

IN CRITICAL SOLIDARITY

*Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's
Section on Labor and Labor Movements — Volume 21, No. 2
Edited by Joseph van der Naald*



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NOTES FROM THE CHAIR

Jeff Rothstein, Grand Valley State University

Dear Colleagues,

I am very much looking forward to our first live meeting in two years! As you will see in this newsletter, we have an excellent lineup of sessions during ASA, and a robust program for our Labor in Crisis mini conference - including two plenaries, ten concurrent sessions, and over forty panelists. Our membership meeting will include our annual awards, and the inaugural Dan Clawson Activist-Scholar award. Be sure to come and mingle at our joint reception with the Marxist section at 7pm on Saturday Aug 6 on the North Deck of Spire 73, which is a unionized open air rooftop venue in the Intercontinental Hotel.

As my term as section Chair winds down and I hand the reins to Cedric de Leon, I want to thank those leaving Council - Tom Juravich for his work as Chair, Kate Maich for her work as Secretary/Treasurer, and Lu Zhang and Sarah Mason for all they have done serving on Council. I also want to welcome our new members of Council and thank them in advance for their service: Erin Hatton (Chair Elect); Todd Vachon (Secretary/Treasurer); Gretchen Purser (Council Member); and Joseph van der Naald (Graduate Student Council Member and stalwart editor of our newsletter).

Finally, though we will be meeting in person, let's keep in mind that COVID-19 is not behind us (cases are on the rise as I write). Several of you have reached out to let me know that you will not be traveling to Los Angeles due to the ongoing pandemic. You will be missed. For those of you who are joining us, please take precautions as you travel to protect yourself, fellow travelers, and especially all the workers who continue to risk exposure to make our travels possible.

Regards and solidarity!

*Jeffrey Rothstein
Professor of Sociology
Grand Valley State University
Chair, Labor & Labor Movements Section of ASA*



117TH AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, SECTION SCHEDULE, LOS ANGELES

Saturday August 6, 2022

10:00 – 11:30a

**1322. Labor/Labor Movements in the Global South, LACC,
Floor: Level 2, 309**

Presider: Joseph van der Naald, *Graduate Center, City University of New York*

Going the Last Mile: Examining Productivity, Technology ,and Precarious Employment in California's Grocery Sector, Katy Habr, *Columbia University*

Double Framings: Accounting for Insecure Work, Kathleen Griesbach, *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies*

Hotlines, Private Regulation & Labor Rights: Assessing the Possibility of Effective Grievance Mechanisms, Kathryn C Babineau, *University of Virginia*; Maya Stephens, *University of Virginia*

Worker Captivity: Amazon's Union-Fighting Reveals New Forms of Technological Control, Teke Wiggin, *Northwestern University*

Work Therapy: Extractive Labor as Therapeutic Intervention, Erin E Hatton, *University at Buffalo*

2:00 – 3:30pm

**1722. Labor/Labor Movements in the Global South, LACC,
Floor: Level 2, 309**

Presider: Nancy Plankey-Videla, *Texas A&M University-College Station*

A Theory of Labor Control in Global Value Chains: Bangladeshi Apparel Industry as a Case Study, Lipon K. Mondal, *University of Dhaka*

From Partner to Bully: The Degradation of a Labor Regime in China's Walmart Retail Stores, Eileen M. Otis, *Northeastern University*

Informality, the State, and Labor Mobilization in the Global South: Survey Evidence from Iran, Zep Kalb, *University of California-Los Angeles*

Trade Union Strength, Business Power, and Collective Labor Rights: Latin America in Comparative Perspective, Pablo Perez-Ahumada, *Universidad de Chile*

7:00pm –

Labor and Labor Movements & Marxist Sociology Sections
Joint Reception, Spire 73, 900 Wilshire Blvd, Floor 73

Sunday August 7, 2022

7:00 – 7:45a

2013. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Council
Meeting, LACC, Floor: Level 2, 303A

8:00 – 9:30a

2113. Case Studies in Class Conflict and Class Formation,
LACC, Floor: Level 2, 303A

Presider and Discussant: Chris Tilly, *University of California-Los Angeles*

Employers and the Origins of Race-Gender Hierarchies on
Trains and Planes, 1860-1940, Francisca E. Oyogoa, *Bard College at Simon's Rock*

Organizing Outside the Law: The Emergence of AFSCME in
Ohio, 1950 – 1975, Joseph van der Naald, *Graduate Center, City University of New York*

Unionization at Volkswagen in Chattanooga, Abraham
Jacob Walker, *Queens College, City University of New York*

10:00 – 11:00a

2374. Labor and Labor Movements Roundtables, JW Marriott, Floor: Gold Level, Gold Salon 4

Table 1: Labor Activism I

Presider: Katherine Eva Maich, *Pennsylvania State University*

Crisis, Opportunity & Transgressive Unionism in Chicago,
Sara Gia Trongone, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

From Individual Tragedy to Institutional Harassment: Unions'
Work to Hold Employers Accountable for Workplace
Bullying, Lisa Danielle Buchter, *Emlyon Business School*,
Sanjana Goreeba, *Emlyon Business School* and *OCE Research Center*

Grassroots Labor Organizations in Iran, Ida Nikou, *Stony Brook University*

Student Labor Activism in Authoritarian China: Expanding the
Inquiries of Industrial Relations, Sio Ieng (Elaine) Hui,
Pennsylvania State University, Weixiang Chen

Table 2: Labor Activism II

Presider: Gay W. Seidman, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Alt Labor: How Social Capital, Symbolic Capital, and Injustice
Framing May Contribute to Distributional Norms, Cesar
F. Rosado Marzan, *University of Iowa*

Early Labor Movement Strike Violence, the Press, and the Upton Sinclair Hypothesis, Larry W. Isaac, *Vanderbilt University*; Jonathan Scott Coley, *Oklahoma State University*; Hannah Ingersoll, *Vanderbilt University*
 “Long Live our Father”: Relations of Family, Gender, and Community in Turkish Labor Unions, Busra Sait, *Binghamton University*
 Unions, Ideology, and Ethnicity: Who is Listening?, Greg Robinson, *Grosmont College*

Table 3: Trends in Labor Conditions

Presider: Matt Vidal, *Loughborough University*

Examining Employment Stability Over the Life Course and How it Has Changed Across Cohorts (1968-2018), Vesna Pajovic, *Western University*
 Exploring the Rise of Domestic Outsourcing and Decline of Worker Compensation in the United States, Kelly Quinn, *University of California-Berkeley*
 The Medicalization of the Low-Wage Labor Process, Emily Ruppel, *University of California-Berkeley*
 Unions, Occupational Career Change, and Gender Inequality Over Time among Police Officers in the United States, Xiaoshuang Iris Luo, *University of California-Irvine*; Cyrus J. Schleifer, *University of Oklahoma*

Table 4: Labor Insecurity

Presider: Jeffrey S. Rothstein, *Grand Valley State University*

Cooperatives and Passive Revolution, Jonah Leigh Durrant Olsen, *University of Toronto*
 “Hookin’ it Up”: A Symbiotic Gig Labor Geography in New Orleans, LA, Natalie Blaustone-Dye
 Measuring Employment Precariousness Among Platform-Based Food Couriers in Brussels: A Pilot Study Combining Fieldwork with Survey Data, Elief Vandevenne, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*; Jessie Gevaert, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*; Christophe Vanroelen, *Interface Demography* and *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
 When the Political Trumps the Material: Work Insecurity, Political Identity, and Attitudes Toward Worker Action, Erica Janko, *University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill*

Table 5: Labor & Crisis

Presider: Kim Scipes, *Purdue University Northwest*

Human Capital or Social Capital? How Domestic Workers Survive the COVID-19 in China, Zhipeng Zhou, *Cornell University*, Yihui Su

Labor Rights as a Public Health Issue: Organized Labor in Coalitions during the COVID-19 Pandemic, Patricia Roach, *University of Toronto*

Railroad Question During the Great Depression: Structural Obstacles to Mexican Labor Organizing, Michael Aaron Calderon-Zaks, *University of California-San Diego*

School Attendance, Social Relationships, and Child Labor Migration in Karamoja, Uganda: An Exploratory Study, Holly Howell Koogler, *Johns Hopkins University*

Sociology: Guide to Analysis or to Action in the Global Climate Change Crisis?, Kim Scipes, *Purdue University Northwest*

11:00 – 11:30a

2474. Section on Labor and Labor Movements Business Meeting, JW Marriott, Floor: Gold Level, Gold Salon 4

12:00 – 1:30pm

2509. Technology, Precarity, and the Labor Process, LACC, Floor: Level 1, 153B

Presider and Discussant: Matt Vidal, *Loughborough University*

Against the Babbage Principle: The Fragmentation of Skill in Software Work, Bhumika Chauhan, *New York University*

Algorithmic Uncertainty in the Gig Economy Labor Process, Andrew Wolf, *Rutgers University*

Negotiating Workers' Share of the Machine: Law and Technology Bargaining in the US and Canada, Kristin Krusell, *University of California-Berkeley*

Politics, Insularity and Comparative Precarity: Why Indian Tech Workers Tend to Avoid Unions, Rianka Roy, *University of Connecticut*

Tuesday August 9, 2022

12:00 – 1:30pm

4526. State of the Unions: Labor Law and the Future of Collective Bargaining, LACC, Floor: Level 2, 403A

Presider: Barry Eidlin, *McGill University*

Johnnie Lotesta, *Appalachian State University*

Jane McAlevey, *University of California-Berkeley*

Veena Dubal, *University of California-Hastings College of Law*

William B. Gould IV, *Stanford University*

LABOR IN CRISIS

MINI-CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Friday, August 5, 2022
United Teachers of Los Angeles, 3303 Wilshire Blvd.

Organized by the ASA Section on Labor & Labor Movements, and co-sponsored by the ASA Sections on Global & Transnational Sociology, and Political Economy of the World System (PEWS)

Up-to-date schedule available [here](#). Haven't registered yet? Click [here](#)!

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|-------------------------|---|
| 9:00 – 9:30a | Registration |
| 9:30 – 9:40a | Welcome from Jeff Rothstein, Chair of the Section on Labor & Labor Movements |
| 9:40 – 11:00a | Opening Plenary: Local Labor Activists Reflect on Labor in Los Angeles
Moderator: Barry Eidlin, <i>McGill University</i>

Lindsay Dougherty, Western Region Vice President and Principal Officer, Local 399, <i>International Brotherhood of Teamsters</i>
J. R. Hernandez, Chief of Staff and Organizing Director, <i>Korean Immigrant Worker Advocates</i>
Juan Ramirez, Vice President, <i>American Federation of Teachers</i>
Donovan Caver, <i>Warehouse Workers Resource Center</i> |
| 11:15a – 12:45pm | Concurrent Panels
<u>Panel 1: Organizing Migrant Care Workers</u>
Moderators: Elena Shih, <i>Brown University</i> ; Eunbi Lee, <i>University of Massachusetts-Amherst</i>

Charlotte Nguyen and Susie Baldwin, <i>Sex Workers Outreach Project Los Angeles, Chinatown Community for Equitable Development</i>
Elene Lam, <i>Butterfly Migrant Worker Outreach, Toronto</i> ;
JM Wong and Shuxuan Zhou, <i>Massage Parlor Outreach Project, Seattle</i>
Chong Gu and Yeonhoo Cho, <i>Red Canary Song, New York</i> |

Panel 2: Economic and Geopolitical Crises and Waves of Labor Unrest: Findings from the Global Social Protest Research Working Group Project

Moderator: Beverly J. Silver, Professor and Director, *Arrighi Center for Global Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

Sahan Savas Karatasli, Assistant Professor, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

Sefika Kumral, Assistant Professor, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

Corey Payne, PhD Candidate in Sociology, *Arrighi Center for Global Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

Rishi Awatramani, *PhD Candidate in Sociology and Arrighi Center for Global Studies, Johns Hopkins University*

Minhyoung Kang, Postdoctoral Fellow, *Yonsei University*

Panel 3: Worker Ideologies & Attitudes 1

The White-Collar Opt-Out: Toward a Theory of Consent to Alienating Labor, Mustafa Yavas, *New York University Abu Dhabi*

Work and Environmental Perspectives: Comparative Insights from the Shrimp Fisheries of Louisiana and the Coal mines of Wyoming, Dawn Harfmann & Jill Ann Harrison, *University of Oregon*

Workers in Barricades and Mayors on Bicycles: Subway Strikes and Race, Class, Gender Politics in New York City and Seoul

Youbin Kang, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Panel 4: Non-traditional Mobilizations

Moderator: Jasmine Kerrissey, *University of Massachusetts - Amherst*

Organizing Outside the Law: The Emergence of AFSCME in Ohio, 1950 – 1975, Joseph van der Naald, *Graduate Center, City University of New York*

Employerless Tripartism: How the U.S. Liberal Market Economy Stubbornly Persists, César F. Rosado Marzán, *University of Iowa*

Hotlines, Private Regulation, & Labor Rights: Assessing the Possibility of Effective Grievance Mechanisms, *Kathryn Babineau and Maya Stephens, University of Virginia*

Panel 5: Labor Control 1

Moderator: Sarah Mason, University of California-Santa Cruz

Worker Captivity: Amazon's Union-fighting Reveals New Forms of Technological Control, Teke Wiggin, *Northwestern University*

Will the Real Victim Please Stand Up? International Organizations, Businesses, and the Framing of Labor Exploitation in the UN Global Compact, Stephanie Limoncelli, *Loyola Marymount University*

Going the Last Mile: Examining Productivity, Technology, and Precarious Employment in California's Grocery Sector, Katy Habr, *Columbia University*

12:45 – 1:45pm

Lunch Catered by Local Restaurant

1:45 – 3:15pm

Concurrent Panels

Panel 1: Organizing Criminalized Workers

Moderator: Yin Q, *Red Canary Song and Kink Out*

Mary Sutton, *Collective Remake, Los Angeles*

Cherie Cruz, *Formerly Incarcerated Union, Providence, RI*

Elena Shih, *Brown University*

Esther Kao and Empress Wu, *Red Canary Song, New York*

Panel 2: Labor During COVID

Fighting Precarity with Politics: How Indian Tech Unions Mobilized during the COVID-19 Pandemic, Rianka Roy, *University of Connecticut*

Sacrifice: The (Post-)Socialist Work Ethic in China during the Covid-19 Crisis, Chang Liu, *The New School*

COVID and the Myth of the Immigrant Small Business: The Revolt of New York City, Andrew Wolf, *Rutgers University*

Panel 3: Worker Ideologies & Attitudes 2

Moderator: Cedric de Leon, *University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

Unions, Ideology, and Ethnicity; Who is Listening?, Gregg Robinson, *Grossmont College*

Teachers as Workers in Trauma-Informed Schools, Julie Whalen McIntyre, *Temple University*

Examining Sources of Power and Strike Effectiveness of U.S. Healthcare Workers, Johnnie Kallas, *Cornell University*

Panel 4: Labor Control 2

Moderator: Joel Stillerman, *Grand Valley State University*

Playing to Submission: IT Industry and Game Capitalism, Tongyu Wu, *Zhejiang University*,

Multi-scalar State Strategies: Comparing How Firms of On-Demand Labor Shape Regulations in Austin, Chicago, and New York, Ashley Baber, *Loyola University Chicago*

Amazon's Hybrid Model of Capitalism and Labor Organizing, Paul S. Ciccantell, *Western Michigan University*; Spencer Potiker, *University of California-Irvine*; Elizabeth Sowers, *California State University-Channel Islands*; David Smith, *University of California-Irvine*; Luc McKenzie, *University of California-Irvine*

Panel 5: Migrant Agricultural Labor

Moderator: Joseph van der Naald, *Graduate Center, CUNY*

Spatializing Critical Migration Studies: Racialized Spaces, Labor Rights, and Immigrant Justice Experiences in the Rural Midwest, Aaron Arredondo, *University of Missouri*

Disposable Labor: Working Conditions in Poultry Processing Plants and the Effects of Immigrant Organized Resistance in Northwest Arkansas, Juan José Bustamante, *University of Arkansas*

3:30 – 5:00pm

Closing Plenary– Labor in Crisis: A Group Discussion of the Present Landscape

Moderator: Jeff Rothstein, Chair of the Section on Labor & Labor Movements

Opening Thoughts: “For an Eclectic Mass Movement: Down with Vanguardism, Up with the Kitchen Sink”, Cedric de Leon, Chair-Elect of the Section on Labor & Labor Movements; Professor of Sociology & Labor Center Director, *University of Massachusetts-Amherst*

JOB ANNOUNCEMENTS

Syracuse University

We seek candidates whose substantive interests in social stratification/inequality are paired with advanced quantitative skills. These skills may include but are not limited to multilevel modeling, machine learning, social networks, causal inference, and/or longitudinal methods. Preference will be given to candidates who can also contribute to other strengths in the department (please visit <https://www.maxwell.syr.edu/academics/sociologydepartment/research>) as well as the Maxwell School more broadly. Candidates must have a Ph.D. in Sociology or Demography and have a track record of, or show potential for, success in academic publishing and securing external research funding. Candidates must have the ability to teach undergraduate and graduate course in both social stratification/inequality and advanced quantitative methods, as well as advise doctoral students in sociology. We also seek candidates whose research, teaching, and service have prepared them to contribute to our commitment to diversity and inclusion in higher education.



Review of applications will begin **September 1, 2022**. For consideration, interested candidates must apply at www.sujobopps.com by completing a brief faculty application. Candidates must attach a letter of interest, curriculum vita, one publication or writing sample, research statement, teaching statement, and a diversity statement. A list of names with contact information for three references should be provided at the time of application. Applicants will be notified prior to references being contacted. Syracuse University is an equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution. The University prohibits discrimination and harassment based on race, color, creed, religion, sex, gender, national origin, citizenship, ethnicity, marital status, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression, veteran status, or any other status protected by applicable law to the extent prohibited by law. This nondiscrimination policy covers admissions, employment, and access to and treatment in University programs, services, and activities. To apply go to: [Syracuse University Online Employment Site | Assistant Professor - Social Stratification and Quantitative Methods \(sujobopps.com\)](http://www.syr.edu/online-employment-site)

Questions can be directed to the search committee chair, Jennifer Karas Montez, at jmontez@syr.edu.

CALL FOR PAPERS

RSW

Call for Papers to be Published in Research in the Sociology of Work, Special Issue on Essentiality of Work

Edited by Rick Delbridge, Markus Helfen, Andi Pekarek and Gretchen Purser

The Covid pandemic has had a variety of significant consequences for work, workers and workplaces, the lasting effects of which are still to be determined. One of the more interesting and complex of these has been the invocation of notions of essentiality. For example, policymakers and the media have made wide reference to 'essential work' and 'essential workers', shaping the ways in which governments have sought to respond to the crisis. Whether work is essential or not has been (re-)discovered as an important question in public and academic debate during periods of societal disruption, in this case caused by Covid, but also important during earlier periods of crisis.

This issue of *Research in the Sociology of Work* seeks to shed new light on both the enduring and newly emerging questions concerning the essentiality (or non-essentiality) of work by publishing papers engaging with theoretical and empirical aspects of these questions. For example, we are interested in understanding the perceptions and experiences of those labelled 'essential workers' during and after the Covid-19 crisis, and in comparative explorations in the experiences of essential workers during other periods (e.g. the global financial crisis of 2007-2008) and across different geographies. We also encourage submissions that examine whether and how workers and their allies (e.g. unions) can mobilize positive public sentiment towards essential work in campaigns for better pay and

working conditions. Further, we are interested in reflections on how government policies respond to the need for essential work to be maintained and any legacies there may be in the future. We also welcome papers that explore the methodological issues in how to research the essentiality of work and deeper philosophical considerations of the meanings and consequences of 'essential work'. In exploring the concept of essentiality in its varieties, we invite contributions that seek to expand the analytical potential of studying work from the bottom-up.

Articles can address any of a wide range of topics and themes, including but not limited to the following: Essential work in various sectors and industries such as care work, hospitals, transport, and retail; "Non-essential" work and workers; Precarity, inequality, and essentiality; Reproductive and care work; Institutions and the boundaries of (non)essential work; Valuation and valorization of essentiality of work and workers; Discourses of essential work and essential workers; Media portrayals of essential work; Futures of essential work, pay, automation and skills; Essential work in the context of the climate crisis; Spaces and places of essentiality, including remote work.

Submissions may be made at any time up until the extended deadline of **August 31, 2022**. Please submit your manuscript to RSWEditors@gmail.com and include Essentiality in the subject line.

Call for Papers to be Published in Research in the Sociology of Work, Special Issue on Employability

Edited by Rick Delbridge, Markus Helfen, Andi Pekarek and Gretchen Purser



Employability has become an increasingly widespread concept both in management and policy, reflecting significant transformations in the world of work. Employability refers to a broad and amorphous collection of personal characteristics that purportedly make someone more able to gain and maintain employment. It points beyond hard skills to things like attitude, flexibility, emotional intelligence, resilience, initiative, and character. Framed as an attribute of a person, individuals are thus lauded as "employable" or dismissed as "unemployable." This rhetoric of employability is intensely individualizing, shifting attention away from labor market structures and dynamics and towards one's self and personal capabilities and shortcomings. Rarely asking the question of what "employability" may mean for employing organizations, employability works hand in hand with the neoliberal doctrine on individual responsibility and commodification, legitimating unemployment and labor market marginalization. Thus responsibility – for skills development and employment opportunities – falls to individuals not employers and the state.

This special issue of *Research in the Sociology of Work* invites papers that explore all aspects of employability. We welcome both empirical and conceptual papers. Articles may address any of a wide range of topics and themes, including but not limited to the following: Employability programs; Employability and labor market policy; The politics of employability; Employability and educational practices and policies; The cultural rhetoric of employability; The "unemployable"; Employability and disability; Employability, inclusivity and inequality; Gender, race, and employability; Employability and identity; Institutions of employability; Unions and employability; Employability in operation: HRM policy and practice; Employment management work; Employers and employability; Regulation and responsibilities; Working time and employability investments.

Submissions may be made at any time up until **November 30, 2022**. Please submit your manuscript to RSWEditors@gmail.com and include "Employability" in the subject line.

Call for Papers to be Published in Employee Relations, Special Issue on China's Labour Relations in a New Era of 2020s and Beyond

Edited by Ken Wang and Dong Yan

Over the past two decades, China has been the world factory and the second largest global economy. As China continues to attract large amounts of foreign direct investment, Chinese outward investment has skyrocketed in foreign soils. Thus, Chinese labour and employment relations are essential for researchers, practitioners, and readers with curious minds to grasp the fast-changing global society of our time. In 2022, most of the world reopened after the COVID-19 outbreak – while China persisted in its zero-covid policy and strictly locked down cities, villages, and factories. Talks about moving production out of China are frequently presented in media and industry events. Uncertainty in the Chinese society and political economy raised up. Workers, employers, as

well as the government, are experiencing a change, which can be unprecedented and unimaginable for their counterparts in most countries. In the meantime, global trade governance is evolving. Labour rights became a critical component. The US started worker-centred trade policies. At the European level, the EU parliament, Germany, and the Netherlands passed legislations emphasising labour rights in international trade and investment. International trade mechanisms like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) have inserted labour chapters and require their members to respect worker rights. China, which has long been perceived to rely on low-cost labour and compromised labour rights to stay on top of its global competitiveness, is to be challenged. Whether China maintains its position as the world factory depends largely on its readiness to adapt its labour and employment relations with the increased progressiveness in international trade and investment mechanisms. This Special Issue then calls for papers to explore the changing Chinese labour and employment relations and discuss their implications for workers, employers, and governments around the world.

Submissions are due by **December 12, 2022**. The full call for papers is available here: <https://www.emeraldgrouppublishing.com/calls-for-papers/chinas-labour-relations-a-new-era-2020s-and-beyond>

Submissions are made using ScholarOne Manuscripts. Registration and access are available at: <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/erel>

Call for Abstracts for Research Handbook on Gender and Employment Relations **Edited by Sue Williamson, Jane Parker, Noelle Donnelly, Susan Ressia and Mihajla Gavin**

A handbook on gender and employment relations is essential for academics, students and policymakers. However, such a text has not been published in the last decade despite ways of working, economies, societies, gender identities and relations, and theories of gender and work developing considerably. Edward Elgar Publishing has committed to publishing a research handbook on gender and employment relations led by a team of international academics. Chapters for the handbook will be organized into six sections: 1) Theories of work and gender; 2) Socio-economic and political context for workplace gender inequality; 3) New ways of working; 4) Gender identities, workplace diversity and inclusion; 6) Workplace interventions.

We invite authors to submit a 500 word abstract of your proposed chapter by **September 16, 2022**.

The full call for abstracts is available here: <https://research.unsw.edu.au/projects/handbook-gender-and-employment-relations>



MEMBER ANNOUNCEMENTS AND PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

Louis Esparza (California State University-Los Angeles) been named Fulbright Distinguished Scholar at the University of Brasília for the coming academic year.

Samuel Friedman (New York University) co-authored an article for *Tempest*, with Justin Feldman (Harvard University) entitled “Where is the Left on Pandemic Politics?” The article can be read [here](#).

Elizabeth A. Hoffman (Purdue University) published an op-ed on the lack of breastfeeding accommodations in US workplaces, drawing on the insights developed in her recent book [Lactation at Work](#). The op-ed can be read [here](#).

Jason Mueller (University of California-Irvine) published an article in *The Sociological Review Magazine* ([here](#)) and was interviewed on *This is*

Revolution Podcast (accessible [here](#)), both regarding his scholarship on the phrase ‘OK Boomer!’

Ruth Milkman (Graduate Center, CUNY) published an analysis of the Amazon Labor Union victory at the Staten Island JFK8 warehouse in *Dissent*. The article can be read [here](#).

Gretchen Purser (Syracuse University) and her co-author Brian Hennigan (Syracuse University) are the recipients of the Working Class Studies Association’s 2022 John Russo and Sherry Linkon Award for Best Published Article. The article can be read [here](#).

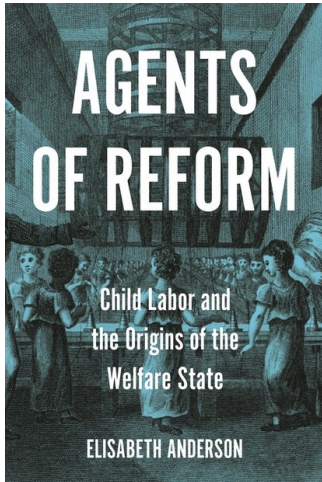
Kim Scipes (Purdue University Northwest) most recent book *Building Global Labor Solidarity* has been released on paperback. The paperback version can be purchased at a 30% discount using the code LXFANDF30 when bought [here](#).



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



[Agents of Reform: Child Labor and the Origins of the Welfare State](#) **Elisabeth Anderson**

The beginnings of the modern welfare state are often traced to the late nineteenth-century labor movement and to policymakers' efforts to appeal to working-class voters. But in *Agents of Reform*, Elisabeth Anderson shows that the regulatory welfare state began a half century earlier, in the 1830s, with the passage of the first child labor laws. *Agents of Reform* tells the story of how middle-class and elite reformers in Europe and the United States defined child labor as a threat to social order, and took the lead in bringing regulatory welfare into being. They built alliances to maneuver around powerful political blocks and instituted pathbreaking new employment protections. Later in the century, now with the help of organized labor, they created factory inspectorates to strengthen and routinize the state's capacity to intervene in industrial working conditions. *Agents of Reform* compares seven in-depth case studies of key policy episodes in Germany, France, Belgium, Massachusetts, and Illinois. Foregrounding the agency of individual reformers, it challenges existing explanations of welfare

state development and advances a new pragmatist field theory of institutional change. In doing so, it moves beyond standard narratives of interests and institutions toward an integrated understanding of how these interact with political actors' ideas and coalition-building strategies.

[Labor in the Age of Finance: Pensions, Politics, and Corporations from Deindustrialization to Dodd-Frank](#)

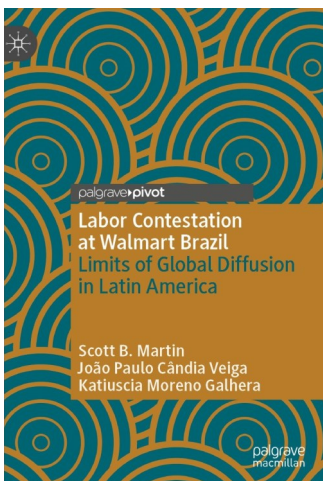
Sanford M. Jacoby

Since the 1970s, American unions have shrunk dramatically, as has their economic clout. *Labor in the Age of Finance* traces the search for new sources of power, showing how unions turned financialization to their advantage. Sanford Jacoby catalogs the array of allies and finance-based tactics labor deployed to stanch membership losses in the private sector. By leveraging pension capital, unions restructured corporate governance around issues like executive pay and accountability. In Congress, they drew on their political influence to press for corporate reforms in the wake of business scandals and the financial crisis. The effort restrained imperial CEOs but could not bridge the divide between workers and owners. Wages lagged behind investor returns, feeding the inequality identified by Occupy Wall Street. And labor's slide continued. A compelling blend of history, economics, and politics, *Labor in the Age of Finance* explores the paradox of capital bestowing power to labor in the tumultuous era of Enron, Lehman Brothers, and Dodd-Frank.

Labor in the Age of Finance

Pensions, Politics, and
Corporations from
Deindustrialization to
Dodd-Frank

Sanford M. Jacoby



[Labor Contestation at Walmart Brazil](#) [Limits of Global Diffusion in Latin America](#)

Scott B. Martin, João Paulo Cândia Veiga and Katiuscia Moreno Galhera

This book explores how the labor practices of the world's largest private employer, Walmart, were contested by unions and regulators in Latin America. With an in-depth case study of Brazil, and a comparative examination of Argentina, Chile, and Mexico, the authors analyze the problematic encounter between diffusion of home-office anti-labor practices and evolving national institutional contexts that sometimes enable considerable union and/or regulatory resistance. Walmart's "repressive familial" and "anti-union" model is found to generate costs and conflicts that contributed to its exit from Brazil after 23 years.



Working Democracies: Managing Inequality in Worker Cooperatives

Joan S. M. Meyers

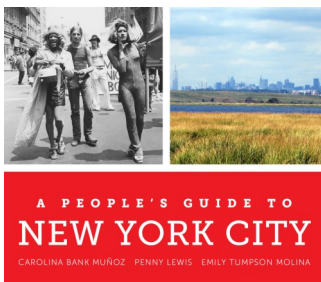
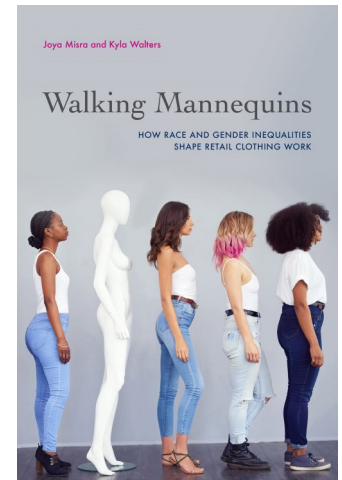
In this inside look at worker cooperatives, Joan Meyers challenges long-held views and beliefs. From the outside, worker cooperatives all seem to offer alternatives to bad jobs and unequal treatment by giving workers democratic control and equitable ownership of their workplaces. Some contend, however, that such egalitarianism and self-management come at the cost of efficiency and stability, and are impractical in the long run. *Working Democracies* focuses on two worker cooperatives in business since the 1970s that transformed from small countercultural collectives into thriving multiracial and largely working-class firms. She shows how democratic worker ownership can provide stability and effective business management, but also shows that broad equality is not an inevitable outcome despite the best intentions of cooperative members. *Working Democracies* explores the interconnections between organizational structure and organizational culture under conditions of worker control, revealing not only the different effects of managerialism and "participatory bureaucra-

cy," but also how each bureaucratic variation is facilitated by how workers are defined by at each cooperative. Both bureaucratic variation and worker meanings are, she shows, are consequential for the reduction or reproduction of class, gender, and ethnoracial inequalities. Offering a behind the scenes comparative look at an often invisible type of workplace, *Working Democracies* serves as a guidebook for the future of worker cooperatives.

Walking Mannequins: How Race and Gender Inequalities Shape Retail Clothing Work

Joya Misra and Kyla Walters

In malls across the United States, clothing retail workers navigate low wages and unpredictable schedules. Despite these problems, they devote time and money to mirror the sleek mannequins stylishly adorned with the latest merchandise. Bringing workers' voices to the fore, sociologists Joya Misra and Kyla Walters demonstrate how employers reproduce gendered and racist "beauty" standards by regulating workers' size and look. Interactions with customers, coworkers, and managers further reinforce racial hierarchies. New surveillance technologies also lead to ineffective corporate decision-making based on flawed data. By focusing on the interaction of race, gender, and surveillance, *Walking Mannequins* sheds important new light on the dynamics of retail work in the twenty-first century. For a discount, use source code 21W2240 at check-out.

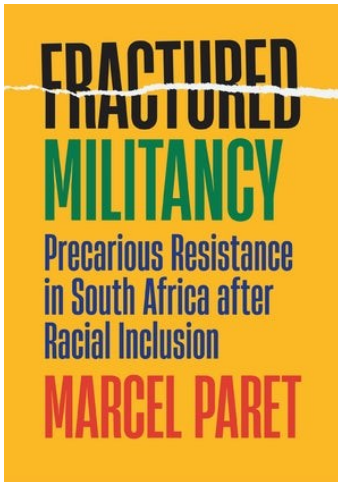


A People's Guide to New York City

Carolina Bank Muñoz, Penny Lewis, and Emily Tumpson Molina,

This alternative guidebook for one of the world's most popular tourist destinations explores all five boroughs to reveal a people's New York City. The sites and stories of *A People's Guide to New York City* shift our perception of what defines New York, placing the passion, determination, defeats, and victories of its people at the core. Delving into the histories of New York's five boroughs, you will encounter enslaved Africans in revolt, women marching for equality, workers on strike, musicians and performers claiming streets for their art, and neighbors organizing against landfills and industrial toxins and in support of affordable housing and public schools. The streetscapes that emerge from these groups' struggles bear the traces, and this book shows you where to look to find them. New York City is a preeminent global city, serving as the headquarters for hundreds of multinational firms and a world-renowned cultural hub for fashion, art, and music. It is among the most multicultural cities in the world and also one of the most segregated cities in the United States. The people that make this global city

function—immigrants, people of color, and the working classes—reside largely in the so-called outer boroughs, outside the corporations, neon, and skyscrapers of Manhattan. *A People's Guide to New York City* expands the scope and scale of traditional guidebooks, providing an equitable exploration of the diverse communities throughout the city.



Fractured Militancy: Precarious Resistance in South Africa after Racial Inclusion

Marcel Paret

Drawing on extensive ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with activists, *Fractured Militancy* tells the story of postapartheid South Africa from the perspective of Johannesburg's impoverished urban Black neighborhoods. Nearly three decades after South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, widespread protests and xenophobic attacks suggest that not all is well in the once-celebrated "rainbow nation."

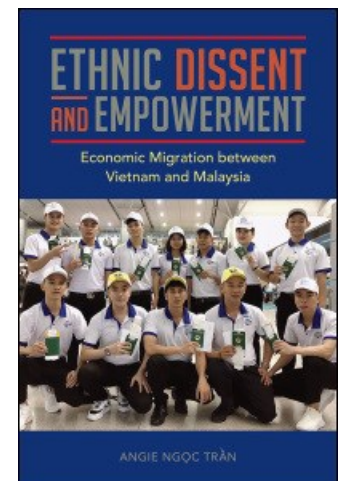
Marcel Paret traces rising protests back to the process of democratization and racial inclusion. This process dangled the possibility of change but preserved racial inequality and economic insecurity, prompting residents to use militant protests to express their deep sense of betrayal and to demand recognition and community development. Underscoring remarkable parallels to movements such as Black Lives Matter in the United States, this account attests to an ongoing struggle for Black liberation in the wake of formal racial inclusion. Rather than unified resistance, however, class struggles within the process of racial inclusion produced a fractured militancy. Revealing the complicated truth behind the celebrated "success" of South African democratization, Paret uncovers a society divided by wealth, urban geography, nationality, employment, and political views. *Fractured Militancy* warns of the threat that capitalism and elite class struggles present to social movements and racial justice everywhere.

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Ethnic Dissent and Empowerment: Economic Migration between Vietnam and Malaysia

Angie Ngọc Trần

Vietnam annually sends a half million laborers to work at low-skill jobs abroad. Angie Ngọc Trần concentrates on ethnicity, class, and gender to examine how migrant workers belonging to the Kinh, Hoa, H're, Khmer, and Ch'm ethnic groups challenge a transnational process that coerces and exploits them. Focusing on migrant laborers working in Malaysia, Trần looks at how they carve out a third space that allows them a socially accepted means of resistance to survive and even thrive at times. She also shows how the Vietnamese state uses Malaysia as a place to send poor workers, especially from ethnic minorities; how it manipulates its rural poor into accepting work in Malaysia; and the ways in which both countries benefit from the arrangement. A rare study of labor migration in the Global South, *Ethnic Dissent and Empowerment* answers essential questions about why nations export and import migrant workers and how the workers protect themselves not only within the system, but by circumventing it altogether.



Articles

Blanc, Eric. 2021. "How Digitized Strategy Impacts Movement Outcomes: Social Media, Mobilizing, and Organizing in the 2018 Teachers' Strikes." *Politics & Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323292211039953>.

Explaining digital impacts on social movements requires moving beyond technological determinism by addressing two underdeveloped questions: How does political *strategy* shape the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs)? And how do divergent uses of ICTs influence movement *outcomes*? This study addresses these questions by examining the 2018 educator walkouts in Oklahoma and Arizona—statewide actions initiated through rank-and-file Facebook groups. To explain why the strike in Arizona was more effective than in Oklahoma, despite more auspicious conditions

for success in the latter, this study shows that the impact of ICTs is mediated by leaders' strategic choices. Whereas Oklahoma's strike was marked by *mobilization without organization*—scaling up protest without an organizational foundation—Arizona used digital tools to build, rather than eschew, organization. Digital impacts further depend on the nature of the contentious performance itself, since the efficacy limitations of relying solely on ICTs are particularly pronounced for actions like strikes.

Byoung-Hoon Lee, Sarah Swider, and Chris Tilly. 2020. "Informality in Action: A Relational Look at Informal Work." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 61(2-3): 91-100. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715220944219>.

We conceptualize informal work in relational terms, examining informality through the relations and interactions between and among a set of actors: capitalists, the state, organizations of informal workers, traditional trade unions, individual informal workers. We consider the leading explanations of the persistent growth of informal employment around the world, suggest that three such explanations (survivalist, structuralist, and "disembedded") are most compelling, and reframe them in terms of key actors and their relations. Finally, we take a closer act at the agency and strategies of each of those key actors. Throughout, we illustrate with examples from the articles in this special issue.

Carré, Françoise and Chris Tilly. 2022. "Digital Technology Implementation in Retail Stores: Trends, Potentials, Contingencies." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00197939221095527>.

As part of *ILR Review's* new special series "Novel Technologies at Work," this article introduces a forum composed of five industry studies that examine the drivers and impact of recent and impending technological change. Each of the studies, condensed from longer reports published over the past two years, relies on interviews with sectoral actors and other primary data to determine the relevant technologies confronting workers and managers and the sorts of strategies and policies that will mediate their effects.

Friedman, Samuel R., Leslie D. Williams, Ashly E. Jordan, Suzan Walters, David C. Perlman, Pedro Mateu-Gelabert, Georgios K. Nikolopoulos, Maria R. Khan, Emmanuel Peprah, and Jerel Ezell. 2022. "Toward a Theory of the Underpinnings and Vulnerabilities of Structural Racism: Looking Upstream from Disease Inequities among People Who Use Drugs." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19(12). doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19127453.

Structural racism is increasingly recognized as a key driver of health inequities and other adverse outcomes. This paper focuses on structural racism as an "upstream" institutionalized process, how it creates health inequities and how structural racism persists in spite of generations of efforts to end it. So far, "downstream" efforts to reduce these health inequities have had little success in eliminating them. Here, we attempt to increase public health awareness of structur-

al racism and its institutionalization and sociopolitical supports so that research and action can address them. This paper presents both a theoretic and an analytic approach to how structural racism contributes to disproportionate rates of HIV/AIDS and related diseases among oppressed populations. We first discuss differences in disease and health outcomes among people who use drugs (PWUD) and other groups at risk for HIV from different racial and ethnic populations. The paper then briefly analyzes the history of racism; how racial oppression, class, gender and other intersectional divisions interact to create health inequities; and how structural racism is institutionalized in ways that contribute to disease disparities among people who use drugs and other people. It examines the processes, institutions and other structures that reinforce structural racism, and how these, combined with processes that normalize racism, serve as barriers to efforts to counter and dismantle the structural racism that Black, indigenous and Latinx people have confronted for centuries. Finally, we discuss the implications of this analysis for public health research and action to undo racism and to enhance the health of populations who have suffered lifetimes of racial/ethnic oppression, with a focus on HIV/AIDS outcomes.

Inanc, Hande, and Arne L. Kalleberg. 2022. "Institutions, Labor Market Insecurity, and Well-Being in Europe." *Social Sciences* 11(6). <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11060245>.

We examined the differences among seventeen European countries regarding the extent to which several key institutional and labor market characteristics affect the degrees of insecurity that people feel about their jobs and employment prospects, as well as their well-being (economic security and subjective well-being). We estimate how macrostructural factors affect well-being by fitting random-intercept multi-level models and decomposing the variance across national and individual levels, using data from the 2004 and 2010 European Social Surveys. We find that there is substantial country-level variation in labor market insecurity, economic security and subjective well-being. Active labor market policies, the generosity of unemployment benefits, and collective bargaining coverage explain a considerable portion of the identified differences among countries in labor market insecurity and well-being. The effects of employment protection legislation vary depending on whether the worker has a permanent or temporary contract. We did not find substantial differences between 2004 and 2010, suggesting that the effects of institutions and worker power on labor market insecurity and well-being reflect longer-term structural changes associated with the transformation of employment relations.

Ipsen, Annabel. 2022. "Gendered Labor Legacies of Authoritarian Neoliberalism: Chile's Double Crisis." *Gender, Work & Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12868>.

Legacies of Chile's democratic crisis pose challenges for workplace gender equity. This paper brings together scholarly debates on gender regimes and factory regimes to examine the gendered labor practices in a high-tech, transnational agricultural sector. Specifically, I ask how gender regimes and regulatory practices entrenched in Chile's authoritarian past shape labor dynamics in this industry today. I argue that we must look to the past to understand how firms benefit from unequal social relations embedded in institutions and for identifying mechanisms of change. I document how the neoliberal and authoritarian policies of the democratic crisis in Chile (1973–90) became the baseline conditions in democracy, leaving stark gender and labor inequalities that persist today. The resulting neoliberal pact continues to privilege elites and marginalize the working poor, especially women, contributing to the slow-brewing inequality crisis that came to a head in 2019. Based on ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews in Arica, Chile, a major hub for corn seed development, I show how these legacies enable firms to benefit from Chile's unequal gender relations to develop high-value products without paying the price associated with the skill needed to produce them. I find that conservative gender norms together with labor relations inherent in Chile's neoliberal model, rooted in a 17-year dictatorship, create obstacles to efforts to address gender inequality.

Mueller, Jason C. and John McCollum. 2022. "A Sociological Analysis of 'OK Boomer.'" *Critical Sociology* 48 (2): 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2F08969205211025724>.

The year 2019 was the year of "OK Boomer" (OKb). From *The New York Times* to the New Zealand legislature, OKb emerged as a pop cultural phenomenon. For some, this phrase represents a battle of the generations wherein Baby Boomers are fed up with the utopian demands of younger generations, while younger generations see Baby Boomers as stubbornly conservative and out of touch. Alternatively, some dismiss the *generational warfare* trope and demand we see society for what it "really is"—one defined by *class warfare*. By deploying theories of politics, ideology, and cultural change from Mark Fisher, Fredric Jameson, Slavoj Žižek, and Franco Berardi, we offer a theoretical framework through which the emergence and proliferation of OKb can be understood. We find OKb to be embedded within the logic of capitalist realism, where younger genera-

tions' cynical usage of this meme represents a muddled attempt to cognitively map within 21st century post-modernity.

Mueller, Jason C. 2022. "Cultural Political Economy, Crisis Management, and COVID-19 in the United States." *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 9(1): 7–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2021.1995773>.

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) has ravaged the world. The pace at which this pandemic spread left policy makers scrambling to understand the virus and craft ameliorative policy measures, while populations struggled to make sense of the pandemic's impact on their lives. This opened up many opportunities for crisis learning. This article deploys the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach to analyse discursive and material ways in which the President of the United States engaged in crisis learning and crisis management during the early months of the pandemic. Although preexisting conditions structured the early response to COVID-19, contingent moments of (in)action by the President had significant, path-shaping impact on the scope and severity of the pandemic. A vignette on the functionality of the US healthcare system during the early days of the pandemic offers further clarity on the interplay between material and discursive factors impacting real-time crisis learning and management.

Narayan, Devika. 2022. "Manufacturing Managerial Compliance: How Firms Align Managers with Corporate Interest." *Work, Employment and Society*. doi.org/10.1177/09500170221083109.

Although the domain of labour process research is vast, few studies analyse compliance among managers. This article advances a neglected strand of analysis, focusing on how firms shape managerial actions. Organizational goals, such as downsizing, intensification, and reskilling, demand that professional managers cooperate and act in accordance with firm objectives, at times even at personal cost to themselves. To theorize this, I use the case of information technology (IT) firms in India that recently shed a large number of managerial jobs, fostering an environment of insecurity. Those who lost their jobs were positioned between lower-level employees and top management. Drawing on qualitative fieldwork, I contribute a two-part framing that theorizes the dualities of the managerial subject position and how it is instrumentalized. The article foregrounds the intersection of managerial insecurity and managerial hierarchy, emphasizing how firms utilize these to meet organizational goals.

Rhomberg, Chris. 2021. "Work and Workers in the United States: A Historic Turning Point?" *La Nouvelle Revue du Travail* 19. <https://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.

Rojas-García, Georgina, and Chris Tilly. 2022. "The Politics of Informal Domestic and Construction Worker Organizing: Mexican Cases in Comparative Perspective." *Labor Studies Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X221108141>.

The growing recognition that informal workers can organize successfully has generated debate over the determinants of effectiveness in such organizing. We contribute to this discussion by examining the cases of domestic and construction worker organizations in Mexico, using a power resources framework. Profiling these movements, the key obstacles they face, and their achievements, we undertake a threefold comparison. Within Mexico, we compare organizing both *across the two sectors* and *over time*. Additionally, we *cross-nationally* compare Mexican organizing in these sectors with U.S. comparators. We explain the disparate outcomes through changes in institutional opportunities and access to societal power (allies).

Scipes, Kim. 2022. "The Only Commonality is Uncommonality: Progressive Protest from the Mid-1980s, Globalization from Below, Environmental Devastation, Climate Change, and Questioning of Industrial Civilization." *Class, Race and Corporate Power* 10(4). <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/vol10/iss1/4>.

Noting the extensive number of progressive protests, mobilizations, and social disruption from below since the mid-1980s, not just in the US but around the world, this article suggests that what is going on is the expansion of the global economic and social justice movement, a bottom-up form of globalization. It suggests that this is, ultimately, a rejection of industrial civilization itself. And it points out, through an examination of

the effects of climate change, that the continued existence of industrial civilization is imposing a burden on the peoples of the world that far outweighs its benefits, and suggests that protests will expand as more and more people understand the costs of industrial civilization.

Tilly, Chris, and Georgina Rojas-García. 2021. "Shifting Tides of Informal Worker Resistance in Mexico: A Domestic Work-Construction Contrast." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 40(3): 352-368. <https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.13109>.

Informal workers in Mexico, the majority of the country's workforce, have organised to demand rights, but with varying results. In this article, we contrast recent organising by Mexico's domestic workers and informal construction workers. Household worker movements have succeeded in institutionalising significant new organisations and raising public awareness. Construction workers, despite earlier militant counterexamples, have remained trapped by corporatist structures, and their organising capacity has atrophied. We place these outcomes in the context of the overall decline of labour, suggesting conclusions for the limits and possibilities of contemporary Mexican labour mobilisation.

Wilmers, Nathan, Letian Zhang. 2022. "Values and Inequality: Prosocial Jobs and the College Wage Premium." *American Sociological Review* 87(3): 415-442. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224221089335>.

Employers often recruit workers by invoking corporate social responsibility, organizational purpose, or other claims to a prosocial mission. In an era of substantial labor market inequality, commentators typically dismiss these claims as hypocritical: prosocial employers often turn out to be no more generous with low-wage workers than are other employers. In this article, we argue that prosocial commitments in fact inadvertently reduce earnings inequality, but through a different channel than generosity. Building on research on job values, we hypothesize that college graduates are more willing than nongraduates to sacrifice pay for prosocial impact. When employers appeal to prosocial values, they can thus disproportionately reduce pay for higher-educated workers. We test this theory with data on online U.S. job postings. We find that prosocial jobs requiring a college degree post lower pay than do standard postings with exactly the same job requirements; prosocial jobs that do not require a college degree, however, pay no differently from other low-education jobs. This gap reduces the aggregate college wage premium by around 5 percent. We present a variety of supplementary evidence using labor market data, worker survey responses, and a

vignette experiment with hiring managers. The findings reveal an unintended consequence of employers' embrace of prosocial values: it offsets macro-level inequality.

Wolf, Andrew. 2022. "City Power in the Age of Silicon Valley: Evaluating Municipal Regulatory Response to the Entry of Uber to the American City." *City & Community*. doi.org/10.1177/15356841211066931.

This article recasts the debate over the employment status of gig economy workers as a question about the power of municipal governance. Gig employers are challenging urban regulatory regimes through their disavowal of an employment relationship and their refusal to obtain taxi licenses. As the recent literature argues, there has been a resurgence of municipal power driven by a labor-antipoverty coalition. One might view the gig economy's independent contractor model as an attempt to circumvent this power. Analyzing the case of gig taxi companies like Uber, this article tracks the response of U.S. cities to a business model predicated on ignoring their regulations. Utilizing original data, this study investigates urban regulatory responses to Uber through descriptive statistics and multivariate modeling. The findings show that almost half of cities failed to regulate. Those that took action had historically greater levels of regulation and faced driver protests—a sign of a stronger labor-antipoverty coalition. Additional evidence indicates a learning effect in which cities became more likely to regulate over time. The article ends with a discussion of how workers and unions are responding to this challenge.

Wolf, Andrew. 2022. "COVID and the Risky Immigrant Workplace: How Declining Employment Standards Socialized Risk and Made the COVID-19 Pandemic Worse." *Labor Studies Journal*. doi.org/10.1177/0160449X221110276.

This article investigates the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic in NYC as they were concentrated on immigrant workers and their communities, studying one group of immigrant workers, namely taxi drivers. Based on two years of ethnographic research with the New York Taxi Workers Alliance, a union of 24,000 taxi and app-based drivers in NYC, conducted before and during the pandemic, as well as formal interviews and an original survey of 1,002 union members, my research shows how drivers' precarious existence in the work-citizenship nexus informed their experiences of sustaining their families during the pandemic. COVID highlighted how the welfare state's increasing privatization of risk, the fissuring of the workplace, and the rise in employment precarity have generated an immigrant under-

class. This manifested in immigrant drivers experiencing the pandemic through the lens of specific uncertainties—health, economic, bureaucratic, and immigration—that shaped their unequal access to pandemic support. This process in turn produced a boomerang effect, as immigrant drivers' weaker connection to state and social institutions made it harder to contain the virus in their communities, a development which ultimately puts society writ large at greater risk. This article advances our knowledge of precarious employment by introducing the concept of uncertainties to explain the socio-cultural aspects of how crises of social reproduction are generated. It also extends our understanding of the decline of the welfare and regulatory state by showing how this process interacts with immigrant status.

Zhang, Yueran. 2022. "What's Really behind China's 'Common Prosperity' Program?" *New Labor Forum* 31(2): 62-70. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10957960221090978>.

In the summer of 2021, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) announced a call for a comprehensive policy program to achieve "common prosperity" (*gongtong fuyu*), which instantly attracted wide attention from the domestic public as well as China observers overseas. The policy program's emphasis on economic equality and curbing capital's power could be understood as a necessary technocratic fix for two fundamental challenges: a weak domestic market that has so far failed to spur economic growth, and a perceived "demographic crisis" caused by low birth rates. But these important structural factors alone cannot explain the *political* character of the state's endeavors, particularly why they have prioritized disciplining capital in such a confrontational manner. I will argue that this is because the state has been both strategically responding to a powerful and visibly growing anti-capital sentiment across Chinese society and preemptively dispossessing big capital of any major leverage that could cause the party-state political unease in the future.

Book Chapters

Vachon, Todd E. 2022. "Fancy Funeral or Radical Rebirth? Just Transition and the Future of Work(ers) in the U.S." In *The Green New Deal and the Future of Work in America*, edited by C. Calhoun and B. Fong.

The transition away from a growth-oriented extractive economy toward a regenerative, sustainable economy will completely reshape existing labor markets, threaten to erase the gains made over generations by workers in the historically unionized blue-collar energy sector, and further shift employment into sectors where unions have been unable to gain a foothold due to a combination of employer hostility and pro-business labor laws.

The fear these changes elicit among workers and communities make solutions to the climate crisis tremendously challenging. However, the worst possible outcomes which are feared by many labor leaders—such as mass unemployment and the collapse of local economies—are only a foregone conclusion when operating under the rules of neoliberal governance. If done correctly, confronting the climate crisis offers a great opportunity to move our society toward a dual democratic commitment to work being rewarding and available to all who want it, and all workers being able to exercise voice in their workplaces and over the economy as a whole. This chapter considers the key ingredients of a just transition to a just, democratic, and sustainable future.

Vachon, Todd E. 2022. “Skin in the Game: The Struggle over Climate Protection within the U.S. Labor Movement.” Pp. 105-126 in *Handbook of Anti-Environmentalism*, edited by D. Tindall, M. Stoddart, and R. Dunlap. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

This chapter surveys some of the major political-economic, institutional, and cultural explanations for anti-environmental behavior by some unions. In particular, the chapter focuses on the case of climate change and efforts by some unions to undermine efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the U.S. Based in part on data from participant observation with three labor-climate movement organizations and 34 in-depth interviews with union leaders, this chapter will proceed in four sections. First, a brief history of labor-environmental relations in the U.S. to provide context for readers unfamiliar with the labor movement. Second, an examination of the major political-economic, institutional, and cultural explanations for opposition to climate protection measures by some unions. Third, an introduction to the nascent labor-climate movement working within the U.S. labor movement to overcome these many structural barriers and move labor as a whole to a more progressive stance on this crucial issue. Finally, a step back away from the U.S. case to consider broader implications for understanding the relationship between organized labor and anti-environmentalism.

Book Reviews

Luce, Stephanie. 2021. “Book Review: Rules without Rights: Land, Labor, and Private Authority in the Global Economy.” *American Journal of Sociology* 127(1): 244-246. <https://doi.org/10.1086/714229>.

Mueller, Jason C. 2021. “Book Review: The End of the End of History: Politics in the Twenty-First Century by Alex Hochuli, George Hoare and Philip Cunliffe.” *Critical Sociology*. doi.org/10.1177/08969205211067340.

Rothstein, Jeffrey. 2020. “Book Review: No One Size Fits All: Worker Organization, Policy, and Movement in a New Economic Age.” *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 49(2): 157-158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306120902418n>