Already struggling to get by on salaries that are barely enough for basic subsistence, in a development that gives new definition to the phrase “adding insult to injury,” many low wage workers in the United States today cannot even count on employers to accurately report the hours they have worked, pay the wages they are owed or follow safety and health laws. Non-compliance is at historic levels:

- 26% of low wage workers in the nation’s three largest cities suffered minimum wage violations in the week prior to a 2009 national survey by Bernhardt, DeFilippis, Milkman and Theodore
- 76% of low wage workers who labored more than 40 hours in the prior week were not paid according to overtime laws according to the same survey
- Regional non-compliance levels were over 50% in nursing homes, poultry-processing, daycare, restaurants and healthcare according to USDOL’s own surveys
- The number of fatal and nonfatal injuries in 2007 was estimated to be more than 5,600 and almost 8,559,000, respectively
- 4,628 workers were killed on the job in 2012 [BLS revised 2012 workplace fatality data*] (3.4 per 100,000 full-time equivalent workers) – on average, 89 a week or more than 12 deaths every day.
- 748 Hispanic or Latino workers were killed from work-related injuries in 2012– on average, more than 14 deaths a week or two Latino workers killed every single day of the year, all year long.
- Fatal work injuries involving contractors accounted for 15 percent of all fatal work injuries in 2012.

This class will analyze the root causes of these twin crises of wage theft and worksite injury and strategies for strengthening enforcement of wage and hour and health and safety laws. I have been exploring these questions in my research for several years and have spent the past few years conducting case studies that we will use as lenses through which to explore “co-production”—enforcement strategies that involve government working with organizations of civil society like unions and worker centers to improve compliance levels.

Questions we will explore include:
What is the nature and extent of labor standards and health and safety violations taking place in the US today? Where are they concentrated?

Why is there so much non-compliance?

Why do firms choose to comply or choose not to comply with regulation?

How should we think about how government should carry out labor standards enforcement?

How did the drafters of the Fair Labor Standards Act envision enforcement working? How have “logics of enforcement” evolved over time?

How was enforcement of the Occupational Safety and Health Act envisioned?

How do the two acts differ in terms of their enforcement regimes and the role given to workers, unions, worker centers, community organizations or other institutions of civil society?

What role might these institutions play in enforcement?

What kind of experimentation is going on at the federal, state and local levels to strengthen enforcement through co-production?

What is the relationship between enforcement of existing minimum standards and raising them? Relatedly, what is the relationship between enforcement and organizing?

This course addressed the following SMLR LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

IV. Theoretical Perspectives - Demonstrate an understanding of relevant theories and apply them given the background context of a particular work situation. Survey foundational theories of enforcement and apply them to contemporary enforcement gaps.

V. Understanding Context - Evaluate the context of workplace issues, public policies, and management decisions Enforcement issues are a critical context for new public policies, union initiatives to raise labor standards, and management decisions.

Grading

(1) Weekly one-two page reaction papers referencing the homework reading (30%)

(2) Mid-term Exam (30%)

(3) Final Exam (30%)

(4) Class Participation (10%)

(please note that all unexcused absences will lower your grade. Unexcused absences in excess of 3 classes will result in a failing grade.)

Course Materials: Course reading materials are found in the Sakai Announcements section. The Instructor reserves the right to supplement, substitute, and/or modify the listed reading selections.
**Academic Integrity:** The conduct of all students is governed by the Rutgers University Academic Integrity Policy: http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/files/documents/AI_Policy_9_01_2011.pdf

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**Class Schedule and Readings**

**Class 1 September 8th**
Introduction: the Problem from Hell

Handouts:

- US DOL Wage and Hour Division (WHD) Frequently Asked Questions
- US DOL WHD Fact Sheet #22: Hours Worked Under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
- US DOL WHD: Fact Sheet #16: Deductions From Wages for Uniforms and Other Facilities Under the Fair Labor Standards Act
- US DOL WHD: Fact Sheet #48: Application of US Labor Laws to Immigrant Workers…
- US DOL WHD: Third Party Complainant
- US DOL WHD: Fact Sheet #44: Visits to Employers

Document that begins: “What would you do if your company received a letter from the US DOL stating that an investigator would be at the door in the next few days to talk to the company’s employees and examine its wage and hour records? Worse, what if an investigator showed up unannounced…?"

Epstein, Becker, Green: Wage and Hour Investigation Checklist

**Readings for Class Two:**

http://nelp.3cdn.net/1797b93dd1ccdf9e7d_sdm6bc50n.pdf

Read:
Bobo, Kim *Wage Theft in America*, Chapters One and Two

**Class 2 September 15th**

Roots and Dimensions of the Wage Theft Problem

Invited Guests: Marien Casillas-Pabillon and Lou Kimmel, New Labor

**Readings for Class Three:**


Read:

Restaurant Opportunities Centers United, Serving While Sick: High Risks & Low Benefits for the Nation’s Restaurant Workforce, and Their Impact on the Consumer


**Class 3 September 22nd**

Health and Safety in Crisis

Invited Guests:

Carmen Martino and Michelle Ochsner, Rutgers and New Labor

**Readings for Class Four:**


http://nelp.org/docUploads/eisenberg%2Epdf


On Joint employer:

On Labor: Fast Food News – NLRB Names McDonald’s as a ‘Joint Employer’
Posted on December 19, 2014 by Dylan Rubin

On Independent Contracting:
Mark Heller “Dancers and Drivers: Congress May Step Into Employee-Contractor Tax Confusion” Bureau of National Affairs Daily Labor Report for 2 July 2015:

Additional Reading:

Class 4 September 29th
Roots and Dimensions of the Crisis: Sectoral strategies, Subcontracting, Joint Employer Union Decline

Invited Guests: Jason Rowe, Unity Square
Christina Montorio, Teamsters
Kevin Brown, SEIU 32BJ

Readings for Class Five

Perkins, Frances “Wages and Hours” in The Roosevelt I Knew pp. 246-266

Class 5 October 6th
What’s Politics Got to Do With It?

Readings for Class Six:

Lipsky, Michael Chapter Two “Street Level Bureaucrats as Policy Makers” in Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services pp. 13-16 on discretion

Class 6 October 13th
Theories of Enforcement I.

Readings for Class Seven


Additional Reading


Class 7 October 20th
Theories of Enforcement II.
Distribution of Midterm

Readings for Class Eight


Take home mid-term due by noon, October 26th. NOTE: DO NOT SKIP CLASS ON OCTOBER 26th!

Class 8 October 27th
Introducing Co-Production of Enforcement

Readings for Class 9

Skim for background about the guestworker system: Close to Slavery: Guestworker Program in the United States, Southern Poverty Law Center. Find at:

And for background on the interaction between US labor and immigration law:

Gordon, Jennifer, "Holding the Line on Workplace Standards: What Works for

**Read:**
(note: these are all very short)

Brief Excerpts from the OSHA Field Operations Manual and Regulations on Representation of Employees

March 7, 2003 OSHA interpretation of 1903.8
February 21, 2013 OSHA interpretation of 1903.8, 11: 1952.10 and 1903.20

Brief Congressional History of the Walk-Around “Inspections and Investigations”

National Guestworkers Alliance, August 17, 2011 Notice of Health and Safety Hazards by Exel North American Logistics Inc. SHS Onsite Solutions, and Cultural Exchange Travel USA (CETUSA)

US DOL OSHA Citation and Notification of Penalty to Exel, Incorporated and its successors, February 21, 2012

USDOL OSHA Citation and Notification of Penalty, February 21, 2012

OSHA News Release, February 13, 2012 “US Labor Department’s OSHA cites 2 companies, proposes $288,000 in fines for workplace safety and health violations involving foreign students”

Settlement Agreement, Stipulation and Compliance Agreement, Hilda Solis, Secretary of Labor, US DOL, Complainant v. Exel Inc and its successors, Respondent

**Class 9 November 3rd**
Case #1: National Guestworkers Alliance, OSHA and the Hershey Case…and Co-production!

Invited Guests: JJ Rosenbaum, National Guestworkers Alliance

**Readings for Class Ten**
(note: these are also short)


*Building Austin, Building Injustice: Working Conditions in Austin’s Construction Industry* Workers Defense Project, 2009


*Build a Better Texas: Construction Working Conditions in the Lone Star State*, January 2013 Amy Price et al and Workers Defense Project
Class 10 November 10th
Case #2: Co-production in Austin, Texas: OSHA, Wage and Hour and the Workers Defense Project

Readings for Class 11:

“Job Quality and Black Workers: An Examination of the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, Chicago and New York” Steven C. Pitts, Center for Labor Research and Education, UC Berkeley, August 2007.
Los Angeles Metropolitan Transit Authority and Los Angeles/Orange County Building and Construction Trades Council Project Labor Agreement
LA Black Worker Center Research and Policy Brief: “Increasing Labor Standards and Diversity in Los Angeles through Co-production of Enforcement”.
LABWC, Community Compliance and Monitoring Report, August 2014

Class 11 November 17th
Case #3: Co-enforcement in Los Angeles, California: the LA Black Worker Center and Construction Hiring

Readings for Class 12

“Check Please! Health and Working Conditions in San Francisco Chinatown Restaurants” A Report by the Chinese Progressive Association, September 2010

Janice Fine, SF case write-up
San Francisco Administrative Code Chapter 12R: Minimum Wage and FAQ’s
“Improving Capacity to Monitor Workers’ Rights & Health, SF Department of Health
“SF’s Minimum Wage, Highest in the Nation, Eludes Thousands as Enforcement Efforts Face Obstacles” Aaron Tilley and Michael Stoll, *San Francisco Public Press*

**Class 12 November 16th**
Case #4: Co-production in San Francisco: the San Francisco Office of Labor Standards Enforcement and the Chinese Progressive Association, Filipino Community Center, La Raza Centro Legal and Young Workers United

Readings for Class 13:

“Cleaning Up the Carwash Industry: Empowering Workers and Protecting Communities: A Report by the Carwash Workers Organizing Committee of the United Steelworkers” March 27, 2008
“Regulating the Carwash Industry: An Analysis of California’s Car Wash Worker Law” Kevin Barry, Marcy Koukhab and Chloe Osmer, UCLA School of Public Affairs, April 2009
Clean Carwash Campaign Cal/OSHA Timeline
“The Carwash Worker Law”, Clean Carwash Campaign
“Voluntary Recognition Agreement”, Clean Carwash Campaign

**Class 13 December 1st**
Case #5: Co-production at the Carwash: Labor and the California Division of Labor Standards Enforcement

Readings for Class 14

Barndt, Deborah, “Mexican Migrant Workers Take on the Fast Food Giants” York University, June 9, 2009
Eric Schlosser, “Penny Foolish” November 29, 2007
Fair Food Code of Conduct fairfoodstandards.org/code.html
Annual Reports
fairfoodstandards.org/code.html
Estabrook, Barry “Building a Better Tomato” in Gastronomica, Fall 2011
Asbed, Greg and Sean Sellers “Worker-led Enforcement”
Skim:
Fair Food Standards Council, Expedited Preliminary Audit Findings, Tomato Grower, January 2013, Fair Food Program Corrective Action Plan

Additional Reading

Class 14 December 8th
Case #6: The Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the Fair Food Standards Council

Thinking About Certification Programs in US Low Wage Sectors
Class Evaluation
Distribution of Final Take-home Exam, Due by 12 noon December 23rd