

SOC646: Work & Organizations: Labor Unions

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Office Hours: Thursdays, 12:00-14:00 & by appointment

This course is a comprehensive overview of labor studies within the social sciences. Unions have been an important form of organization in US history and have influenced major social policies, such as Social Security and workplace rights, and class inequalities through limits on the workday, higher wages, job security and healthcare. Although it is true that union density in the US has declined since the 1950s, unions continue to influence policy makers through lobbying and endorsements and are a major social protection for American households; over one million households receive health insurance through UAW contracts that are currently being renegotiated (*New York Times*, March 9, 2009). In 2007, union density actually increased due to the growth of public-sector unions; it is common for non-specialists to mistake the decline in union density for a decline in membership, which has increased since the 1980s. In short, unions are here to stay and there is a vibrant debate over their role in the workplace and the structure of the unions themselves (witness the recent split in the AFL-CIO).

This course covers the central debates over labor unions as organizations and their role in the workplace and in politics. It is designed to provide a foundation for a field exam involving work, labor unions and organization within political science, history, sociology or economics.

Each week we will read some materials in common and divide additional readings. Students must write a brief review essay each week and set of three questions on each reading. The final product of the course is a research paper based on the readings. Lively, active and informed participation is essential.

Required Books:

Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1998. *Organizing to Win*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Bernhard, Annette et al. (eds). 2008. *The Gloves-Off Economy*. Champaign, IL: Labor and Employment Relations Association.

Dannin, Ellen. 2006. *Taking back the workers' law*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Gordon, Suzanne. 2005. *Nursing Against the Odds: How Health Care Cost Cutting, Media Stereotypes, and Medical Hubris Undermine Nurses and Patient Care*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

McKay, Steven. 2006. *Satanic Mills or Silicon Islands?* New York: Cornell University Press.

Bonacich, Edna. 2008. *Getting the Goods: Ports, Labor and the Logistics Revolution.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Schedule of Readings:

Week	Topic & Readings
March 31	Introduction: Labor Unions as Complex Organizations Southworth, Caleb & Judith Stepan-Norris. 2009. "American Trade Unions and Data Limitations: A New Agenda for Labor Studies." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> Vol. 35.
April 7	Organizing Campaigns: Strategies & Tactics Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1998. <i>Organizing to Win.</i> Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Parts I & III. Voss K, Sherman R. 2001. Breaking the iron law of oligarchy: union revitalization in the American labor movement. <i>Amer, J. of Soc.</i> 106:303-49 Additional: Block, Richard, Sheldon Friedman, Michelle Kaminski & Andy Levin (editors). 2006. <i>Justice on the Job: Perspectives on the Erosion of Collective Bargaining in the United States.</i> W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research. Kalamazoo, MI. Fiorito, Jack and Paul Jarley. 2008. "Union Organizing Activity in the United States." University of Hertfordshire Business School Working Paper. Palley, Thomas I. 2007. "Social Attitudes, Labor Law, and Union Organizing: Towards a New Economics of Union Density." <i>Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization</i> 62:237-54. Voos P. 1984. Trends in union organizing expenditures, 1953-1977. <i>Indus, and Lab. Rel. Rev.</i> 38:52-63.
April 14	The Legal Environment Dannin, Ellen. 2006. <i>Taking back the workers' law.</i> Ithaca, NY: ILR

Press.

Employee Free Choice Act.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Employee_Free_Choice_Act

Additional:

Gely, Rafael and Timothy D. Chandler. 2008. "Card Check Recognition: New House Rules for Union Organizing?" *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 35:247-76.

MacDougall HL. 2002. The Bush NLRB: Can balance be restored? *Empl. Rel. Law J.* 28:47-62

Schmitt J, Zipperer B. 2007. Dropping the ax: illegal firings during union election campaigns *Center Economic & Policy Res.* Jan.:1-21

Godard, John. 2003. "Do Labor Laws Matter? The Density Decline and Convergence Thesis Revisited." *Industrial Relations* 42(3):458-92.

Logan, John. 2007. "The Clinton Administration and Labor Law: Was Comprehensive Reform Ever a Realistic Possibility?" *Journal of Labor Research* 28:609-28.

Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1998. *Organizing to Win*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Part II.

James J. Brudney. 2005. "Isolated and Politicized: The NLRB's Uncertain Future." *Comparative Labor Law & Policy Journal* 26:221-60.

DiFazio, Liegia S. 2006. "Checks and Ballots: Union Recognition in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom in Light of the Employee Free Choice Act." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 34:689-712.

Newman, Nathan. 2002. "The Conflict of the Courts: RICO, Labor and Legal Preemption in Union Comprehensive Campaigns." *Drake Law Review* 51:307-60.

April
21

Employer Anti-Union Campaigns

Levitt MJ. 1993. *Confessions of a Union Buster*. New York: Crown.

Additional:

Cramton, Peter and Joseph Tracy. 1998. "The Use of Replacement

Workers in Union Contract Negotiations: The U.S. Experience, 1980-1989." *Journal of Labor Economics* 16(4):667-701.

Dixon, Marc. 2007. "Limiting Labor: Business Political Mobilization and Union Setback in the States." *Journal of Policy History* 19(3):313-44.

Kleiner M. 2001. Intensity of management resistance: understanding the decline of unionization in the private sector *J Lab. Res.* 22: 519-40

Logan J. 2006. The union avoidance industry in the United States *Brit. J. Indus. Rel.* 44: 651-75

April
28 **Health Care Unions**

Gordon, Suzanne. 2005. *Nursing Against the Odds: How Health Care Cost Cutting, Media Stereotypes, and Medical Hubris Undermine Nurses and Patient Care.* Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Parts I & III

Additional :

Gordon, Suzanne. 2005. *Nursing Against the Odds: How Health Care Cost Cutting, Media Stereotypes, and Medical Hubris Undermine Nurses and Patient Care.* Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Parts II

May 5 **Class Formation & Economic Inequality**

Bernhard, Annette et al. (eds). 2008. *The Gloves-Off Economy.* Champaign, IL: Labor and Employment Relations Association.

Additional:

Cornfield, Daniel B. 1991. "The US Labor Movement: Its Development and Impact on Social Inequality and Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 17:27-49.

David Card. 1996. "The Effect of Unions on the Structure of Wages: A longitudinal Analysis." *Econometrica* 64(4):957-79.

May
12 **Diversified Production**

Bonacich, Edna. 2008. *Getting the Goods: Ports, Labor and the Logistics Revolution.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Additional:

Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1998. *Organizing to Win.* Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Part V.

Silver B. 2003. *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization Since 1870*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press

May
19

Do American Workers Want Unions?

Panagopoulos C, Francia PL. 2008. "The polls-trends: labor unions in the United States" *Pub. Opin. Quart.* 72:134-59

Cornfield, Daniel B. and Hyunhee Kim. 1994. "Socioeconomic Status and Unionization Attitudes in the United States." *Social Forces* 73(2):521-32.

Freeman, Richard B. 2007. "Do Workers Still Want Unions? *More than Ever.*" Economic Policy Institute Briefing Paper #182. February 22, 2007.

Hutchinson, Harry G. 2006. "What Workers Want or What Labor Experts Want Them to Want? A Review Essay of What Workers Want by Richard B. Freeman & Joel Rogers." George Mason University Law and Economics Research Paper Series.

Additional:

Farber, Henry S. 1989. "Trends in Worker Demand for Union Representation." *American Economic Review* 79(2):166-71.

Kiefer HM. 2005. Public remains positive about labor unions. *The Gallup Poll* Sept. 13.

Farber, Henry S. and Alan B. Krueger. 1992. "Union Membership in the United States: The Decline Continues." NBER Working Paper No. 4216.

Bronfenbrenner, Kate. 1998. *Organizing to Win*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Parts IV.

May
26

Strikes & Political Contention

Rosenfeld, Jake. 2006. "Strikes and Wages in Post-Accord America." *Social Forces* 85(1):236-65.

Kaufman BE. 1982. The determinants of strikes in the United States, 1900-1977. *Indus. and Lab. Rel. Rev.* 35:473-90

Wallace M. 2007. After Taft-Hartley: the legal-institutional context of U.S. strike activity, 1948 to 1980. *Soc. Quart.* 48:769-99

Marc Dixon and Vincent J. Roscigno. 2003. "Status, Networks, and Social Movement Participation: The Case of Striking Workers." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(6):1292-1327.

Additional:

Morris, Theresa. 2003. "Unionization Matters: An Analysis of Power-War II Strikes." *Sociological Inquiry* 73(2):245-64.

Peterson F. 1937. *Strikes in the United States: 1880-1936* U. S. Bureau of Lab. Stat., Bul. No. 651, Washington, D.C.: U. S. GPO

June
2

Global Production & Unions

McKay, Steven. 2006. *Satanic Mills or Silicon Islands?* New York: Cornell University Press.

Additional:

Slaughter MJ. 2007. Globalization and declining unionization in the United States. *Ind. Relat.* 46:329-46

Gereffi, Gary. 2006. *The New Offshoring of Jobs and Global Development.* Geneva: International Labour Office.

----- Additional Topics in Labor Studies -----

Geographic Context & Union Success

Cebula, Richard J. 1983. "Right-to-work Laws and Geographic Differences in Living Costs: An Analysis of Effects of the 'Union Shop' Ban for the Years 1974, 1976, and 1978." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 42(3): 329-40.

Holmes, Thomas J. 2006. "Geographic Spillover of Unionism." Federal Research Bank of Minneapolis, Research Department Staff Report 368.

Mair A, Florida R, Kenney M. 1988. The new geography of automobile production: Japanese transplants in North America *Econ. Geog.* 64:352-73

Mergers, Splits & Change to Win

Chaison, Gary. 2007. "The AFL-CIO Split: Does it really matter?" *Journal of Labor Research* 28(2):301-11.

Hurd RW. 2007. U.S. labor 2006: strategic developments across the divide *J Lab. Res.* 28:313-25

Masters MF, Gibney R, Zagenczyk T. 2006. The AFL-CIO v. CTW: the competing visions, strategies, and structures *J. Lab. Res.* 27:473-504.

Milkman R. 2005. Divided we stand *New Lab. Forum* 15:38-46

Union Membership Gains & Losses

Daniel B. Cornfield. 1986. "Declining Union Membership in the Post-World War II Era: The United Furniture Workers of America, 1939-1982." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(5):1112-53.

Ecology & Organizational Attributes

Cornwell, Benjamin and Jill Ann Harrison. 2004. "Union Members and Voluntary Associations: Membership Overlap as a Case of Organizational Embeddedness." *American Sociological Review* 69(6): 862-881.

Hannan MT, Freeman J. 1987 The ecology of organizational founding: American labor unions, 1836-1985. *Amer. J. Soc.* 92:910-943

Hannan MT, Freeman J. 1988 The ecology of organizational mortality: American labor unions, 1836-1985. *Amer. J. Soc.* 94:25-52

The Impact of Unionization on Firms

DiNardo, John and David S. Lee. 2004. "Economic Impacts of Unionization on Private Sector Employers: 1984-2001." National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 10598.

Rothstein JS. 2006. The uncertain future of the American auto industry *New Lab. Forum* 15:65-73

Public-Sector Unions

Farber, Henry S. 2005. "Union Membership in the United States: The Divergence between the Public and Private Sectors." Working Paper #503. Princeton University Industrial Relations Section.

United States vs. Canada

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Noah M Meltz. 2004. *The Paradox of American Unionism*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Additional:

Vanderkamp, John. 2008. "Economic Activity and Strikes in Canada." *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society* 9(2):215-30.

Visser, Jemie. 2006. "Union Membership Statistics in 24 Countries." *Monthly Labor Review*. January.

Kumar, Pradeep and Christopher Robert Schenk. 2006. *Paths to Union Renewal: Canadian Experiences*. Peterborough, Ont, Canada: Broadview Press.

The Case Against Labor Unions

Richard A. Epstein. 2009. "The Case against the Employee Free Choice Act." University of Chicago Law School Working Paper. Forthcoming with Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute Press.

Baldwin, Carliss Y. 1983. "Productivity and Labor Unions: An Application of the Theory of Self-Enforcing Contracts." *Journal of Business* 56(2):155-85.

Read the analysis of elections, crime, undemocratic leaders and unfair labor practice cases under Facts at UnionFacts.com

Unions as Social Movement Actors

Fine, Janice. 2005. "Community Unions and the Revival of the American Labor Movement." *Politics & Society* 33(1):153-99.

Isaac L, McDonald S, Lukasik G. 2006. Takin' it from the streets: how the sixties mass movement revitalized unionization *Amer. J. of Soc.* 112:46-96

Martin AW. 2008. The institutional logic of union organizing and the effectiveness of social movement repertoires *Amer. J. Soc.* 113:1067-1103

Martin, A W. 2007. Organizational Structure, Authority, and Protest: The Case of Union Organizing in the United States, 1990-2001 *Social Forces* 85: 1413-1435.

Rubin BA, Griffin LJ, Wallace ME. 1983. Provided only that their voice

was strong': insurgency and organization of American labor from NRA to Taft-Hartley. *Work and Occup.* 10: 325-347

Turner L, Cornfield D. 2007. *Labor in the new urban battlegrounds: local solidarity in a global economy.* Ithaca: ILR Press.

Union Democracy

Jarley P, Fiorito J, Delaney JT. 1997. A structural contingency approach to bureaucracy and democracy in U.S. national unions *The Acad. Man. J.* 40:831-861

Lévesque, Christian, Gregor Murray and Stéphan Le Queux. 2005. "Union Disaffection and Social Identity: Democracy as a Source of Union Revitalization." *Work & Occupations* 32:400-22.

Moe, Terry M. 2006. "Political Control and the Power of the Agent." *Journal of Law, Economics & Organization* 22(1):1-29.

Unions, Electoral Politics & Social Policy

Quadagno J. 2004. Why the United States has no national health insurance: stakeholder mobilization against the welfare state, 1945-1996. *J. of Health & Soc. Behav.* 45:25-44.

Gottschalk, M. 2007. Back to the future? Health benefits, organized labor and universal health care. *J. of Health Politics, Policy & Law* 32:923-7

Leighley JE, Nagler J. 2007. Unions, voter turnout, and class bias in the U.S. electorate, 1964-2004 *The J. of Pol.* 69: 430-41

Southworth, Caleb and Judith Stepan-Norris. 2003. "The Geography of Class in an Industrial American City: Connections between Workplace and Neighborhood Politics." *Social Problems* 50(3):319-47.

Southworth, Caleb. 2002. "Aid to Sharecroppers: How Agrarian Class Structure and Tenant-Farmer Politics Influenced Federal Relief in the South, 1933-1935." *Social Science History* 26(1):37-74.

Immigration, Race & Unions

Joseph Altonji & David Card. 1989. "The effects of immigration on the labor market outcomes of natives." NBER Working Paper No. 3123.

Milkman R. 2007. Labor organizing among Mexican-born workers in the

United States: recent trends and future prospects *Lab. St. J.* 32: 96-112
Additional:

Zeitlin M, Weyher LF. 2001. Black and White, Unite and Fight: Interracial Working-Class Solidarity and Racial Employment Equality. *American Journal of Sociology* 107: 430-67.

Additional:

Weyher LF, Zeitlin M. 2005. Questioning 'supply and demand': Unions, labor market processes, and interracial equality. *Lab. Hist.* 46:19-36

Milkman R. 2006. *LA Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation