

# IN CRITICAL SOLIDARITY

*Newsletter of the American Sociological Association's  
Section on Labor and Labor Movements — Volume 22, No. 1  
Edited by Joseph van der Naald*



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# NOTES FROM THE CHAIR

*Cedric de Leon, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Welcome to the Labor and Labor Movements Section of the American Sociological Association!

I am your new chair, Cedric de Leon, from the UMass Amherst Labor Center. I have three objectives for the coming year. First, I want to recruit more women and people of color to the section to reflect the diversity of the workforce and the labor movement. We are doing this through our programming and nominations committees, but we should do more across the section, and I look forward to your ideas and help with this goal. As of now we are hosting a section session at the 2023 ASA annual meeting in Philly on “Race, Gender and Labor” that I hope will signal to ASA members that the section is an intellectual and political home for all people who work in or on labor and labor movements. We are also actively recruiting a diverse leadership slate to run for office.

Second, I want to highlight, and urge coordination across, the many eclectic organizations that make up the U.S. labor movement. These include unions, worker centers, community groups organizing around racial and gender equity and immigrant rights, third parties, cooperatives, and public intellectuals. To that end the programming committee is hosting a second session on the labor movement’s resurgence that I hope will put our members in touch with labor activists in Philly across a variety of different organizations.

Finally, in an effort to increase regular communication and feature our members’ research and political work, I am working with the media committee to start a [new Twitter account](#), better maintain our [Facebook page](#), update our website, and increase our interaction with the [Work in Progress blog](#).

Thank you for being a member of the Labor and Labor Movements section. I look forward to working with you.

In Solidarity,

*Cedric de Leon*  
*Professor of Sociology and Labor Studies*  
*University of Massachusetts Amherst*



# CALL FOR SECTION AWARD NOMINATIONS

## Distinguished Scholarly Book Award

**Deadline: 3/01/2023**

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, 2021 and December 31, 2022. 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, Rocio Rosales at [r.rosales@uci.edu](mailto:r.rosales@uci.edu) no later than **March 1, 2023**. 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, 2023 to send hard-copies to the committee members.

## Distinguished Scholarly Article Award:

**Deadline: 3/01/2023**

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 labor unions, the working class or working class movements, work, or the labor process, published between January 1, 2021 and December 31, 2022. 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, Barry Eidlin at [barry.eidlin@mcgill.ca](mailto:barry.eidlin@mcgill.ca) no later than **March 1, 2023**.

## Student Paper Award

**Deadline: 3/01/2023**

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, 2021 and December 31, 2022. 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, Gretchen Purser at [gwpurser@syrr.edu](mailto:gwpurser@syrr.edu) no later than **March 1, 2023**.

## The Dan Clawson Activist-Scholar Award

**Deadline: 3/01/2023**

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, Erin Hatton at [eehatton@buffalo.edu](mailto:eehatton@buffalo.edu) no later than **March 1, 2023**.



# CALL FOR PAPERS: ASA 2023 ANNUAL MEETING—PHILADELPHIA

The ASA has opened the submission links for next summer's meeting. The Labor and Labor Movements section will host two open panels, plus our regular roundtables. The panels for this meeting include:

## LABOR'S RESURGENCE

This panel will address renewed interest in the labor movement, occasioned by recent successes at Starbucks, Amazon, and in the education sector. Paper topics may include but are not limited to: new modes of organization, direct action, strikes, alt labor organizations, innovative labor-community coalitions, the role of young workers, and worker militance. The panel will be in conversation with local activists in Philadelphia.

## RACE, GENDER, AND LABOR

The Labor and Labor Movements programming committee invites papers that engage the question of intersecting inequalities from the perspective of work, workplace struggles, and movement building. Topics may include but are not limited to: coalitions between unions and organizations mobilizing for racial and gender equity; worker centers and the struggle for immigrant rights; the gendered and racialized dynamics of labor control and discipline; the politics of workplace inclusion and discrimination; and the feminization and diversification of the workforce and organized labor.

## SECTION ON LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENTS ROUNDTABLES

This is an open call for submissions on labor and labor movements for those interested in an informal and collaborative workshop setting.

### Program Committee

Cedric de Leon, University of Massachusetts-Amherst - [cedricdeleon@umass.edu](mailto:cedricdeleon@umass.edu)

Erin Hatton, University at Buffalo - [ehatton@buffalo.edu](mailto:ehatton@buffalo.edu)

Sara Trongone, University of Wisconsin-Madison - [trongone@wisc.edu](mailto:trongone@wisc.edu)

Youbin Kang, University of Wisconsin-Madison - [ykang62@wisc.edu](mailto:ykang62@wisc.edu)

Katy Habr, Columbia University - [kjh2172@columbia.edu](mailto:kjh2172@columbia.edu)



# 2022 LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENTS SECTION AWARDS

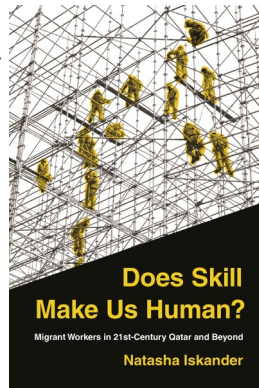
Congratulations to our 2022 Section Award winners!

## Distinguished Scholarly Monograph Award

**Winner:** Natasha N Iskander.  
2021. *Does Skill Make Us Human?: Migrant Workers in 21st-Century Qatar and Beyond*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**Honorable Mentions:**  
Josh Seim. 2020. *Bandage, Sort, and Hustle: Ambulance Crews on the Front Lines of Urban Suffering*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Michael L. Siciliano. 2021. *Creative Control: The Ambivalence of Work in the Culture Industries*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.



## Distinguished Scholarly Article Award

### Winner:

Chang, Andy Scott. 2021. "Selling a Resume and Buying a Job: Stratification of Gender and Occupation by States and Brokers in International Migration from Indonesia." *Social Problems* 68(4):903–924. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spab002>

### Honorable Mentions:

Mai, Quan D. 2021. "Unclear Signals, Uncertain Prospects: The Labor Market Consequences of Freelancing in the New Economy." *Social Forces* 99(3):895–920. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaa043>

Blanc, Eric. 2021. "How Digitized Strategy Impacts Movement Outcomes: Social Media, Mobilizing, and Organizing in the 2018 Teachers' Strikes." *Politics & Society* 50(3):485–518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323292211039953>

## Inaugural Dan Clawson Scholar-Activist Award Winners

**Carolina Bank Muñoz** (Brooklyn College) and  
**Nancy Plankey-Videla** (Texas A&M University)



## LLM and Critical Sociology Graduate Student Paper Award

### Co-winners:

Blanc, Eric. 2021. "How Digitized Strategy Impacts Movement Outcomes: Social Media, Mobilizing, and Organizing in the 2018 Teachers' Strikes." *Politics & Society* 50(3):485–518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323292211039953>

Trongone, Sara Gia. "A New Collective Bargain? A Multi-Case Comparison of U.S. Labor Union Strategy" (unpublished manuscript)



# CALL FOR PAPERS

## Call for Presentations at the 2023 Working-Class Studies Association Symposium Theme: *Class Cultures*



The Working-Class Studies Association announces a symposium and leadership retreat to be held June 15-17, 2023 at the University of Illinois in Chicago, and via Zoom, co-sponsored by the [Department of History](#), University of Illinois Chicago and the [UIC United Faculty](#). A Thursday eve meet & greet at [Haymarket Brewery](#) and an online social hour for Zoom participants will kick off the event. The symposium, panel presentations, keynote, customary banquet and awards ceremony will take place on Friday. Saturday morning will begin with a breakfast and business meeting then proceed to a leadership retreat. The event will wrap up by 5:30 pm.

The WCSA invites its members and others – whether academics, independent scholars, journalists, labor and community organizers, or artists – to propose presentations bearing on class cultures, their contradictions across class, and the common elements and differences that arise within class cultures among the racial, ethnic, and gender groups composing every class.

In choosing this focus, the WCSA honors the groundbreaking work on these issues by Jack Metzgar, Barbara Jensen, and Betsy Leondar-Wright, who will be in conversation at the symposium with other scholars and activists.

### *Symposium Proposals*

Proposals exploring the symposium theme may be for individual presentations or for a panel

session of no more than four presenters. All presenters must be WCSA members by the time the conference opens. Please limit proposals to no more than two per person.

Proposals for the symposium must include:

- Name/pronouns/affiliation/contact details for all participants.
- Title of proposed paper or session. Session proposals must include a confirmation of willingness to participate from all proposed members.
- Abstract that includes how the proposal speaks to the conference theme (max 250 words).
- Indication of intention to attend in person, or via Zoom.

Proposals should be submitted by [completing this form](#) no later than January 15th, 2023. All proposals will receive a response by **February 15th, 2023**. For inquiries about the call for presentations or program, please email us at: [wcsa2023conference@gmail.com](mailto:wcsa2023conference@gmail.com)

## Call for Proposals: 2023 Labor Research and Action Network Conference

### LABOR RESEARCH & ACTION NETWORK

June 7th- 8th, 2023

Georgetown University, Washington, DC  
Co-hosted by Georgetown University's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor

### What We All Bring - Strategy and Research for Everyone in the Movement:

*This is a conference for organizers, scholars, and anyone advancing the labor movement to*

*bring their experiences and analyses together.* Research happens every day in the labor movement. Organizers conduct informal interviews, workers gather data, advocates perform policy analysis, and countless others take stock of our socio-political climate and strategize for the future. It may not always get called this, but it's research all the same, and this year's LRAN conference is dedicated to the depth and breadth of labor research taking place in this moment.

And what a moment it continues to be. We've come a long way since the pandemic shifted all aspects of our daily lives. We now have better tools to stay safe at work and at play, but complacency is not a luxury we are ever afforded in the fight for worker justice. While the pandemic fades from national headlines, the unfolding economic impacts of its aftermath remain a reality that the most vulnerable still face. Union approval ratings have never been higher, and still challenges to organizing have never been more fierce. Inflation driven by corporate greed threatens the strong gains workers have made in the past two years.

As always, we're tasked with figuring out how we can draw from the past and innovate for the future, providing the tools and skills we collectively need to continue the fight. In that spirit, we challenge our network to consider the following question at this year's gathering:

- How can scholarly work intersect with grassroots research in meaningful, impactful ways?
- What can we all gain by being more inclusive of non-traditional research?
- How do we leverage academic rigor for broader gains beyond the university setting?

Co-hosted by Georgetown University's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, this year's LRAN conference invites participants from universities, unions, worker centers, policy organizations, and others in-

involved in the work of labor justice to submit proposals (including trainings) for 90 minute sessions that address one of the following tracks:

- Threats to democracy - Representative research to uplift worker voices and get beyond sound-byte rhetoric
- Everyone's a researcher - Skill building and engagement to grow capacity and diversity in labor research, both in and outside traditional settings
- The next generation of worker organizing - young workers leading the movement in new sectors
- Defining victory - worker gains beyond the NLRB
- Broadening our scope - Building sustainable "common good" campaigns
- Bridging the gap - Coalition building and intersectional struggle

LRAN conferences have always included a broad range of workshops proposed and organized by attendees from labor, NGOs, and academia. Past workshops have included the topics of privatization, racial and gender justice, worker power in the logistics supply chain, strikes and power, the gig economy, climate justice, the public sector, and more. Proposals that include a range of participants from different fields or perspectives (i.e., academics and union activists and organizers), and that clearly detail a focus on research-to-action case studies or new research skills will be prioritized. Past workshop formats have included: panel presentations, trainings, paper presentations, video showings/discussion, and moderated roundtable discussions. *We highly encourage training proposals for this conference.*

**Submit your proposed session at the below link by Friday, March 3rd:** [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdN2XFXWj7ULAR2BYAnIKaGVKKN1GZu9SecbahKdoacH1AQ4g/viewform?usp=sf\\_link](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSdN2XFXWj7ULAR2BYAnIKaGVKKN1GZu9SecbahKdoacH1AQ4g/viewform?usp=sf_link)

# MEMBER ANNOUNCEMENTS AND PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

**Rina Agarwala** (Johns Hopkins University) published an op-ed in *The Washington Post* entitled “[Is the new U.K. prime minister a paragon of immigrant success?](#)” on class, labor, and national migration policies.

**Barry Eidlin** (McGill University) wrote an article for *Jacobin* entitled “[For Railworkers, Sick Days Weren’t the Real Issue – It Was Basic Control of Their Lives](#)” on the U.S. government’s intervention to block a nationwide rail strike.

**Sam Friedman** (New York University) has released a book of poetry, freely available online, entitled [A Precious Residue: Poems that ponder efforts to spark a working class socialism in the 1970s and after](#). Sam’s poetic reflections are based on both research field work and his own efforts as part of the struggle to organize a radical socialist work network in the United States.

**Ruth Milkman** (CUNY Graduate Center) was recently interviewed in an article for *The Washington*

*Post* entitled “[Labor Movement’s Next Big Challenge: Keeping Momentum as Economy Cools.](#)”

**Kim Scipes’** (Purdue University Northwest) life and work was the subject of two profiles recently, first in the *Purdue Journal of Service-Learning and International Engagement* and again in *The Breacher*. Kim also contributed an article in December to *ZNetwork.org* entitled “[The Union Makes Us Strong: Understanding Trade Unionism in a Global Context](#)”.

**Arthur Shostak** (Drexel University) was profiled by his alma mater the Cornell University ILR School on their Alumni Stories webpage in a blog post entitled “[Longtime Educator Is an Advocate First.](#)”

**Andrew Wolf** (Rutgers University) recently participated in a panel entitled “Digital Platform Work in the US and Latin America: A Challenge for the Working Class of Our Days” comparing gig work in the Global North and Global South. A recording of the panel is available [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](mailto:jvandernaald@gradcenter.cuny.edu)



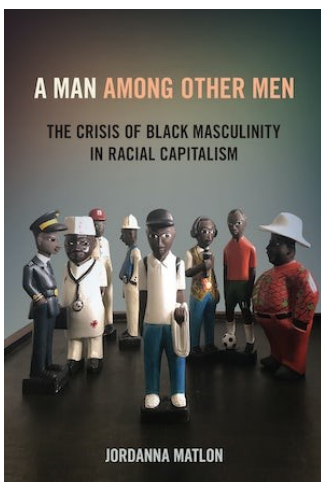
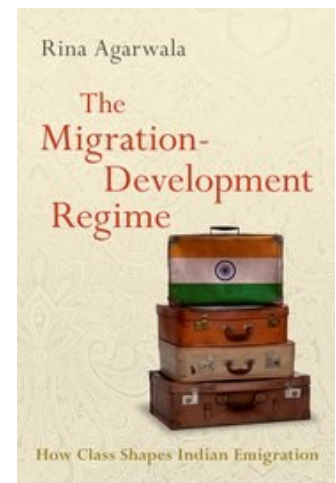
# MEMBER PUBLICATIONS

## Books

### [The Migration-Development Regime: How Class Shapes Indian Emigration](#)

**Rina Agarwala**

How can we explain the causes and effects of global migration from the perspective of sending states and migrants themselves? The Migration and Development Regime introduces a novel analytical framework to help answer this question in India, the world's largest emigrant exporter and the world's largest remittance-receiving country. Drawing on an archival analysis of Indian government documents, a new data base of Indian migrants' transnational organizations, and unique interviews with poor and elite Indian emigrants, recruiters, and government officials, this book exposes the vital role the Indian state, as well as its poor and elite emigrants, have long played in forging and legitimizing class inequalities within India through their management of international emigration. Since the 1800s, the Indian state has differentially used poor and elite emigrants to accelerate domestic economic growth at the cost of class inequalities, while still retaining political legitimacy. At times, the Indian state has forbidden emigration, at other times it has promoted it. At times, Indian emigrants have brought substantial material inflows, at other times, they have brought new ideas to support new development agendas within India. But throughout, Indian emigration practices have deepened class inequalities by imposing different regulations, acquiring different benefits from different classes of emigrants, and making new class pacts—all while remaining invisible in political and academic discussions on Indian development. On the flip side, since the early 1900s, poor and elite emigrants have resisted and re-shaped Indian development in response to state migration practices. By taking this long and class-based view, this book recasts contemporary migration not simply as a problematic function of “neoliberalism” or as a development panacea for sending countries, but as a long and dynamic historical process that sending states and migrants have long tried to manage. In doing so, it re-defines the primary problems of migration, exposes the material and ideological impact that migration has on sending state development, and isolates what is truly novel about contemporary migration.



### [A Man among Other Men: The Crisis of Black Masculinity in Racial Capitalism](#)

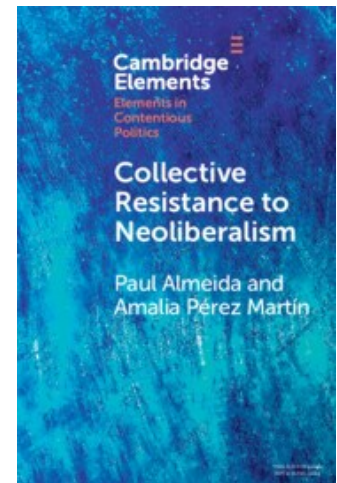
**Jordanna Matlon**

*A Man among Other Men* examines competing constructions of modern manhood in the West African metropolis of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Engaging the histories, representational repertoires, and performative identities of men in Abidjan and across the Black Atlantic, Jordanna Matlon shows how French colonial legacies and media tropes of Blackness act as powerful axes, rooting masculine identity and value within labor, consumerism, and commodification. Through a broad chronological and transatlantic scope that culminates in a deep ethnography of the livelihoods and lifestyles of men in Abidjan's informal economy, Matlon demonstrates how men's subjectivities are formed in dialectical tension by and through hegemonic ideologies of race and patriarchy. *A Man among Other Men* provides a theoretically innovative, historically grounded, and empirically rich account of Black masculinity that illuminates the sustained power of imaginaries even as capitalism affords a deficit of material opportunities. Revealed is a story of Black abjection set against the anticipation of male privilege, a story of the long crisis of Black masculinity in racial capitalism.

## ***Collective Resistance to Neoliberalism***

**Paul Almeida and Amalia Pérez Martín**

Civil society actors contested the fifty-year long transition to a global economy based on the principles of neoliberalism. Mobilization against neoliberal measures represents one of the most common forms of social-movement activity across the world. We explore the evolution of resistance to economic liberalization from the 1970s to the current period. Our study highlights several dimensions of civic opposition to the implementation of free market policies, including: forms of neoliberalism; geographic distribution of protest events across world regions and time; and outcomes of movement campaigns.



## **Articles**

**Gastón, Pablo. 2022. "Moralizing the strike: nurses as associations and the justification of workplace conflict in California hospitals." *American Journal of Sociology* 128 (1):47-93. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/720300>.**

Why do we judge workplace contestation as right or wrong—and how does such moral judgment change? Classic theorizations of the “moral economy” assume an antinomy between moral life and markets to explain coercive protest. Recent research points instead to the interconnection of morality and economic exchange but fails to analyze contention as economic action. This article addresses this tension through a historical study of the moral valence of nurses’ strikes in California. In the 1940s, nurses associations framed strikes as immoral. By the 1970s, they articulated striking as a defense of nurses’ care against uncaring employers. This moral judgment was transformed through the reconciliation of insurgent demands and conservative moral constraints within organizations. Associations developed new bureaucratic structures and contentious practices that reconciled coercive power with the moral injunction to care. Economic sociologists should consider workplace contestation as an object of analysis and mechanism for explaining economic phenomena.

**Kallas, John, Madeline R. Sterling, Olay Ajayi, Ethan Mulroy, Elizabeth Kuo, Joy Ming, Nicola Dell, and Ariel C. Avgar. 2022. "Making a Bad Situation Worse: Examining the Challenges Facing Rural Home Care Workers." *Journal of Applied Gerontology* <https://doi.org/10.1177/07334648221134793>**

This study examines the unique challenges facing rural home care workers. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken between July 2021 and February 2022 with 23 participants that have experience in rural home care delivery. The major challenge confronting rural home

care workers involved distance and transportation. This challenge emerged due to long distance between clients, unreliable vehicles, inadequate reimbursement, and inclement weather. In turn, this challenge exacerbated three other types of challenges facing rural home care workers: workforce challenges that consisted of a persistent labor shortage and shorter visits that forced workers to rush through tasks, client isolation due to the social and physical seclusion of households, and the poor working conditions of home care work more broadly. Without policy interventions that respond to these particular challenges, the care gap in rural areas can be expected to grow.

**Kallas, John. 2022. "Retooling Militancy: Labour Revitalization and Fixed-Duration Strikes." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12709>**

Despite decades of decline in strike rates, recent scholarship has examined how unions and labour organizations are retooling the strike to confront increasing employer power. This study focuses on a militant labour union and the emergence of an understudied type of strike – the fixed-duration strike – as a source of labour revitalization. Drawing from qualitative data gathered on fixed-duration strikes organized by a union of registered nurses in the United States, I investigate the strategic adaptation of labour militancy and how these strikes overcome the limitations of traditional, indefinite work stoppages. I find that fixed-duration strikes protect the economic interests of nurses and advance their role as patient care advocates, while still imposing financial and reputational costs on employers. These findings suggest that the strategic adaptation of militant tactics, such as the strike, help labour organizations achieve revitalization outcomes like contract victories and enhanced membership activism.

Hammonds, Clare, and Jasmine Kerrissey. 2022. "At Work in a Pandemic: Black Workers' Experiences of Safety on the Job." *Labor Studies Journal* 47(4):383-407. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X221121632>

Race and labor scholars have argued that precarious, dangerous work, along with the work of social reproduction, has long been disproportionately placed on Black workers. This research examines how the COVID-19 pandemic impacted essential in-person workers differently by race. Using data collected from approximately 8,000 respondents in five survey waves, we find that Black essential and in-person workers were far more likely to experience safety concerns on the job than white workers, from inadequate sick leave and protective gear in the early pandemic to customers who refused to mask in later months. This pattern extended to stress off the job, where Black workers were more likely to have experienced food, childcare, and housing insecurities. Black workers were also more likely to be interested in unionization. These findings point to distinct ways in which the COVID-19 pandemic has collided with Black workers' struggle for economic inequality and amplified existing patterns of labor market inequality.

Isaac, Larry, Jonathan Coley and Hannah Ingersoll. 2022. "Early Labor Movement Strike Violence, the Press, and the Upton Sinclair Hypothesis." *Journal of Labor and Society* 25(4): 587-626. [https://brill.com/view/journals/jlso/25/4/article-p587\\_005.xml](https://brill.com/view/journals/jlso/25/4/article-p587_005.xml)

During the labor movement's formative years, Upton Sinclair was among the most vehement critics of the press for, as he claimed, a wide variety of "capitalist corruptions." The authors examine one of Sinclair's central charges in his *The Brass Check*, the first major book-length criticism of the U.S. corporate press: When strikers are violent, they get reported on the wire services; when they are not violent, they are ignored by the wires and thus the papers. This press selection process serves to create in public consciousness a strong association between strikes and violence. Focusing on coverage by the *New York Sun* and *New York Times* for fourteen major strikes spanning the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, evidence suggests that Sinclair's claim was, with some qualification, generally correct. The authors discuss implications of negative press as "soft repression" during the formative years of the labor movement and prior to journalism's major moves at professionalization.

Isaac, Larry, Jonathan Coley, Quan Mai and Anna Jacobs 2022. "Striking News: Discursive Power of the Press as Capitalist Resource in Gilded Age Strikes." *American Journal of Sociology* 127(5): 1602-1663. <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/719424>

Does mass media discourse influence material outcomes of contentious social movement events? The authors address this enduring puzzle by developing a discursive power resource theory of the press that centers press coverage valence of strikes within the coemergence of the labor movement and mass commercial print media. Employing unique data and probability models, the authors examine the impact of negative coverage in three forms (lagged context, contemporaneous context, event focused) from two leading New York newspapers (*Sun* and *Times*) on strike outcomes during Gilded Age class contention. They find compelling evidence that negative coverage amplifies the likelihood of strike failure by disproportionately serving as a contention resource for capital. Evidence also suggests form, press political perspective, and movement intensity contingencies in how press influences work. The authors highlight theoretical implications for the role of media in social movement outcomes, power resource theory, soft repression in class formation, the public sphere, and corporate media.

Isaac, Larry, Rachel McKane and Anna Jacobs. 2022. "Pitting the Working-Class Against Itself: Solidarity, Strikebreaking, and Strike Outcomes in the Early US Labor Movement." *Social Science History* 46(2): 315-348. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2021.52>

It is axiomatic that high-risk activism requires solidarity if social movements are to have success in struggles against powerful adversaries. However, there is little research that attempts to gauge the impact of various types, limits, or breakdown of solidarity directly and systematically. Drawing from historical political economy, cultures of class formation, and social movement outcome literatures, we address the question of solidarity's impact across dimensions and at various levels of scale (i.e., at the point of production or firm level, local community, and wider society) by analyzing the outcomes of more than 4,500 strikes during the late-nineteenth-century rise of US industrial capitalism. We find that while strike solidarity at the point of production is necessary, it is not sufficient for success. Disruption costs that strikers seek to impose to gain leverage can be significantly reduced by the countertactic of hiring strikebreaking replacement workers recruited from the local community or imported from beyond. We also



find that the urban regime of strike policing matters by moderating the impact of strikebreakers. The most powerful predictor of strike outcomes is employer use of replacement workers, signaling the key to undermining working-class strike solidarity directly pits the working class against itself. Intraclass solidarity is necessary for the success in interclass struggle but needs to extend beyond the struck firm implicating the importance of solidarity of the surrounding community and wider social factory. We discuss the implications of these findings for understanding the historic formation of the US labor movement and its present predicament.

**Klainot-Hess, Elizabeth. 2022. "The Benefits and Limitations of Contingent Faculty Unionization: A Comparison of a Union and Non-Union Institution." *Labor Studies Journal* <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X221142618>.**

While union membership has declined over the last several decades, there has been a recent surge in union organizing among contingent faculty—non-tenure-track faculty who tend to experience low wages and job insecurity. Based on interviews with 100 contingent faculty at two large public research universities—one where contingent faculty are unionized, and one where they are not—this article demonstrates that contingent faculty at the unionized institution experience higher job satisfaction, greater job security, and higher wages than those at the non-unionized university, but that the union still faces some limitations in improving contingent faculty jobs.

**Lin, Lefeng. 2022. "Power Resources and Workplace Collective Bargaining: Evidence from China." *The Journal of Chinese Sociology*. 9(19). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40711-022-00178-x>.**

During the strike wave of 2010, S provincial authority began to support trade unions in experimenting with workplace union elections and collective bargaining. Drawing data from union documents and ethnographic research, the variability in workplace collective bargaining in the context of official union reform in Y City in S Province is explained in this article. By comparing multiple enterprise union collective bargaining cases, four models of workplace collective bargaining in practice are identified in the research: moderated mobilization, technical negotiation, collective consultation, and managerial domination. Using the power resources approach to analyze collective bargaining, the author argues that the various practices result from the dynamic interactions between workers' power configuration and employers' perception of disruption. Furthermore, the author argues that the variability in workplace collective

bargaining is not a transient phenomenon but a semi-institutionalized middle ground.

**Lipold, Paul and Larry Isaac. 2022. "Repressing Worker Dissent: Lethal Violence Against Strikers in the Early American Labor Movement." *Labor History* 63(1): 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2022.2053080>**

Despite U.S. labor-management history having long been recognized as the most violent and bloody of any Western industrialized nation, unanimity has failed to materialize regarding its impact on concomitant labor protests, organizations, and politics. We examine the impact of striker fatalities on the strength and trajectory of the early American labor movement against the null hypothesis that such bloodshed is largely random and/or inconsequential by building recently constructed measures of fatal strike violence into time-series regression models of strike frequency, union membership, and membership within the Socialist Party of America. The results suggest that killing strikers, labor organizers, and strike sympathizers had deleterious consequences for labor: dampening strike activity through the long-term cumulative history of picket-line deaths – particularly strikes for union recognition; and hampering union and Socialist Party organizational growth. Thus, repressive elite violence appears to have contributed, in part, to propelling the American labor movement along what has traditionally been characterized as an 'exceptional' path of weakening labor's potential power during its formative decades.

**Milkman, Ruth. 2022. "Stratification Among In-Home Care Workers in the United States." *Critical Sociology* 49(1) <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205221123034>.**

Domestic workers—specifically in-home health care workers, childcare providers, and house cleaners—are generally concentrated at the bottom of the US labor market. Yet, there is also substantial stratification among and within each of these occupations. This article explores the heterogeneity in pay and working conditions among domestic workers in the 21st-century United States, which has been understudied to date. After sketching national patterns of stratification in this set of occupations, the focus shifts to qualitative evidence on inequalities among domestic workers drawn from focus groups conducted in New York City shortly before the COVID-19 pandemic. Finally, the impact of the pandemic on in-home domestic workers is briefly considered.

Payne, Corey R., and Beverly J. Silver. 2022. "Domination Without Hegemony and the Limits of US World Power." *Political Power and Social Theory* 39: 159-177. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0198-871920220000039009>

Many analyses point to Trump's behavior on the world stage – bullying and racketeering more reminiscent of a mafioso than a statesman – as a personal character flaw. We argue that, while this behavior was shocking in how unvarnished it was, Trump marks the culmination of a decades-long trend that shifted US foreign policy from a regime of "legitimate protection" in the mid-twentieth century to a "protection racket" by the turn of the twenty-first. While the temperaments of successive presidents have mattered, the problems facing the United States and its role in the world are not attributable to personalities but are fundamentally structural, in large part stemming from the contradictions of US attempts to cling to preeminence in the face of a changing global distribution of power. The inability of successive US administrations – Trump and Biden included – to break out of the mindset of US primacy has resulted in a situation of "domination without hegemony" in which the United States plays an increasingly dysfunctional role in the world. This dynamic has plunged the world into a period of systemic chaos analogous to the first half of the twentieth century.

Raynolds, Laura T. 2022. "Can Certification Increase Trade Fairness and Worker Empowerment? Lessons from Fairtrade International Certified Plantations in Ecuador." *International Sociology* 37(6): 716-739. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580922110359>

This article analyzes the strategic potential and empirical challenges of private governance in promoting decent work in global agriculture by curtailing buyer power and fostering labor agency, drawing lessons from Fairtrade International-certified flower plantations in Ecuador. The study explains (1) Fairtrade's logic in promoting 'trade fairness' and 'worker empowerment' and operationalization of these values via its certification standards, (2) the power relations shaping certification practices in global flower markets and Ecuadorian plantations, and (3) the grounded implications of participation for firms and workers. Important lessons emerge. First, while Fairtrade pursues a promising avenue for challenging the buyer control that erodes supplier and worker power, it has only marginally reduced floral buyer power due to retailer resistance, low-bar certification competition, and programmatic regulatory gaps. Second, although Fairtrade's empowerment approach has strengthened labor agency within and beyond the workplace, bolstering individual empowerment has proved

easier than fostering associational power. As I show, certification practices and outcomes are mediated by commodity-specific global market politics and localized enterprise, labor force, and legal contestations which explain why program aspirations are often not realized. Standard systems can reshape internal trade relations and organizations but cannot alone ensure global trade equity or robust labor representation.

Steele, Liza G., Joseph C. Cohen, and Joseph van der Naald. 2022. "Wealth, Income, and Preferences for Redistribution: Evidence from 30 Countries." *Social Science Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2022.102746>

This analysis probes the relationship between individuals' preferences for redistribution and their economic self-interest. We analyze personal finance and preferences data from 30 countries included in the 2009 ISSP to analyze whether respondents' personal income, financial wealth, or housing wealth are related to their opinions about economic redistribution, poor aid, and unemployment support. We find evidence of a relationship between income and preferences in English-speaking OECD countries, and between home equity, financial wealth, and preferences in Nordic countries. However, that linkage varies by policy attitude and asset type, and is also non-existent in some countries.

Tomassetti, Julia. 2022. "The Powerful Role of Unproven Economic Assumptions in Work Law." *Journal of Law and Political Economy*. <https://doi.org/10.5070/LP63159032>

Many rules and statutory interpretations in US work law that entrench employers' power over workers rely on unproven economic assumptions. This article explores three. First, courts assume that the individual employee and employer have relatively equal bargaining power, an assumption often framed and defended within the circular logic of "freedom of contract." Second, courts assume that the employer's authority over the enterprise—its managerial prerogative—must be near absolute to promote efficiency in the enterprise and economy. Third, courts assume that the costs of maintaining the status quo of managerial prerogative and an employer's at-will authority are less than the costs of altering it. Courts use these assumptions to give employers broad rights to terminate employees, to impose arbitration agreements, and to limit worker collective rights.

Trongone, Sara Gia. 2022. "A New Collective Bargain? A Multicase Comparison of U.S. Labor Union Strategy." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 27(2):149–168. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-27-2-149>

Twenty-five years ago, a vocal faction of progressive union leaders, labor educators, and academics charted a new path forward for American labor unions. Proponents of "social movement unionism" sought to reverse unions' flagging strength through redoubled organizing drives, street mobilizations, "public dramas," and labor-community coalitions. While case studies describing this repertoire of contention abound, there are few systematic analyses that take stock of emergent union strategy. Based on an analysis of 76 case studies of union-led collective-bargaining campaigns, strikes, and political mobilizations, I argue that contemporary labor union revitalization is best understood not as a singular, movement-inspired struggle but as a mix of four strategies—sometimes competing, sometimes complementary—each espousing divergent visions for how to recapture social, economic, and political power. These divergent visions, in turn, shape how unions form alliances and construct class-based identities.

## **Book Chapters**

De Leon, Cedric and Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz. 2022. "The Political Sociology of W.E.B. Du Bois." in *The Oxford Handbook of W.E.B. Du Bois*, edited by A. Morris, W. Allen, C. Johnson-Odim, D. S. Green, M. Hunter, K. Brown, and M. Schwartz. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190062767.013.35>

This handbook and other recent works have claimed W. E. B. Du Bois as foundational to sociology and the social sciences. With few exceptions, however, the recuperation of Du Bois has not extended to political sociology (and politically oriented works in comparative historical sociology). This chapter claims Du Bois as a political sociologist. A wealth of largely unharvested insights in his work awaits the subfield. Here, the focus is on three issues: (1) the entwinement of socio-political processes, (2) the concomitant paradigm shifts implicit in a Du Boisian political sociology for objects of inquiry such as the state and development, and (3) the political exhortation at the heart of these paradigm shifts, which centers on retheorizing democracy and democratization.

## **Reports**

Milkman, Ruth and Joseph van der Naald. 2022. *The State of the Unions 2022: 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://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc\\_pubs/716/](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_pubs/716/)

New York City leads the recent uptick in private-sector union organizing at companies like Starbucks and Amazon. A new report released by the CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies, *State of the Unions 2022: A Profile of Organized Labor in New York City, New York State, and the United States*, analyzes new union membership and union election wins across the nation's major cities. The report also details the geographic, demographic, and occupational makeup of union membership in New York City, New York State, and the nation.



