

## LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH FUND 2007

### THESIS FELLOWSHIPS

#### **Steven Attewell , History, UC Santa Barbara**

*“One-Third of a Nation: The WPA as Job Creation Policy and New Deal Project”* brings a new perspective to one of the largest and longest-running programs instituted to fight the Great Depression. While historical literature on the WPA has tended to focus on the WPA’s Arts, Theater, and Writing Programs and their links with the Popular Front culture of the time, the much larger public-employment programs of the WPA have largely been ignored or downplayed as merely “temporary” policies, lacking the larger purpose and vision of true New Deal “projects” aimed at transforming American society or reforming capitalism. This paper – itself part of a larger study of the WPA – will re-examine the public employment function of the WPA during its heyday between 1935-1938, when it employed 3.5 million people at a time and 8 million over the course of its lifetime. This paper will conclude that the WPA was a laboratory for a school of political economy and ideology that constructed its own New Deal “project.” The “public employment progressives” who designed, advocated for, and administered the WPA’s employment programs sought to and largely, if temporarily, achieved a dramatic shift in the role of the American government in the national economy, to socialize the provision of labor to unemployed citizens, and to end the Depression through public activism.

#### **James Bachmeier Sociology, UC Irvine**

*Cumulatively Caused Migration and Effects of Immigration on the Earnings of Low-Skilled Mexican Immigrants*

Focusing on Mexican immigrants in the United States, this project examines the extent to which network-driven migration saturates the immigrant labor market in traditional areas of settlement, and thus, is responsible for the consistent result from research showing that while immigration's effects on natives tends be negligible, the earnings of other immigrants are inversely related to the size of the immigrant population in the local labor market. This perspective will be examined using microdata from the 1990 and 2000 censuses, and from the 2005 American Community Survey. Mixed effects models will test the hypothesis posited by cumulative causation theory that mature network-driven migration generates an over-supply of low-skilled immigrant labor that depresses migrant earnings, and its corollary, that such competition effects will not be evident in newer Mexican immigrant destinations because saturation has not yet occurred there.

#### **Matt Bakker, Sociology, UC Davis**

*The Transnational Politics of Migration: Examining the “Remittances to Development” Agenda in North America*

This project addresses the meaning and impact of the recent embrace by the Mexican government and its partners in international financial organizations and civil society of policies that promise to put an end to future migration by channeling remittances towards economic development in Mexico’s migrant-sending regions. Adopting a transnational multi-sited ethnographic approach, the project seeks to explain both the forces at work in constructing and giving content to this migration-eradicating policy model, as well as the

manner in which the discursive model and its associated practices are being received on the ground by the residents of Mexico's migrant-sending regions who are the ultimate targets of this policy offensive. The project aims to contribute both to academic debates about transnational migration and to policy discussions regarding the future of Mexican migration flows.

**Joshua Bloom, Sociology, UC Los Angeles**

*The Power and Challenge of Sustaining Unity: Black Community Leadership in SEIU's Los Angeles Security Unionization Campaign*

Turnover in the security industry is almost 100% annually and almost 300% annually for some major contractors in LA. The problem in this increasingly service based economy is that, viewed by their employers as replaceable, low-wage workers have little leverage to improve their employment situation. But this April, after almost 6 years of intensive struggle, with highly visible support from black community leaders, SEIU won union recognition for more than 4,000 predominantly black security officers working large commercial real estate in LA county. By some estimates, this is the largest campaign to unionize black workers in the private sector since A. Philip Randolph organized the sleeping car porters in the 1930s. How crucial was black community support in providing the leverage needed to win union recognition for LA security officers?

**Erin Cech, UC San Diego**

*Cultures of Disengagement: The Professional Socialization of the Engineering Workforce*

There exists a troubling paradox in the role of engineering in society: While our nation entrusts engineers to design technologies which profoundly affect our lived experiences and built environment, the engineering profession engages in public discussions of technology and society only when catastrophe strikes. Given the unique and important role of engineering work in the contemporary United States, why is the American engineering profession so disengaged from public life? The project I propose will examine engineers' own beliefs about their role in society. Specifically, does the engineering profession cultivate a "culture of disengagement" from public life? This is an important question because (1) a culture of disengagement discourages the participation of engineers as technical experts in larger public policy debates, (2) such a culture may aggravate the already poor representation of women in the engineering workforce, and (3) this is an example of a larger, market-wide trend of professions disengaging from public policy formation. Using a 5-year longitudinal, quantitative study of several hundred engineers, I will seek out this culture where it is most salient: Engineers' undergraduate degree programs and their initial entry into the engineering labor market. I will use this data to determine the extent of a "culture of disengagement," track respondents' uptake of this culture, and examine relevant gender differences in the socialization processes. With an awarded pre-dissertation grant, I would spend Fall Quarter 2008 cleaning, modeling and analyzing data, and preparing two articles for publication: one intended for a mainstream social science journal, and the other for a policy journal in the burgeoning field of Engineering Education.

**Julia Chuang, Sociology, UC Berkeley**

*Masculinity and Dependence: Reproducing Migrant Workers in China*

Construction work is a masculine occupation. In western studies of the construction and mining industries, workers enact their gender identities by competitively producing over-quota, arguing with foremen over quota and wage levels and shaping their gender identity around their status as breadwinners for their families. These typical traits of manliness which western construction workers display, however, are not shared by Chinese construction workers. What accounts for the apparent absence of enacted manliness among construction workers in China? Western wage-work assumes an independent worker, able to offload to his family the work of replenishing his body and reproducing his ability to labor. In China's construction industry, however, 90% of workers are migrant workers, dependent on management for room and board, food and living expenses—their social reproduction. Migrant workers are management's ideal workforce—flexible enough to supply labor immediately upon demand, transient enough to not require room and board after labor is completed, and easier for management to control, due to managers' ability to leverage workers' total dependence in disciplining the workforce. Because migrant labor assumes a worker dependent on management rather than an independent wage-earner, masculinities among construction workers vary according to the structure of their material dependence on management. In Beijing, where the central state closely regulates migrant labor markets, workers' material dependence on management in the labor market vary according to their relationship to labor brokers who recruit them for employers. In Chongqing, distance from central state regulation allows workers are dependent on social networks to secure employment directly from bosses. In both labor markets, the social reproduction of migrant labor is predicated on the relational dependencies and masculinities of workers and managers.

**Cassandra Engeman, Sociology, UC Santa Barbara**

*Social Movement Unionism in Practice: Local Union Involvement in Immigrants' Rights Movements in Los Angeles*

Unions in the United States are in crisis as membership levels steadily decline and the effects of globalization present new challenges to unions. To revitalize the labor movement, some labor scholars are proposing a strategy they call “social movement unionism,” examples of which include union involvement in immigrants' rights issues and unions building alliances with other community organizations. While labor scholars have identified union involvement in immigrants' rights and union-community coalitions as types of social movement unionism, few have detailed why and how unions actually employ these strategies. For my Master's thesis, I intend to explain why unions are getting involved in the struggle for immigrants' rights, how they are making that shift internally, and the challenges unions experience in working in alliance with community organizations. My research focuses on recent local union involvement in immigrants' rights coalitions in Los Angeles and includes seventeen ethnographic interviews and participant observation of ten union-community coalition meetings.

**Eli Friedman, Sociology, UC Berkeley**

*The Two 'States' of the Double Movement: Chinese Official Trade Unions' Response to the Free Market*

Can the same non-democratic state that has promoted the expansion of the free market in Chinese society protect society from the ravages of this very market? After nearly 30

years of liberalization of labor and other markets, the Chinese central government has recently been taking steps to ensure greater protection for workers' rights, as is evidenced by the recent passage of a labor contract law. A major feature of this change in policy has been the re-emergence of the official All China Federation of Trade Unions as a more powerful political actor. Given that this union is controlled by the same party that has promoted a growth at all costs strategy, there are serious questions about its ability and willingness to interfere in the unimpeded functioning of a free labor market. My work will seek to address this issue that has yet to receive attention from scholars.

**Andrew Kohnen, Sociology, UC Berkeley**

*Wal-Martization and Retail-sector Labor in Crisis*

The California grocery-worker strike illustrates the failure of US retail-workers at large confront their employers to secure basic, humane wages. Weak labor organization in the retail industry has contributed to degraded working and living conditions for an estimated 22.5 million workers in the US.<sup>i</sup> This regional labor-struggle also highlights Wal-Mart's role as a dominant force of macro-economic change. From the early 1970s to present, the character of work in the United States has changed dramatically, from the secure and high-paying manufacturing jobs of the post-war era to the insecure, low-paying service-sector work of today.<sup>ii</sup> Wal-Mart has spearheaded this trend, rising to become the largest profit-making enterprise in the world, accounting for 2.5 percent of the US's GNP.<sup>iii</sup> Thus, to understand the current crisis in retail labor organization, we must understand the effects of and reactions to Wal-Mart's competitive dominance.

**Karin Mak, Social Documentation, UC Santa Cruz**

*Migrant Women Workers' Resistance in China*

Since 1978, China has adopted market-oriented economic development, disinvesting in state-owned enterprises and encouraging foreign investment. In 2001, it joined the World Trade Organization in a move that sealed its neoliberal path towards development. The shift from a state-run socialist economy to an increasingly capitalist one has led to an industrial revolution that has generated more wealth among China's business owners and growing middle class, but also produced dire social costs. Mass migration of peasant laborers into the cities, greater inequities between urban and rural, labor exploitation, and increased environmental devastation are some of the main consequences of China's economic growth. My master's thesis, an interdisciplinary project that uses documentary film combined with oral history, examines the ways that these larger trends within the Chinese economy have affected workers' attempts for recognition and justice. I use the case of former battery workers at Gold Peak Industries, an Asian transnational corporation with an office in California, to illustrate the complexities and contradictions that exist within China's ascendance. The documentation of the Gold Peak (GP) case, where workers suffer from cadmium poisoning, is meant to advance understanding of the complexities behind China's growth, the forces that shape it, and the forces that challenge it. The project reflects upon China's expansion and its problems as part of the larger global economic trends that shape our world.

**Kathleen Marker, Sociology, UC San Diego**

*The Role of Ethnicity and Religion in Small Business Networks*

With this research, I propose to explore two prevalent themes in studies of labor and employment—immigrant workers and small businesses. A common finding in these studies is that ethnic solidarity aids small business startup and success. A few studies, focused mainly on Korean owned businesses, also claim that religion plays a beneficial role in small businesses. No one has yet examined how business networks form and function among a religiously and ethnically diverse immigrant group. For this project, I will interview Arab small business owners in a religiously and ethnically diverse Arab American community in Dearborn, Michigan in order to determine how small business networks and hiring practices are negotiated along ethnic and religious lines. It is important to study this group because Arab Americans have been largely neglected from the literature on ethnic economies. Moreover, this Arab American enclave houses over one hundred Arab owned and operated businesses as well as the densest concentration of Arabs outside of the Middle East. It is anticipated that findings from this research will inform theories about the role of ethnic and religious identities in network formation, which will aid additional studies of labor and employment research. In order to determine the identities along which business networks form and overlap, I plan to conduct 50 interviews with Arab American small business owners in the Dearborn area. My interviews will be designed to gauge the strength of business ties as well as the role of such networks in small businesses. I hypothesize that due to recent anti-Islamist sentiments and the religious diversity of Dearborn, business owners will be more likely to form networks with people who share their religious identities, regardless of national or ethnic identities. However, the opposite is also possible. Ethnic and national based business connections of various religious faiths could be more common and effective in business networks. Finally, shared migration and experiences with discrimination may have united Arab Americans in such a way that divergent beliefs are of little significance in networking and identity formation when compared to an Arab pan-ethnic identity. The importance of this research is three-fold. First, Arab Americans are under-studied. Rarely are the national and ethnic diversities within the Arab community examined in academia or the media; and often the presence of Muslim Arabs overshadows the existence of Arabs of Christian faiths. I intend for this research to illuminate the important diversities within the larger Arab ethnic category. Secondly, by focusing on how resettlement in an ethnically, nationally, and religiously diverse American town alters identity formation, I intend to contribute to theories on the role of ethnicity and religion in social networks. Improved understanding of how religiously and ethnically based identities influence whom one interacts with and how one conducts business is relevant to other research on labor and employment, such as labor union participation, work group productivity, and hiring practices. Finally, while this research focuses on a community in Michigan, I intend for these findings to be useful for ethnic communities across the nation and particularly in California where the largest number of Arab employers and employees live.

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<sup>i</sup> Sandikci, Ozlem, and Douglas Holt. (1998: 305-6; US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2004). "Malling Society: Mall Consumption Practices and the Future of Public Space." In *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets*, ed. John Sherry. Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books.

<sup>ii</sup>Harvey, David. (1989). *The Condition of Post-modernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Boston, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

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<sup>iii</sup> Lichtenstein, Nelson, ed. (2006: 3, 5). *Wal-Mart: The Face of 21st Century Capitalism*. New York, NY: New Press.

**Shelia Turner, Social Documentation, UC Santa Cruz**

*Neither Lost Nor Found*

explores an aspect of daily life of the working-class through the lens of the Corner Store. A primary component of this photographic study is amplify an implicit impact in the rise of women in the work force and extended working hours on California and U.S. working families. It is the intent of this study will provide an additional canvas for researchers, scholars, economists, cultural historians and preservationists to recognize and decipher class formation in the United States.

DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS

**Se-hyun Cho, Sociology, UC San Diego**

*Social and Cultural Factors in the Formation of Gender Equality Policies in Korea*

My research seeks to explain the paradoxical policies of Korea's Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF). Considering the short history of MOGEF and the gender conservative character of the Korean state, MOGEF policies are remarkably progressive, winning Korea a UN designation as an exemplary case and attracting policy makers from other countries to learn about Korean gender policies. However, many of these policies seem contradictory. Employment policies create more jobs for women, but also channel them into female-typed low-paid occupations such as care workers. Moreover, while the employment policies reflect a traditional sexual division of labor, new family policies intentionally attempt to correct that division of labor. These contradictory policies are partly the work of feminist bureaucrats - "femocrats" - whose political philosophy explicitly rejects traditional gender roles. Exploring these puzzles, my project will provide insight into what the state can do about redressing gender inequality in labor force participation and within the family, and possible counter-effects in other aspects of gender inequality (e.g. reproducing the gendered division of labor in the market). Previous research on gender policies has seldom explored mechanisms responsible for such paradoxes. My account highlights the interaction between international and domestic conditions; state actors' understandings of gender roles at work and the family; and the cultural framework developed to reconcile feminist ideologies and state goals, something which has been ignored in existing work. To get at these factors, I will systematically compare employment and family policy, using primary documents, personal interviews, and ethnographic observation.

**Shannon Gleeson, Sociology, UC Berkeley**

*The Intersection of Legal Status and Stratification - The Paradox of Immigration Law and Labor Protections in the United States*

This dissertation explores the paradox created by the restrictive immigration regime and inclusive labor protections in the U.S., particularly in non-unionized workplaces. I focus specifically on the importance of state and local policy responses, and the experience of undocumented immigrant workers. I exam how the tensions between federal immigration

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law and labor protections influence 1) claims-making across varying state contexts, 2) the capacity of local governments and civic organizations to respond to labor violations, and 3) how undocumented workers understand and make claims on their labor rights. The research follows a multi-method approach and a comparative case-study design, including 102 interviews conducted in San Jose, CA and Houston, TX (which represent two ends of the labor policy continuum) with labor standards enforcement agencies, community-based organizations, and Latino immigrant restaurant workers. I also draw on administrative data for key federal and state labor standards enforcement agencies. My findings reveal that despite explicitly inclusive labor policies towards unauthorized immigrant workers, the efficacy of such protections are inevitably limited in light of restrictive and punitive immigration laws. I find that this paradox makes undocumented workers fundamentally less likely to make claims on their labor rights, despite surprisingly substantial knowledge about them. I also argue that having a strong set of state labor standards may in fact stifles grass-roots organizing on the issue, while in the absence of such strong protections, local governments and community organizations are propelled to collaborate and mobilize.

**Jill Jensen, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*International Labor Standards and the Building of Two Postwar Orders: 1916-1949*

Global trade and investment have profound effects on labor standards around the world. Policy debate on how to best address this relationship highlights the need for more extensive historical work to provide a context for discussion. My dissertation offers a comprehensive, multi-archival study of the early years of the International Labor Organization (ILO), an agency created in conjunction with the League of Nations in 1919 that studied workers' lives and conditions and lobbied extensively for both international agreements and national laws in support of labor rights. Aware of hardship in the lives of working people around the world and seeking social stabilization, the ILO encouraged active participation by workers in conjunction with employers, government officials, trade unionists, and business groups in promoting legislation aimed at improving working conditions across industries. Until 1934, the United States was not formally a member but even then many Americans cooperated with ILO efforts to take a lowering of standards out of international competition. Affiliated since 1944 with the United Nations, the ILO now addresses labor standards and class justice in context of "third world" industrialization, outsourcing from the West, and deindustrialization and deunionization in "advanced" countries. At a time when mass mobilizations against the World Trade Organization and its successive "trade rounds" has stimulated a turn to corporate codes of conduct in lieu of official actions, I argue for a reengagement with the ILO. My work has relevance for labor history and policy, and it will also contribute to the new fields of Atlantic World and global histories.

**Erica Kohl, Education, UC Berkeley**

*The Power of Giving: philanthropy and farmworker organizing across California's Central Valley*

In this current political moment farmworker unions and advocates are finding unlikely allies in corporate agriculture as they both struggle to pass immigration reform legislation

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to legalize and secure future generations of California farm labor. My dissertation research looks at the role private philanthropic foundations play in supporting partnerships that unite farmworker unions and advocacy organizations with one another and with growers to improve conditions for farmworkers and develop a sustainable workforce. I am primarily concerned with whether private foundations have taken on the concerns and needs of farmworkers and the historic farmworker movement or if instead they have paved the way for political partnerships between labor advocates and growers that are unable to address the enduring hardships faced by California's poorest workers. Thus far I have conducted in-depth interviews with foundation program officers and consultants engaged with farmworker and migrant communities and conducted a case study of a philanthropic farmworker initiative in Tulare County, located in California's Central Valley. The next phase of my research will involve interviews, workplace shadowing, and site visits with historic and current leaders of the United Farm Workers of America and the affiliated 'UFW Movement' non-profit organizations, including Farmworker Institute for Education and Leadership Development (FIELD) and La Union del Pueblo Entero (LUPE). These organizations are involved in the Tulare County farmworker initiative and more broadly in foundation-funded partnerships with growers around immigration reform and collaborative workforce development, which I will also investigate.

**Elizabeth Lamoree, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Agribusiness Against the State: California Growers Challenge Agricultural Labor Relations Legislation, 1930 - 1980*

From the Wagner Act (1935) to the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (1975), agricultural employers used the political and economic ideology of agricultural exceptionalism to exclude field workers from labor relations legislation. During the New Deal, growers vigorously opposed collective bargaining and farm unionism because of agriculture's unique position in the market and working conditions. However, California growers pioneered the development of industrial agriculture and labor intensive specialty crops, which created labor conditions applicable to the Wagner Act. After 40 years of political stalemate, boycotts by the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) caused a radical change. During the early 1970s, growers shifted from a position of militant anti-unionism to a strategic acceptance of labor relations legislation, while the UFW rejected inclusion under the Wagner Act because of its limitation. Growers wanted to force the UFW to become dependent upon state structures and deradicalize the Union with increasing routinization—as other industries had achieved with the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. The Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) was a more radical version of the Wagner Act, but agribusiness reestablished political and ideological control over farm labor relations. Deradicalizing the Wagner Act took other industries 12 years to accomplish, but growers deradicalized the ALRA in a matter of months. Organized agribusiness opposition incapacitated the state mechanisms designed to support unionism and prevented a restructuring of the farm labor political economy. To retain control over the agricultural political economy, growers sabotaged both radical labor law and significant labor movements in California.

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**Thomas Lester, City and Regional Planning, UC Berkeley**

*Towards a Living Wage in the New Economy: The Politics and Economics of Institutional Change in Urban Labor Markets*

One clear labor market trend has emerged from the past three decades of economic restructuring and technological change: rising income inequality. One leading explanation for this trend holds that previous compromises between large corporations, industrial labor unions and the Federal government over how labor markets should be regulated have been dissolved. Today, labor advocates, unions, and policy makers have are working at lower levels of government to fill this regulatory void and have pressed for living-wage and minimum wage ordinances. In this dissertation I argue that the living wage movement is an example of more fundamental shift taking place in the way labor markets are regulated in the U.S. This shift entails both a restructuring and a rescaling of the institutional foundations of labor markets. I explore both the political evolution of living wage campaigns and their impact on the economic development prospects of the cities that pass them through two distinct, but inter-related empirical projects using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Specifically, I present a narrative case comparison of the evolution of living wage legislation in San Francisco and Chicago over the past decade. In addition, I evaluate the impact of living wage laws on urban employment levels and shares using data from the full set all 140 living-wage jurisdictions and their metropolitan regions. This research is of interest to both scholars in the field of labor market institutions and economics as well as to policy markers and organizers seeking to implement wage standards at the local scale.

**Patrick Linder, Anthropology, UC Riverside**

*The Immigrant Enclave and Social Difference in the Coachella Valley: Labor and Housing as Indicators of Internal Distinction*

My project deals with the changing face of California's workforce. It does so by examining a particular case, that of labor migrants—primarily of Mexican origin—and their descendants in the colonias, or unincorporated and underserved border communities, of the eastern Coachella Valley in southern California. Over the last half-century these communities, Mecca, Thermal, Oasis, and North Shore, have undergone both rapid population growth and extreme shifts in demographic make-up. These shifts have been and continue to be driven by employment in the area's agricultural industries. As a result of these changes, the immigrant enclave in this area, often presented in social science literature as though it were unitary, is actually extremely heterogeneous. Dimensions of heterogeneity include: Mexican ethnic identity, place of origin, language ability, documented status, and time of arrival. Just as there are various dimensions of difference within the community, so are there various measures which demonstrate the inequalities among the groups thus defined. My project focuses on two of these measures of inequality: access to different sorts of work and housing and settlement patterns. In the situation of intensive, highly differentiated migration, inter-ethnic relations and the social networks that are affected by them have a profound impact on employment and residential patterns. Examining these dynamics now, in an area of high density, will allow California to make informed judgments in the future on labor and employment policy in the state's increasingly immigrant-dominated labor market.

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**Gladys Lopez, Sociology, UC Santa Barbara**

*“¡En La Lucha!”: The Challenges of Inclusion and Strategies for Success of Chicana/o Attorneys*

Historically, the legal profession has been male-dominated with low representation of racial-ethnic minorities. In recent decades, however, a small but growing number of Chicanas/os are entering this prestigious occupation. Their entry into the legal field raises a number of questions regarding their occupational incorporation and mobility. The vast majority of research on Chicanas/os analyzes their participation in the secondary market (field laborers, domestics, etc.). Scholarship on Chicana/o attorneys is absent from the larger discussion of this group's participation in the primary sector. Moreover, studies examining the experiences of women and racial-ethnic minorities in the legal occupation have not addressed Chicanas/os specifically. Research examining gender inequality in the legal field tends to highlight the experiences of white women alone; implying universality among all women's experiences. The literature on racial-ethnic minorities in this occupation merges multiple groups into a single “non-white” category implicitly assuming that their experiences are equivalent; rather than considering cultural, gender, or class distinctions. In light of the paucity of information on Chicana/o lawyers, my research addresses this gap in the literature through in-depth interviews and participant observation. My dissertation reviews the types of firms they work in, their wages, the types of law they practice, the populations they serve, the percentage of Chicanas/os who access partnerships and the key characteristics associated with the firms where such accomplishments are made. This case study is an important first step in not only illuminating broader issues of racial-ethnic inclusion/exclusion, but revealing gendered variability within this group, thus informing labor policies committed to increasing equity and diversity.

**Andra Olivia Maciuceanu, Political Science, UC Berkeley**

*Responding to Global Challenges: Labor Unions in the Automotive Industry*

Changes in the global and domestic economy, including the opening of markets and technical advancements in production, coupled with a reconfiguration of the domestic political scene has brought about novel business-labor disputes and challenges to worker representation around the world. Workers' representatives in Latin America have responded to these challenges by reconsidering their strategies for conflict resolution. Notably, certain union leaders sought the support of foreign unions with varying degrees of success. The first objective of this study is to explain the variation in union strategies for conflict resolution. The second objective is to analyze the factors that condition the success of the transnational strategies. Case studies of car assembly plants are embedded within a broader comparison of the Brazilian and Mexican automotive industries. As labor market developments in the Latin American car industry are increasingly interrelated with the situation of US workers in this industry, an understanding of the struggles and responses of labor unions in Brazil and Mexico is crucial for enabling US unions to construct strategies that will empower workers in the US and elsewhere.

**Elizabeth Shermer, History, UC Santa Barbara**

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*Creating the Sunbelt: Conservatism, Anti-Unionism, and the Transformation of Phoenix, Arizona*

Of the Sunbelt cities, none burned brighter or contributed more to the conservative revival than Phoenix, Arizona. This backwater town-turned-economic powerhouse had a legacy of anti-union, anti-New Deal, pro-business, ultra-conservative policies and politicians. Since 1980, the city has been ranked as one of the ten largest in the nation, a remarkable statistic since in 1950 Phoenix had just 106,000 residents. This project examines the history and politics of an influential cohort of business leaders who set out to remake Phoenix. Through massive infrastructure spending, agricultural subsidies, and encouragement of unionism, the New Deal had made Arizona a solidly Democratic state. But in the immediate postwar years, a group of entrepreneurs sought to remake Arizona. These Phoenixians' hopes lay not with working within the confines of the New Deal regulatory state but in attracting technologically advanced corporations that shared a desire for a workforce that was educated, flexible, non-union, and accepting of a technocratic elite. Support from Motorola, Sperry Rand, and General Electric executives helped this emerging generation of Sunbelt politicians convince voters to turn against the Wagner Act and other tenants of the New Deal. This Depression-Era and postwar activism laid the groundwork for the conservative business leaders to capture city politics, pass anti-labor measures, repeal taxes and regulations on businesses, which shifted the tax burden to homeowners, and build a conservative political machine that transformed the city and inspired other western conservatives. A study of the emergence of this conservative business community, their local, regional, and national campaigns against the New Deal order and American labor, and their successes not only helps understandings of the nature of the Sunbelt phenomenon but also shows how business conservatism and anti-unionism compliments the existing scholarship on how racism and anti-communism helped unravel the New Deal order.

**Jeremy Schulz, Sociology, Berkeley**

*Work to live or Live to Work: Comparing The Work Lives and Private Lives of French, Norwegian, and American Professionals*

My dissertation takes a new look at the contentious issue of the "lifestyle gap" which allegedly separates the "leisure-loving" Europeans from the "work-obsessed" Americans. While many scholars have identified the US as a country where the work ethic retains a strong grip on the upper middle classes, none have used qualitative methods to find out what makes American members of the upper middle class distinctive in a cross-national perspective. My study approaches this question from a rigorously comparative perspective. The thesis uses the qualitative methods of work-family research to answer cross-societal questions about life patterns, questions typically addressed through survey research. Taking a carefully constructed sample of comparable French, Norwegian, and American elite professionals and managers, the study contrasts their work routines, stances towards work and private life, family expectations and aspirations, and general life goals. Through a strategy of triple matching, it pinpoints what these Americans have in common with their French and Norwegian counterparts and what distinguishes them from their European peers in terms of their involvements in work and private life.

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**Jason Strange, Geography, UC Berkeley**

*Intentional Peasants: the unexpected persistence of homesteading in the contemporary United States*

Over the past two centuries, global capitalism and the technological dynamism it unleashes have produced unprecedented material wealth. This creates the practical possibility of widespread human flourishing – a possibility that has so far been foreclosed by processes of class exploitation and domination intrinsic to capitalism. With the rise of neoliberalism over the past thirty years, these class processes have intensified even in the “first world”; in the US, traditional strategies of working-class resistance such as union-organizing and collective bargaining have come under renewed attack. Under such conditions, often-overlooked strategies of popular resistance gain new prominence. One such strategy is rural subsistence production, or homesteading, which continues to be widespread in the US, flourishing amidst a nearly complete neglect by academic researchers. This research project is an in-depth ethnographic study of homesteading by “peasant-workers” in a county in eastern Kentucky – a region where regressive neoliberal economic policies have been the norm for over a hundred years. I argue that such contemporary homesteading represents labor activism by other means, shielding homesteaders from a complete dependence upon the local capitalist labor market, which is marked by unnecessarily low wages, poor labor conditions, and temporary, unstable job tenure. But subsistence production is also a deeply meaningful activity for its practitioners, reflecting cultural as well as economic logics. As such, it is an excellent window into the particular techniques of social division and electioneering through which the neoliberal project has asserted itself.

**Mingjie Sun, Geography, Los Angeles**

*Inter-provincial Permanent and Temporary Migration in China*

This proposed project focuses on labor migration in the context where both the state and market force are prominently at work. A distinct feature in China is the existence of two tracks of migration, namely permanent and temporary migration, distinguished by moving with or without change of household registration (hukou) status. Although gradually relaxed since the mid-1980s, the hukou system still plays a significant role in migration control. Without local hukou, temporary migrants working and living in urban areas are denied access to many state-provided public goods and job opportunities. No matter how long they have lived in cities, they are viewed as “outsiders”. Based on data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses and field interviews in Wuxi, Jiangsu province, this project examines changes in the spatial patterns of inter-provincial permanent and temporary migration and the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of migrants in the last two decades; asks to what extent permanent migrants differ from temporary migrants in terms of their employment and occupational attainment and how the gaps have changed; and identifies major factors accounting for the differences and their changes over time. In addition to the roles of hukou system, the effects of migrant networks and rural-urban adaptation will be examined. This project will yield findings directly relevant for policymakers, especially those concerned with furthering hukou reforms in urban China. The findings of the proposed research will be useful for

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policymakers to identify and assess possible solutions to problems faced by migrants in cities.

**Patricia Tong, Economics, UC San Diego**

*Three Essays In Labor Economics*

For my dissertation, I will complete three different research projects in the field of labor economics. The first paper investigates how California minimum nurse staffing laws in long-term care facilities affect nurse labor demand and patient outcomes. In 2000, the California government increased the minimum nurse staffing requirement. My results show that facilities increase the employment of certified nurse aides, the lowest paid and least skilled type of nurse, as the primary method to achieve the new standard. I will extend this analysis to determine how the new standard affects quality of patient care. The second project will examine how child support payments affect the decision to work and hours worked by single mothers. I will use state level variation in child support enforcement policy to identify how the probability of receiving child support and the expected value of child support payment affects labor force participation. The third project will determine how mandatory retirement of Federal Law Enforcement Officers affects their household financial decisions. In particular, I will investigate the effect of mandatory retirement on spousal employment retirement savings, and other investment decisions.

**MINI-GRANTS**

**Charles Delgadillo, History, Santa Barbara**

*A Workers' War: Liberals, Labor, and the First World War, 1914-1922*

This is a study of the evolving concept of industrial democracy among liberals during and after the First World War. It focuses on William Allen White, whose lifelong connection with liberals across the spectrum makes him an excellent proxy for American liberalism during this era. The labor question seemed intractable until the First World War which, according to White, created a moment of opportunity for ordinary people around the world to “break down the evil system of capitalism in its ruthless control of opportunity.” White remained faithful to the concept that the war had permanently recast the relationship between labor and capital along democratic lines even as hopes for the elimination of political autocracy in the postwar world began to fade. The reaction of 1919 persuaded liberals that conflict was often counterproductive in achieving labor’s goals, but the war had permanently forged liberals and labor into an alliance that would change America during the New Deal.

**Leah Fernandez, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Mexican American Women in California's World War II Defense Industry*

During World War II women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers. With the rapid increase of women working in wartime industries America experienced much anxiety about women’s newfound independence, and changing gender and social role. Mexican American women in California’s wartime industries joined the war effort as

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well. Yet, few studies have focused on how Mexican American women working in defense industries experienced the war. In particular, the aircraft industry both in San Diego and the Los Angeles area experienced tremendous growth during World War II. For example, by 1945 San Diego's aircraft companies employed twice as many people as all other manufacturing and mechanical industries in San Diego County combined. Douglas Aircraft Company in Long Beach, CA experienced similar growth. Where did Mexican American women fit within this booming industry?

Megan Barber, History, UC Santa Barbara, *The Right to Work: The Union des Femmes Françaises's Mobilization of Working-Class French Women, 1944-1950*

The increase of female workers after the war and their newly won status as citizens forced worker organizations like the UFF to strike a balance between the rights of working mothers and demands for equality between the sexes. My research will provide insight into an important but neglected organization and will also demonstrate the complex nature of the work-family balance.

**Andrea Gill, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Race, Placing, and Housing: The Struggles over Residential De-Segregation in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, 1963-1980*

My doctoral dissertation, titled "Race, Place, and Housing: The Struggles over Residential De-segregation in Los Angeles, New York City, and Chicago, 1963-1980," is a comparative investigation of the creation of, and subsequent resistance to, de-segregation policy in both public and private housing in these three "hyper-segregated" cities. Against this suggestive background I will explore the broader national issue of the persistence of housing segregation in the face of civil rights legislation. This area of research is particularly significant because the continued spatial isolation of blacks and Latinos has a series of pernicious consequences, including the segregation of (unequal) schools and a growing distance between minority workers and increasingly "knowledge-based" employment.

**Alvaro Huerta, City and Regional Planning, UC Berkeley**

*Social Networks of Informality: A Case Study of Mexican Immigrant Gardeners in Los Angeles' Informal Economy*

The existing U.S. immigration literature primarily focuses on the positive attributes of social networks for Mexican immigrants (and other groups) in this country. While social networks allow for immigrants to come to this country and adapt in a highly competitive and harsh environment, I am interested in both the beneficial and harmful aspects of these networks, focusing on immigrant labor markets in the informal economy. Based on Mark Granovetter's (1973) classic article on the strength of weak ties, my research aims to test and extend the author's theory to paid Mexican gardeners in Los Angeles' informal economy. In this theory, Granovetter argues how members of cohesive groups (or communities) benefit more, under particular circumstances, from their weak ties (members outside of cohesive group) versus their strong ties (members within cohesive group), which can be constraining. Reliance on strong ties, according to the author, leads to fragmented communities (especially in working class neighborhood), preventing upward mobility opportunities for these individuals or groups. While Granovetter raises

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relevant concerns regarding the constraints of strong ties, which apply to the present, this pre-dissertation research project not only seeks to explore the positive and negative aspects strong ties, but also the benefits and constraints of weak ties in the paid gardening industry.

**Jasmine Kerrissey, Sociology, UC Irvine**

*One Big Union? A Comparative Historical Analysis of Union Mergers 1880-2005*

This study addresses the research gap on union mergers by examining two broad sets of questions: First, under what conditions do unions merge? Are mergers mainly a product of demographics (small memberships) (Adams 1984), or are they social and/or political processes? Second, what are the consequences of mergers? In particular, how do mergers affect subsequent union democracy and organizational growth? Does the organizational shake-up allow room for new practices and innovations, as Zald and Garner suggest (Zald and McCarthy 1987: 132-133)? Further, how do mergers between unions with membership bases of different genders and races affect the continuing union?

**Laura Martin, History, UC Santa Cruz**

*Response of Unemployed Workers to the Great Depression in Southern California*

My current research, which I plan on developing into a master's thesis, focuses on the response of unemployed workers in Southern California to the economic crisis of the Great Depression. Throughout this turbulent era, workers with no previous ideological allegiances sought alternatives to the crippled capitalist economy. Lower middle-class clerical workers, mostly white and male, were drawn to the Hollywood-based Utopian Society, an organization that promoted a program of national production for use and a guaranteed annual income. Poor whites, on the other hand, organized themselves into self-help cooperatives, often working in concert with a stratum of liberal intellectuals and WPA officials who helped to fund their projects.

In my research, I plan to examine these creative responses to economic crisis in order to better understand why and how individuals chose to align themselves with various alternatives to the capitalist economy.

**J. Alan Mason, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Work Collective Soviets and the Mobilization of Moldovan Conservatives during the Collapse of the Soviet Union*

The proposed project would argue the importance of work collective soviets in the successful mobilization and eventual separatist rebellion of Moldovan countermovement conservatives opposing the Moldovan movement for national revival during the collapse of the Soviet Union. Conceptualizing Transnistrian secession in the first order as a popular, republic-wide movement, I hope to take the insights of other scholars addressing various aspects of the conflict and synthesize this with my own research on Soviet and movement organizational networks (mobilizing structures) and on activist discursive strategies (framing processes). The project would offer a comprehensive history of the division of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic into the Moldovan and Dniester Moldovan Republics, however it would also offer Moldova as the most compelling stage

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on which scholars can observe the conflict among conservatives from around the Soviet Union to find their voice and oppose the destruction of the world's second superpower.

**Oliver Rosales, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Piercing the tide of anti-statism in Central California : Rural Health Care, Migrant Workers, and the history of La Clinica Sierra Vista, 1963-1977*

While numerous studies document the history of California, one geographically understudied area in the state is the history of the Central Valley. Much of the historical literature deals with the impact of the Okie migration, country music, riparian policy, and the history of agricultural development. Few academic works deal with the history of the region's ethnic Mexican population. My work attempts to fill this research gap focusing on the history of the expansion of migrant health care in the southern end of California's Central Valley—home to the “factories in the fields” Carey McWilliams first noted in the late 1930s, the social tensions of John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath*, and the birthplace of the United Farm Workers. Specifically, I will investigate the history of *La Clinica Sierra Vista*, which as of today serves as the largest subsidized health care provider available to the rural poor, which means servicing a predominately Mexican population. Beyond the actual history of the clinic since its founding in 1970, I will chart the political pressure brought on the region's conservative medical establishment, which for much of the twentieth century was vehemently anti-statist to support rural health care. *La Clinica* itself was the result of federal funds made available after a scathing local and federal public policy indictment of medical care for the rural poor in Kern County in the 1960s. The success of Cesar Chavez' grape strike beginning in 1965 brought much national attention to Kern County. After that moment, the anti-statist tide which not only dominated the medical establishment but also city and county governing institutions was pierced by the mobilization of community organizations. Collectively, the UFW, policy makers, and community organizations linked the plight of California's rural ethnic Mexicans to progressive health care initiatives on a national scale.

**Aaron Shaw, Sociology, UC Berkeley**

*Redistributing the Wealth of Knowledge Economies: Competition, Production, and Work Organization in Brazil's IT Industry*

In globalized post-industrial sectors dominated by multinational firms, what factors determine whether developmental states successfully promote innovative modes of production that redistribute the skills and wealth of high-value, knowledge-intensive work? My MA and PhD research in Sociology takes up this question through a cross-sector comparison of the impact of recent Brazilian state policies on firms active in Brazil's Information Technology (IT) market. Under the control of the Worker's Party since 2003, the Brazilian state has pursued a knowledge-centered strategy of human development and industrial transformation focused around the promotion of Free/Livre Open-Source Software (F/LOSS) as an alternative to software sold by multinational giants like Microsoft.<sup>1</sup> I seek to analyze the impact of this policy agenda and in particular to evaluate its effects on the modes of knowledge production and labor organization within multinational, state and local IT firms. The results of my research will thus offer

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insights into the changing relationships between developmental states, production, and work organization in a key post-industrial sector of the global economy.

**Amanda Sheely, Social Welfare, UC Los Angeles**

*Local Innovation or Race to the Bottom? The Effects of Devolution of Welfare in California*

The purpose of the proposed study is to adjudicate between the competing conceptions of welfare reform as either promoting a race to the bottom or fostering innovative programs at the county level. To do so, I examine how changes in economic, demographic, and political conditions affect welfare entries, welfare exits, and sanction rates, from 1999-2006 for 58 counties in California. My primary research questions are: 1) Do welfare department practices vary by county? If so, how are these practices influenced by local needs as well as the county political, economic, and cultural environments? 2) Do the welfare department practices of county welfare offices resemble the practices of surrounding counties? If so, are these common practices related to serving similar populations?

California is an ideal setting for this study for several reasons. First, California has given broad authority to County governments to administer their own welfare programs (Gainsborough, 2003). Second, the counties of California are mixed in terms of size, demographics, political ideology, and occupational structure. Last, California has the second largest welfare caseload in the United States (Blumenberg, 2001).

**Jean Smith, History, UC Santa Barbara**

*Productive workers or a burden on the state? Consumptives in the Cape Colony, 1880-1910*

Building on my previous examination of the parliamentary debates over the admission of consumptives to the Union, I plan to evaluate the extent that immigrant tuberculosis patients received care subsidized by the state in the Cape Colony prior to the Union. Additionally I will research the experience of individuals who came to South Africa for their health, with particular reference to the employment options available to them. I will focus on the Cape Colony because it was the location of the majority of health resorts for consumptives and the only colony without health restrictions before Union. In July and August 2008, I plan to examine hospital and governmental records in the Western Cape Archive and National Library of South Africa, particularly port authority, district surgeons' and hospital reports. Additionally I plan to conduct research at hospitals in Cape Town, such as the Somerset Hospital and in Beaufort West, a major health resort.

**Sara Smith, History, UC Santa Cruz**

*History of Teachers Unions in California*

In my project I intend to cover a variety of themes that concern rank-and-file efforts by teachers to transform their unions. My focus is California during the twentieth century. Most of what has been written on the subject of the history of teachers' unions focuses on the Midwest or East Coast, leaving much to be written on this history in California. The teaching profession, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, underwent a process of feminization, with the result being that a majority of teachers, especially in elementary

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schools, were mostly white women. In my project I examine how this construction of a racialized and gendered profession has not only impacted public education in California, but also what it has meant for the formation of teachers' unions and how this has shaped the type of organizing that teachers have engaged in. The class backgrounds of people entering the teaching field and the status of respect gained by becoming teachers are two key themes that I explore. In my project, furthermore, I examine the ways that patriotism, ethnicity, and race have shaped who society saw as acceptable enough shape young minds in the classroom.

**Veronica Terriquez, Sociology, UC Los Angeles**

*Work Schedules, Union Representation, and Parental School Involvement*

While empirical evidence shows that parental employment is associated with lower levels of parental school participation (Muller 1995; Terriquez 2007), the ways in which shift work and labor union participation shape parental school involvement merit further exploration. Understanding the effects of shift work and union activity on the school involvement of immigrant parents in low-wage industries is important since their children are likely to rely on education for upward mobility. Drawing from quantitative survey and in-depth interview data gathered from SEIU Local 1877 ("Local 1877") members with school-aged children, I seek to address the following questions:

- To what extent do work schedules shape the ways in which parents in the low-wage service sector participate in their children's schooling process? How do families determine the division of parental school involvement in dual earner households?
- How, if at all, do Local 1877 members perceive the union contract and their union involvement as currently or potentially conducive to their participation in their children's schools?

**Patricia Wang, Sociology, UC San Diego**

*The Impact of Cellphones on How Informal Laborers Share Job Information:*

*Undocumented Chinese and Mexican Laborers in the Informal Economy*

For the first time, cellphones have penetrated populations that consistently have had the least access to the internet and computer ownership: low-income, older, and Spanish-speaking Americans. This shift gives us an opportunity to examine technology use in groups that have been traditionally excluded from digital information communication technologies (ICT). To date, there is no existing systematic research on cellphone usage and the cellphone's impact on the social life of underserved populations. I propose to analyze how cellphones have effected the way job information is shared among undocumented laborers in the informal economy. I expect to find that the laborers with the strongest social networks are able to most effectively use their cellphones to acquire reliable job information. This project would provide important data on the social impact of cellphones and public-private ICT changes (such as the disappearance of pay-phones) on undocumented workers amid growing anxieties over unpredictable employment and legal status. This would also provide a unique contribution to the literature on migration and labor, technology and labor, digital divide in disadvantaged urban populations, and information sharing in social networks.

