

Workers' Movements

PS 431 Senior Seminar in American Politics

Spring 2018

Tuesday 2-5:50, AH 421

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2-4, Thursdays 12-1, and by appointment

D. Salazar, AH 401

Seminar participants will examine how workers have organized to pursue their interests. We will draw on social movement scholarship in structuring our analysis, giving particular attention to the nature of workers' organizations, the ideas animating these organizations, the tactics they have used, and the ways in which states and firms have responded to workers' claims. While our empirical focus will be workers' movements in the US, we will not ignore the rest of the world. The first nine weeks of the quarter will be devoted to a set of texts and films that address: the history of labor unions in the US, the relation between unions and democracy, the nature of leadership and decision making within unions, the emerging role of community coalitions in pursuing workers' interests, and contemporary policy gains made by workers' movements.

During the quarter we will explore three case studies of worker mobilization: the emergence of regional movements to increase the minimum wage, the role of the courts in the trajectory of the union movement, and recent mobilization of public school teachers. Each student will sign up for one case. Case study teams will organize the sequence of presentations for each case. Case study presentations will vary with each case, but in general, the following should be addressed over the quarter: history of relations among the actors, nature of worker organizations, nature of the work, issues at the center of conflict, political and legal contexts, resolution and future consequences. Each presentation should last no more than **ten** minutes. Case study presentations will provide information to support construction of final exam questions and responses.

Students have the option of writing their seminar papers on one (or more) of the case studies. Seminar papers will go beyond the descriptive, using concepts and models from the seminar to analyze workers' movements.

I have ordered the following books for the quarter:

Barkacke, Frank. 2012. *Trampling Out the Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers*. New York: Verso Books.

Lichtenstein, Nelson. 2013. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Revised and Expanded Edition). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Milkman, Ruth, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. 2010. *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Assignments and Grades

This is a senior seminar; I expect that your participation will be motivated by a passion for the study of politics. That passion will drive you to complete readings on time and to come to class excited to share your response to the readings with other participants in the seminar. Moreover, I assume that during the course of your studies you have developed strong analytical and writing skills, that you have some facility with the process of social science research, and that you will take responsibility for your education. Your grade will be based on your participation in the seminar, completion of one seminar paper and four response papers, and a final examination.

Writing

Because you will do considerable writing in this course, I offer the following suggestions. First, use words economically. If a word, sentence, or paragraph is not essential to your analysis, omit it. Second, organize your effort by constructing an outline before you write. An outline will help to discipline your analysis. Third, do not submit your first draft; few of us are sufficiently talented to inflict our first drafts on others. Plan your schedule so that you have sufficient time to complete a draft of each assignment and then return to it at least a day later. Re-read it and revise to ensure clarity. Fourth, consider your audience. For this course, you may assume an audience of political science students who have studied neither labor politics nor social movements. You should demonstrate your regard for that audience by presenting clear explanations that do not unduly tax your readers' patience. Fifth, for **all** assignments, be sure to cite all sources and append a list of references; please use parenthetical citation as described in the APSA style booklet (you can find an online version [here](#)). Within the text, cite the author and date for ideas that are not your own and for facts that are not common knowledge. When you quote or paraphrase a very specific claim, cite the page number on which the relevant passage may be found. Try to paraphrase when possible, avoiding extended quotations. Finally, there are rules or conventions of grammar, punctuation, citation, and syntax. Please follow these rules.

For further discussion of grammar and style, you may wish to consult Jack Lynch, [Guide to Grammar and Style](#), and William Strunk and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style*, which is available in most bookstores.

I expect that all of your papers will reflect a close reading of this section and a genuine effort to follow the advice offered here.

Response Papers (20%)

For four weeks during the term, you should prepare a two-page, single-spaced response to an argument developed in the reading for the week. Papers will be graded and are due by noon on the Monday before class. Your papers will benefit from your completing the reading early in the week before the paper is due.

During the weeks you are not writing a response paper, you should come to class with a typed page (single-spaced) presenting two empirical or historical claims from the reading

assigned for the day. Be sure to cite the page number for each. Prepare a paragraph explaining the author's reasoning for each claim.

Seminar Paper and Proposal (45%)

This paper may focus on one of the case studies we will explore this quarter. Alternatively, the paper may address a thematic or conceptual issue raised in the course. Please consult with me before settling on a paper topic. You should prepare a proposal by the end of the fourth week of class (due 26 April). Proposals should present a research question, explain its importance, and describe how you propose to answer it. Proposals should draw on at least three research articles (from peer-reviewed social science journals) not assigned for class. The seminar paper will be a research paper or literature review that explores a question related to workers' movements in the US. I expect you will draw on a range of sources for this paper.

Papers should be no longer than ten double-spaced pages and should conform to the APSA style manual. Please cite sources and include a list of references. Seminar papers are due at 4 PM on Wednesday, 6 June. Late papers will be penalized half a grade (*e.g.*, from B to B-) every two days.

Participation and Case Studies (15%)

Your participation will be evaluated on the basis of your physical presence in class and the consistency and quality of your contribution to classroom discussions. The following is offered as a general set of guidelines and should not be seen as a promise of any particular grade. Other things being equal, regular attendance and occasional questions/comments related to course reading will merit a grade in the range from C to B. Participation characterized by regular attendance and specific questions about the reading that lead to clarification of concepts and arguments presented by the authors will generally merit a grade of B+. Students who go beyond this level to extend particular ideas from the reading to grapple with broader issues in politics will merit grades in the A range.

The quality of case study presentations also will be considered in participation grades. Presentations should be organized in a logical sequence and should reflect coordination among team members.

Final Examination (20%)

The final examination will be an oral exam conducted during final exam week. We will collaborate on a set of questions during the ninth week of class. Each of you will then schedule a date and time with me. At your scheduled time, you will draw two questions from the list and answer them. I encourage you to bring detailed outlines to the examination.

Schedule (adjustments are likely)

Date	Topic and Readings (Recommended readings are offered for those with special interest in a particular topic)
3 April	<p><u>Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and Workers in the US</u> Lichtenstein, Preface to the 2013 Edition, Introduction, Chapter 1 Video: <i>Eugene Debs and the American Movement</i> (we will watch in class)</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Johnston, Hank. 2014. <i>What is a Social Movement?</i> Malden, MA: Polity Press. (chapter 3: What is a Political Movement?) Santiago, Patricio with Sebastian Sanchez. 2014. Calling All Carwasheros. <i>New Labor Forum</i> 23(1):85-87.</p> <p><u>Case Studies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimum Wage Campaign http://content.lib.washington.edu/projects/sea15/ • The Courts and Labor Janus v. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees • Teachers and Other Public Servants http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=9763 https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/08/us/west-virginia-teachers-strike.html
10 April	<p><u>History of the US Labor Movement</u> Lichtenstein, <i>State of the Union</i>, Chapters 2-7 Video: <i>Union Maids</i> (we will watch in class)</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Burgoon, Brian, Janice Fine, Wade Jacoby, and Daniel Tichenor. 2010. Immigration and the Transformation of American Unionism. <i>International Migration Review</i> 44(4):933-973.</p>

	<p>Stepan-Norris, Judith. 2015. Social Justice & the Next Upward Surge for Unions. <i>Contexts</i> 14(2):46-51.</p>
<p>17 April</p>	<p><u>Democracy and Unions</u> Lichtenstein, Chapter 8 Robert Michels. 1915. <i>Political Parties</i>. New York: Hearst International Library Co. Part Six, Chapter II (electronic reserve) Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman. 1965. <i>Union Democracy</i>. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press. Chapters 1,18 (electronic reserve) Greenstone J. David. 1965. Political Norms and Group Process in Private Government: The Case of a Local Union. <i>Midwest Journal of Political Science</i> 9(4):339-360. (electronic reserve) Voss, Kim and Rachel Sherman. 2000. Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy: Union Revitalization in the American Labor Movement. <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 106:303-349. (library) Hickey, Robert, Sarosh Kuruvilla, and Tashlin Lakhani. 2010. No Panacea for Success: Member Activism, Organizing and Union Renewal. <i>British Journal of Industrial Relations</i> 48(1):53-83. (library)</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Chan, Anita. 2009. Challenges and Possibilities for Democratic Grassroots Union Elections in China: A Case Study of Two Factory-Level Elections and Their Aftermath. <i>Labor Studies Journal</i> 34(3): 293-317. Eidlin, Barry. 2015. Class vs. Special Interest: Labor, Power, and Politics in the United States and Canada in the Twentieth Century. <i>Politics & Society</i> 43(2):181-211. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Barry_Eidlin/publication/272886145_Class_vs_Special_Interest/links/54f216140cf2b36214ad514d/Class-vs-Special-Interest.pdf. Serdar, Ayse. 2015. Reconsidering Social Movement Unionism in Postcrisis Argentina. <i>Latin American Perspectives</i> 42(2):74-89. Terry, Brandon M. and Jason Lee. 2017. Rethinking the Problem of Alliance: Organized Labor and Black Political Life. <i>New Labor Forum</i> 26(3):16-26.</p>

	<p>Voss, Kim. 2010. Democratic Dilemmas: Union Democracy and Union Renewal. <i>Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research</i> 16(3): 369-382. http://www.bollettinoadapt.it/old/files/document/8847TRANSFER_2010_36.pdf</p> <p><u>Case Study Presentations</u> Historical Context</p>
24 April	<p><u>Union Membership and Political Participation</u></p> <p>Flick, Barbara F. 2009. Not Just Collective Bargaining: The Role of Trade Unions in Creating and Maintaining a Democratic Society. <i>Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society</i> 12(June):249-264. (library)</p> <p>Terriquez, Veronica. 2011. Schools for Democracy: Labor Union Participation and Latino Immigrant Parents' School-Based Civic Engagement. <i>American Sociological Review</i> 76(4):581-601. (library)</p> <p>Kernisey, Jasmine and Evan Schofer. 2013. Union Membership and Political Participation in the United States. <i>Social Forces</i>: 91(3):895-928. (library)</p> <p>Flavin, Patrick. 2017. Labor Union Strength and the Equality of Political Representation. <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>. https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy.library.wvu.edu/core/journals/british-journal-of-political-science/article/labor-union-strength-and-the-equality-of-political-representation/B5777096F74963A32FA868C18F288221/core-reader# (library)</p> <p>Francia, Peter L. 2010. Assessing the Labor-Democratic Party Alliance: A One-Sided Relationship? <i>Polity</i> 42(3):293-303. (library)</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u></p> <p>Ahlquist, John S. 2017. Labor Unions, Political Representation, and Economic Inequality. <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 20: 21.1-21.24.</p> <p>Chan, Anita. 2010. American Chicken Feet, Chinese Tires, and the Struggle for Labor Rights. <i>New Labor Forum</i> 19(3):57-63.</p> <p>Kim, Dukhong. 2016. Labor Unions and Minority Group Members' Voter Turnout. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 97(5):1208-1226.</p>

	<p>Lichtenstein, Nelson. 2016. Twenty-First Century Populism: Not for the Unions and a Good Thing Too. <i>The Forum</i> 14(3):235-247. http://www.history.ucsb.edu/labor/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu/hist.d7_labor/files/sitefiles/Lichtenstein%2C%20%2522Twenty-First%20Century%20%27Populism%27%2522.pdf</p> <p>Mareschal, Patrice M. 2018. Public Sector Unions, Democracy, and Citizenship at Work. <i>Labor History</i> 59(1):38-53.</p> <p>Tontonchi, Emil P. 2011. Laboring a Democratic Spring: The Past, Present, and Future of Free Trade Unions in Egypt. <i>Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society</i> 14(September):259-283.</p> <p><u>Case Study Presentations</u></p>
1 May	<p><u>Political Economic Opportunities and Mobilization</u> Bardacke, <i>Trampling Out the Vintage</i>, Chapters 1-15</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow. 1977. Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements in the U.S. <i>American Sociological Review</i> 42(2):429-468.</p> <p><u>Case Study Presentations</u></p>
8 May	<p><u>Leadership and Tactical Innovation</u> Bardacke, <i>Trampling Out the Vintage</i>, Chapters 16-25</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Ganz, Marshall. 2000. Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966. <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 105(4):1003-1062.</p> <p><u>Case Study Presentations</u></p>
15 May	<p><u>Senescence</u> Bardacke, <i>Trampling Out the Vintage</i>, Chapters 26-32, Epilogue</p> <p>McAlevey, Jane. 2015. The Crisis of New Labor and Alinsky's Legacy: Revisiting the Role of the Organic</p>

	<p>Grassroots Leaders in Building Powerful Organizations and Movements. <i>Politics & Society</i> 43(3):415-441. (pdf)</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Voss, Kim. 2015. Same as It Ever Was? New Labor, the CIO Organizing Model and the Future of American Unions. <i>Politics & Society</i> 43(3):453-457. (pdf)</p> <p><u>Case Study Presentations</u> Resolution? Implications?</p>
22 May	<p><u>Labor and Community-Based Organizing</u> Milkman, Bloom, and Narro, <i>Working for Justice</i> Boris, Eileen and Jennifer Klein. 2012. Frontline Caregivers: Still Struggling. <i>Dissent</i> 59(1):46-50.</p> <p><u>Recommended:</u> Anner, Mark and Peter Evans. 2004. Building Bridges Across a Double Divide: Alliances Between US and Latin American Labour and NGOs. <i>Development in Practice</i> 14(1&2):34-47. Seidman, Gay. 2008. Transnational Labor Campaigns: Can the Logic of the Market Be Turned Against Itself? <i>Development and Change</i> 39(6):991-1003. Swarts, Heidi and Ion Bogdan Vasi. 2011. Which U.S. Cities Adopt Living Wage Ordinances? Predictors of Adoption of a New Labor Tactic, 1994-2006. <i>Urban Affairs Review</i> 47(6):743-774.</p>
29 May	<p><u>Labor and the Environmental Movement</u> Savage, Larry and Dennis Soron. 2011. Organized Labor, Nuclear Power, and Environmental Justice: A Comparative Analysis of the Canadian and U.S. Labor Movements. <i>Labor Studies Journal</i> 36(1): 37-57. (library) Brecher, Jeremy and the Labor Network for Sustainability. 2013. Stormy Weather: Climate Change and a Divided Labor Movement. <i>New Labor Forum</i> 22(1): 75-81. (library) Kojola, Erik, Chenyang Xiao, and Aaron M. McCright. 2014. Environmental Concern of Labor Union Members in the United States. <i>The Sociological Quarterly</i> 55(1):72-91.</p>

	<p>Mayer, Brian. 2009. Cross-Movement Coalition Formation: Bridging the Labor Environment Divide. <i>Sociological Inquiry</i> 79(2):219-239.</p> <p>Ostrander, Madeline. 2013. Unions and Environmentalists: A Match Made with Difficulty. <i>The Nation</i> http://www.thenation.com/blog/175633/unions-and-environmentalists-match-made-difficulty#</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>Fruendt, Henry J. 2010. Sustaining Labor-Environmental Conditions: Banana Allies in Costa Rica. <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i> 52(3):99-129.</p> <p>Mayer, Brian, Phil Brown, and Rachel Morello-Frosch. 2010. Environmental Coalition Formation: Framing and the Right to Know. <i>Sociological Forum</i> 25(4):746-768.</p> <p>Obach, Brian K. 2002. Labor-Environmental Relations: An Analysis of the Relationship between Labor Unions and Environmentalists. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> 83(1):82-100.</p>
5 May	<u>Workers' Movements Review</u>
6 June	<u>Seminar Paper Due: 4 PM</u>

Appendix: Student Learning Objectives

Of late, Western (along with many other universities) has taken an interest in the practice of assessment. One of the consequences of this interest is a requirement that faculty list student learning objectives on their syllabi. Please do not let the following limit what you take from your work in this class.

1. Possess substantive knowledge in the discipline of political science and field of labor studies related to the labor movement and labor policy in the United States.
2. Demonstrate writing competence.
3. Engage in independent research. Both the team case studies and the seminar papers will afford you the opportunity to practice research (independently).
4. Demonstrate critical, independent thinking about politics and public life as related to the labor movement in the US.