

IN CRITICAL SOLIDARITY

*Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's
Section on Labor and Labor Movements — Volume 21, No. 1
Edited by Joseph van der Naald*



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NOTES FROM THE CHAIR

Jeff Rothstein, Grand Valley State University

Dear Colleagues,

As we celebrate another holiday season in the midst of a global pandemic, our thoughts turn to those whose work puts them at greatest risk. Indeed, COVID-19 has caused a crisis in employment and also laid bare many of the struggles that labor and labor movements have faced for years.

With this mind, the Program Committee has been hard at work planning a mini-conference on “Labor in Crisis” to be held on August 4, 2022, the day before the main ASA conference begins. We anticipate plenaries and panels provoking broad and inclusive discussions, where section members can receive feedback on work-in-progress, and activists and academics can discuss both the crises of the day and the underlying dynamics they expose. The call for submissions is included in this newsletter. Please plan to join us!

Also in this issue, among the news of the work section members continue to produce, is our call for submissions for the Labor & Labor Movements panels at ASA and our call for nominations for section awards. Consider nominating yourself or others for a paper or book award. And please nominate a worthy candidate to receive our inaugural *Dan Clawson Activist-Scholar Award*.

I wish you all a happy and healthy holiday!

- Jeff Rothstein



CALL FOR SECTION AWARD NOMINATIONS

Distinguished Scholarly Book Award

Deadline: 3/01/2022

The Labor & Labor Movements *Distinguished Scholarly Book Award* goes to what is judged by the award committee to be the best book based on original research published in the sociology of work, the labor process, the working class, labor unions, or working class movements. To qualify, the book must have been published between January 1, 2020 and December 31, 2021. No more than one book nomination per person is allowed. Section members are strongly urged to nominate books for the prize. Self-nominations are welcome. Authors must be members of the section at time of nomination. Please send nominations to the committee chair, Lu Zhang at lu.zhang1@temple.edu no later than March 1, 2022. Upon receipt of your email nomination, you will be provided with the mailing addresses of the award committee members. Nominators/Nominees/Publishers will have until April 1, 2022 to send hard-copies to the committee members.

Distinguished Scholarly Article Award:

Deadline: 3/01/2022

The Labor & Labor Movements *Distinguished Scholarly Article Award* goes to what is judged by the award committee to be the best article in the sociology of work, the labor process, the working class, labor unions, or working class movements published between January 1, 2020 and December 31, 2021. Articles based on qualitative, quantitative or mixed methodologies are welcome. Research may be U.S. based, international, or global in scope. Section members are strongly urged to nominate articles for the prize. Authors must be members of the section at time of nomination. Nominations must include an electronic copy of (or link to) the article. Please send nominations to the committee chair, Rocío Rosales at r.rosales@uci.edu no later than March 1, 2022.

Student Paper Award

Deadline: 3/01/2022

The Labor & Labor Movements *Distinguished Student Paper Award* goes to what is judged by the award committee to be the best paper written by a graduate student on the sociology of work, the labor process, the working class, labor unions, or working class movements between January 1, 2020 and December 31, 2021. Papers based on qualitative, quantitative or mixed methodologies are welcome. Research may be U.S. based, international, or global in scope. Published papers, papers under review, and unpublished article-length manuscripts are eligible. Authors must be enrolled students at the time the paper was written and cannot have won the student paper award in the previous 3 years. Authors must be members of the section at time of submission. The winner receives \$250. Section members may self-nominate, and faculty should encourage graduate students to submit promising work. Nominations must include an electronic copy of the paper. Please send nominations to the committee chair, Barry Eidlin at barry.eidlin@mcgill.ca no later than March 1, 2022.

The Dan Clawson Activist-Scholar Award

Deadline: 3/01/2022

The Labor & Labor Movements *Dan Clawson Activist-Scholar Award* goes to an individual who demonstrates a long-standing commitment to engaging in scholarship and activism that directly addresses social and economic justice. In addition to a strong record of scholarship, the nominee should actively engage in movements for positive social change and demonstrate some of the core values central to Dan Clawson's life: collegiality, mentorship, kindness, and generosity. A letter of nomination (2 pages single-spaced maximum please) should provide an overview of the nominee's history of scholarship and activism. Activism should be outside of teaching. The letter should discuss how the nominee's activist and scholarly work embody the values described above and why the individual is deserving of this award. Nominations can be made by academics and/or activists, but self-nominations will not be accepted. Nominations will be considered for five years. Nominators should email their letter to the award committee chair, Cedric de Leon at cedricdeleon@umass.edu no later than March 1, 2022.

CALL FOR PAPERS: ASA 2022 ANNUAL MEETING—LOS ANGELES

LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENTS—OPEN SESSIONS AND ROUNDTABLES

The Labor & Labor Movements section invites papers addressing all issues of labor, labor movements, unions, and conditions of employment broadly defined for two sessions with yet-to-be determined themes. Papers incorporating previously unpublished fieldwork, those located at the intersection of labor and race, gender, sexual orientation, or immigration, as well as those focusing on global labor studies, and/or analyzing labor in the global economy are strongly encouraged. The deadline to submit is February 9, 2022.

LABOR IN CRISIS MINI CONFERENCE—THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 2022

(Co-sponsored by the Section on Global and Transnational Sociology and the Section on Political Economy of the World-System)

The Labor & Labor Movements section invites proposals for plenaries, panels, and papers addressing all issues of labor, labor movements, unions, and conditions of employment for a mini-conference on *Labor in Crisis*. Those located at the intersection of labor and race, gender, sexual orientation, or immigration, as well as those focusing on global labor studies, and/or analyzing labor in the global economy are strongly encouraged.

COVID-19 has sparked broad conversations around crises of labor and work. Even as the global pandemic persists, COVID-19 is projected to have lasting impacts on work and labor around the world. From offices to factories and throughout the service sector, the pandemic has upended work itself. Meanwhile, evidence is mounting that COVID-19 has encouraged workers to reappraise their expectations of work. From the “great resignation” and spike in strikes in the U.S., to the labor shortages throughout supply chains, global workers are demanding better wages, benefits, and working conditions. While these issues have recently captured the public’s imagination, as labor scholars we know that labor is in a perpetual state of crisis. We have been studying the degradation of work and precariousness of labor, workers’ struggles to mobilize and labor unions’ efforts to organize. Our research illuminates the dynamics behind all sorts of discrimination and bias in the workplace, from the corporate boardroom to the global factory. Labor activism and labor movements are born of crisis.

The mini-conference will the first time in three years that we will come together as labor scholars to discuss the changes we are seeing in work, labor, and labor movements. This will, no doubt, include discussions around the impact of COVID-19 that are on everyone’s minds. More importantly, it is our opportunity to continue discussing the ongoing research in our field illuminating the trends in workplace behavior, labor union activism, and worker movements that inform our understanding of the crises of the day.

- To propose a paper, please email an abstract to Jeff Rothstein (rothstej@gvsu.edu) by March 1.
- To organize a panel, please email a one-paragraph description of the panel with a list of participants to Jeff Rothstein (rothstej@gvsu.edu) by March 1.
- To suggest a plenary, please email your idea to Jeff Rothstein (rothstej@gvsu.edu) and we will discuss it.

JOB ANNOUNCEMENTS

University of California, Santa Cruz

The [Sociology Department](#) at the University of California, Santa Cruz, is pleased to announce our position for an [Assistant Teaching Professor of Community-Engaged Research and Learning](#) to support our developing community-engaged research and internship program. This position will entail two key roles: 1) Teach four courses per year in the Sociology Department that augment existing curriculum through a critical approach to the process of community engaged research and learning; 2) Coordinate across UCSC and within the community to support undergraduate student placement in internships with community organizations.

The position requires demonstrated excellence in undergraduate teaching; excellence in professional and community-engaged activities; and broad contributions to university service. While the specialization for the position is open, we especially welcome candidates whose education, professional activities, and teaching are informed by community-engaged research practice, field research methods, and critical and imaginative theoretical approaches. We welcome candidates who understand the barriers facing women, people of color, and others underrepresented in higher education careers (as evidenced by life experiences and educational background), and who have experience in equity and diversity with respect to teaching, mentoring, research, life experiences, or service towards building an equitable and diverse scholarly environment.



For full details, please visit: <https://recruit.ucsc.edu/JPF01181>

Initial review date is Monday, January 31, 2022 at 11:59pm (Pacific Time).

For more information about this recruitment contact jlawrence@ucsc.edu, and please refer to position #JPF01181 in all correspondence.



Pennsylvania State Education Association

The Pennsylvania State Education (PSEA) association is looking to hire a researcher for survey analysis and quantitative assessment. PSEA is a professional education association/labor organization representing 178,000 members with an opening for Researcher based in Harrisburg, PA.

The responsibilities of this position include conducting surveys on collective bargaining, strategic planning, and education issues, as well as implementing other assessment studies; working with external consultants on public opinion surveys; overseeing the data related component of PSEA's strategic assessment process; responding to inquiries regarding statistical and demographic information; developing and delivering expert testimony at fact-finding and arbitration proceedings. Ideal candidates will possess an advanced degree in Labor Relations, Economics, Sociology, Industrial Psychology or a relevant field of study. Candidates with a bachelor's degree will be considered if they can demonstrate high levels of quantitative and statistical skills including experience analyzing large, complex datasets. This position requires excellent quantitative and statistical skills, and strong written and verbal communication skills. Prior survey experience is a plus. A full job description is available [here](#).

The starting salary for this position is \$113k. PSEA provides an excellent comprehensive benefits package that includes employer paid medical insurance for employee and dependents. We also provide a pension and 401k plan for our employees. For more information about this position and PSEA, please visit our website at www.psea.org or contact David Wazeter at dwazeter@psea.org or call at 717-255-7114.

If interested in applying for this position, please email a letter of interest and resume to jobs@psea.org.

The application deadline is January 17th.

MEMBER ANNOUNCEMENTS AND PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

Barry Eidlin (McGill University) published a history of the United Autoworkers organizing in higher education in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. The article can be read [here](#).

Evelyn Encalada Grez (Simon Fraser University) was recently interviewed on the podcast Women, Work, More about migrant women and family separation. The podcast can be streamed [here](#).

Tom Juravich (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) was interviewed by WBUR Radio Boston on recent unionization efforts across the United States. The interview can be streamed [here](#).

Mishal Khan (University of Texas School of Law) recently published an op-ed in the *Chicago Tribune* on the Great Resignation entitled “Is the ‘Great Resignation’ a golden opportunity or a siren song?” A copy of the article without paywall is available [here](#).

Liam-Ching “Larry” Liu (Princeton University) discussed the sociology of work and capitalism with fellow graduate student Vivek Nemana. The exchange can be read on Larry’s blog [here](#).

Ruth Milkman (Graduate Center, CUNY) co-published a reflection on the Occupy movement in *The Nation* with Stephanie Luce and Penny Lewis entitled “Did Occupy Wall Street Make a Difference?” The article can be read [here](#).

Kim Scipes (Purdue University Northwest) published a review of *Dying for an iPhone* by Jenny Chan, Mark Selden and Pun Ngai in *Counter Punch*. The review can be read [here](#).

Todd Vachon (Rutgers University) published an op-ed in *Common Dreams* entitled “Democracy is Dying. Unions Can Help Save It.” The piece can be read [here](#).



Published something that you would like to share in our next newsletter? Email it to our newsletter editor Joseph van der Naald at jvandernaald@gradcenter.cuny.edu

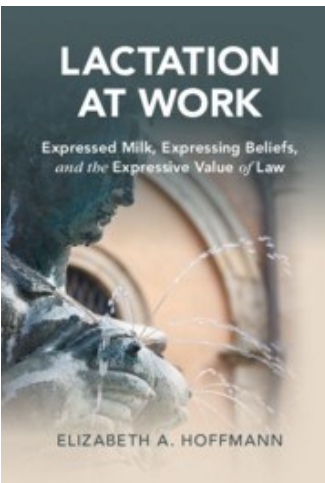
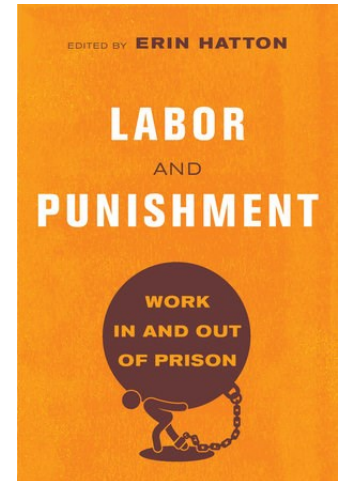
MEMBER PUBLICATIONS

Books

Labor and Punishment: Work in and out of Prison

Erin Hatton (SUNY Buffalo)

The insightful chapters in this volume reveal the multiple and multifaceted intersections between mass incarceration and neoliberal precarity. Both mass incarceration and the criminal justice system are profoundly implicated in the production and reproduction of the low-wage “exploitable” precariat, both within and beyond prison walls. The carceral state is a regime of labor discipline—and a growing one—that extends far beyond its own inmate labor. This regime not only molds inmates into compliant workers willing and expected to accept any “bad” job upon release but also compels many Americans to work in such jobs under threat of incarceration, all the while bolstering their “exploitability” and socioeconomic marginality. Contributors include Anne Bonds, Philip Goodman, Amanda Bell Hughtett, Caroline M. Parker, Gretchen Purser, Jacqueline Stevens, and Noah D. Zatz.



Lactation at Work: Expressed Milk, Expressing Beliefs, and the Expressive Value of Law

Elizabeth A. Hoffmann (Purdue University)

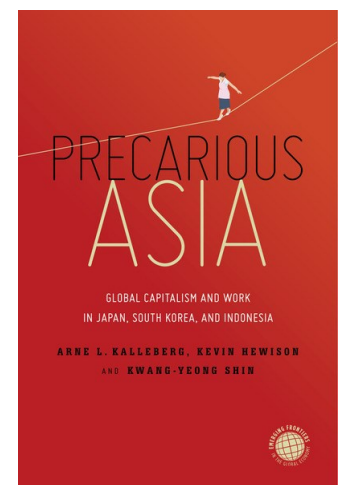
In recent decades, as women entered the US workforce in increasing numbers, they faced the conundrum of how to maintain breastfeeding and hold down full-time jobs. In 2010, the Lactation at Work Law (an amendment to the US Fair Labor Standards Act) mandated accommodations for lactating women. This book examines the federal law and its state-level equivalent in Indiana, drawing on two waves of interviews with human resource personnel, supervising managers, and lactating workers. In many ways, this simple law - requiring break time and privacy for pumping - is a success story. Through advocacy by allies, education of managers, and employee initiative, many organizations created compliant accommodations. This book shows legal scholars how a successful civil rights law creates effective change; helps labor activists and management personnel understand how to approach new accommodations; and enables workers to understand the possibilities for amelioration of workplace

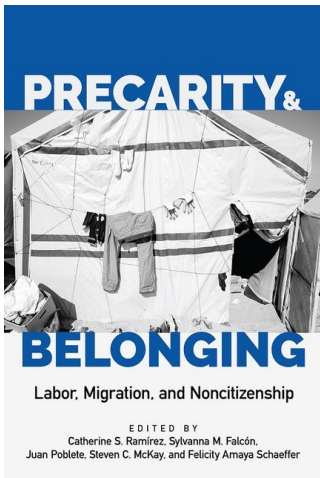
problems through internal negotiations and legal reforms.

Precarious Asia: Global Capitalism and Work in Japan, South Korea, and Indonesia

Arne L. Kalleberg, Kevin Hewison, and Kwang-Yeong Shin

Precarious Asia assesses the role of global and domestic factors in shaping precarious work and its outcomes in Japan, South Korea, and Indonesia as they represent a range of Asian political democracies and capitalist economies: Japan and South Korea are now developed and mature economies, while Indonesia remains a lower-middle income country. With their established backgrounds in Asian studies, comparative political economy, social stratification and inequality, and the sociology of work, the authors yield compelling insights into the extent and consequences of precarious work, examining the dynamics underlying its rise. By linking macrostructural policies to both the mesostructure of labor relations and the microstructure of outcomes experienced by individual workers, they reveal the interplay of forces that generate precarious work, and in doing so, synthesize historical and institutional analyses with the political economy of capitalism and class relations. This book reveals how precarious work ultimately contributes to increasingly high levels of inequality and condemns segments of the population to chronic poverty and many more to livelihood and income vulnerability.





Precarity and Belonging: Labor, Migration, and Noncitizenship

Edited by Catherine S. Ramírez, Sylvanna M. Falcón, Juan Poblete, Steven C. McKay, Felicity Amaya Schaeffer

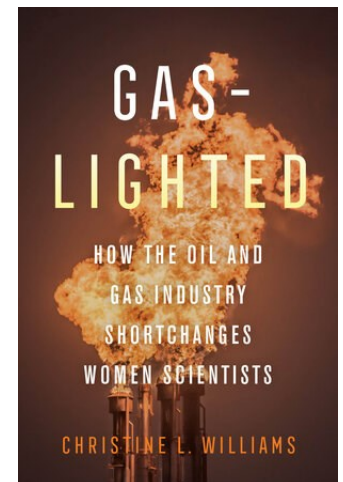
Precarity and Belonging examines how the movement of people and their incorporation, marginalization, and exclusion, under epochal conditions of labor and social precarity affecting both citizens and noncitizens, have challenged older notions of citizenship and alienage. This collection brings mobility, precarity, and citizenship together in order to explore the points of contact and friction, and, thus, the spaces for a possible politics of commonality between citizens and noncitizens. The editors ask: What does modern citizenship mean in a world of citizens, denizens, and noncitizens, such as undocumented migrants, guest workers, permanent residents, refugees, detainees, and stateless people? How is the concept of citizenship, based on assumptions of deservingness, legality, and productivity, challenged when people of various and competing statuses and differential citizenship practices interact with each other,

revealing their co-constitutive connections? How is citizenship valued or revalued when labor and social precarity impact those who seemingly have formal rights and those who seemingly or effectively do not? This book interrogates such binaries as citizen/noncitizen, insider/outsider, entitled/unentitled, "legal"/"illegal," and deserving/undeserving in order to explore the fluidity--that is, the dynamism and malleability--of the spectra of belonging.

Gaslighted: How the Oil and Gas Industry Shortchanges Women Scientists

Christine Williams (University of Texas, Austin)

The oil and gas industry is one of the richest and most powerful industries in the world. In recent years, company avowals in support of diversity, much-touted programs for "women in STEM," and, most importantly, a tight labor market with near parity in women pursuing geoscience credentials might lead us to expect progress for women in this industry's corporate ranks. Yet, for all the talk of "the great crew change," the industry remains overwhelmingly white and male. Sociologist Christine L. Williams asks, where are the women? To answer this question, Williams embarked on a decade-long investigation—one involving one hundred in-depth interviews, a longitudinal survey, and ethnographic research—that allowed her to observe the industry in times of boom and bust. She found that when the industry expands, women may be able to walk through the door, but when the industry contracts, the door becomes a revolving one, whirling ever faster, as companies retreat to their white male core. These gendered outcomes are obscured by firms' stated commitments to diversity in hiring and the language of merit. The result is organizational gaslighting, a radical dissonance between language and practice that Williams exposes for all.



Articles

Elfenbein, Ralph. .2021. "Mobilized Yet Contained: Popular Women, Feminisms, and Organizing around Venezuela's 2012 Labor Law." *Latin American Perspectives* 48(5):75-95. doi.org/10.1177/0094582X211013023.

Venezuela's state-led national-popular Bolivarian process opened up a new political field for feminism—an approach that was both institutional and popular, aiming to combine forces from above and from below and use state gender institutions to foment popular women's organization. Yet this field was conflictual, containing contesting popular feminist projects with different implications for the gendered division of labor. Analysis of popular women's organizing around Venezuela's 2012

organic labor law shows that state adoption of feminism marked a gendered political opening for popularizing feminism while also presenting risks of state co-optation of popular women's organizing. The state understood popular women's organization and mobilization as central to the revolution, yet it generally attempted to limit their autonomy and organizing to challenge the gendered division of labor.

Ikeler, Peter. 2021. "Labor Relations and the Overdose Crisis in the United States." *Addiction Research & Theory* 29(4):271-278. doi.org/10.1080/16066359.2020.1793962

Background/Objective: To assess the impact of noted

long-term changes in US labor relations and labor market structures on the rapid rise of overdose death in the United States. Methods: State-level overdose death rates obtained from the Centers for Disease Control were combined with Bureau of Labor Statistics data on manufacturing employment, unionization and self employment, as well as Census data on key demographic variables to construct a longitudinal dataset (N = 51, including Washington D.C.). Linear regressions were conducted on a logged transformation of overdose death rate increases from 1999 to 2017. Results: Deindustrialization and low self-employment significantly predict state-level increases in overdose death rates across all models; union decline approaches significance. Together, these three factors explain nearly 40% of variance in overdose death change between 1999 and 2017, maintaining predictive power in the presence of controls. Conclusion: Labor relations emerge as important predictors of overdose death and addiction. Specifically, worker autonomy—which is typically higher in manufacturing over frontline service, self-employed over dependent wage and salary, and unionized over nonunion jobs—appears to contribute in its decline to deleterious substance use.

Kerrissey, Jasmine, and Nathan Meyers. 2021. "Public-Sector Unions as Equalizing Institutions: Race, Gender, and Earnings." *ILR Review*. doi.org/10.1177/00197939211056914.

This research demonstrates that the union wage premium is higher for Black and women workers in the US public sector, what we refer to as “an intersectional union premium.” Union mechanisms reinforce and expand the more equitable practices of the public sector, resulting in this additional boost. Using Current Population Survey data, 1983–2018, this research models intersectional effects on earnings by examining interactions between union membership and race-gender. Relative to White men, union membership boosts average earnings an additional 3% for Black men and Black women, and 2% for White women on top of the direct union premium. Corollary analyses reaffirm these effects in multiple state contexts, including by union density and union coverage. Intersectional union premiums are weaker in states that prohibit collective bargaining. These premiums are present across most types of public work, with the exception of police and fire employees. To conclude, the authors discuss how changing labor policies may impact race and gender equity in the public sector.

Kerrissey, Jasmine, Tiamba Wilkerson, and Nathan Meyers. 2021. "The Political and Civic Lives of Public Sector Workers: Unions and “Public Service Motivation”." *Sociological Forum* 36(1): 92-110.

doi.org/10.1111/socf.12663.

Public sector employees are highly engaged in civic and political life, from voting to volunteering. Scholars have theorized that this political activity stems from “public service motivation,” or the selection of publicly oriented individuals into public work. We build on this work by analyzing the role of public sector unions in shaping participation. Unions are central mobilizing organizations in political life, and one in three public sector workers are unionized. Special supplements of the Current Population Survey provide data on various forms of participation, sector, union membership, and union coverage. Logistic regressions find that unionized public sector workers have much higher odds of engaging in a range of activities compared to non-union public workers, including protest, electoral politics, and political communication. Union membership impacts service work to a lesser extent, suggesting that unions are more central to political lives. These findings have implications for the consequences of union decline, including the class, race, and gender composition of who participates in democratic life.

Kreisberg, Nicole, and Nathan Wilmers. 2021. "Blacklist or Short List: Do Employers Discriminate against Union Supporter Job Applicants?." *ILR Review*. doi.org/10.1177/00197939211036444.

Starting in the 1980s, US employers revived aggressive action against unions. Employers’ public opposition to unions yielded a scholarly consensus that US employers actively and consistently discriminate against union supporters. However, evidence for widespread employer anti-union discrimination is based mainly on employer reactions to rare union organizing campaigns. To measure baseline or preventive anti-union discrimination, the authors field the first ever US-based résumé correspondence study of employer responses to union supporter applicants. Focus is on entry-level, non-college degree jobs and findings show no difference in employer callback rates for union supporter applicants relative to non-union applicants. Drawing on interviews and survey data, the authors suggest that union weakness itself may have hollowed preventive employer discrimination against union supporters.

Lee, Youngrong. 2021. "After a Global Platform Leaves: Understanding the Heterogeneity of Gig Workers through Capital Mobility." *Critical Sociology*. doi.org/10.1177/08969205211055912.

We know a great deal about global capital mobility in traditional industries, such as manufacturing, but very

little about emerging capital mobility in the gig economy. Using the case of Canadian Foodora, a multinational platform that left Canada in 2020, I situate global capital mobility in the local labour market. Drawing upon interview data with former Foodora couriers and ethnographic data collected from a gig workers' union, I investigate the social, economic and political subjectivities of gig workers activated by a global platform's capital mobility. My findings reveal unexpected parallel effects caused by capital mobility in the gig economy and traditional industries. My research highlights how heterogeneity is salient for understanding divergent worker subjectivities. The economic and social impacts upon financially dependent gig workers and the emotional connections of devoted and organized gig workers challenge the dominant discourse that gig workers are simply part-timers and hence free from work commitments.

Marwah, Vrinda. 2021. "Promissory Capital: State Legitimacy among Women Community Health Workers in India." *Qualitative Sociology* 44(3):403-418. link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11133-021-09487-y

Despite public sector working conditions that are increasingly precarious, how does the state manage to attract and retain its workers? I draw on 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork with women community health workers in India, called ASHAs (Accredited Social Health Activists), who labor under precarious conditions as "remunerated volunteers" to connect the poor and marginalized to governmental health services. I find that the Indian state is the holder of what I call "promissory capital" for its workers. Women become ASHAs because they believe the role is, or will become, a *sarkari naukari* (government job). While this has not happened, the state keeps the promise alive through its plurality and potentiality, experienced in the everyday by ASHAs. By plurality, I mean the sense that the state is multivocal with various vertical and horizontal nodes that can be activated for one's interests. By potentiality, I mean the sense of a state that cares and makes overtures to ASHAs in various forms, fueling the hope that it will eventually give them what they really want, that is, salaried and tenured employment. Together, plurality and potentiality shore up the state's promissory capital. This highlights the mechanisms through which legitimacy is secured for agents in the state.

McKay, Steven C. 2021. "Navigating Race: Intersectional Boundary-making Onboard Transnational Ships." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* : 1-21. doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1945647.

Ocean-going merchant ships provide a unique context to examine race, place and migration: ships are globally

mobile total institutions, a transnational setting with a multi-national migrant workforce but no single host country. The article focuses on boundary-making among seafarers themselves, drawing on interviews with sailors, crewing agents, and a multi-sited ethnography onboard three vessels with full and mixed-nationality Asian crews. Extending scholarship on boundary-making through an intersectional and spatial approach, the article shows how national differences, segmented and gendered through the global labour market, also become racialized and reproduced. In and through the ship's spatial organization, the seafarers perform racialized forms of difference and belonging that heighten social boundaries, often hardening them through the essentializing of cultural distinctiveness. These performances interact with other forces of inequality and forms of boundary-making, demonstrating how racial formation is intimately tied with constructions of masculinity, occupation status, and national character in and through space.

Paret, Marcel. 2021. "The Persistent Protest Cycle: A Case Study of Contained Political Incorporation." *Current Sociology* 69(6): 861-878. doi.org/10.1177/0011392120932936.

For more than a decade, widespread protests have erupted within South Africa's impoverished black townships and informal settlements. The mobilizations resembled what Sidney Tarrow refers to as a 'cycle of contention' or 'protest cycle,' as they represented a diffusion of heightened conflict across society. In contrast to Tarrow's protest cycle, however, resistance failed to converge around 'objective coalitions' and a generalized challenge, and it persisted rather than reaching exhaustion. Drawing on a case study of protest and organizing in Bekkersdal, this article argues that the fragmentation and localization of resistance reinforced this peculiar combination. Bekkersdal activists responded to democratization by seeking administrative fixes to local government. Political parties also pulled activists in different directions, yet without facilitating bridges to activism in other areas. While providing a highly visible example for activists in other areas to replicate, the Bekkersdal resistance thus failed to produce broader concessions that might have discouraged protests elsewhere. The case study shows how local containment of political incorporation processes may enable the persistence of protest cycles.

Pérez Ahumada, Pablo, and Valentina Andrade. 2021. "Class Identity in Times of Social Mobilization and Labor Union Revitalization: Evidence from the Case of Chile (2009–2019)." *Current Sociology*, (November 2021). doi.org/10.1177/00113921211056052.

Over the past decade, there has been a revival of social protest and labor union activity in Chile. In this article, we examine the effects of this phenomenon to analyze its influence on working-class identity. Using International Social Survey Programme surveys from 2009 and 2019, we investigate whether class location and union membership affect people's subjective identification with the working class and how that effect may have changed over the decade. Our findings suggest that subjects who are situated in a 'subordinated' class position (unskilled workers or informal self-employed workers) are more likely to identify with the working class compared to subjects located in a privileged class position (employers, experts, or managers). However, surprisingly, our analysis does not indicate that working-class identity is reinforced by union membership. In addition, our results do not demonstrate that the effect of class or union membership has strengthened over the past decade. At the end of this article, we offer some possible explanations for these findings.

Pérez Ahumada, Pablo. 2021. "Why Is It So Difficult to Reform Collective Labour Law? Associational Power and Policy Continuity in Chile in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 53(1):81–105. doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X20000978.

Since Chile returned to democracy in 1990, centre-left governments have tried to reform the provisions on collective bargaining, strikes and unions established by the Pinochet dictatorship. Between 2015 and 2016 President Michelle Bachelet made the latest attempt to reform them. Despite favourable conditions, the changes were modest. This article explains why this is so. Drawing upon the notion of 'associational power' and through comparisons with labour reforms in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, this article suggests that the imbalance between workers' and employers' collective power is key for explaining why pro-labour reforms fail.

Potiker, Spencer Louis. 2021. "Exit-With-Autonomy or Autonomy-Without-Exit? Divergent Political Trajectories in Rojava and the Kurdish Regional Government." *Critical Sociology*. doi.org/10.1177/08969205211048547.

This paper argues that sociological analysis of social movements has undertheorized non/anti-state social movements. It is argued that an alternative modality of resistance to that of movements seeking reform through the state or the capture of state power through revolution is to exit the world-system and set up parallel structures of governance and production. A conjunctural inter-regional comparison is taken up in order to map

the inter-scalar and historical causal factors that led to exit-with-autonomy in Syrian Kurdistan (Rojava) and autonomy-without-exit in Iraqi Kurdistan (Kurdish Regional Government). The paper shows that in order to exit the world-system social movement actors in Rojava used strategic loyalty bargains and political voice at specific historical conjunctures in order to maintain their movement and seize on non-state political opportunities. These same non-state political opportunities were not available for the social movement actors hoping to exit the world-system in the Kurdish Regional Government.

Rhomberg, Chris. 2021. "Work and Workers in the United States: an Historic Turning Point?" *La Nouvelle Revue du Travail* 19. doi.org/10.4000/nrt.10213

The extraordinary collision of crises in the United States in 2020 – biological pandemic, economic recession, and mass protests – presents a unique juncture from which to consider the development of relations of work in the United States in the first decades of the 21st century. In this article, I begin with a brief review of the peculiar institutional context of American labor and employment relations, as the setting for change. The discussion then follows along three dimensions: 1) labor markets, 2) the labor process, and 3) social reproduction. Finally, I consider the implications of recent trends for the current juncture.

Wilmers, Nathan, and Clem Aeppli. 2021. "Consolidated advantage: New organizational Dynamics of wage inequality." *American Sociological Review*. doi.org/10.1177/00031224211049205.

The two main axes of inequality in the U.S. labor market—occupation and workplace—have increasingly consolidated. In 1999, the largest share of employment at high-paying workplaces was blue-collar production workers, but by 2017 it was managers and professionals. As such, workers benefiting from a high-paying workplace are increasingly those who already benefit from membership in a high-paying occupation. Drawing on occupation-by-workplace data, we show that up to two-thirds of the rise in wage inequality since 1999 can be accounted for not by occupation or workplace inequality alone, but by this increased consolidation. Consolidation is not primarily due to outsourcing or to occupations shifting across a fixed set of workplaces. Instead, consolidation has resulted from new bases of workplace pay premiums. Workplace premiums associated with teams of professionals have increased, while premiums for previously high-paid blue-collar workers have been cut. Yet the largest source of consolidation is bifurcation in the social sector, whereby some previously low-

paying but high-professional share workplaces, like hospitals and schools, have deskilled their jobs, while others have raised pay. Broadly, the results demonstrate an understudied way that organizations affect wage inequality: not by directly increasing variability in workplace or occupation premiums, but by consolidating these two sources of inequality.

Book Chapters

Cha, J. Mijin, and Todd E. Vachon. 2021. "Climate Change and the Future of Workers: Toward a Just Transition." Pp. 101-120 in *Revaluing Work(ers): Toward a Democratic and Sustainable Future*, edited by T. Schulze-Cleven and T. E. Vachon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

The future of work discourse has largely focused on advances in automation, big data, robotics, machine learning and artificial intelligence. However, the transition away from a growth-oriented fossil fuel-powered economy toward a steady-state sustainable one will also completely reshape existing labor markets, undermine the gains made over generations by workers in historically unionized blue-collar sectors, and further shift employment into sectors where unions have been unable to gain a foothold. The fear these changes elicit makes solutions to the climate crisis tremendously challenging. Alternatively, a just transition for workers and communities could be developed democratically through active participation by a broad base of stakeholders, re-creating "the rules of the game" to ensure shared and sustainable prosperity. This chapter explores three cases of socioecological transitions. In sum, we find that the inclusion of worker and community voice in shaping and implementing transitions is paramount to ensuring the potential for just outcomes.

Gleeson, Shannon. 2021. "Labor Precarity, Immigration, and the Challenges of Accessing Worker Rights: Evidence from California." Pp. 131-144 in *Precarity and Belonging: Labor, Migration, and Noncitizenship*, edited by C. S. Ramírez, S. M. Falcón, J. Poblete, S. C. McKay, and F. A. Schaeffer. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. doi.org/10.36019/9781978815667-009.

This chapter seeks to understand the potential of legal protections to address worker precarity in the United States, especially for undocumented immigrant workers who share many of the same formal protections as do their native-born and documented counterparts. These protections in part blur the illegalizing force of the border. But, by delving into the experiences of claimants who have actually come forward to demand their rights, including the most vulnerable among them, I conclude

that rights bureaucracies alone have limited power to address the underlying forces that generate worker precarity. I describe bureaucratic processes that implement worker protections, based on assumptions of fairness through objective presentation of facts and technical expertise, which ultimately can obscure the often far messier realities of low-wage work and worker exploitation. Through an in-depth examination of three emblematic cases of immigrant worker claims, I show how sanitized performances of equality in the legal theater—run by well-intentioned officers and brokered by dedicated legal advocates—often fall short and instead help incorporate low-wage immigrant workers directly into the precarious workforce. As such, individual legal protections, and the bureaucracies that implement them, are but one step in building collective worker power.

Paret, Marcel. 2021. "Apartheid, Migrant Labor and Precarity in Comparative Perspective," Pp. 113-130 in *Precarity and Belonging: Labor, Migration, and Noncitizenship*, edited by C. S. Ramírez, S. M. Falcón, J. Poblete, S. C. McKay, and F. A. Schaeffer. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. doi.org/10.36019/9781978815667-008.

I develop four case studies of migrant labor regimes in the United States, China, South Africa, and Palestine/Israel. Reflecting different combinations of spatial and labor dynamics, each regime demonstrates a different manifestation of contemporary apartheid. In varied ways, all four regimes also underscore the close connections between citizenship, mobility, and precarity. At the core of apartheid, as I deploy the concept in this chapter, is the way in which citizenship status and the regulation of mobility combine to reproduce precarious labor and precarious lives. Apartheid-based migrant labor systems subject citizens and noncitizens to very different conditions. Those constituted as noncitizens frequently endure the greatest insecurities. Yet this attack reinforces a growing specter of precarity that haunts all workers, regardless of citizenship status.

Vachon, Todd E. 2021. "Just Transition Frames in the Context of the American Labor Movement." Pp. 105-126 in *Handbook of Environmental-Labour Studies*, edited by N. Räthzel, D. Stevis, and D. Uzzell. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-71909-8_5.

The chapter explores the varying and often competing just transition frames promoted within the U.S. labour movement. It will begin with a review of the literature on just transition, including its history and contradictions. Then, to situate readers, the chapter will provide a landscape analysis of the American labour movement

with regard to industries, unions, and environmental issues, including an overview of the major structural features that make it on average more conservative than other national labour movements in regard to the environment. Finally, drawing from four years of participant observation within the U.S. labour-climate movement and 34 in-depth qualitative interviews with labour leaders, I will present three ideal typical just transition frames deployed by U.S. labour activists: (1) protective, (2) proactive, and (3) transformative.

Reports

Figueroa, Maria, Ligia Gualpa, Andrew Wolf, Glendy Tsitouras, and Hildalyn Colón Hernández. 2021. *Essential but Unprotected: App-based Food Couriers in New York City*. New York, NY: Los Deliveristas Unions. <https://losdeliveristasunidos.org/ldu-report>.

This report contains the findings from a participatory action research project that examined the working and living conditions of delivery workers engaged by digital platforms (also known as apps) to deliver restaurant food orders to consumers in New York City. The research was conducted under a partnership between the worker center Workers' Justice Project and The Worker Institute of Cornell University's ILR School, and involved both primary and secondary research, including a survey of 500 app-based couriers doing deliveries in NYC, focus groups of workers, and individual interviews. The goal of this report is to raise awareness among stakeholders about the challenges that the tens of thousands of app-based delivery workers confront in NYC, to inform policy and advocacy efforts that would improve labor standards and workplace safety in this industry. Highlights of the study findings follow.

Greenberg, Miriam, Steven C. McKay, James Sirigotis, and Thao Le. 2021. *No Place Like Home: Affordable Housing in Crisis, Santa Cruz, CA*. Santa Cruz, CA: University of California, Santa Cruz Institute for Social Transformation. <https://transform.ucsc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/No-Place-Like-Home-Report-2021.pdf>.

The No Place Like Home (NPLH) report is the culmination of a three-year mixed-method, multimedia research project, conducted by faculty and students at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and their community-based partners, with the goal of understanding the affordable housing crisis and its lessons for the region and beyond. Between 2016 and 2018, the research team surveyed tenants, interviewed a range of stakeholders, gathered photographic evidence of housing conditions, and researched historical trends and policy options. This report synthesizes the research in three main are-

as: the roots of the crisis, its ramifications for different populations and geographies, and potentially impactful political and policy responses.

Milkman, Ruth and Stephanie Luce. 2021. *The State of the Unions 2021: A Profile of Organized Labor in New York City, New York State and the United States*. New York, NY: CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies. https://slu.cuny.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Union-Density-2021_D.pdf.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting lockdowns generated vast job losses across the United States. The New York City metropolitan area, where the pandemic's impact was felt earlier than elsewhere in the country, suffered severe job losses in 2020. The decline in employment among women workers was greater than among men — in sharp contrast to the Great Recession, which hit men's employment harder. A new report released today by the CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies, *State of the Unions 2021, A Profile of Organized Labor in New York City, New York State, and the United States*, presents data on gender, union membership, and job losses in the COVID-19 economic downturn on the New York metropolitan area labor market. The report also includes an in-depth look at the geographic, demographic, and occupational makeup of union membership in New York City, New York State, and the nation, updating previous reports in this annual series.

Book Reviews

Ikeler, Peter. 2021. "Book review: Lives on the Line: How the Philippines Became the World's Call Center Capital." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 50(4):342-344. doi.org/10.1177/00943061211021084u

Scipes, Kim. 2021. "Book review: Dockworker Power: Race and Activism in Durban and the San Francisco Bay Area." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 62(2):171-173. doi.org/10.1177/00207152211026234.

Wilmers, Nathan. 2021. "Book review: Tell the Bosses We're Coming: A New Action Plan for Workers in the Twenty-First Century." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 50(6): 505-507. doi.org/10.1177/00943061211050046q.