology Paper Session. Global Capitalism, Neoliberalism, and Uneven Development*

Session Organizer: David A. Smith (University of California-Irvine)

Presider: David A. Smith (University of California-Irvine)

A Neoliberal Nationalization? The Path Dependencies and Sociomaterial Obstacles of Natural Gas Led Development in Bolivia  
\*Brent Zachary Kaup (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Citizenship, Labor, and the Limits of Rights Based Claims: Women Garment Factory Workers in India  
\*Jayati Lal (University of Michigan)

Global Capitalism and Its Crisis  
\*William I. Robinson (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Human Rights and Business Practices: Double Movement or Neoliberal Hegemony?  
\*Mark P. Thomas (York University)

Transnational Authority and Geopolitical Struggle: China, the U.S. and Cotton Quality Standards  
\*Amy Adams Quark (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

## Monday August, 10

### 8:30am to 10:10am

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work Paper Session. Inequality at Work*

Session Organizers: Emilio J. Castilla (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and Erin Kelly (University of Minnesota)

Presider: Emilio J. Castilla (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

"The Pipeline Made Me Do It" – Demographic Disparities in Health Care Organizations  
\*Alexandra Kalev (University of Arizona)

Creating the Connection: Networks, Race and Poverty at the Hiring Interface  
\*Roberto M. Fernandez (Massachusetts Inst of Technology), Enying Zheng (University of Illinois at Chicago)

No es tan Grave....Rejecting Workers' Compensation Benefits: A Case Study of Latino Immigrant Restaurant Workers  
\*Shannon Marie Gleeson

Overwork and the Persistence of Occupational Sex Segregation  
\*Youngjoo Cha (Cornell University)

Unsocial Hours, Stratification, and the Shifting Landscape of Industry  
\*Michael Randolph Corey (University of Chicago)

Discussant: Philip N. Cohen (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

### 8:30am to 10:10am

*Regular Session. Immigrant Communities/Family*

Session Organizer: Angie Y. Chung (University at Albany)

Presider: Jan C. Lin (Occidental College)

Distant Korean Patriarch to Expressive American Dad? Gender Role Acculturation and Assimilation Stress in the Father School Movement  
\*Allen J Kim (University of California-Irvine)

How do Family Obligation and Cohesion Affect the Postsecondary Educational Outcomes of Children of Immigrants?

\*Anthony Christian Ocampo (UCLA)

The Possibility of Community: How Immigrant Entrepreneurs Negotiate Competition and Solidarity with Co-ethnics

\*Pawan H. Dhingra (Oberlin College)

Schools for Democracy: Labor union participation and school-based civic engagement of Latino immigrants

\*Veronica Terriquez (UCLA)

Discussant: David Anthony Cort (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Regular Session. Labor Market*

Session Organizer: Arthur Sakamoto (University of Texas-Austin)

Presider: Arthur Sakamoto (University of Texas-Austin)

Education, Cognitive Skills and Earnings in Comparative Perspective

\*Herman G. Van De Werfhorst (University of Amsterdam), Carlo Barone (Trento University, Italy)

Job Opportunities and Occupational Status Mobility in a Segmented Labor Market

\*Marlis C. Buchmann, Irene Susanna Kriesi (University of Zurich), Stefan Sacchi (University of Zurich)

The Impact of Corporate Restructuring on Wage Distributions

\*John Dencker (University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign), \*Chichun Fang (University of Illinois-Urbana-Champaign)

Unions, Norms, and the Rise in American Earnings Inequality

\*Bruce Western (Harvard University), Jake Rosenfeld (University of Washington)

Discussant: ChangHwan Kim (University of Kansas)

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Classes, States, and Movements: Piven and Cloward's Contribution to Political Sociology*

Session Organizer: Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Presider: Chad Alan Goldberg (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Moving Beyond Poor People's Movements: Global Change and New Opportunities

\*Jonathan D. Shefner (University of Tennessee)

Piven and Cloward: On Self-activity, Movements, and Politics

\*Howard Winant (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Structuring Transnational Activism: Grievances, Protests and Mobilization

\*Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Obama Politics Through a Piven and Cloward Lens

\*Fred Block (University of California-Davis)

Discussant: Frances Fox Piven (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Section on Latino/a Sociology Paper Session. New Latino Destinations*

Session Organizer: William Velez

Growing Up "Gringo:" Transitions to Adulthood for Children of Immigrants in Small Town America

\*Alexis Maxine Silver (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

New Destinations for Mexican Immigrants: Does Place Matter?

\*Stephanie A. Bohon (University of Tennessee), Meghan Conley (University of Tennessee), Carmel E. Price (University of Tennessee)

Risk Behaviors of Hispanic Immigrant Day Laborers in New Orleans: New Patterns of Settlement and Destinations

\*Avelardo Valdez (University of Houston), Alice Cepeda (University of Houston)

The Acclimatization of Immigrant Social Networks to Economic Restructuring: Social Capital in the Construction Industry

\*Maria Cristina Morales (University of Texas at El Paso)

Trapped at the Bottom: Racialized and Gendered Labor Queues in New Latino Destinations

\*Laura Lopez-Sanders (Stanford University)



**10:30am - 12:10pm**

*Regular Session. Current Labor Movement Issues in Comparative Perspective: Union Representation, Worker Mobilization, and Institutional Context*

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Session Organizer: Rachel Sherman (New School for Social Research)

Presider: Rachel Sherman (New School for Social Research)

Competing Conceptions of Member Representation in the "New" Union Movement

\*Teresa C. Sharpe (University of California-Berkeley),  
\*Adam Dalton Reich (University of California Berkeley)

Ethnicity, Immigration, and Organized Labor in the Contemporary U.S

\*Jake Rosenfeld (University of Washington), \*Meredith A. Kleykamp (University of Kansas)

Unionization in East European Ex-Communist Countries, 1990-2006

\*Nathan Douglas Martin (Duke University), Yunus Kaya (University of North Carolina Wilmington)

Worker Resistance and the Battle for Automotive Jobs: The 2008 General Motors of Canada Worker Blockade

\*Reuben Roth (Laurentian University)

Discussant: Steven H. Lopez (Ohio State University)

**10:30am to 11:30am**

*Section on Political Sociology Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizer: John D. Stephens (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Table Presider: Sun-Chul Kim (Columbia University)

Power and Resistance in the Struggle to End Contemporary Slavery

\*Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (University of Notre Dame)

Social Movements' Alliance Capacity and Mobilization

\*Jung-eun Lee (Stanford University)

Understanding the Role of Women's Movements in Expanding Women's Rights at the Local Level

\*Katja M. Guenther (University of California-Riverside)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Open Refereed Roundtable Session II*

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Session Organizer: Oscar Miller (Tennessee State University)

New Developments in Theories of Industrial Relations  
\*Carsten StrÅby Jensen (University of Copenhagen)

Patterns of coordination: brokerage roles in the immediate wake of Hurricane Katrina

\*Emma S. Spiro (University of California, Irvine), Ryan M. Acton (University of California, Irvine), Carter T. Butts (University of California-Irvine)

Network Use in Job Search and Institutional Transition

\*Olga V. Mayorova (University of Arizona)

Working Late or Leaving Early? A Three-Country Comparison of Professionals' Evening Routines

\*Jeremy Markham Schulz (University of California-Berkeley)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Regular Session. Explorations in Contemporary Critical Theory*

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Session Organizer: Timothy W. Luke (VPISU)

Presider: Timothy W. Luke (VPISU)

Beyond Modernity as a Matrix of Alienation: Theorizing Utopian Possibilities in America

\*Harry F. Dahms (University of Tennessee, Knoxville)

Ethical Capitalism and Its Cultural Logic

\*Nicki Lisa Cole (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Giorgio Agamben's interpretation of key concepts from the work of Michel Foucault: Biopolitique, Dispositif, οικονομία (Oikonomia)

\*Jeffrey P. Bussolini (City University of New York-College of Staten Island)

The Internal Roots of Weberian Marxism

\*Bradley J. Vermurlen (University of Notre Dame)

Discussant: Douglas M. Kellner (University of California-Los Angeles)

**Abstract:** This session will survey the effective application of various approaches in critical theory to important contemporary cultural conflicts, economic practices, and political struggles.

**2:30pm to 3:30pm***Section on Latino/a Sociology/Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: P. Rafael Hernandez-Arias  
(DePaul University)

Table Presider: Aurelia Lorena Murga (Texas A&M University)

Ethnic Enclaves and the Incomes of Latino Immigrant Workers  
\*Michael B. Aguilera (University of Oregon)

Legal Status and Wage Disparities for Mexicans in Low-wage U.S. Labor Markets  
\*Matthew S Hall (Pennsylvania State University), Emily Greenman (Pennsylvania State University), George Farkas (University of California-Irvine)

Racialized Reconstruction: Day Labor Work in Post-Katrina New Orleans  
\*Aurelia Lorena Murga (Texas A&M University)

Latino Internal Migration within New York State: A Life Course Expectations  
\*Lina Rincon - Ayala (University at Albany)

**2:30pm to 4:10pm***Regular Session. Class and Class Conflict*

Session Organizer: Kevin T. Leicht (The University of Iowa)

Presider: Eric Hanley (University of Kansas)

Additional Avenues to Class Reproduction: The Middle-class Gaze, Structures of Feeling, And Emotional Capital  
\*Jessi S. Streib (University of Michigan)

Class and Concepts of Leadership in US Social Movement Organizations  
\*Betsy Leondar-Wright (Boston College)

The Detroit Newspaper Strike and The Institutional Regulation of Class Conflict in the US  
\*Chris Rhomberg (Fordham University)

The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies: The Case of the LGBT Movement  
\*Jeff Goodwin (New York University), Gabriel Bodin Hetland (University of California-Berkeley)

Discussant: Kevin T. Leicht (The University of Iowa)

**2:30pm to 4:10pm***Regular Session. Welfare State: Risk, Citizenship, Mobilization, and Eligibility*

Session Organizer: Lisa D. Brush (University of Pittsburgh)

A New Nativism? Federal Citizenship and Legal Status Restrictions in American Social Welfare Programs  
\*Cybelle Fox (UC Berkeley)

Fighting Cutbacks & Expanding Social Services: Community-Labor Coalitions in Los Angeles  
\*Ellen R. Reese (Univ of California-Riverside)

Money and Sympathy: Exploring Biological Citizenship among US Veterans  
\*Yuval Feinstein (UCLA)

The Welfare State, the Non-Profit Sector and the Politics of Care  
\*Yehekel Hasenfeld (UCLA)

Social Risks in Modern Welfare States  
\*Mara Yerkes (Erasmus University-Rotterdam)

**2:30pm to 4:10pm***Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Citizenship and the New Politics of Community in the Global South*

Session Organizers: Kathleen M. Fallon (McGill University) and Brian J. Dill (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Presiders: Brian J. Dill (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) and Kathleen M. Fallon (McGill University)

Building Politics: Gender and Political Power in Globalizing Mumbai  
\*Liza J. Weinstein (University of Chicago)

Civil and Uncivil Society: Symbolic Boundaries and Civic Exclusion in Metro Manila  
\*Marco Z. Garrido (University of Michigan)

Membership Rights and the Erosion of Paternalistic Democracy in State-owned Chinese Factories  
\*Joel D. Andreas (Johns Hopkins University), Yao Li (Johns Hopkins University Sociology)

Between the Political and the Governmental: Local Politics and Democratizing Projects in Brazil  
\*Gianpaolo Baiocchi (Brown University), \*Brian T. Connor (University of Massachusetts)

Discussant: Valentine M. Moghadam (Purdue University)

**Abstract:** The goal of this session is to explore the meaning of citizenship across the global South. In asserting political, social and cultural identity, a wide array of groups have expanded and redefined their rights through the use of innovative yet often volatile tactics. This panel will examine how individuals challenge notions of citizenship as they seek recognition, representation, and power.

#### 4:30pm to 6:10pm

*Author Meets Critics Session. ASA Rose Series' Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights and Transnational Activism (Russell Sage Foundation 2007)*

Session Organizer: Gilda Zwerman (State University of New York)

Presider: Michael Kimmel (State Univ of New York-Stony Brook)

Critic: Ruth Milkman (Univ of California-Los Angeles)

Critic: David Vogel (University of California-Berkeley)

Critic: Beverly Silver (Johns Hopkins University)

Author: Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

**Abstract:** Described as "imaginative" and "thought-provoking" by reviewers, *Beyond the Boycott* vividly depicts contemporary efforts to humanize globalization, by focusing on three campaigns in which labor activists successfully used the threat of consumer boycotts to pressure companies to accept voluntarily codes of conduct and independent monitoring of work sites. Her analysis explores both the ingredients of campaign success and the inherent limitations of voluntary monitoring schemes. The book received an honorable mention from the ASA Section on Labor and Labor Movements in 2008.

## Tuesday August, 11

#### 8:30am to 9:30am

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

Coworker Relations, Negotiated Order and the Culture of Service  
\*Paul Raymond Malackany (The Ohio State University)

Immigrant Networks in the Strawberry Labor Market  
\*Gilbert P. Mireles (Whitman College)

That Could be You: Workplace Relationships, Reciprocity, and Resistance  
\*Jillian Crocker (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

#### 8:30am to 9:30am

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

Involuntary Job Loss from 1985 - 2005 : Trends from the PSID  
\*Robert E. Freeland (Duke University)

The Temp Industry and the Transformation of Work in America since World War II  
\*Erin E Hatton (SUNY Buffalo)

Working Conditions of Same-Day Messengers: Independence and Insecurity in the New Economy  
\*Norene Pupo (York University), \*Andrea Noack (Ryerson University), \*Ann Doris Duffy (Brock University)

#### 8:30am to 9:30am

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work Roundtable Session*

Session Organizer: Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

A Cross-National Comparative Analysis of Job Quality and Worker Satisfaction  
\*Jonathan H. Westover (University of Utah)

Certified Nursing Aides' Job Satisfaction: From a Perspective of Work Environment within the Nursing Homes  
\*Yuying Shen (University of North Texas), Dale Yeatts (University of North Texas)

Unraveling the Endogeneity Problem with the Relationship between Job and Life Satisfaction  
\*Amber L. Wells (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

**8:30am to 9:30am**

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work*  
*Roundtable Session: Labor Unions*

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Session Organizer: Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

How Unions Change: The Politics of Revitalization in a French Labor Organization

\*Marcos Ancelovici (McGill University)

Resolving the paradox between centralization and radicalism in labor's recent institutional change

\*Kyoung-Hee Yu (Australian School of Business)

The Emergence and Contradictions of Labor Force Dualism and Changing Labor Regime in Post-Reform China

\*Lu Zhang (Johns Hopkins University)

**8:30am to 9:30am**

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work*  
*Roundtable Session*

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Session Organizer: Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

Low-Wage Service Employment and Social Policy: Evidence from Hotel and Hospital Cleaners and Support Workers

\*Dan Zuberi (University of British Columbia)

"Go for the money": Maxing out on Medicare in Nursing Homes.

\*Jason Rodriguez (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

**8:30am to 10:10am**

*Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology*  
*Roundtable Session: Unions and Labor Movements*

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Session Organizer: Elif Andac (University of Kansas)

Did Union Policies Destroy the U.S. Auto Industry? How the UAW's 'Ability to Pay' Policy

\*Maria F. Gritsch (California State University)

Wharf rats and lords of the dock: how union institutions effect response to new technology

\*Devin Patrick Kelly (University of Washington)

Will the Revolution Be Funded? Resource Mobilization and the California Farm Worker Movement

\*Erica Lenore Kohl (University of California, Berkeley)

Table President: Maria F. Gritsch (California State University)

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work*  
*Paper Session. The Future of Work and Employment*

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Session Organizers: Erin Kelly (University of Minnesota) and Emilio J. Castilla (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

President: Erin Kelly (University of Minnesota)

Careers in Long Odds: Glamorous Precarious Labor

\*Ashley E. Mears (New York University)

Rethinking 'Mobile Work': Styling Boundaries of Time Space and Social Relation

\*Rachel Lara Cohen (The University of Warwick)

Worlds of Work in China's Walmart Superstores

\*Eileen M. Otis (University of Oregon)

Restructuring the Firm-worker Relationship: The Case of a Virtual Call Center

\*Valery Yakubovich (University of Pennsylvania)

Crossing Professional Lines: Accomplishing Work in the Hospital

\*Ester Carolina Apesoa-Varano (University of California, Davis)

Discussant: Vicki Smith (University of California, Davis)

**Abstract:** This session is organized by the Organizations, Occupations, and Work section. Four exciting papers address new jobs, new job conditions, and new forms of employment. These papers are based on rich data collected in the U.S., U.K., and China. Vicki Smith will serve as discussant.

**10:30am to 12:10pm**

*Section on Racial & Ethnic Minorities Paper Session.*  
*Nations, Migrations, Diasporas, and Belonging:*  
*Examining the Centrality of Race in Citizenship,*  
*Labor, and Human Rights*

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Session Organizer: Emily Noelle Ignacio (University of Washington-Tacoma)

President: Anna Romina P. Guevarra (University of Illinois-Chicago)

"Another Mirage of Democracy" War, Nationality, and Asymmetrical Allegiance

\*Rick A. Baldoz (University of Hawaii)

A Clarification of the Racism of the Anti-Immigrant Movement

\*Carina A. Bandhauer (Western Connecticut State University)

Race, Crime, Criminal Justice in France: Impact of Culture of Control on Minorities in France

\*Pamela Irving Jackson (Rhode Island College)

Race, National Belonging and Resistance in 21st Century USA

\*Melanie E. L. Bush (Adelphi University)

The Racial Japanese State: Ethno-racialization of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan

\*Miho Iwata (University of Connecticut)

**2:30pm to 4:10pm**

*Regular Session. Gender and Development*

Session Organizer: Jennifer R. Rothchild (University of Minnesota-Morris)

Presider: Jennifer Fish (Old Dominion University)

Gendered Perceptions of Migration among Skilled Female Ghanaian Nurses

\*Joanne Nowak (University of Toronto)

Healthy Mothers, Healthy Children: Does Maternal Demand for Antenatal Care Matter for Child Health in Nepal?

\*Nafisa Halim (University of New Mexico), Alok Bohara (University of New Mexico), Xiaomin Ruan (University of New Mexico)

Obliged to Mother, Required to Retire: Gender, Class, Equality and Retirement Rights in Vietnam

\*Kristy Kelly (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Women's Work Preferences in in Agua Prieta, Mexico: Maquiladora Work vs. Self-employment

\*Michelle Elaine Peria (University of California-Irvine)

Discussant: Jennifer R. Rothchild (University of Minnesota-Morris)

For more information about the 2009 Annual Meeting, including a searchable program schedule, visit the American Sociological Association's website:

<http://www.asanet.org/>

**Labor Landmarks in San Francisco's Union Square District**

Compiled by Michael McCarthy  
New York University

This year, our annual meeting will be held in the Union Square district of San Francisco. And unless you decide to stay in the meetings for your entire stay there, you may want to get out for a walk, see the sites, and learn a bit about the local history. Below is a walking tour of labor landmarks that are within close proximity to the conference.

This information was taken, with permission, from *The San Francisco Labor Landmarks Guide Book: A Register of Sites and Walking Tours*, edited by Susan P. Sherwood and Catherine Powell. If you are interested in obtaining this book, which has much more labor landmark information for the whole of San Francisco, please contact:

*Labor Archives and Research Center* (at San Francisco State University)

Location: 480 Winston Dr., SF, CA 94132

Phone: 415-564-4010

Fax: 415-564-3606

Email: [larc@sfsu.edu](mailto:larc@sfsu.edu)





**Union Square Tour**

- 1) Union Square
- 2) St. Francis Hotel
- 3) Hallidie Plaza
- 4) Woolworth Building
- 5) Palace Hotel
- 6) Mechanics Monument
- 7) Mechanics' Institute
- 8) Home Telephone Exchange
- 9) Votes for Women Club

**1) Union Square**

*Bounded by Stockton, Post, Powell, and Geary Streets*

John White Geary, San Francisco's first mayor, gave the land that is now Union Square to the city in 1850. The Square gained its name 15 years later after hosting numerous rallies in support of the Union cause during

the Civil War. After the 1906 Earthquake, temporary shacks housed businesses while long tables served as makeshift restaurants, many staffed by members of Waiters Union Local 30, in the Square. In the 1940s, the California Labor School participated in annual art fairs there; since the 1980s, many unions have staged noontime protests and support rallies at Union Square. In the plaza of the Grand Hyatt, on Stockton between Sutter and Post Streets, Japanese-American sculptor Ruth Asawa's playful fountain portrays both the history and fantasy of San Francisco. Asawa cast the fountain from low bas-reliefs made in baker's clay (flour, salt and water) by 250 San Francisco residents aged three to ninety. Completed in 1972, the fountain includes scenes of Butchertown, the controversial Yerba Buena Redevelopment Project, and the building of the transcontinental railroad by Chinese workers. Union Square is California Historical Landmark No. 623.

**2) St. Francis Hotel**

*335 Powell (Powell and Geary)*

When seeking to organize or to change prevailing conditions—such as discrimination, low wages, or unsafe working conditions—activists often target the largest and most prestigious businesses in the city. The St. Francis Hotel on Union Square was one such target in the late 1970s. At that time, the Filipina, Latina, and African-American maids at the St. Francis were required to clean up as many as seventeen rooms a day, which often meant doing nine hours of work in seven. The hotel maids reached their breaking point in October of 1979, when the hotel added new assignments to their list of 69 required tasks for room cleaning.

The workers refused to comply with conditions that would force them to give up their lunch period and breaks to get the job done. Under the leadership of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE), Local 2, the red-uniformed maids massed at the employees' cafeteria for fifteen minutes at 10 a.m., noon and 2 p.m., even though it meant leaving undone two rooms fewer. Despite intense employer pressure, and numerous suspensions, the maids held firm. The following April, arbitration settled the issue in the maids' favor. St. Francis Hotel workers were further outraged that year when a room service waitress was raped and robbed. Local 2 charged the hotel with

negligence in failing to provide safe working conditions. When management did not respond to the grievance, the union set up a picket line and the workers were joined by activists from the feminist labor organization UNION WAGE and over a dozen other groups. In July 1980, when the master hotel contract expired, a total of 6,000 hotel workers went on strike throughout the city. In August, the workers won a 15-room quota and a shop steward system for better representation and resolution of job disputes.

### 3) Hallidie Plaze

*Located at Powell and Market*

Andrew Hallidie, a mining engineer, invented the cable car—a trolley attached by a “gripping clamp” to a moving cable in a “slot” between the tracks—in 1873. Legend has it that he built it to overcome the difficulties that horse-drawn vehicles faced in climbing steep California Street to reach the mansions at the top of Nob Hill. Hallidie, whose father developed wire rope in England, had used the technology while working as a surveyor and blacksmith in the Sierra Nevada gold country and adapted the design for use on city streets. Streetcars had previously been horsedrawn or steam powered. The cable car was an enormous improvement—cleaner, quieter, and more efficient.

Several independent companies operated the San Francisco streetcars, but by 1893, most of the companies had consolidated into the Market Street Railroad Company. In turn, it formed the nucleus of United Railroads which, after the turn of the century, operated most of the lines in the city.

The California Workingmen’s Party, which rose to prominence in the 1870s, had called for public ownership of city transportation, a notion later supported by Mayor James D. Phelan in the 1890s. He argued for direct public ownership of such utilities as streetcars, water, and electricity, reasoning that regulation of such public utilities would most likely lead the regulated companies to corrupt the public officials responsible for creating and enforcing the regulations. He worked to accomplish public ownership both as an elected official and as a private citizen. During the early 20th century, organized labor also supported public ownership of public utilities.

In 1907, the Carmen’s Union struck United Railroads for a daily wage of \$3.00 for an 8-hour day. The company hired strikebreakers and armed guards to ride the streetcars. During ten months of violence at least 25 people died and over 2000 were injured in one of the most deadly streetcar strikes of the nation’s history. United Railroads broke the Carmen’s Union but, as a result of the strike, public opinion turned against the company to favor public ownership of the lines. The Municipal Railway (Muni), one of the first city-owned streetcar lines in the country, was inaugurated in 1912.

### 4) F. W. Woolworth Store 891

*Market Street (this address no longer exists— now the San Francisco Shopping Centre)*

In 1936 the F.W. Woolworth Company warehouses were organized by the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA), the predecessor of ILWU Local 6. When the company refused to recognize the union, warehousemen went out on strike and also set up an informational picket line outside the main San Francisco Woolworth store at the corner of Fifth and Market.

Invited by ILA strikers, nineteen year-old Marion Brown (her later married name was Sills) and six other store employees attended a Sunday meeting at the San Francisco Labor Council to hear more about the issues. Observed by a Woolworth’s assistant manager, all seven were summarily fired upon returning to work Monday morning. An angry Marion Brown promptly joined the picket line outside.

When the Woolworth Company decided to negotiate, the ILA made re-employment of the seven fired store employees a settlement condition to end the Woolworth Strike. But as Marion Brown recalled this incident years later, the F.W. Woolworth Co. and she were in perfect agreement at that point in time—they didn’t want to put her back in her old job and she didn’t wish to go back “under any circumstances.” She went on instead to help found the Department Store Employees’ Union (Retail Clerks, Local 1100). Chartered in 1937, the union rapidly organized all the major department stores in the city, including the F.W. Woolworth Store at Fifth and Market Streets. The chief negotiator for the company, upon being introduced to Marion Brown, remarked ruefully that

“the Woolworth Company was sorry about one thing—that they ever fired Marion Brown.”

## 5) Palace Hotel

### *2 New Montgomery Street*

The first Palace Hotel was built in 1875 at this location on the south side of Market Street by William C. Ralston, head of the Bank of California. Seeking to increase the value of his other properties south of Market Street and hoping to pull business in this direction, Ralston located his luxury hotel well to the south of what was then the center of the central business district. When it opened, the Palace gained a reputation as the biggest, finest, and most luxurious hotel in the West, helping to establish San Francisco’s status as a true metropolis. One of the building’s most notable features was its interior courtyard.

Echoing the “Southern” style of service made popular in the West on the railroads’ Pullman sleeping cars, the Palace’s management decided to hire African-Americans to staff the kitchen and dining rooms, and to work as maids, porters, and bellboys. Initially, the Palace employed around two hundred black workers, many recruited from elegant eastern resort hotels. At the turn of the century, the Palace began to shift away from employing African-Americans, possibly as the “Southern” style of service became less fashionable. By 1896, the last African-American porters and bellmen were discharged. The San Francisco locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union opened membership to African-Americans in 1910, but the color line at the Palace Hotel remained unbroken until the 1960s.

The fire following the 1906 earthquake destroyed much of the downtown area of the city. Though the Palace had an elaborate fire control system, Army troops forced the hotel staff to evacuate the building as the fire approached. The original building was gutted, but a new Palace Hotel rose on the same location in 1910, designed by Trowbridge and Livingston of Boston.

In 1918, a strike committee of Palace Hotel workers met with management and, after a night-long meeting, voted to walk out. The hotel agreed to recognize their union and to establish a nine-hour day.

During the Civil Rights era, activists from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), and other organizations staged sit-ins at restaurants, grocery chains, bus lines, bakeries, auto dealerships, and hotels around the country to force businesses to hire and promote African Americans into jobs above the menial level. In 1964, local activists made the Palace Hotel part of this national civil rights campaign for equality in employment. Negotiations were held with the Palace Hotel in February 1964, but the meeting broke up without substantial concessions. Students from San Francisco State College staged a 17-hour sit-in in the Palace lobby; one hundred sixty-seven protestors were arrested. The Hotel Employers’ Association (HEA) finally reached an agreement with the sponsors of the demonstrations to designate all HEA members as “equal opportunity employers,” and the HEA agreed to increase the number of minorities in its workforce, particularly in those jobs which included contact with the public.

The ILWU played a major role in these actions when ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Louis Goldblatt helped negotiate the Palace agreement and rank-and-file union members participated when the protests moved on to auto dealerships.

Labor’s mark endures on the Palace Hotel; when the building was remodeled in 1996, the Plasterers’ Union, Local 66, did extensive work recreating and renovating the moldings.

## 6) Mechanics Monument

### *At Battery, Bush and Market Streets*

Five bronze men—representing the cycle of life from youth through old age—struggle to force the blade of an enormous mechanical punch through plate metal in this monument to Peter Donohue, once the premier industrialist of San Francisco. Donohue, a Glasgow-born metal worker of Irish descent, came to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. He cast the first piece of iron molded in the west at his Union Iron Works (established in 1850), began large-scale shipbuilding, constructed the first West Coast built warship, founded the San Francisco Gas Works (which, after several mergers with other companies, became a part of Pacific Gas & Electric), and built the city’s first streetcar. After his death, Donohue’s family wanted to

memorialize him, and James D. Phelan, who was elected mayor in 1896, persuaded them to permit Douglas Tilden to develop a design consistent with Phelan's City Beautiful Movement.

Phelan wanted the architecture and public art of San Francisco to promote an aesthetic of "beauty, order and harmony" in order to instill moral values and civic pride in its residents. As other coastal cities had begun to challenge San Francisco's preeminent position as the major city of the West, the City Beautiful Movement also promoted the city as a site of culture. Thus, the Mechanics Monument was commissioned in 1894 with dual objectives.

Douglas Tilden, a noted Oakland-based sculptor who was born in California, designed the statue. Having studied in New York and Paris, and influenced by European sculptural traditions, Tilden mixed classical idealism with detailed realism. While individual elements of the punch press are accurately rendered (the lever, the fixed pivot and the pivot link), the overall machine is fanciful and unworkable. The monument is meant to suggest the power of both the machine and the men, rather than to document an actual working press. The portrayal of the workers glorifies masculine labor and the work ethic, unlike most monumental sculptures that portray captains of industry or military prowess.

At the time of the monument's construction, foundries and machine shops located in nearby South of Market comprised one of San Francisco's largest industries. Working people appropriated the statue early on for their own purposes. The California Labor Federation and the San Francisco Labor Council both used the statue on the cover of publications; marchers have posed against it for photographs during Market Street Labor Day parades, and its seating area provides a welcome resting spot during this Labor Tour.

## 7) Mechanics' Institute

*57 Post Street*

The Mechanics' Institute is a nonprofit membership organization open to the public. Founded in 1854, the Institute defined its goals as providing technical education and training for adults, sponsoring lectures for members and the public on technical and cultural topics, and promoting local industry.

From 1857 to 1899, the Institute sponsored thirty-one industrial fairs, exhibiting manufactured goods, scientific apparatus, and agricultural products produced in California. Classes offered by the Institute included instruction in mechanical drawing, wood-working, applied mathematics, iron working, and other technical subjects needed to support California's economic evolution from a gold rush economy to an economy based on industry and agriculture.

Today, the Mechanics' Institute continues to serve San Francisco and the Bay Area with a state-of-the-art, general-interest library, an internationally-renowned chess room, classes, lectures, and literary and performing arts events that support the educational, vocational, and cultural interest of the entire community. Housed in its historic building in the center of the Financial District, the Institute offers tours for members and the public each Wednesday at noon. Only members can use the library.

## 8) Home Telephone Exchange

*333 Grant Avenue*

On January 25, 1915, the first transcontinental telephone call from San Francisco was placed from the main offices of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, located at 333 Grant Avenue. Staffing the switchboards was difficult and underpaid work. "The requirements and nervous strain incident to the service are so very severe," a report from the US Commission on Industrial Relations stated, "that experienced physicians have testified that operators should work not more than five hours a day, whereas the regular working hours are seven to nine hours per day," for as little as \$9.00 a week. Consequently, the telephone operators, most of whom were young women, rarely stayed with the job longer than a year. The high turnover rate, combined with intense employer resistance to unions and organized labor's ambivalence towards women workers during this period, made unionization a daunting task.

Initial organizing efforts on the part of a small group of operators quickly fizzled. Then, in 1918, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) began an effort to organize telephone operators on the Pacific Coast. The shortage of workers in a wartime economy and the Wilson Administration's creation of the National War Labor



Board combined to increase organized labor's bargaining power. Also, the national telephone system was put under the control of Postmaster General Albert S. Burluson, who required that the Wage Commission of the Wire Control Board oversee telephone-related labor negotiations.

The women running the switchboards in San Francisco came together as Telephone Operators' Union Local 54a, IBEW, in the spring of 1918. Locals were also organized in Oakland, Sacramento, and Fresno. In June of the same year, representatives of Local 54a contacted Pacific Telephone and Telegraph with the intention of negotiating an agreement that would go into effect at the beginning of 1919. The company not only refused to consider any negotiations with the union, but also tried to ignore the union entirely.

In May 1919, the operators, along with electrical workers employed by the company, voted to go on strike the following month if Pacific Telephone and Telegraph continued to refuse to negotiate. The phone company offered the operators a wage increase of ten cents a day, a tactic that in the past had always quieted employee grumbling. The operators declined the increase. Instead, they put forth a set of demands that included recognition of the union, a wage increase of \$2.00 to \$4.00 per day, and a pay scale that took into account the often-short tenure of telephone operators. They also asked that the contracts for the electrical workers and the operators run concurrently. The strike was set for June 16th.

Two days before the workers were to go out on strike, the IBEW national leadership sent word that all workers were to remain on the job. Postmaster General Burluson had ordered telephone companies nationwide to accept collective bargaining efforts by their employees. Officials from the Local 54a grudgingly agreed. The women at the switchboards, however, decided to take matters into their own hands: on June 17th, 5,000 operators from locals through out Northern California, along with 1,000 electrical workers, walked out. They were joined by thousands of other telephone workers from Southern California to Washington, causing the phone system along the Pacific Coast to come to an almost complete standstill.

Support for the strike in San Francisco was strong and widespread. The San Francisco Labor Council requested donations from its affiliates to bolster the telephone operators' strike fund. Unions such as the

Ship Fitters and Helpers, Local 9 and Bridge and the Structural Iron Workers, Local 31 readily provided contributions to the operators' strike fund. Two meals a day were served at a canteen set up for the operators by the Women's Citizen's Committee. Money was also provided to help pay their housing costs.

Local fervor for the strike contrasted sharply with the tentative approach of the national leadership. On July 18th, Julia O'Connor, president of the IBEW's Telephone Operators' Department, sent a telegram to the local leadership ordering all operators to return to work. In a conference in Washington, D.C., Postmaster Burluson made clear his position that the Federal Wire Control Board would not act in arbitrating an agreement until the strike ended. In a vote of 366 to 46, strikers in San Francisco voted to disregard O'Connor's order to return to work, with the understanding that the local strike committee would have the final say. On July 23, 1919, the chairman of the Committee announced that the operators would return to work. Talks concerning agreement on a final contract began. In the meanwhile, the operators received a nominal wage increase, recognition of the union, and equal representation on a permanent arbitration board.

Unfortunately, the talks quickly broke down. The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company refused to consider an additional wage increase and continued to discriminate against unionized employees. PT&T formed a company controlled union to compete with the Telephone Operators' Union, promising many of the benefits Local 54a had tried to secure, but without independent representation. In February 1920, the members of the Telephone Operators' Union, Local 54a, again went out on strike. This time, though, they had to compete with the company-controlled union. Public opinion of and government support for organized labor were quickly changing as the post-war economy began to slump and unions came to be equated with un-American activities. Pacific Telephone, whose profits had soared in 1919, was able to wait out the union. By the spring of 1920, the Telephone Operators' Union was destroyed. Not until 1935, with the passage of the Wagner Act, which guaranteed workers the right to collective bargaining by representatives of their own choosing, did telephone operators again effectively organize the phone company.



## 9) Votes for Women Club

### *315 Sutter Street*

In 1911, a group of middle-class women founded the Votes for Women Club in a large loft in the Newberry Building. Dedicated to broadening support for women's suffrage, the club included a reading room and lunchroom for women only. Clerks and office workers from nearby Financial District offices and Union Square department stores spent their lunch hours at the club, where meals cost 15 cents and organizers plied visitors with suffrage literature.

Although suffragists were active in California since the 1870s, suffrage for women had been defeated on a statewide ballot in 1896 after intense lobbying by the liquor industry, which feared women would vote for prohibition. The success of the 1911 campaign was due in significant part to the mobilization of working-class women by groups like the Votes for Women Club and the Wage Earners' Suffrage League—and to their ability to persuade labor organizations and working-class men to vote for enfranchising women.

And a little further afield are the:

### Coit Tower murals

#### 1 Telegraph Hill Boulevard

Coit Tower was built in Pioneer Park atop Telegraph Hill in 1933. The art deco tower, 210 feet (64 m) of unpainted reinforced concrete, was designed by architects Arthur Brown, Jr. and Henry Howard with murals by 26 different artists and numerous assistants. The Coit Tower murals were carried out under the auspices of the Public Works of Art Project, the first of the New Deal federal employment programs for artists. Ralph Stackpole and Bernard Zakheim successfully sought the commission in 1933, and supervised the muralists, who were mainly faculty and student of the California School of Fine Arts (CSFA).

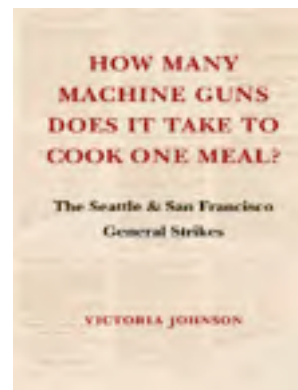
After Diego Rivera's *Man at the Crossroads* mural was destroyed by its Rockefeller Center patrons for the inclusion of an image of Lenin, the Coit Tower muralists protested, picketing the tower. Sympathy for Rivera led some artists to incorporate leftist ideas and composition elements in their works. Bernard Zakheim's "Library" depicts fellow artist John Langley Howard crumpling a newspaper in his left hand as he

reaches for a shelved copy of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* with his right, and Stackpole is painted reading a newspaper headline announcing the destruction of Rivera's mural; Victor Arnautoff's "City Life" includes the *The New Masses* and *The Daily Worker* periodicals in the scene's news stand rack; John Langley Howard's mural depicts an ethnically diverse Labor March as well as showing a destitute family panning for gold while a rich family observes; and Stackpole's *Industries of California* was composed along the same lines as an early study of the destroyed *Man at the Crossroads*.

Most of the murals are open for public viewing without charge during open hours, although there are ongoing negotiations by the Recreation and Parks Department of San Francisco to begin charging visitors a fee to enter the mural rotunda. The murals in the spiral stairway, normally closed to the public, are open for viewing on Saturday mornings at 11:00 am with a free San Francisco City Guides tour.

## Recent publications of note

**Victoria Johnson, *How Many Machine Guns Does it Take to Cook One Meal? The Seattle and San Francisco General Strikes* (University of Washington Press, 2008).**



*How Many Machine Guns Does It Take to Cook One Meal?* explores the cultural forces that shaped two pivotal events affecting the entire West Coast: the 1919 Seattle General Strike and the 1934 San Francisco General Strike. In contrast to traditional approaches that downplay culture or

focus on the role of socialists or communists, Victoria Johnson shows how strike participants were inspired by distinctly American notions of workplace democracy that can be traced back to the political philosophies of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine.

Johnson examines the powerful stories and practices from our own egalitarian traditions that resonated with these workers and that have too often been dismissed by observers of the American labor movement. Ultimately, she argues that organized labor's failure to draw on these traditions in later decades contributed to its decreasing capacity to mobilize workers as well as to the increasing conservatism of American political culture.

*Victoria Johnson is associate professor of sociology at the University of Missouri, Columbia.*

"This book corrects the view that American unionism was conservative in its political orientation by examining the 1919 Seattle General Strike and the 1934 San Francisco General Strike, both of which were radical to the core and deeply embedded in the communities out of which they arose. The book is a bold undertaking that presents the other face of labor in American history." - David Olson, University of Washington

"Shows how a militant shop-floor unionism capitalized upon radical republican political traditions to produce a distinctive movement for labor solidarity that subordinated the more state-centered ideologies of socialism and communism to the sidelines." - Daniel Jacoby, author of *Laboring for Freedom: A New Look at the History of Labor in America*

**Mark Thomas, *Regulating Flexibility: The Political Economy of Employment Standards* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).**



A timely analysis of employment standards legislation that calls for a new approach to labour market regulation.

In a contemporary labour market that includes growing levels of precarious employment, the regulation of minimum employment

standards is intricately connected to conditions of economic security. With a focus on the role of neoliberal labour market policies in promoting "flexible" employment standards legislation—

particularly in the areas of minimum wages and working time—Mark Thomas argues that shifts toward "flexible" legislation have played a central role in producing patterns of labour market inequality.

Using an analytic framework that situates employment standards within the context of the broader social relations that shape processes of labour market regulation, Thomas constructs a case study of employment standards legislation in Ontario from 1884 to 2004. Drawing from political economy scholarship, and using a qualitative research methodology, he analyses class, race, and gender dimensions of legislative developments, highlighting the ways in which shifts towards "flexible" employment standards have exacerbated longstanding racialized and gendered inequities.

*Regulating Flexibility* argues that in order to counter current trends towards increased insecurity, employment standards should not be treated as a secondary form of labour protection but as a cornerstone in a progressive project of labour market re-regulation.

*Mark P. Thomas is assistant professor of sociology, York University.*

**Robert Perrucci and Carolyn C. Perrucci, *America at Risk: The Crisis of Hope, Trust, and Caring* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).**



In *America at Risk: The Crisis of Hope, Trust, and Caring*, Robert Perrucci and Carolyn C. Perrucci identify the broad economic and technological changes that have led to the loss of high wage jobs, declining opportunity, and increased income and wealth inequality. Taking data from a thirty-year

period, Perrucci and Perrucci apply a critical sociological lens to view the dominant economic, political, and cultural institutions that cause the main social problems affecting Americans.