

Center for Global Workers' Rights (CGWR)
Global Workers' Rights: Patterns of Exclusion, Possibilities for Change
March 20 - 23, 2013
Program Overview

7:15 p.m. on Wednesday, March 20, Room 101 Chambers Building

Opening remarks and chair for discussion: Mark Anner, Director, Center for Global Workers' Rights

Introduction of speaker: Paul Clark, Labor Studies and Employment Relations Department

Keynote speaker: Guy Standing, Professor in Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, "**The Precariat: Building Occupational Citizenship**"

8:45 a.m., Thursday, March 21, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room, Symposium opens

Coffee and welcome: Mark Anner, Director, Center for Global Workers' Rights

9:00 a.m. – 10:45, Thursday, March 21, Panel 1, Fighting for Domestic Workers' Rights

Eileen Boris, Hull Professor and Chair, Department of Feminist Studies, UC, Santa Barbara

Jennifer Fish, Professor and Chair, Women's Studies Department, Old Dominion University

Shirley Pryce, President, Jamaica Household Workers' Association

11:00 a.m. – 12:45, Thursday, March 21, Panel 2, Global Production, Trade, and Activism

Jenny Chan, Ph.D. Candidate, University of London / SACOM

Ruben Cortina, President of UNI-Americas and UNI-Global Union Commerce Sector

Michael Fichter, Lecturer, Global Labour University, Berlin

1:45 p.m. – 3:30, Thursday, March 21, Panel 3, Migration and Work: Race, Gender and Nation

Valerie Francisco, Postdoctoral Fellow, Public Science Project, New York City

Solsiree Del Moral, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Penn State University

Olga Sanmiguel-Valderrama, Assistant Professor, Women's Gender and Sexualities Studies, University of Cincinnati

4:00 p.m. – 5:30, Thursday, March 21, Panel 4, Combating Worker Exclusion in the Global Economy

Devan Pillay, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, WITS University, South Africa

Adrienne E. Eaton, Chair, Labor Studies and Employment Relations Department, Rutgers University

8:45 a.m., Friday, March 22, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room: Symposium reconvenes

Coffee and comments/ practicalities: Jill Jensen, Assistant Director, Center for Global Workers' Rights

9:00 a.m. – 10:45, Friday, March 22, Panel 5, Organizing and Empowering Informal Workers

Jennifer Jihye Chun, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto Scarborough

Dan Hawkins, Post-Doctoral Scholar, Center for Global Workers' Rights, Penn State University

Steven Toff, Law Student, Northeastern University, and Union Organizer

11:00 a.m. – 12:45 p.m., Friday, March 22, Contingent and Precarious Work in Academia

Ian Robinson, Lecturer and Research Scientist, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan

Raymond Mazurek, Associate Professor, English, Penn State University Berks

1:45 p.m. – 3:30pm, Friday, March 22 Penn State Room, Panel 7, Where DO We Go From Here?

Cathy Feingold, AFL-CIO International Department Director

Peter Evans, Senior Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

Wednesday, March 20—7:15 p.m. in 101 Chambers Building on Penn State Campus

Opening remarks and discussion chair: Mark Anner, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Director, Center for Global Workers' Rights

Speaker introduction: Paul Clark, Head of the Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Penn State University

Keynote by Guy Standing, Professor in Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

“The Precariat: Building Occupational Citizenship”

Guy Standing is Professor of Economics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and formerly Professor of Economic Security, University of Bath. Before that, he was Director of the Socio-Economic Security Programme of the International Labour Organisation in the United Nations. He is a founder and co-President of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), an international non-governmental organization promoting basic income as a right.

He has written extensively on labour and work issues and on social protection, and has been an adviser to many international organizations and governments. In 1995-96, he was director of research for President Mandela's Labour Market Policy Commission, when he co-authored *Restructuring the Labour Market – The South African Challenge*.

Recent books are *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (Bloomsbury, 2011) (published in Italian as *Precari: La Nuova Classe Esplosiva* (Il Mulino), *Social Income and Insecurity: A Study in Gujarat*, with J.Unni, R.Jhabvala and U.Rani (Routledge, 2010), and *Work after Globalization: Building Occupational Citizenship* (Elgar, 2009). He is currently working on a large-scale pilot basic income scheme in India.

9:00 a.m. – 10:45, Thursday, March 21, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 1: Fighting for Domestic Workers' Rights: Narrating a Transnational Movement

Chair: Jill Jensen, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Penn State

Eileen Boris, Hull Professor and Chair Department of Feminist Studies, UCSB
and

Jennifer Fish, Professor and Chair of the Women's Studies Department, Old Dominion University (see following page)

“Slaves no more”: Making Global Labor Standards for Domestic Workers

Eileen Boris: An interdisciplinary historian whose work focuses on the racialized gendered state, 20th century social politics, grassroots movements for economic justice, and the home as a workplace, Eileen Boris is Hull Professor and Chair of the Department of Feminist Studies and Professor of History and Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her books include *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States* [Cambridge University Press, 1994], which received the Philip Taft Prize in Labor History; *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care*, co-edited with Rhacel Parreñas (Stanford University Press, 2010) and, with Jennifer Klein, *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2012), which received the 2012 Sara A. Whaley Award from the National Women's Studies Association for the best book on women and labor. She has held the Bicentennial Chair in American Studies at the University of Helsinki and visiting professorships at the University of Melbourne, Tokyo Christian Women's University (with the OAH-JAAS program), and University of Toulouse. Previously she served as the President of the Board of Trustees of the Journal of Women's History (but continues on its larger editorial board), the Co-President of the Coordinating Council for Women in History, the co-chair of the Program Committee for the 13th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, and a member of the steering committee of the International Federation for Research in Women's History. Currently, she is on the Advisory Board of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam; the Executive Committee of LAWCHA (Labor and Working Class History Association) and that of the Social Science History Association, and the editorial boards of The Journal of American History and the Journal of Policy History. She is an OAH Distinguished Lecturer. She has authored policy reports on the feminization of poverty, the wages of care, and welfare reform. Her public writings have appeared in The Nation, New York Times, Huffington Post, New Labor Forum, Salon, Dissent, Labor Notes, and Women's Review of Books. She is the principal investigator of the Mellon funded working group, “Working at Living: The Social Relations of Precarity.” Her current book project is tentatively called, Women's Labors as the World's Work: The International Labor Organization and the Gendering of Fair Globalization. She additionally is co-editing the results of a workshop, Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Working Conditions, and Gender Equality, in collaboration with the ILO's Century Project. Coming out of her first book on the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States, she also has written catalogue essays for museum exhibits, this year for the Philadelphia Art Alliance. Professor Boris gives numerous invited lectures and conference presentations here and abroad.

(Boris and Fish continued)

Eileen Boris, Hull Professor and Chair Department of Feminist Studies, UCSB
and
Jennifer Fish, Professor and Chair of the Women's Studies Department, Old Dominion University

“Slaves no more”: Making Global Labor Standards for Domestic Workers

Jennifer N. Fish is Chair of the Department of Women's Studies at Old Dominion University in Virginia, USA. As a scholar and public sociologist, she specializes in women's labor and migration in the informal economy, civil society organizations, and social reconciliation in the aftermath of conflict. For the past fifteen years, she has worked with the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union to promote domestic workers rights and collective organization. Her consultancies include the International Labour Organization, United Nations University, Swisspeace, The International Center for Development and Decent Work, the International Domestic Workers Network and Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS. She is a member of the WIEGO policy institute at Harvard University and an affiliated faculty member at the University of the Western Cape and the University of the Orange Free State in South Africa.

Dr. Fish's book publications include *Domestic Democracy: At Home in South Africa* (Routledge, 2006) and the co-edited collection *Women's Activism in South Africa: Working Across Divides* (University of KwaZulu Natal, 2009). Her current book project explores domestic workers' activism to form the first international set of standards within the United Nations. She is also completing a visual sociology text on elder women's care and activism in the face of the global HIV/AIDS crisis.

Dr. Fish's applied work focuses on educational capacity-building, cross-cultural dialogue and peacebuilding through international exchange programs. She is a founding faculty member in Rwanda's first Centre for Gender, Culture, and Development at the national Kigali Institute of Education, and has lead community-based research study abroad courses in South Africa, Rwanda and Senegal.

Abstract: Once thought to be a relic of a pre-modern past, domestic work has persisted into the 21st century as an integral component of the global economy, buttressed by shifts in women's paid labor. This article examines two moments when the International Labor Organization addressed labor standards for domestic workers: the early post-WWII years and the last decade, when a coalition of labor, human rights, and feminist NGOs, led by domestic workers themselves, won “Decent Work for Domestic Workers,” Convention #189. Why did it take over sixty years for domestic workers to gain recognition under the ILO? What kinds of changes in the global political economy, feminist activism, and worker self-determination occurred to end the exclusion of domestic labor from employment standards? Through archival and ethnographic perspectives, we consider the bureaucratic and organizational context of the ILO and shifts in its priorities; discursive and ideological positions toward domestic work, which separate such labor from common definitions of employment; the significance of transnational feminist organizing and the power of affective strategies; and the impact of standpoint, or who gets to speak for domestic workers, and how that matters when it comes to struggles for dignity, justice, and empowerment.

Shirley Pryce, President, Jamaica Household Workers' Association

“Fighting for Domestic Workers Rights around the Globe”

Shirley Pryce can best be described as Social Worker, Facilitator, Lecturer and Trainer, and Women’s Rights and Human Rights Activist. She embraces volunteerism with a passion and has been doing this for over twenty (20) years. She is a very dedicated, hardworking individual who has been advocating for workers who are marginalized in society and continues to do with zeal. Shirley’s life is all about helping others and being a humanitarian person at heart. Concerned about women’s human rights she became an active member of the Jamaica Household Workers Association (JHWA), a non-governmental organization whose mission is to advocate for decent work for Domestic Workers. She is committed in her work to provide empowerment and training to domestic workers. Under her leadership the JHWA has contributed considerably towards protecting labour rights and Human Rights at both national and international level. Some of her work includes lobbying for increase in the minimum wage, setting up domestic workers chapters in other parishes, providing skills training for domestic workers, and advocating for policies and legal reforms to support the protection of domestic workers

Shirley has lived the experience of being a Domestic Worker and has empowered herself over the years to earn a Bachelor’s Degree in Social Work, and is currently the President of the Jamaica Household Workers Association. She has campaigned for many years to improve working conditions for domestic workers in Jamaica and the Caribbean. In June 2010 and 2011, she represented Jamaica at the International Labour Organization Conference in Geneva, Switzerland and with other women’s organizations from across the globe lobbied 183 countries for decent work for Domestic Workers and won victory on June 16, 2011 when the ILO Convention 189 on Decent Work was adopted. This Convention has set standards for Domestic Workers. Shirley is one of the founders of the Caribbean Domestic Workers Network and she helped to set up Jamaica Household Workers Trade Union. In addition, she was awardee of the First Caribbean Bank Unsung Heroes Award in 2007 and the Badge of Honour for meritorious service to Jamaica in 2006. She is also an awardee for outstanding contribution against gender based violence.

Abstract:

In recent years, the problems faced domestic workers have drawn increasing attention. Campaigns have been launched around the world to help to win liveable wages and working conditions and overcome abuse and harassment. Until recently, the situation of domestic workers has largely stayed below the radar. Domestic work can be regarded as the largest single female occupational category of workers. As women workers, we contribute significantly to national development through the performance of our paid and unpaid work. We also have to struggle to combine our roles to look after our families. In my presentation I will outline:

- The situation of domestic workers in Jamaica and the Caribbean; the rights violations we face;
- The Jamaica Household Workers Association and what our organization aims to do;
- Good practice examples of our services and their positive impact; and
- Challenges for implementation and strategies to expand and upscale our services.
- The international domestic workers movement
- The ILO campaign for C 189, and experiences

11:00 a.m. – 12:45 p.m., Thursday March 21, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 2: Labor Standards, Global Production, and Activism

Chair: Dan Letwin, Pennsylvania State University Department of History

Jenny Chan, Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of History and Social Sciences, University of London; Adviser, SACOM Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehavior)

“Student Interns in China: Foxconn Internship through Government and School Mobilization”

Jenny Chan was the chief coordinator of Hong Kong-based labor rights group SACOM (Students and Scholars Against Corporate Misbehavior, www.sacom.hk) between 2006 and 2009, and currently a doctoral student in sociology and Chinese labor studies at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her recent articles have appeared in *Global Labour Journal*, *Modern China*, *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, *New Labor Forum*, and *New Technology, Work and Employment*. In collaboration with Pun Ngai and Mark Selden, she is writing a book entitled, *Separate Dreams: Apple, Foxconn and a New Generation of Chinese Workers*. Her field research in Shenzhen (Guangdong province), Chengdu (Sichuan province) and Chongqing municipalities finds that student interns have become a captive part of a new generation of China’s working class.

Abstract:

The forced internships, characterized by the cheapness and powerlessness of “student workers,” have been exacerbated by corporations in China in conjunction with local governments and vocational schools in a political economy of labor precariousness. In the summer of 2010, Foxconn made use of the labor of 150,000 student interns – 15 percent of the company’s million-strong work force. With such an approach, Foxconn is not the only violator of Chinese labor and education laws. At a parts supplier to Honda, 70 percent of the 1,800-person labor force was filled by interns in May 2010. Back at Foxconn, however, the integrated Apple-Foxconn production regime potentially increases labor’s bargaining power since disruption of major production workshops could directly threaten the ability of Apple to fulfill market demand in critical periods. Apple and Foxconn now find themselves in a limelight that challenges their corporate images and symbolic capital, therefore requiring policy adjustments. Concerned scholars and students seek to present workers’ testimonies in their voices, which contrast to unwarranted reports on “signs of change” in the technology sector. Once again, global corporations in annual reporting rituals declare that they care about each and every worker at their supplier factories. Whether such claims have substance ultimately will depend on the ability of China’s workers, and civil society groups, to expand labor rights in a country that has become the workshop of the world.

Ruben Cortina, President of UNI-Americas and President of UNI-Global Union Commerce Sector

“The Global Dimension and Action of the Trade Union Movement”

Ruben Ever Cortina is a lawyer and professor specialized in labor relations, trade union legislation and policies, international relations and the regional integration processes. He has been a trade unionist since 1978, acting as an elected officer at local, national and regional levels, representing the Argentine Federation of Commerce and Services Workers and the National Trade Union Confederation (CGT). Cortina is author of numerous books and article, most recently, *La encrucijada global: nuevas fronteras en la agenda sindical* (Prometeo Editions, 2010), with co-authors Marita González and Sofía Scasserra, and *Mercosur, integración y sociedad de trabajo* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2006), with Alberto José Robles. He is also author of “The Argentine Federation of Commerce and Services Workers: The Unionization in the Commerce Sector,” (Lima: ILO publications, 2006) and “El sistema interamericano de Trabajo y la Integración hemisférica (The Inter-American Labor System and Hemispheric Intergration),” Andean Labor Consultative Council / PLADES, (Lima, 2003), just to name a few examples.

Abstract

This presentation will offer a brief historical review of the beginnings of the international trade union movement, touching on foundational conceptual aspects. In it, Cortina describes the creation and consolidation of the ICFTU, WLC and WTUF and the state of international trade unionism in the Cold War scenario. He next turns to the impact on the international trade union movement with the outbreak of globalization, outlining new demands and policies by addressing the different stages of this trend since the 1990s. In terms of the road towards unification, he describes new unitary attempts, such as those from 2006 with the formation of the ITUC. In addition to new opportunities, this move to form a new international union federation also created new challenges. Thus, Cortina will recount what he sees as the backbone of the revised trade union internationalism, from international labor solidarity action towards global union political and labour relations bargaining. His presentation also tracks sectorial international trade unionism in the form of international industry trade unions with global scope, describing as well so-called Global Unions by sector.

In regard to the current structure and the scope of international trade unionism, he touches on these additional points:

- Some signs of change within the global scenario with an impact on global policies of the trade union movement: the crisis and its impact on the international analysis of global labour movement;
- Multinationals: global union alliances: roles, functions and objectives: Global Framework Agreements: content, consequences, organizational roles: Second generation agreements;
- The experiences of UNI Global Union: Carrefour, Telefonica, Walmart, Prosegur and others;
- National-regional-global coordination;
- The action between global trade unions;
- Global trade union action vis-a-vis international political, economic and financial institutions: UN, WTO, IMF, WB, OECD, etc.

Michael Fichter, Lecturer, Global Labor University, Berlin

(Contribution from Michael Fichter and Markus Helfen)

“Global Framework Agreements and Union Networking: Quo vadis?”

Michael Fichter, born and raised in the US, completed his PhD in political science at the Freie Universitaet Berlin (FU Berlin), where he was a senior lecturer and researcher specializing in German and European labor relations until his retirement in 2011. Since 2005 he has been an adjunct faculty member of the Global Labour University in Germany, teaching courses on transnational corporations and global labor relations. From 2008 – 2012 he co-directed an international and multi-disciplinary team of researchers investigating the implementation of Global Framework Agreements. In this context he continues to consult with the Global Union Federations and with national unions in different countries, including the UAW and the German IG Metall. He is currently involved in drafting a research application on organizing in the wind energy industry in Germany. In addition, he is working on furthering transnational union networks. His publications on global labor relations include 'Going local with global policies: Implementing international framework agreements in Brazil and the United States', in K. Papadakis (ed.) *Shaping Global Industrial Relations* (2011 with M. Helfen), and 'Exporting Labor Relations across the Atlantic? Insights on Labor Relations Policies of German Corporations in the U.S.', in *WorkingUSA* (2011). A further publication entitled 'Building transnational union networks across global production networks: Conceptualising a new arena of labour-management relations' (with M. Helfen) has been accepted for publication later this year in the 50th anniversary issue of the *British Journal of Industrial Relations*.

Abstract

Academic interest in Global Framework Agreements (GFAs) has grown considerably over the past several years, but the focus has largely been limited to comparing their various clauses and provisions. More recent research has centred on case studies of their implementation. In this paper we move beyond an exclusive analysis of GFAs to a broader conceptualization of steps toward transnationalizing labour relations, in which GFAs are fundamental. A GFA creates an arena for the pursuit of global labour relations by defining the content, selecting the actors, delineating the processes and setting the boundaries of labour-management interaction. As a political space undergoing institutionalization, all of these dimensions of arenas are still contested. Although the structural boundaries are fuzzy at the periphery, such arenas reach beyond the organizational entities of the signatory Transnational Corporation (TNC) to encompass the global production network (GPN). Furthermore, we show how Global Union Federations (GUFs) and their member unions operating in regard to particular GPNs have begun building Transnational Union Networks (TUNs). Using two most different case studies, we argue that structural contingencies and strategic choices intertwine to bring about divergent TUN trajectories: one favouring a limited company-specific internal approach, the other a broader, GUF-led union-building approach. Because these developments are still "work in progress" for the unions, our conclusions are limited to hypotheses in support of further research.

1:45 p.m. – 3:30, Thursday, March 21, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 3: Migration and Work: Race, Gender, and Nation

Chair: Sarah Damaske, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, PSU

Valerie Francisco, Postdoctoral Fellow, Public Science Project, New York City

“Transnational Family as Resource for Transnational Migrant Activism”

Valerie Francisco received her Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology at City University of New York, The Graduate Center. Francisco’s academic interests include: global and transnational sociology, migration and immigration studies, diaspora with a special interest on the Philippine migration, gender and the family, racial and ethnic relations in the US, labor and globalization, transnational social movements mobilization with regard to migrant workers, and international political economy. Her dissertation entitled, “Together But Apart: Dynamics of Filipino Transnational Families” is about Filipino migrant women working as domestic workers in New York City and their families in the Philippines. In journals like *The Philippine Sociological Review and Critical Sociology*, Francisco writes about how families are changing under neoliberal immigration policies and what types of political subjectivities emerge. Francisco’s transnational activism with GABRIELA, an alliance of progressive Filipino women’s organizations in the Philippines and internationally, and MIGRANTE International, an international alliance of Filipino migrant workers, centers on building diasporic and transnational solidarity between Filipino migrant communities and the national democratic movement in the Philippines. This transnational activist network identifies the root problems of neoliberal globalization and US imperialism coupled with systematic export of labor by the Philippine government in producing a precarious population of migrant workers. Transnational organizing with GABRIELA and MIGRANTE anchors building migrant worker power in local issues and connecting those struggles with global problems. Francisco’s outlook on global workers’ rights connects local issues in destination countries to a global analysis of power and capital. In the Fall of 2013, Francisco joins the Department of Sociology at the University of Portland in Oregon as an Assistant Professor.

Abstract:

In this paper, I argue that migrant domestic workers use their transnational families as a resource for political mobilization in their destination cities. Deepening literature on domestic worker mobilization, I use evidence from my research to highlight that domestic worker organizing not only hinges on the political subjectivities as migrant and domestic worker but also as women and mothers. Although a majority of migrant domestic workers are mothers who have been separated from their children over long distances and long periods of time, I find that they still draw on transformed meanings of motherhood to activate political organizing and mobilization, locally and transnationally. Following literature on activist mothering, especially activist mothers with absent, disappeared, or extracted, children and families; I argue that migrant mothers make claims to their transnational families to advocate against abuses and exploitation they experience while abroad. I draw from qualitative evidence of political organizing in New York City and transnational networks in the Filipino diaspora to demonstrate the nodes of gender, ethnicity, diaspora and nation in which transnational migrant activism is emerging. I contextualize this emerging transnational migrant activism by the role of neoliberal state, particularly the Philippine as a labor brokerage state, in producing transnational families as a part of a multi-billion dollar migration industry. As migrants remain vulnerable, in often exploitative conditions abroad, they are using both local conditions and transnational experiences to inform their transnational migrant activism.

**Solsiree del Moral, Assistant Professor Latin American and Caribbean History,
Department of History, PSU**

“The Great Puerto Rican Migration”

Solsiree del Moral's research areas include race, nation, empire, education, and diaspora. She earned a Ph.D. in History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2006 and initially came to Penn State as a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Africana Research Center. Recently, she was awarded research grants from the Institute for the Arts and Humanities and the Africana Research Center for her new research project, titled “Migration, Diaspora, and Nation.” This year, she is an AAHHE Faculty Fellow (American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education). In addition, she serves on the Executive Committee of the Puerto Rican Studies Association.

Her first book, *Negotiating Empire: The Cultural Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), challenged dominant interpretations about hegemonic Americanization policies in Puerto Rico. In it, she examined how local actors promoted a citizenship-building project through local schools, despite the emergence and consolidation of U.S. colonialism. She has also published a peer-reviewed article in the Caribbean studies journal, the *New West Indian Guide*, and contributed a chapter to *Colonial Crucible*, edited by McCoy and Scarano. Her second project explores Caribbean migration and diaspora formation through exploration of the history migration as a constitutive part of the Puerto Rican experience, a defining characteristic of a Caribbean people.

Abstract:

In the mid-twentieth century, Puerto Rican workers carried forward the Caribbean tradition of migration. Between 1940 and 1960, twenty-five percent of the island residents travelled to the United States in search of work. Recruited by rural labor contractors in the US Northeast and the Midwest and by urban industrialists in New York City, Puerto Ricans engaged in their own version of the Great Migration north. The most recent scholarship on Puerto Rican migration in the mid-twentieth century is attempting to integrate the history of labor with questions of race, nation, and empire. I propose that the mid-twentieth century example of Puerto Rican migration fundamentally challenges the formation of island-based narratives of national identity, cultural nationalism, and racial democracy.

Olga Sanmiguel-Valderrama, Assistant Professor, Department of Women's Gender and Sexualities Studies, University of Cincinnati

“Waves of Resistance in the Colombian Flower Industry”

Olga Sanmiguel-Valderrama is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Cincinnati. She holds a PhD in Law from York University, specializing on the impact of globalization and trade agreements on human rights and workers' and women's rights in Latin America. Her upcoming book titled “No Roses Without Thorns: Trade, Militarization, and Human Rights in the Production and Export of Colombian Flowers,” examines the working and living conditions of the Colombian flower industry's labour force, while considering the transnational and legal, political, economic, and social relations in which it operates. She has published in such journals as *Third World Quarterly*, the *Journal of Developing Societies*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Iconos*, and the *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative*.

Abstract:

This presentation focuses on collective resistance to precarious forms of labour in the context of the Colombian fresh-cut flower industry (CFI). For decades, groups of workers led by women in many different plantations of the CFI have engaged in unionization efforts, with partially successful results. Unionization has been undertaken with the support of diverse national and transnational NGOs and community organizations, representative of ‘new social movements.’ The latter have also used new local and transnational strategies besides unionization to alter precarious forms of labour in the CFI. The author examines those diverse strategies and argues that the resistance movement in the CFI is a manifestation of networking and the convergence between new social movements and organized labour. Additionally, the resistance movement and the plight and struggle of CFI workers have been globalized through the actions of diverse transnational actors and the deployment of transnational strategies. In spite of these important and welcomed developments, combinations of interlocking and interconnected strategies to contest the power relations of patriarchy and racism, in intersectional terms with those based on waged-labour struggles, are necessary to fundamentally transform the dynamics of racialized and feminized labour practices in the CFI.

Keywords: feminization of labour, racialization of labour, Colombian Flower Industry

4:00 p.m. – 5:30, Thursday, March 21, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 4: Combating Socio-political and Cultural Exclusion of Workers in the Global Economy

Chair: Ellen Dannin, Dickinson School of Law, Penn State University

**Devan Pillay, Associate Professor and Head of Sociology,
University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa**

“Who’s In, Who’s Out? Elite Democracy and the Disempowerment of the Working Class in South Africa”

Devan Pillay is Head of the Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand. A former political prisoner during apartheid, after 1990 Devan became a writer for the SA Labour Bulletin, Managing Editor of the political journal Work In Progress, Director of the Social Policy Programme at the University of Durban-Westville, Head of Research for the National Union of Mineworkers and Director of Policy at the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS). Since re-joining academia in 2003 his research interests have included labour and politics; ecological Marxism and the economics of Happiness.

Abstract:

Instead of working class empowerment, post-apartheid SA ushered in a neo-liberal economic order and black economic empowerment, whereby a new stratum of black elites was created to become part of the predominantly white economic elite. Employment equity legislation – aimed at all black people, women and the disabled – primarily benefitted a growing professional stratum. The organised working class campaigned for and achieved a relatively protective labour dispensation, and its leading formation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), became a junior partner in the ruling alliance (which included the African National Congress (ANC) and the SA Communist Party (SACP).

Ironically, the new labour dispensation primarily protects workers in the formal sector, as employers proceeded to by-pass labour laws by creating a new stratum of informalised workers – through outsourcing, sub-contracting, casualisation and home work. In addition, as unemployment increased, the informal sector expanded through street trading, amongst other activities. Most of the informalised segments are black women.

The recent Marikana mineworkers uprising highlighted the increasing social distance between the unions and members, the collusion of the state apparatus and mining companies against workers, and the disdain the new black elite has for the working class – particularly those at the lower end of the spectrum. However, instead of Cosatu using this opportunity to re-examine its relationship with the ruling party, the federation closed ranks behind ANC president Jacob Zuma, in the vain hope that it would persuade the ruling party to embark on a more radical economic trajectory. In the meantime, splinter unions are gaining ground, and new political formations amongst the working class are emerging. Cosatu’s leadership will be sorely tested in the coming years – does it remain within the suffocating embrace of the alliance, or break free and forge a new counter-hegemonic bloc to represent the whole working class, and not just a relatively privileged segment.

**Adrienne E. Eaton, Chair, Labor Studies and Employment Relations Department,
Rutgers University**

“Union Organizational Campaigns for Informal (or non-standard) Workers”

Adrienne E. Eaton is chair of the Labor Studies and Employment Relations department at Rutgers University. Her research focuses on labor-management partnerships, union organizing under neutrality and card check and the impact of unionization on particular occupational groups including managerial workers and graduate student employees. For the past two years, she has been co-principal investigator (with Susan Schurman, Dean of the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations) for research projects on union organizing in the informal economy throughout the global economy, done in partnership with and funded by the U.S.-based Solidarity Center. She’s the co-author along with Tom Kochan, Paul Adler and Robert McKersie of the book, *Healing Together: The Kaiser Permanente Labor-Management Partnership*, editor with Jeff Keefe of *Employment Dispute Resolution in the Changing Workplace*, and author of numerous articles published in journals like *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, *Industrial Relations*, *Labor Studies Journal*, and *Advances in Industrial and Labor Relations*. She is a past member of the NJ Public Employment Relations Commission and currently President of the Rutgers Council of AAUP Chapters, AAUP-AFT, the faculty, graduate student employee and postdoc union at Rutgers University.

Abstract:

An important feature of globalization has been the growth of informal employment. By definition, informal employment lies outside of the protection of national employment and labor laws and most social insurances schemes. Most informal workers have also suffered from a lack of union representation. However, traditional trade unions around the world have begun to recognize that they cannot accomplish their goals unless they attend to the needs of this significant and still growing segment of the workforce. At the same time, unions have faced formidable obstacles in their attempts to organize, represent and advocate for informal workers. Still, there is much to be learned from these attempts.

This presentation will focus on two years of research undertaken in partnership with the U.S.-based Solidarity Center on union efforts to represent informal workers around the world. The first year’s project was a very broad survey of secondary literature on these efforts in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America. Despite enormous contextual difference in the employment relations systems of different countries, there is remarkable similarity in the challenges faced by unions throughout the globe including issues of identity, structure, and representational strategies. While the literature had a lot to say on barriers and difficulties, it has much less to say on what works. The presentation will also discuss the findings of the second year’s project focused on four case studies of union success in improving the lot of specific and limited groups of workers ”informalized from above”, that is, workers who have been casualized, subcontracted or privatized by an identifiable employer.

9:00 a.m. – 10:45, Friday, March 22, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 5: The Plight of Informal Workers: Diverse Forms of Organizing and Empowering

Chair: Paul Whitehead, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Penn State

Jennifer Jihye Chun, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto Scarborough

“Asian Immigrant Women Workers and the Micro-Politics of Social Movement Practice”

Jennifer Jihye Chun is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto, Scarborough. Her research is internationally comparative and focuses on the changing world of work, culture, and politics in the global economy. In particular, she focuses on workers employed on the bottom rungs of the labor market and seeks to understand how and under what conditions they attempt to challenge overlapping forms of social, economic and legal marginality. She is the author of *Organizing at the Margins: The Symbolic Politics of Labor in South Korea and the United States* (Cornell University Press), co-winner of the American Sociological Association’s Race, Gender and Class Section’s 2012 Distinguished Book Award. She has also published several book chapters and articles in journals such as *Work and Occupations*, *Critical Sociology*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. She is currently working on a book manuscript about Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), a grassroots community organization that has worked for over three decades to improve the working and living conditions of low-income, limited-English speaking immigrant women in the San Francisco Bay Area. Currently, she is serving as President of the Research Committee on Labour Movements (RC44) of the International Sociological Association.

Abstract:

Long before many labor unions began prioritizing the need to organize immigrants, community-based organizations such as Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) in the San Francisco Bay Area were established to improve the working and living conditions of immigrant women workers employed in low-paid, precarious and socially devalued jobs. Drawing upon AIWA’s 30-year history, this paper explores the process and impact of cultivating grassroots leadership and expertise among Chinese and Korean immigrant women workers, the majority of whom are employed as seamstresses, electronics assemblers, hotel cleaners, cafeteria and restaurant workers and homecare workers. In particular, it examines the significance of AIWA’s Community Transformational Organizing Strategy (CTOS), a systematic approach for transforming low-income, limited-English speaking Asian immigrant women into the primary agents of social change. By emphasizing the centrality of individual empowerment in collective projects for social and economic change, AIWA’s CTOS model provides insight into the kinds of organizational strategies that can help overcome the intensification of inequality and polarization along race, gender, class and migration on the bottom rungs of urban labor markets – dynamics that are not only pervasive in San Francisco but increasingly around the world.

Dan Hawkins, Post-Doctoral Scholar, Center for Global Workers' Rights, PSU

“Precarious Work in a Precarious Setting: Reflections on Protecting the Rights of Informal Street Venders in Developing Country Cities”

Dan Hawkins is Post-Doc scholar in the project for Global Workers' Rights. Daniel holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and a Master's Degree in Global Political Economy, both from the University of Kassel, Germany. He is the author of *The Struggles over City-Space: Informal Street Vending & Public Space Governance in Medellin, Colombia*, published in 2011 by NOMOS Verlagsgesellschaft. Daniel's research focuses on informal workers in the global economy, trade unions in Latin America, and state reconfigurations in the era of globalization. Prior to arriving at Penn State, Daniel worked as a researcher at the National Trade Union School of Colombia (ENS).

Abstract:

Discussing the possibilities and constraints of enhancing, protecting and guaranteeing workers' rights in the era of what Standing terms, post-globalization (2009), requires that we deliberate on the notion of power and its control and contestation at work and in the polity. This paper examines the complications and multiplicities of power struggles in the realm of informal street vending (ISV) in developing country cities. Informal street vendors generally lack forms of worker power associated with formal, industrial proletarians (associational, structural, logistical), due primarily to their exclusion from the formal economy and the fact that they have no “clear” employer with whom to negotiate or struggle. Nevertheless, despite their socio-economic marginality and the way in which they have been traditionally, at best ignored, and often, repressed by the state and capital, ISVs, working in the street, on public space, have managed to challenge the dualistic and anachronistic assumptions of modernity while also subverting and often remolding urban public policy.

Steven Toff, Law Student, Northeastern University, and Union Organizer

“The Professional Modeling Industry: A ‘Model’ for What’s Wrong with Modern Precarious Employment”

Steven Toff, a former union organizer passionate about international labor challenges, recently made the transition from union staff to law student. He is currently studying at Northeastern University, where he is a grateful recipient of the “Public Interest Law Scholars” full scholarship. The focus of his work has been on labor and employment law, international law, and human rights in the global economy. He holds a bachelor’s degree in Labor Studies from San Francisco State University and a master’s in Labor Policies and Globalization from the Global Labor University, where he studied at Universität Kassel in Germany and Unicamp in São Paulo, Brazil. His labor career began in 2000 and he has worked for a number of different unions and federations, including AFSCME, the Association of Pulp & Paper Workers, the national AFL-CIO, and most recently, National Nurses United. The decade he spent in this capacity exposed him to a host of different campaigns and challenges in diverse industries, especially time at the AFL-CIO where he had the opportunity to work with numerous affiliates.

The decision to study in Germany and Brazil was prompted, in part, by challenges Steve saw confronting workers every day in organizing (and in part simply due to a passion and interest around international labor solidarity). At law school, he has tried to research questions blending his passions and experiences, such as the effects of globalization on traditional labor law regimes and how trade agreements and global finance capital are reshaping the strategies unions have historically relied upon. He hopes to continue to contribute to the dynamism of the labor movement (as opposed to “dinosaurism” as it is so frequently described), as unions confront new global challenges impacting how they interact with state and corporate power, allies, and labor partners throughout the world.

Abstract:

Behind the glossy covers of fashion magazines lies the much less attractive underbelly of precarious employment, exploitation, and in some cases, human trafficking. This global industry preys on young, vulnerable labor, often immigrants, just as many other industries do today. Models are typically classified as independent contractors, subjecting them to a host of fees and improper responsibilities, but perhaps more importantly, the classification leaves them with little to no protection from wage theft, discrimination, sexual harassment, child labor violations, or the ability to come together and collectively bargain and form unions. This talk will look at some of the inherent challenges to organizing in the modeling industry, the structure of the precarious employment relationship, and what is currently being done to change this. In many respects, the modeling industry has much in common with other sectors of the entertainment industry, and much can be learned by comparing the structure of actors’ and musicians’ unions. While these industries appear unique in the labor market, the precarious nature of employment (for all but the most successful stars), is a “model” being replicated more and more in modern employment schemes. Consequently, lessons from successful organizing tactics have never been more relevant.

11:00 a.m. – 12:45, Friday, March 22, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 6: Contingent and Precarious Work in Academia

Chair: Alan Derickson, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Penn State University

Ian Robinson, Lecturer and Research Scientist, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan

“Challenging Tenure/Nontenure-track Inequalities at the University of Michigan”

Ian Robinson was educated at Queen’s University in Canada (B.A. Hons. in Political Studies), Oxford University (M.Phil. in Politics) and Yale University (Ph.D. in Political Science). Since 1998, he has taught at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor as a nontenure-track faculty member (aka Lecturer) and Research Scientist in the Department of Sociology and the Residential College’s interdisciplinary social science concentration. His teaching, research and writing range from the evolution of Canadian federalism, to the factors shaping union political strategy, power and density in Canada and the United States, to ethical consumerism’s potential as a strategy for fighting global apparel sweatshops, to the impact of neoliberal restructuring on the labor movements and working people of North America. The growing reliance on contingent faculty in higher education in all three countries (and beyond) is an instance of this neoliberal restructuring, and the organization of those faculty into unions, as Polanyi would have expected, is another foreseeable consequence. Robinson helped to organize the union of nontenure-track faculty at the University of Michigan, which was certified by the state labor board in 2002 and negotiated its first collective agreement a year later. He has been an elected officer of the union – the Lecturers’ Employee Organization or LEO – ever since. This experience motivates and informs the paper he will be presenting at this conference.

Abstract

This paper will summarize key arguments and evidence presented in a 50-page report by the author on inequalities in tenure-track and nontenure-track pay for teaching. It will answer the question, “Should nontenure-track faculty be paid the same per course as tenure-track faculty?,” in the affirmative, arguing that the principle of equal pay for work of equal value can and ought to be applied to the teaching component of the work that both types of faculty do. The larger report, titled Teaching Equality, examines this question for all three campuses of the University of Michigan. The paper will focus on the Ann Arbor campus, the U of M’s R1 flagship campus.

Raymond Mazurek, Associate Professor, English, Penn State University Berks

“Whose University is it? Reflections on the Contingent Faculty Majority”

Ray Mazurek grew up in a working-class family in Lawrence, Massachusetts and received a Ph.D. in American Studies and English from Purdue University in 1980. Since 1983 he has been teaching at the Berks campus of Penn State in Reading, PA, where he is currently an associate professor. He has published many articles, most on American literature and rhetoric and composition, although his current interests are in working-class studies and academic labor. He has been active in the Working Class Studies Association since its founding in 2007. His recent essays on class in the academic workplace include "Academic Labor is a Class Issue: Professional Organizations Confront the Exploitation of Contingent Faculty." *The Journal of Workplace Rights* 16, 3-4 (2012): 353-366, and "Work and Class in the Box Store University: Autobiographies of Working-Class Academics." *College Literature* 36, 4 (Fall 2009): 147-178. He is currently working on a book, *Work and Class in the Box Store University: Social Class, Inequality, and the Academic Workplace*.

Abstract:

The increased dependence on contingent faculty is changing the academic profession. While the image of the college faculty member is of someone with autonomy at work, the reality is an increasingly stratified workforce in which those at the bottom of the hierarchy are no longer treated as professionals. The Coalition on the Academic Workforce (CAW) estimates that over 75% of college teachers are contingent faculty; almost 50% are part-time faculty making an average of only \$2700 per course. Tenured faculty are hardly blameless in allowing this situation to persist. The autobiographical narratives of academics from the working class have persistently decried the lack of solidarity in the academic workplace.

At Penn State, contingent faculty are largely invisible, but their numbers are growing. University wide, only 40% of student credit hours were taught by tenure-line faculty in 2011, compared to 58% in 1992. Salary figures for contingent faculty without full-time positions are hard to come by, but in a typical Commonwealth campus, the compensation per course is for most part-time faculty is \$2550 for a three credit course, less than the figure that CAW decried as inadequate. Compensation for part-time faculty at UP appears to be typically higher, but still low. At universities like Penn State which are not unionized, faculty need to raise the visibility of contingent faculty issues through faculty organizations such as the Senate and professional organizations such as the AAUP, taking ownership of the issue of workplace equity.

1:45 p.m. – 3:30, Friday, March 22, Nittany Lion Inn, Penn State Room

Panel 7: Where Do We Go From Here?

Chair: Mark Anner, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, Penn State University, Director, Center for Global Workers' Rights

Cathy Feingold, AFL-CIO International Department Director

Cathy Feingold is a leading advocate on global worker rights issues. As Director of the AFL-CIO's International Department, Cathy is a committed and passionate advocate, strategic campaigner and policy expert. Cathy brings more than twenty years of experience in global worker and human rights issues with a focus on trade union rights, women rights and global economic justice. Her work in both global and grassroots fora reflect her commitment to strengthening the voice of working people in global policy debates.

Cathy previously directed the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center's work in the Dominican Republic and Haiti where she worked with local trade union partners to develop innovative campaigns to improve the working conditions of domestic, migrant and informal economy workers. The work led to a growing movement of domestic workers who affiliated to the Dominican labor movement. In Haiti, she developed labor law training programs and helped publish the first Creole language excerpt of the Haitian labor law accessible to workers. She led the organization's humanitarian response to the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti.

Cathy's professional experience includes work for the labor movement, large international organizations, small grassroots NGOs and a foundation. She has written about the impact of economic policies on market women in Nigeria and as a Fulbright Scholar in Nicaragua she researched the impact of structural adjustment policies on women workers. She continues to be a strong advocate for gender equity and working women issues.

Cathy holds a B.A. from Pitzer College and an M.P.A. from Columbia University. She lives in Maryland with her family and when not advocating for workers' rights or traveling, she enjoys taking long hikes with her family.

**Peter Evans, Senior Fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies,
Brown University**

Peter Evans is Professor of Sociology Emeritus at Berkeley and a Senior Research Fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. He has worked primarily on the comparative political economy of development in the global South and is best known for his work on the comparative political economy of national development, exemplified by his 1995 book *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. For the past several years he has been researching the ways in which social movements can mobilize transnationally to build a “counter-hegemonic globalization.” Among these movements, the global labor movement is perhaps the most important. See his 2008 article, “Is an Alternative Globalization Possible?” and his 2010 article “Is it Labor’s Turn to Globalize?” He is also involved in an eight country comparative project on “Experiences Organizing Informal Workers” which is based at the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment at UCLA and serves as the Secretary and Program Coordinator Research Committee on Labor Movements of the International Sociological Association.