

LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH FUND

FUNDED FACULTY GRANTS AND ABSTRACTS 2005

Mary Blair-Loy

Associate Professor, Sociology, UC San Diego

Project/Data Generation Grant

*Work-Family Balance, CA Paid Family Leave, and Executive Men*

In today's economy, many adults are torn between irreconcilable commitments to work and family. Most work-family research has focused on women, yet powerful workplace actors, who are disproportionately male, can challenge or perpetuate organizational barriers to work-family balance. This research, to be published in a book, investigates three under-analyzed areas: (1) how male executives experience and resolve work-family conflict; (2) how their actions affect work-family balance and gender equity for those they supervise; (3) whether and how firm-level processes, including the institutionalization of the California Paid Family Leave law, affect these processes.

This project adds firm-level data to the interviews I have already conducted with 67 men. I propose to study two California firms and two firms headquartered outside the state. I will select firms in which some of my executive respondents work. New data collected include interviews with key human resources professionals and corporate information on the availability and usage rates of work-family policies as well as the formal and informal channels by which their availability is communicated to workers.

The comparison of these firms will allow me to investigate the reciprocal effects of policy available and usage on executives' and employees' attitudes toward and decision about work-family issues. The study will also provide information to policy makers concerned about the ways in which new benefits granted by California's Paid Family Leave law are communicated to workers and how these new benefits affect executives' perspectives and actions regarding their subordinates' work-family balance.

Eileen Boris

Professor, Women's Studies, UC Santa Barbara

Project/Data Generation Grant

*Neither Nurses, Nor Maids: A History of Housekeepers, Health Aides, and Personal Attendants in the Making of Long-Term Care*

How personal attendants and other providers of services for individual low-income clients, nearly half of whom are family members, came under labor law as 'workers' illuminates shifting definitions of work and care that developed with transformations in the relationship between the state, families, and the market by the end of the twentieth century. This study gives home care a history, sorely missing from current policy and organizing discussions, by analyzing the struggle of California's IHSS workers for recognition and dignity amid political jockeying over state budgets and assessing their ongoing fight for better conditions in terms of feminist understandings of carework. It contributes to the larger question of "What is work? Who is a worker?"—an issue that continues to vex the application of labor law to carework and haunt the valuing

of domestic labor (whether housework, mothering, or other forms of care) as love, not work. It also illuminates crucial issues of significance to California and the nation: the role of government policy in shaping the contours of the job; the nature of racialized feminization in service sector labor; the conditions under which coalitions between trade unions, community organizations, and other groups, like seniors and disability rights, emerge; and the shape and development of multiple forms of unionism, including political unionism and civil rights unionism.

This project shows 1) the same women cycled between home care jobs, other health aide work, domestic service, and public assistance since the 1930s; 2) beginning with the New Deal, government policies made work that was “private” in a double sense—in the voluntary sector (outside the state) and in the home or family—visible as a public good, and thus home care—its control, distribution, and funding—became subject to political contestation. The resulting labor organizing campaigns transformed the face of public sector unionism.

Robert Brenner  
Professor, History, UCLA  
Workshop/Conference/Planning Grant  
*Rank and File Movements of the Long 1970s*

We propose a two-day conference on the rank-and-file movements of the “long 1970s” (late 60s-early 80s), the labor rebellion that they helped to create, and the place of that rebellion in the evolution of the postwar labor movement and within the broader economic, political, and ideological trends of the period. The goal of the meeting is to elicit and to discuss drafts of the chapters that will constitute a comprehensive history of the upsurge in the context of its time, to be published in the form of a book. The era of the long 1970s was not only one of revolt and conflict, but also of extraordinary societal alterations—the slide from boom to stagnation in the economy, the move from left to right in the polity, the transvaluation of values. Our effort aims to shed light on these enormous changes in order to better understand the evolution of the labor movement and the rank-and-file struggles arising from the trade unions, as well as to better understand these epoch-making changes by viewing them through the lens of the rank-and-file rebellion. We believe that by so doing, we will be better able to grasp the origins and development of our own era—which began to emerge with the shift of the political spectrum to the right at the end of the 1970s/beginning of 1980s and which can be said to have been fully formed with the rise to power of the Republican radical right over the course of the 1990s. In that way, we hope to be able to provide an improved perspective on the fundamental task of reviving the labor movement today.

The conference and book will contain the following general sections: i) The Context: Economic, Political, and Cultural Transformations; ii) Unions, Employers, and the Shop Floor; iii) The Rank-and-File Revolt; iv) The Social Movements and the Labor Rebellion; v) Lessons for Today.

Christopher Carpenter  
Assistant Professor, Economics/Public Policy, UC Irvine  
Project/Data Generation Grant

*The Effects of Bar and Restaurant Smoking Bans: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from California*

Statewide bans on smoking in bars and restaurants are the newest frontier in the anti-smoking movement: five states in the past three years have adopted such bans. Workers in these establishments have much higher secondhand smoke (SHS) exposure levels, higher smoking rates, lower incomes, and lower rates of health insurance coverage than other indoor workers. Yet existing research has either ignored bar and restaurant workers completely or has not used credible research designs for identifying the effects of such bans. This project will provide the first large scale evidence on the effects of these bans by using variation induced by California's 1998 statewide ban on smoking in bars and restaurants. Specifically, this project will use the 1992-2002 Tobacco Use Supplements to the Current Population Survey to provide the first occupation-specific estimates of the effects of the ban. The empirical approach will compare outcomes (work ban prevalence, SHS exposure, smoking rates, and labor market success) of California bar and restaurant workers to: 1) other indoor California workers who were treated by a previous statewide workplace smoking ban three years earlier (but which exempted bars and restaurants until January 1998) and 2) bar and restaurant workers in other states that did not adopt a ban. The project will also distinguish workers in stand-alone bars (e.g. bartenders) from other bar and restaurant workers, since qualitative evidence suggests that bar owners have been the most vocal opponents to these bans. Preliminary raw estimates indicate that California's 1998 ban was associated with an enormous increase in the likelihood that bartenders report the presence of a workplace smoking ban – on the order of 50 percentage points, or a 350 percent increase relative to pre-reform levels. The results from this project will have important implications for understanding employment-based health disparities in an understudied low-wage sector in California.

Kristen Day

Associate Professor, Planning, Policy and Design, UC Irvine

Workshop/Conference/Planning Grant

*Southern California's New "Suburban Reality"*

*Proposal to Fund Conference on Inequality and Demographic Change in Orange County*

The UCI Community Outreach Partnership Center, in collaboration with institutional colleagues, is requesting support for a conference that will explore issues of inequality spawned by demographic change in Southern California. The proposed conference will examine changes in the socio-economic landscape of Southern California's suburban communities, with a specific focus on Orange County. Participants will investigate the nexus between economic and demographic transformations and the reconfiguration of local geographies. The conference will examine Orange County's changing communities and its changing workforce. It will explore the impacts of these changes on growing inequalities in the areas of work, housing, and education.

Conference themes include: (1) Work, Labor, and the Changing Economy; (2) Workforce Housing; and (3) Education and Future Workforce Needs. Each of these themes will be addressed by speakers representing research and also "practice" perspectives.

The one-day conference will be held in May, 2006, at the University of California, Irvine. Participants will include faculty members in the multidisciplinary Faculty Research Initiative on Inequality, which includes faculty from four schools and nine departments at UCI. Keynote Speakers will include William Julius Wilson (Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor, Harvard University) and Myron Orfield (Director, Institute for Race and Poverty, University of Minnesota). Attendees will represent a wide spectrum of stakeholders from throughout the region, including university students and faculty, community professionals, government representatives, labor organizers, social service providers, community organizations, churches, businesses, schools and other groups. Faculty and students from other UC, CSU, and private universities will be invited. The conference will produce an edited volume that will be submitted to a major university publisher for consideration.

Arindrajit Dube

Assistant Professional Researcher, UC Berkeley

Project/Data Generation Grant

*The Dynamics of Job-Quality Transformation:*

*Health Benefits in the Unionized Grocery Sector in California*

The study will analyze how the restructuring of health benefits and compensation among unionized grocery workers in California in 2004 and 2005 affected employee turnover, workforce demographics, and health care coverage and utilization in the industry. The sharp reduction in health benefits by grocers over the 2004-2005 period create a type of “natural experiment” that offers a unique opportunity to study the dynamics of job quality as it relates to health coverage and utilization. The study will utilize three main data sources: 1) A 100% sample of workers in two Northern and one Southern California union locals from 2001 and 2005—including start dates, demographic information and health plan enrollment; 2) Data from the health trusts on utilization of health services for various plans by broader tenure and demographic categories between 2001 and 2005 and 3) A survey of a random sample of 600 grocery workers in early 2006 to obtain information on health coverage and utilization.

Using this data, we will estimate: changes in employee turnover rates and employee demographics for new hires and senior employees in each region; changes in health insurance eligibility and coverage for senior and new workers under each of the two contracts; the impact of increased employee contributions on coverage for new hires; changes in the distribution of health costs; and utilization of particular health services.

These changes occur in the context of an overall transformation of the grocery industry workforce and a general trend of employers shifting rising health care costs to workers. Rising health costs have become the central issue in labor relations conflicts in the United States over the last five years. This case study provides an important window into understanding the impact of changes in compensation and health benefits on a low-to-moderate wage workforce.

Paul Frymer  
Associate Professor, Politics, UC Santa Cruz  
Project/Data Generation Grant  
*Competitive Destruction: Race, Labor, Law and American Politics*

I examine the federal government's civil rights promotion in labor unions during the latter half of the twentieth century, focusing in particular on the consequences of this halting, fragmented effort. After the government deflected racial politics from labor policy in the 1930s, it attempted to integrate unions not by reforming labor law but by developing new federal agencies and empowering federal courts to handle discrimination complaints through private lawsuits. This created an institutional environment where different agencies worked at cross-purposes, and courts imposed great financial costs on unions. It also pitted individual law suits by civil rights plaintiffs against the collective action model of labor rights. The result of this effort was a host of unintended consequences for unions and civil rights groups. Labor unions diversified dramatically—more than 3 million African Americans were union members by the 1980s, up from 50,000 five decades prior. At the same time, civil rights reforms took place during a time period when unions were declining dramatically as a presence in the work place. In some unions, the number of African American union workers declined, even as the percentage relative to white workers went up. Since the 1980s, union diversification has proceeded inconsistently. Latino workers have greatly increased in numbers, but the number of African Americans has been stagnant and in some industries has notably declined, even as a percentage of the workforce. This research has implications for the union movement and civil rights, and also for political scientists interested in the power of political institutions, particularly the role of courts, to implement policy goals. To conduct this research, I have conducted extensive research in national government archives, labor union archives, and court records. This funding request is to further examine archives and collect data of minority union membership post 1985.

Jan Goggans  
Assistant Professor, Social Sciences, UC Merced  
Workshop/Conference/Planning Grant  
*Seventy Years of Migrant Labor in California*

This series of seminars will present the cultural, social and economic dimensions of migrant labor in the 1930s as compared to the current international migration of labor. It will highlight a diversity of views and approaches to looking at migrant labor in California. Photographic representations, storytelling, economic and social analysis will be some of the mediums that will be used to provide a new and unique picture of labor migration to California. This approach provides both students and scholars with a more interdisciplinary view of the issues in labor studies, and it will motivate students to become involved in our incipient Labor Studies program.

David Levine  
Professor, Business, UC Berkeley

Project/Data Generation Grant

*What do Certifications of Process Quality tell us about Job Quality?*

Advocates of “high road” manufacturing strategies hope that plants that produce high-quality output with high-skilled workers can maintain higher wages and employment security. While the widely-adopted ISO 9000 certification for quality management systems may indicate this strategy, critics claim such programs deskill employees.

The proposed study will combine data from many sources to examine how certification affects plant survival, revenue, employment, wages, and injury rates. Specifically, Dun and Bradstreet data will measure plant survival, revenue, and employment; EDD data will cover employment (in more detail than with D&B data) and wages; and data from the workers’ compensation system will include injury rates and severity.

To facilitate our comparisons to the ISO adopters, we will carefully construct a matched control group of plants. We will choose that latter to ensure the two groups are similar in terms of detailed (4-digit SIC) industry, pre-certification employment, revenues, and pre-certification levels in each outcome. We will then use a difference-in-difference methodology that controls for common shocks affecting each industry in the state as well as firm-level covariates (e.g., occupational mix for injury data; wage levels and distribution in the EDD data).

The policy implications of this research depend on whether ISO 9000 certification predicts better outcomes for workers, for employers, or for both. If ISO 9000 certification predicts better outcomes for both groups, then the policy implications are to broadcast the conditions under which certification can lead to this “win-win” outcome to encourage other companies to pursue this high-road approach to manufacturing. If ISO 9000 certification does not predict better outcomes for either group, the policy implications are to publicize the unimportance of certification. Finally, if certification predicts better outcomes for employers but worse outcomes for workers, it will be important to explore means to ensure workers have sufficient bargaining power to avoid harm from new workplace practices and to enhance enforcement of safety regulations.

Nelson Lichtenstein

Professor, History, UC Santa Barbara

Workshop/Conference/Planning Grant

*Proposal for an Undergraduate Minor: Studies in Work, Labor and Political Economy:*

We propose to establish an interdisciplinary undergraduate minor entitled Studies in Work, Labor, and Political Economy (WLPE). For administrative convenience and pedagogical coherence, a core lecture course and a core internship seminar will be housed in the Department of History where four faculty have agreed to share key teaching responsibilities. Nine other faculty in English, Chicano Studies, Black Studies, Women’s Studies, Sociology, and Economics have agreed to participate in the minor. A graduate student, initially from History, will assist in the teaching of the core lecture course and also preside over a separate internship workshop required of WLPE minors. These

workshop participants will serve as an intern, participant observer, or researcher in a union, business, government agency, community organization, political campaign, philanthropy, law firm, etc.

The WLPE minor will compliment the work already begun at our Center for the Study of Work, Labor and Democracy at UCSB. The Center's purpose is embodied in its name: to revitalize and recast for our time the idea that democracy is indivisible, that rights, participation, and democratic governance in the world of work and production is essential, not just to a higher standard of living, or even to workplace justice, but to a democratic polity, both at home and abroad. This orientation is most appropriate to a UCSB initiative because the South Coast is not the center of a large labor movement or even of a highly mobilized immigrant community. But we do have a University that emphasizes interdisciplinary activities and we are in the midst of a community that is highly sensitive to civil liberties, international affairs, racial and gender justice, and the meaning of rights.

Justin Marion

Assistant Professor, Economics, UC Santa Cruz

Project/Data Generation Grant

*Costs and Benefits of Affirmative Action in California Government Contracting*

Despite the magnitude and controversial nature of affirmative action programs in contracting, surprisingly little is known about either the cost they may impose on the government or the benefits that may accrue to minority-owned firms. The state of California operates two significant affirmative action programs, and my current research agenda addresses how these programs affect government expenditures and minority employment. Answers to these questions will lead to a greater understanding of the role of affirmative action in shaping labor market opportunities for minorities, as well as suggesting cost effective design for these programs. In a project currently underway, I utilize Proposition 209, which eliminated the consideration of race and gender in the award of California state contracts, to identify the effect of minority subcontractor goals on state procurement costs. I find that while the program is successful at increasing purchases from disadvantage firms, it does come at a cost. After the implementation of Proposition 209, procurement costs fell by 3.9 percent. In a closely related paper also underway, I consider bid preferences in California highway construction auctions. Bid preferences are potentially more cost effective due to their effect on competition among firms. I find that while preferences increase procurement costs by 3.5 percent, this effect could be reversed if the state could reduce exit by unfavored firms. Finally, I propose a research design that would estimate the benefits of affirmative action in terms of increased minority employment opportunities. If minority-owned firms are more likely to hire minority workers, then affirmative action in procurement could have a significant impact on minority employment. I intend to use variation in the U.S. Department of Transportation's affirmative action program to instrument for the purchases from minority-owned firms. This will allow identification of affirmative action purchases on overall minority employment. This question is important in understanding how Proposition 209 might have affected the racial composition of the California workforce.

Alexandre Mas  
Assistant Professor, Business, UC Berkeley  
Project/Data Generation Grant  
*Nurse Unionization and the Quality of Care*

This project seeks to examine whether new nurse unionization in California affected the quality of health care. First, we will examine whether hospitals that experienced unionization among various categories of nurses (RN's, LVN's and NA's) in the 1990's were associated with a change in the mix and timing of medical procedures. Second, we will test whether nurse unionization is associated with changes in "nurse-sensitive" health conditions, such as deep vein thrombosis, that can develop during hospital stays. Third, we will look at whether work disruptions, such as strikes or lock-outs, of nurses affected the quality of treatment. Finally, we will examine the effects of changing staffing ratios, brought about both by unionization and by California Assembly Bill AB. 394, on these sets of outcomes.

Extant evidence suggests a negative correlation between unionization and patient mortality outcomes. However, the existing literature – which is quite sparse – is not able to control for hospital specific factors, and is based only on cross sectional evidence. In contrast, we will use the timing of both union recognition and first contract, as well as a richer set of controls, to examine the impact of unionization on medical care and patient health outcomes. As a falsification test, we will test whether nurse unionization is associated with changes of health outcomes that are not nurse-sensitive. The project will utilize a near universe of patients who were discharged from California hospitals as well as a data from a variety of sources on collective bargaining, unionization, and labor relations at California hospitals.

The study will help policymakers and stakeholders understand how labor relations and legislation governing workplace practices affect health care delivery. Since health care is a critical and growing sector of the economy, the conclusions are of both academic, policy, and practical importance.

Katie Quan  
Associate Director, NAID Center, UC Berkeley  
Project/Data Generation Grant  
*Documenting the Effects of the Phase-out of the Multi-Fiber Agreement*

The UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education is seeking \$50,000 to fund part of a larger project to document the impacts of the end of the Multi-Fiber Agreement, a system of global textile quotas lifted on January 1, 2005. We will document these effects by carrying out surveys among 600 garment workers in Los Angeles, China and El Salvador over a 2 year period. Our intent is to provide stakeholders such as workers, unions, businesses, and governments with information necessary to understand the economic and social consequences of the MFA termination and to generate policy solutions.

Researchers predict that eliminating the cost of quotas and lifting restrictions on quantities of clothing traded will cause apparel merchandisers to quickly consolidate production in countries that offer the lowest wages and place the most restrictions on worker rights. This research suggests that this shift will likely cause millions of workers to lose jobs to countries with low labor costs and poor labor rights compliance like China, where workers will gain jobs.

This study will address who gains and who loses in the context of trade liberalization. By obtaining data on employment levels, wages, living conditions, and comparing this data over the two year period that dramatic changes are expected to occur, we will gain empirical evidence of trade liberalization on working conditions which may support the win/lose predictions, or may refute them. We have selected two countries that may lose jobs (U.S. and El Salvador), and one country that may gain jobs (China).

In order to carry out 200 surveys in each country in each of two years, we will partner with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in each country that have an established record of working with garment workers. We will also train garment worker leaders to carry out the survey among their peers. Finally, we will partner with academics who have expertise on labor conditions in each of these countries and enlist the help of statisticians and other advisors to generate an academically rigorous product.

This proposal is to fund the portion of the larger project that looks at the effects of the MFA termination on labor and employment in California. Five thousand garment factories currently operate in our state, mostly in the Los Angeles area, and it is estimated that as many as half of those will close in the next several years, leaving 50,000 workers jobless.

The Labor Center will publish an analysis of our findings in Fall 2007. This report will be published in English, Spanish, and Chinese, and disseminated widely to appropriate stakeholders such as worker organizations, business organizations, academic organizations, legislators, and other policymakers, to inform global economic development policy.

David Runsten  
Academic Specialist, IIR, UC Berkeley  
Project/Data Generation Grant  
*Labor Impacts of Big Box Retail Development*

Big-box retail development is the most tangible expression of the organization of retailing in the American economy of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century: a business model founded on global sourcing, low prices, and low wages and benefits. The expansion via supercenters of big-box retailers in California is one of the most important transformations currently facing retail workers and communities in the state and the rest of the nation.

The goal of our project is to develop rigorous methodologies for forecasting the impacts of big-box retailers on employment, wages, and benefits. More broadly, our research will

deepen understanding of the consequences of the retail model for families, working class communities, and government expenditures.

Our first research topic is the determinants and correlates of wages and health benefits for hourly employees of big-box retail. Using a database of store openings and labor market data, we will estimate the impacts of a big-box retailer's arrival on wages, employment, employer-sponsored health care coverage, and sales tax revenue.

Secondly, we will investigate responses by existing retailers to the arrival of big-box retailers. We will conduct structured interviews with managers of supermarket chains in California to provide systematic data on firm strategies in response to supercenter arrival, and to create a decision model of store closures.

We will conduct a methodological study of measures for assessing working class communities' physical access to affordable goods and services. This study will identify a practical approach that overcomes simplifications in the typical measures that lead to inaccurate assessments.

Our project will have an immediate impact on the policy dialogue concerning the expansion of big-box retailers. The project will make a major contribution to the research team's effort to set standards for the economic and community impact assessments that are required for proposed supercenters in certain areas, such as Los Angeles.

Teresa Scherzer

Assistant Adjunct Professor, Social/Behavioral Sciences, UC San Francisco  
Project/Data Generation Grant

*Occupational Injury Among Personal Assistance Service Workers: The Impact of Organizational Arrangements*

The proposed project examines experiences of and responses to occupational injury among workers who provide Personal Assistance Services (PAS) ("home care") – the essential personal support (e.g., bathing) for disabled and elderly persons who live in community settings. Most workers are midlife, low-SES women, paid low wages for physically strenuous and stressful work. Occupational injury is widespread. PAS is expanding and the workforce has grown to more than one million workers nationally. There is a restructuring of PAS organizational arrangements – namely, the increasing trend for PAS recipients to directly hire their attendants – that may exacerbate problems related to occupational injury.

The study's primary objective is to compare the experiences of occupational injury between agency- and individually- employed PAS workers. That is, it will examine how the organizational arrangements of PAS impact the experiences of workers in two fundamentally different employment situations. The study will identify the different barriers and facilitators to reporting work injury, accessing workers' compensation benefits and injury-related medical care, and consequences for workers' health.

The PI will conduct interviews with a diverse sample of 50 injured PAS workers. A brief survey will be constructed from the qualitative data. Content validity will be assessed by

conducting cognitive interviews with PAS workers, and administering a content validity questionnaire with senior investigators.

The study is significant because PAS workers comprise a large, growing, vulnerable and under-studied workforce known to be at high risk for occupational injury. The expansion and restructuring of PAS has important implications for workers' health. Lastly, the study is significant because there are no population-based data on the U.S. PAS workforce, and of the relatively few U.S. studies of PAS workers, even fewer include individually-hired workers. The instrument constructed in this study can be used in an ongoing monitoring of occupational injury in this workforce.

Michael Stoll

Associate Professor, Public Policy, UCLA

Project/Data Generation Grant

*The Effect of Criminal Background Checks on Hiring of Ex-Offenders*

In this paper, we propose to examine whether employer use of criminal background checks is negatively related to the employment of ex-offenders, a significant question given the rapid rise in the nation's incarceration rate over the past two decades. Using establishment-level data collected in Los Angeles, we will first present a detailed analysis of the extent of employer use of criminal background checks, whether they have risen over time, and how and why employers check. Next, we will present an analysis of the effect of employer-initiated criminal background checks on the hiring of ex-offenders at the establishment level, and to explore heterogeneity of these effects. Our expectations are that such background checks are negatively related to ex-offenders' employment at the establishment level especially for those that are unwilling to hire ex-offenders and who are legally required to do so. But we also expect to find considerable variation in these effects. We also expect to find that some employers hire more ex-offenders when they check, indicating some employers use criminal background checks to gather more information about ex-offenders to make informed, risk assessed employment decisions. Finally, we also expect to find that there is no effect of criminal background checks on hiring ex-offenders if some employers check to only protect themselves from negligent hiring lawsuits. The findings from this analysis should be important for public policy. They should inform a discussion of whether providing more information, not less, about the criminal backgrounds of applicants is a worthy policy goal to improve the employment prospects of the growing population of ex-offenders.