

LABOR & DEMOCRACY
Labor Studies and Employment Relations 575:301
Fall 2016

SYLLABUS

Class Meetings:

Room 133
Labor Education Center
Cook-Douglass Campus
Wednesday, 3:55 – 6:55pm

Prof. Tobias Schulze-Cleven

tschulzecleven@work.rutgers.edu

Phone: 848-932-1740

Office: Labor Education Center, Room 171

OH: Wednesday, 1:30-3:30pm, 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: The student is able to...

21C Core Curriculum:

- Analyze the degree to which forms of human difference shape a person's experiences of and perspectives on the world (Goal a).
- Analyze issues of social justice across local and global contexts. (Goal d).

Labor Studies and Employment Relations Department:

- Analyze a contemporary global issue in labor & employment relations from a multi-disciplinary perspective (Goal 7).
- Analyze issues of social justice related to work across local and global contexts (Goal 8).

School of Management and Labor Relations:

- Evaluate the context of workplace issues, public policies, and management decisions (Goal V).

Additional Course Objectives from the Instructor:

- 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	35% of the course grade
Midterm Exam	30%
Final Exam	35%

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: Building a Foundation (Sept 7)

Labor & Democracy

Julia Preston. 2013. "Veteran Union Activist Fasts to Support Rights for Illegal Immigrants." *New York Times*, November 22.

David Dayen. 2013. "Get Serious: How a Frustrated Blogger Made Expanding Social Security a Respectable Idea." *Pacific Standard*, November/December, 30-33.

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.

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 (Sept 14)

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").

Different Forms of Collective Action

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.

Mike Elkby. 2013. "VW Isn't Fighting Unionization—But Leaked Docs Show Right-Wing Groups Are." Bill Moyers & Company, November 14.

Week 3: Labor as a Social Movement (Sept 21) – QUIZ!

Illustration (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 (Sept 28)

Illustration (II): 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).

Prepare for *guest speaker*, Thomas Haipeter (University of Duisburg-Essen): Q&A on how social context shapes the actions of the German labor movement (differences w/ US)

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 (Oct 5) – QUIZ!

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 (Oct 12) – QUIZ!

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").

Duncan Kelly. 2013. "Beyond the Politics of Fear (Review of Ira Katznelson's book *Fear Itself*)." *Financial Times*, May 11/12.

Available Student Presentations:

- Elisabeth Sanders. 1999. *Roots of Reform. Farmers, Workers and the American State 1877-1917*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ira Katznelson. 2013. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York: Liverlight.

Week 7: Consolidating Social Democracy & Welfare States (Oct 19)

Cross-National Comparisons

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). – Try to get the basic ideas (no need to understand everything).

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: Guest Speaker (Oct 26)

Wilma Liebman, Chair of the National Labor Relations Board, 2009-2011; Member since 1997.

Week 9: Midterm & Workplace Democracy (Nov 2)

MIDTERM

Prepare.

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 10: Shifting Gender Roles (Nov 9)

The British Case

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

Week 11: Responding to Shifting Gender Roles (Nov 16) – QUIZ!

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.

Mundy, Liza. 2014. “The Daddy Track.” *The Atlantic*, January/February, 15-18.

Preparation for Debates: This class believes that...

1. ... “Rising Economic Inequality Threatens Democracy.”
2. ... “The Best Way for Labor Unions to Revitalize Is to Embrace Social Media.”

Week 12: The Rise of Neoliberalism (Nov 30)

In-Class Debates

No Required Reading.

Social Democracy in Question?

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

Week 13: The Future of the Labor Movement (Dec 7)

Defining the Status Quo

Michael McTernan. 2012. "Distributional Conflicts in the US and Europe." Policy Network Paper, London, November.

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: Review (no class!)

Watch video

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kcx0mabB3dY>

Week 15: Final Exam online Dec 15-23

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. After instructor's individual approval, electronic versions may be used as substitutes. These measures 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 November 30 will be used for in-class group debates. On November 16, groups will be formed and time will be provided in class for groups to coordinate their preparation for the debates. Your performance in the debate will become part of your in-class participation grade.

QUIZZES

There will be four very short in-class quizzes during the semester. If you do the assigned readings, you should have no problem doing well on the quizzes. There will be no trick questions, nor will a complete understanding of the reading be required. Rather, the quizzes are geared to helping you engage with the reading by asking you to answer some very basic questions. Your performance in the quizzes will become part of your in-class participation grade. However, I will not count your worst quiz grade.

MIDTERM EXAM

The midterm exam will be held in class. It covers material from the first half of the course and will require you to define key terms and provide short-answers to questions.

FINAL EXAM

The final exam will be given via SAKAI. It will be two hours in length, and you will be able to independently pick the most suitable time for you to take it. The final exam covers material from the entire course, and you will be expected to use what you have learned in class to advance clear arguments on two issues. 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 & 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.

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.