

Syllabus:

INTL/GEOG 8355

Seminar: Labor, Class and Politics

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Fall 2009

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Web CT

<https://csallen.myweb.uga.edu/8355.htm>

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First, I (Dr. Allen) would like to thank my colleague, Chris Howell (chris.howell@oberlin.edu) of Oberlin College whose similar course served as an inspiration for my graduate seminar version of Labor, Class and Politics.

RATIONALE

This seminar (INTL/GEOG 8355) is recommended for all students who wish to understand the politics of work, trade unions and social class in comparative perspective. To do well in this profession -- and to get an academic job when you finish your Ph.D. -- you must write papers, present them at conferences, and get them published. You should view the papers you will write this semester as first drafts of papers which you should try to present at a political science meeting during the Spring of 2010 or the 2010-2011 academic year.

Within advanced capitalist societies, the world of work has undergone a quite remarkable transformation in the course of the past two decades. Some elements of work itself have changed as the workplace has seen the erosion of standard, assembly line mass production by full-time "blue-collar" workers, and its replacement with "white-collar" and service sector jobs, and "flexible" production, performed by an increasingly insecure part-time and temporary workforce. Workers today are much less likely to be male and white, as women and minorities enter the paid workforce in much larger numbers. And trade unions, which have been the primary class organizations representing and defending workers in the 20th century, have gone into eclipse everywhere. As union membership declines, employers have developed new forms of individual and collective representation for workers, and union themselves have sought new strategies for survival. This seminar explores the transformation of work, workers, and trade unions in advanced capitalist societies since the Second World War. Given the scope of the subject-matter, this course is something of a sampler, offering an introduction to a large range of topics, with some left out, and many more only briefly covered.

FORMAT

The first two weeks of the semester are broadly theoretical. We begin with a discussion of how we think about studying these theme and then proceed to address the nature of work, class and identity, power relations in the workplace, and the potential for collective action. We then address the issue of geography and labor followed by an examination of comparative industrial relations. We then address globalization, power and work, organizing, and then move toward an explicit comparison of other developed capitalist countries and the United States to see the differences in the way in which workers are organized, the relative success workers and unions have achieved, the different role played by the state, and to understand the reasons why particular national models of industrial relations develop. Finally we look at the issues of ideas and working class

consciousness then conclude with an assessment of how our examination of labor, class and politics during the semester informs us about the state of labor in the early 21st century. We look forward, asking how unions are responding to the challenges facing them, and what ideas, if any, might assist them in framing their responses.

The course is a seminar in which all of us will discuss and analyze a set of readings for the first three quarters of the semester. Students should come to class fully prepared to analyze the assigned readings. For each class, you should prepare an analysis of the week's readings in which you articulate the major arguments and offer a critique. You will find this exercise particularly useful when you begin to prepare your written assignments. The major readings, in book manuscript form, introduce and address a major theme affecting advanced industrialized democracies. The articles and book chapters are attempts to address these themes in methodologically rigorous form. It is the task of the seminar participants to critically examine both of these forms.

By the 12th week, the format will change and involve student presentations of their paper outlines for 2 weeks. For the final 2 weeks of the course, students will present their semi-finished papers for each of the remaining weeks of the course. Each student will circulate copies of their presentation to their fellow students and to Drs. Allen & Herod an outline and an abstract of the paper that you will present that afternoon. Those presenting their work will make a brief 15 minute presentation of their outlines and/or papers-in-progress and one other student will serve as a discussant for both the outline and paper presentations. Following the presentation and critique of the outlines/papers, the remainder of the seminar will involve analysis and discussion of your papers by the entire class.

REQUIREMENTS

Class Participation -- 50%

Final Paper -- 50%

Not surprisingly, half the weight of your grade depends on a well written paper. The other half involves not only a successful presentation of YOUR own paper, but also a successful critique and series of constructive comments to those who are making presentations when you are not presenting your own work. It is just as important to listen to presentations, and dissect them, as it is to present them on your own. These are skills which will stay with you for your entire career.

REQUIRED BOOKS - Available at the UGA Bookstore & on 2 hour (plus overnight) reserve.

Culpepper, Pepper D. *Creating Cooperation: How States Develop Human Capital in Europe*, Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Pontusson, Jonas. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe Vs. Liberal America*, Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Sinyai, Clayton (2006). *Schools of democracy : a political history of the American labor movement*. Ithaca, N.Y., ILR Press.

Yates, Michael. *Why Unions Matter*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009.

READINGS

All books -- as well as all articles -- are also on reserve in hardcopy and electronic formats at the Main Library. Additional material will be put on reserve as necessary. The password for electronic reserves is: allen8355

Week 1 is the 1st day of class, Tuesday August 18! Please come to class prepared to discuss the first week's readings.

Week 1 (8/18): Thinking about Labor, Class and Politics

Waterman, P. (2005) "The forward march of labour (and unions?) recommenced: Reflections on an emancipatory labour internationalism and international labour studies." *Antipode*, 37.2: 208-218.

Russo, J. and Linkon, S. L. (2005) "[What's new about new working-class studies?](#)" In J. Russo and S. L. Linkon (eds.), *New Working-Class Studies*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-15.

Faue, E. (2005) "[Gender, class, and history](#)" In J. Russo and S. L. Linkon (eds.), *New Working-Class Studies*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 19-31.

Kessler-Harris, Alice (2007). [Gendering Labor History](#). Urbana, University of Illinois Press. pp. 129-157.

Week 2 (8/25): Work, Class and Working Class Identity

Tilly, Chris, and Charles Tilly. 1998. *Work Under Capitalism*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press., Chapters 1, 2, 4, pp. 2-35 & 70-93.

Parenti, Michael. 1992. *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*. New York: St. Martin's Press., Chapter 6, pp. 84-93.

Wright, Erik Olin. 1997. *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis*. Cambridge ; New York, Chapter 1, pp. 1-37

["Class Matters: Social Class in the USA" New York Times](#)

Amberg, Stephen. (2004). "Governing Labor in Modernizing Texas." *Social Science History* **28**(1): 145-188.

van der Waal, J., P. Achterberg, et al. (2007). "Class Is Not Dead – It Has Been Buried Alive: Class Voting and Cultural Voting in Postwar Western Societies (1956-1990)." *World Political Science Review* **3**(4 Article 3): 1-27.

Week 3 (9/1): Thinking Geographically About Workers

Herod, A. (2003) "Workers, space, and labor geography." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 64 (Fall): 112-138.

Herod, A. (1997) "Labor's spatial praxis and the geography of contract bargaining in the US east coast longshore industry, 1953-89." *Political Geography*, 16.2, 145-169

de la Garza, E. (2010) "The new economic model and spatial changes in labour relations in post- NAFTA Mexico." In S. McGrath-Champ, A. Herod, and A. Rainnie (eds.), *Handbook of Employment and Society*:

Working Space. Chichester: Edward Elgar.

Mohammad, R. (2010) "Gender, space and labour market participation: The experiences of British Pakistani women." In S. McGrath-Champ, A. Herod, and A. Rainnie (eds.), *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*. Chichester: Edward Elgar.

Wills, J. (1998) "Space, place and tradition in working class organization." In A. Herod (ed.), *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, 129-158. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Berman, L. (1998) "In your face, in your space: Spatial strategies in organizing clericals at Yale." In A. Herod (ed.), *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, 203-224. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Page, B. (1998) "Rival unionism and the geography of the meat packing industry." In A. Herod (ed.), *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, 263-296. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Week 4 (9/8): Industrial Relations, Trade Unions and Collective Action

Yates, Michael. 2009. *Why Unions Matter*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Freeman, Richard B., and James L. Medoff. 1984. *What Do Unions Do?* New York: Basic Books., C1 (pp. 3-19)

Rubery, Jill, and Colette Fagan. 1995. "Comparative Industrial Relations Research: Towards Reversing the Gender Bias." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 33:209-236.

Zeitlin, Jonathan. 1987. "From Labour History to the History of Industrial Relations." *The Economic History Review* 40:159-184.

Molina, Oscar and Martin Rhodes (2007). "Industrial Relations and the Welfare State in Italy: Assessing the Potential of Negotiated Change." *West European Politics* 30(4): 803 - 829.

Week 5 (9/15): Power at Work

Culpepper, Pepper D. *Creating Cooperation: How States Develop Human Capital in Europe*, Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Skocpol, Theda. "Brother, Can You Spare a Job? Work and Welfare in the United States." In *Nature of Work: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Kai Erikson and Steven P. Vallas, 192-213. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Howard, Michael W. "Worker-Controlled Workplaces." *Humanity and Society* 28, no. 3 (2004): 254-64.

Berg, Peter, Eileen Appelbaum, Tom Bailey, and Arne L. Kalleberg. "Contesting Time: International Comparisons of Employee Control of Working Time." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 57, no. 3 (2004): 331-49.

Anderson, Karen M, and Traute Meyer. 2003. Social Democracy, Unions, and Pension Politics in Germany and Sweden. *Journal of Public Policy* 23 (1):23-54.

Iversen, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth (2008). "Work and Power: The Connection between Female Labor Force Participation and Female Political Representation." Annual Review of Political Science 11(1): 479-495.

Week 6 (9/22): Theorizing Globalization

Harvey, D. (1985) "The geopolitics of capitalism." In D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, 128-163. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Herod, A. (2009) "[Governing globalization](#)." In A. Herod, *Geographies of Globalization*, 170-197. Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley.

Vogel, S. (1996) *Freer Markets, More Rules: Regulatory Reform in Advanced Industrial Countries*, pp.1-5, 9-24. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Dicken, P., Peck, J., and Tickell, A. (1997) "Unpacking the global." In R. Lee and J. Wills (ed s.) *Geographies of Economies*, 158-166. London: Arnold.

Ó Tuathail, G., Herod, A. and Roberts, S.M. (1998) "Negotiating unruly problematics." In A. Herod, G. Ó Tuathail, and S. Roberts (eds.) *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance and Geography*, 1-24. Routledge: London.

Ohmae, K. (1990) *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy*, 82-100, 137-145, 172-192. New York: Harper Business.

Jessop, B. (2010) "Globalization and the state". In S. McGrath-Champ, A. Herod, and A. Rainnie (eds.), *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*. Chichester: Edward Elgar.

Week 7 (9/29): Globalization and Labor

Herod, A. (2009) "[Globalizing labor](#)." In A. Herod, *Geographies of Globalization*, 198-227. Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley.

Kelly, P. (2010) "Filipino migration and the spatialities of labour market subordination." In S. McGrath-Champ, A. Herod, and A. Rainnie (eds.), *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*. Chichester: Edward Elgar.

Berndt, C. (2010) "Methodological nationalism and territorial capitalism: Mobile labour and the challenges to the 'German Model'". In S. McGrath-Champ, A. Herod, and A. Rainnie (eds.), *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*. Chichester: Edward Elgar.

Herod, A. (1997) "Labor as an agent of globalization and as a global agent." In K. Cox (ed.), *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, 167-200. Guilford: New York and London.

Wills, J. (1998) "Taking on the cosmocorps: Experiments in trans-national labor organization." *Economic Geography*, 74: 111-130.

Wills, J. (2002) "Bargaining for the space to organise in the global economy: A review of the Accor-IUF trade union rights agreement." *Review of International Political Economy*, 9: 675-700.

Lambert, R. and Webster, E. (2001) "Southern unionism and the new labour internationalism." *Antipode* 33.3: 337-362.

Week 8 (10/6): Contingent Workers and Organizing in the Contemporary Economy

- Herod, A. (2007) "Labour organizing in the new economy: Examples from the USA and beyond." In P. Daniels, A. Leyshon, M. Bradshaw, and J. Beaverstock (eds.), *Geographies of the New Economy: Critical Reflections*, 132-150. Routledge: London.
- Wills, J. (2005) "The geography of union organising in low-paid service industries in the UK: Lessons from the T&G's campaign to unionise the Dorchester Hotel, London." *Antipode*, 37.1: 139-159.
- Jepson, W. (2005) "Spaces of labor activism, Mexican-American women and the farm worker movement in South Texas since 1966." *Antipode*, 37.4: 679-702.
- Wills, J. (2008) "Making class politics possible: Organizing contract cleaners in London." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32.2: 305-324.
- Bezuidenhout, A. and Fakier, K. (2006) "Maria's burden: Contract cleaning and the crisis of social reproduction in post-apartheid South Africa." In L. Aguiar and A. Herod (eds.) *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, 37-59. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tomic, P., Trumper, R., and Hidalgo, R. (2006) "Manufacturing modernity: Cleaning, dirt, and neoliberalism in Chile." In L. Aguiar and A. Herod (eds.) *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, 81-101. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Aguiar, L. (2006) "Janitors and sweatshop citizenship in Canada." In L. Aguiar and A. Herod (eds.) *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, 16-36. Oxford: Blackwell.

Week 9 (10/13): Comparing Europe and America

- Pontusson, Jonas. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe Vs. Liberal America*, Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Martin, Andrew, and George Ross, eds. 1999. *The Brave New World of European Labor*. New York: Berghahn. Chapters 1, 8 and 9.
- Levi, Margaret. 2003. "Organizing Power: The Prospects for an American Labor Movement." *Perspectives on Politics* 1:45-68.
- Hurd, Richard, Ruth Milkman, and Lowell Turner. 2003. Reviving the American Labour Movement: Institutions and Mobilization. *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 9 (1):99-117.
- Sinyai, Clayton (2006). *Schools of democracy : a political history of the American labor movement*. Ithaca, N.Y., ILR Press.

Week 10 (10/20): Ideas and Working Class Consciousness

- Rothstein, Bo. 2005. *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.
- Allen, Christopher S. 1990. Trade Unions, Worker Participation and Flexibility: Linking the Micro to the Macro. *Comparative Politics* 22 (3):253-272.

Blyth, Mark. 2001. "The Transformation of the Swedish Model: Economic Ideas, Distributional Conflict, and Institutional Change." *World Politics* 54:1-26.

Culpepper, Pepper D. (2008). "The Politics of Common Knowledge Ideas and Institutional Change in Wage Bargaining." *International Organization* 62(1): 1-33.

Week 11 (10/27):

Weeks 12-15: Graduate Student Outline and Draft Paper Presentations.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTED READINGS: (helpful for your papers)

Erem, Suzan. *Labor Pains: Inside America's New Union Movement*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001.

Howell, Chris. *Trade Unions and the State: The Construction of Industrial Relations Institutions in Britain, 1890-2000*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Rothstein, Bo. *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Daley, Anthony. "The Hollowing of French Unions: Politics and Industrial Relations after 1981." In *The Brave New World of European Labor*, edited by Andrew Martin and George Ross, 167-216. New York: Berghahn, 1999.

Silvia, Stephen J. "Every Which Way but Loose: German Industrial Relations since 1980." In *The Brave New World of European Labor*, edited by Andrew Martin and George Ross, 75-124. New York: Berghahn, 1999.

Thelen, Kathleen, and Christa van Wijnbergen. "The Paradox of Globalization. Labor Relations in Germany and Beyond." *Comparative Political Studies* 36, no. 8 (2003): 859-80.

Deeg, Richard. "The Comeback of Modell Deutschland? The New German Political Economy in the EU." *German Politics*, 14, no. 3 (2005): 332-353.

Mahon, Rianne. "'Yesterday's Modern Times Are No Longer Modern' : Swedish Unions Confront the Double Shift." In *The Brave New World of European Labor*, edited by Andrew Martin and George Ross, Chapter 4. New York: Berghahn, 1999.

Wacquant, Loic. 2002. "From Slavery to Mass Incarceration." *New Left Review* 13:41-60.

Mitchell, D. (1998) "The scales of justice: Localist ideology, large-scale production and agricultural labor's geography of resistance in 1930s California." In A. Herod (ed.), *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, 159-194. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mair, A. (1997) "Strategic localization: The myth of the postnational enterprise." In K. Cox (ed.) *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, 64-88. Guilford: New York.

Ó Tuathail, G. and Luke, T. (1994) "Present at the (dis)integration: deterritorialization and reterritorialization in the New Wor(l)d Order." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 84: 381-398.

Herod, A. (2001) "Labor internationalism and the contradictions of globalization: Or, why the local is

sometimes still important in a global economy." *Antipode* 33.3: 407-426.

Johns, R. (1998) "Bridging the gap between class and space: U.S. worker solidarity with Guatemala." *Economic Geography* 74.3: 252-271.

Johns, R. and Vural, L. (2000) "Class, geography, and the consumerist turn: UNITE and the Stop Sweatshops Campaign." *Environment and Planning A* 32: 1193-1213.

Ryan, S. and Herod, A. (2006) "Restructuring the architecture of state regulation in the Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand cleaning industries and the growth of precarious employment." In L. Aguiar and A. Herod (eds.) *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, 60-80. Oxford: Blackwell.

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