

LABOR & DEMOCRACY
Labor Studies and Employment Relations 575:301
Spring 2014

DRAFT SYLLABUS

Class Meetings:

Room B 112
Lucy Stone Hall
Livingston Campus
Tuesday 3:20 - 6:20pm

Prof. Tobias Schulze-Cleven

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Office: Labor Education Center, Room 171

Office Hours: Before & after class on
Livingston C.; or by appt.

Course Overview:

This course probes the causes, nature and effects of labor movements in comparative perspective. Students will be introduced to workers' collective action as a worldwide phenomenon that has been central to the political economic development of capitalist democracies. Taking a historical institutionalist approach to labor as a social movement, the course emphasizes how a country's unique history and its institutional context have shaped the political opportunities for workers' evolving collective action.

With reference to three centuries of transatlantic history, the class covers both key political achievements of the working class as well as labor's contemporary challenges. Among the achievements, we focus in particular on the extension of democratic rights and the expansion of welfare states; among the challenges, we probe the needs to accommodate shifting social cleavages, respond to economic globalization, and devise strategies for revitalization.

Learning Objectives:

- Analyze the degree to which different contexts shape a person's experience of and perspective on work (as well as the world more broadly) – SAS(a) & LSER(6).
- Analyze issues of social justice locally and globally – SAS(d) & LSER(8).
- Use the comparative approach to develop a solid understanding of labor movements' causes, nature and effects.
- Improve professional competencies such as critical thinking and problem solving; verbal and written communication; and interpersonal skills.

Course Requirements (details at the end of the syllabus):

In-Class Participation (including Debates)	15% of the course grade
Online Class Participation	10%
Midterm Exam	20%
Term Paper	25%
Final Exam	30%

Class Materials:

- Students are not required to purchase any books. All readings will be made available on Rutgers Sakai (<http://sakai.rutgers.edu>).

Course Outline:

Week 1: Introduction (Jan 21)

No reading. We familiarize ourselves with the main themes of the course. Then we
1) review strategies for effectively engaging with the readings, 2) discuss the purposes of scientific inquiry, and 3) analyze the characteristics of causal arguments in the social sciences.

SECTION I: TOOLS FOR ANALYZING LABOR MOVEMENTS

This section of the course probes how we can conceptualize labor movements: Who belongs to them? What does a movement seek to do? Why does a movement end up doing what it does?

Week 2: Work & Collective Action (Jan 28)

Markets for Labor

Paul Frymer and Dorian T. Warren. 2011. "What NBA stars and Occupy Wall Street protesters have in common." *Washington Post*, October 28.

Is Collective Action Necessary?

Rick Fantasia & Kim Voss. 2004. *Hard Work. Remaking the American Labor Movement*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1-33 (Chapter 1: "Why Labor Matters").

Week 3: Labor as a Social Movement (Febr 4)

Illustration from the US (I): The California Farm Worker Movement

Cletus E. Daniel. 1987. "Cesar Chavez and the Unionization of California Farm Workers." In Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine, eds. *Labor Leaders in America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, only read pages 350-373; remaining pages of the chapter are recommended but not required.

Theory (I): The Dynamics of Building Social Movements

Sidney G. Tarrow. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (3rd Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-15 (Introduction).

Week 4: Institutions & Workers' Collective Action (Febr 11)

Illustration from the US (II): American Organized Labor & Immigration

Janice Fine and Daniel J. Tichenor. 2009. "A Movement Wrestling: American Labor's Enduring Struggle with Immigration, 1866-2007." *Studies in American Political Development* 23(April): 84-113 (focus on introduction, conclusion & one time period).

Theory (II): Context Shapes Social Action

Sidney G. Tarrow. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (2nd Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 71-73 (part of Chapter 5).

Do need read before class but print out and bring to class: Theda Skocpol. 1995. "Why I am a Historical Institutionalism." *Polity* 28(1): 103-106.

SECTION II: LABOR MOVEMENTS IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY

In this section of the course, we move beyond the United States to probe how labor movements have played pivotal roles in many countries' histories. We focus on the role of labor in shaping the fate of democracy and capitalism during the 1930s, and in the consolidation of welfare states after World War II.

Week 5: Promoting Social Democracy (Febr 18)

Establishing the Primacy of Politics

Sheri Berman. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-19 (Chapter 1: "Introduction").

The Swedish Path to Social Democracy

Sheri Berman. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 162-176 (Chapter 7: "The Swedish Exception").

Week 6: Limits to Social Democracy in Germany & the United States (Febr 25)

The German Path to National Socialism

Sheri Berman. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 125-151 (Chapter 6: "The Rise of Fascism and National Socialism").

The American Labor Movement and the New Deal

Nelson Lichtenstein. 2003. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 20-53 (Chapter 1: "Reconstructing the 1930s").

Week 7: Consolidating Social Democracy & the Welfare State (March 4)

Cross-National Comparisons

Do need read before class but print out and bring to class: Gregory Luebbert. 1991.

Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-14 (Introduction).

Bringing in the Middle Class after World War II

Peter Baldwin. 1990. *The Politics of Social Solidarity. Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1875-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2 (“The Triumph of the Solidaristic Welfare State: Britain and Scandinavia”), only read pages 107-133.

Week 8: Review & In-Class Midterm (March 11)

Midterm

No reading. Prepare for midterm.

How Much Should the Welfare State Do?

Joel Rogers and Wolfgang Streeck. 1994. “Workplace Representation Overseas: The Works Councils Story.” In Richard Freeman, ed. *Working under Different Rules*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, only read pages 97-117.

SECTION III: KEY CHALLENGES FOR LABOR MOVEMENTS

In this section, we review how contemporary labor movements have reacted to some of the key challenges they face around the world today. We also reflect on how they might do better, addressing such questions as: How should labor movements adopt their strategies? Who and how should they seek to organize and mobilize for “contentious collective action”? Which goals should they pursue? How can they be revitalized?

Week 9: Shifting Gender Roles (March 25)

No reading. We will watch a movie and complete a worksheet.

Week 10: Responding to Shifting Gender Roles (April 1)

Socio-economic Changes

Hanne Rosin. 2012. “Who Wears the Pants in this Economy?” *New York Times Magazine*, August 30.

Labor’s Responses

Dorothy Sue Cobble. 2009. “It’s Time for New Deal Feminism.” *The Washington Post*, December 13.

Week 11: The Rise of Neoliberalism (April 8)

Social Democracy in Question?

Tony Judt. 2009. "What is Living and What is Dead in Social Democracy?" *New York Review of Books*, December 17.

Defining the Status Quo

Michael McTernan. 2012. "Distributional Conflicts in the US and Europe. The Emergence of a New Transatlantic Agenda for Progressive Politics." Policy Network Paper, London, November.

Week 12: Barriers to a Unified Labor Movement (April 15) – PAPER DUE!

Intraclass Conflicts and Cross-Class Alliances

Peter Swenson. 1991. "Labor and the Limits of the Welfare State. The Politics of Intraclass Conflict and Cross-Class Alliances in Sweden and West Germany." *Comparative Politics* 23(4): 379-399 (focus on either Sweden or Germany).

"Dualization": From Social Divisions to Institutional Divisions

Bruno Palier and Kathleen Thelen. 2010. "Institutionalizing Dualism: Complementarities and Change in France and Germany." *Politics & Society* 38(1): 119-148 (focus on Germany and skip parts on France).

Week 13: Framing Labor Movements' Responses to Neoliberalism (April 22)

In-Class Debates: Labor Movements & Democracy

This class believes that...

1. "Rising economic inequality threatens national democracy."
2. "The best way for labor unions to revitalize themselves is to act as social movements."

Developing a Reform Narrative

Sasha Abramsky. 2011. "A Conversation with Marshall Ganz." *The Nation*, February 2.

Marshall Ganz. 2009. "Why Stories Matter: The Art and Craft of Social Change." *Sojourners* (March): 18-19.

Week 14: Union Revitalization (April 29)

Toward New Social Coalitions?

Carola Frege, Edmund Heery and Lowell Turner. 2004. "The New Solidarity? Trade Union Coalition-Building in Five Countries." In Carola Frege and John Kelly, eds. *Varieties Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Globalizing Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 137-158.

Review

Bring questions.

Week 15: Final Exam (date to be determined)

Appendix – Further Information on Course Assignments & Class Rules:

ACCESS TO READINGS

All readings will be made available on Rutgers Sakai (<http://sakai.rutgers.edu>). These directions lead you to the course site:

- Go to <http://sakai.rutgers.edu>
- To log on, enter your Rutgers NetID and password in the upper right-hand corner.
- Look for the tabs at the top of the next page. Click on the tab: 38:575:301.
- Click on “Resources” on the menu on the left-hand side of the next page. You should see the course syllabus and all of the course readings.

SPECIAL RULES ON ENGAGING WITH THE READINGS

Students are required to print out all assigned readings to allow for effective engagement with the material. Moreover, students are expected to bring hard-copy versions of the assigned texts to class meetings. Doing so will help with in-class discussions of the readings.

SPECIAL RULES ON ELECTRONIC DEVICES

There will be no use of laptops, tablets or smart phones during class sessions without special permission. While such instruments are important tools for research, they have also become distractions in the classroom. For in-depth learning in the course, students are asked to pay focused attention and contribute critical thought in class discussions. I will prepare PowerPoint presentations that will include the main points of each class session. The slides from these presentations will be shared with students through Sakai after each class session.

IN-CLASS PARTICIPATION & ATTENDANCE

Be prepared for class and always read the assigned materials before our meetings. You are expected to bring questions and comments about the course material so that you can participate in class discussions. With much of our time spent learning through discussion, it is necessary for everybody to participate. I might ask students to use their questions to stimulate discussions and will ensure broad participation. It is critical that we respect one another’s thoughts and address our comments at others’ ideas, not at people themselves. This course is not a forum for demeaning or threatening language. Rather than measuring the frequency with which you speak in class, your participation grade reflects how you balance speaking, reading, and listening. Also, don’t forget to take careful notes to complement the PowerPoint slides.

Students should plan to attend every course session, and I ask you to sign in personally at the beginning of class. If for some unavoidable reason you must miss a class, please let me know in advance through the university's absence reporting website (<https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>) so that your absence will not remain unexplained. If you are late or leave early repeatedly, and if you miss class unexcused, your participation grade will suffer.

GROUP DEBATES

The session on April 22 will be used for in-class group debates. Groups will be formed and time will be provided in class on April 15 for groups to coordinate their preparation for the debates. Your performance in the debate will become part of your in-class participation grade.

ONLINE CLASS PARTICIPATION

You are required to contribute to the **threaded discussions** under the "Forums" tab on the course's Sakai site during 9 of the 14 weeks during the semester. These contributions are due an hour before class. Your contributions are meant to stimulate discussion, intellectual curiosity, and engagement. The length of the posting may vary but should generally be about one paragraph in length. The best discussion board postings address the question by engaging with the assigned readings and making connections to readings assigned in prior sessions. Do not point out that an article or argument was interesting or fascinating. Do not simply summarize what one or another author said. Rather, engage with other students have written and focus on assessing, critiquing, and comparing the assigned readings. You will be graded on the basis of whether you have posted comments and on their quality. If you do not post a discussion board comment, it will negatively affect your grade.

MIDTERM EXAM

The midterm exam covers material from the first half of the course. It will include a variety of question-answer formats (e.g. definitions, short answer, short essay).

PAPER ASSIGNMENT

The paper is due in class on April 15.

There will be a 5-page (double spaced) paper that should be structured as a policy brief. Detailed information on the purpose and structure of a policy brief will be provided halfway through the course. This assignment will require you to write a paper outlining the rationale for choosing a particular course of action with respect to a feature of labor market regulation, employment relations or labor movement strategy in a country of your choice (or transnationally). You can choose which policy question you want to focus on and should clearly delimit the topic. The policy brief should provide you with ample opportunity to bring in theoretical reflections from class and call on comparisons with practices in different countries. The audience of the policy brief should be policymakers or leaders in a specific labor movement. You might also choose to address your brief to a particular person.

The papers should reflect thorough consideration of the assignment. All papers should demonstrate careful reading of the course material and **provide information on all invoked**

sources in a consistent citation style. Moreover, students' writing should demonstrate university-level competence in grammar and style.

FINAL EXAM

The final exam covers material from the entire course. This essay-based exam will be given at the designated time during finals week. I'll give you information about the content and structure of the final exam a few weeks before the end of the semester.

COMMUNICATION

Students are expected to check their Rutgers email accounts regularly for class announcements. Students are responsible for all information communicated to them via email by the instructor. Feel free to contact the instructor via email with questions or concerns about the course. I will do my best to get back to you within 24 hours. When emailing the instructor, always include "Labor Movements & Democracy" in the subject line of your email.

When available, grades will be posted on the course's Sakai site under the "PostEm" tab.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

While I encourage students to work together to understand theories and concepts, all written work must be your own. If you cite an author or use his/her ideas, please cite properly. Plagiarized assignments or evidence of cheating will result in a failing grade in the assignment and possibly in the course, and may result in disciplinary action by the university.

EXTENSIONS AND LATE PAPERS

Extensions will be granted at the discretion of the instructor and only in the event of significant and verifiable personal emergency. In the interest of fairness to all, no extensions will be granted due to the stresses of academic life. I will accept unexcused late papers, but note that the grade will be lowered by a grade (e.g. A to B+, B+ to B, B to C+, C+ to C,...) for each day that the assignment is due.

KEEPING UP WITH THE NEWS

Throughout the course, students should keep up with current events by reading at least one quality newspaper (e.g. *Financial Times*, *The New York Times*) and one news magazine (e.g. *The Economist*, *The Atlantic*) on a regular basis. You may also choose foreign-language publications, or fulfill this assignment by checking online news sources regularly. In addition, you will be expected to read any newspaper clippings handed out in class or emailed by the instructor.