

## **LABOR IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION (INAF 8370)**

Class meeting time:

Room: 1401 IAB

Professors: M. Victoria Murillo

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Office hours: Mondays 4-5:30pm

Tuesdays 2-4pm

This course analyzes the challenges for labor facing increasing capital mobility, including the challenges of political and economic liberalization, increasing diversity of the workforce, labor mobility across borders, and the weakening of traditional strategies of labor organization and methods of labor regulation. The course focuses on labor politics attempting to address these new challenges, bringing together inter-disciplinary theories and empirical research comparing the experience of advanced democracies (especially the US) and developing countries. The theories are applied to understand labor responses to current processes of economic liberalization, expansion of the informal sector, changes in the workforce—including both its diversity and diverse national origin and citizen status, as well as the transformation of institutions (local, national and global) regulating work.

### **Requirements of the course:**

- a) Class participation, including attendance and reading of the assigned material, both the readings in each week and the opening newspaper article posted in coursework for each week (10%).
- b) 2 two-page (double spaced) response papers based on the readings of that week and due 24hs before class (10%).
- c) 5-page analytical paper addressing a major empirical problem for labor based on a journalistic article, which discusses its causes, and your proposed solution(s) for addressing this challenge (30%). These are due on week 8 in class.
- d) One final take-home based on the concepts of the class and including an empirical case study. The exam questions will be distributed last class and will be due in a week. (40%)

### **Required Books (on reserve)**

- Dani Rodrik, Has Globalization Gone Too Far?, Institute for International Economics, Washington DC, 1997.
- M.Victoria Murillo, Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reforms in Latin America, Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Jose Itzigsohn, Developing Poverty. The State, Labor Market Deregulation, and the Informal Economy in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, Penn State Press, 2000.

### **Week 1: Presentation of the seminar**

### **Week 2: Introducing Globalization**

- Dani Rodrik, Has Globalization Gone Too Far?
- Mary Gallagher, Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China, Princeton UP, 2005, Introduction and chapter 4.

### **Week 3: Conflict and Negotiation**

- Colin Crouch, Trade Unions: The Logic of Collective Action, Fontana Paperbacks, 1982, chapters 1 and 5, pp. 15-44 and 161-189.
- Roberto Francozi, The Puzzle of Strikes, Cambridge UP, 1995, chapter 1.
- Michael Alvarez, Geoffrey Garrett, and Peter Lange. 1991. "Government Partisanship, Labor Organization, and Macroeconomic Performance", *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 539-556.
- Klaus Offe and Helmut Wiesenthal, "Two Logics of Collective Action" in Claus Offe, Disorganized Capitalism, Polity, 1985.

### **Week 4: Politics, Law, and Ideology**

- Alessandro Pissorno, "Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict", in Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno, eds., The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968, Homes & Meier, 1978.
- Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, "Inducements Versus Constraints: Disaggregating 'Corporatism'", *American Political Science Review*, v. 73, 979, pp.967-986.
- Victoria Hattam, "Institutions and Political Change: Working-class formation in England and the United States, 1820-1896", in Sven Steimo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth, eds., Restructuring Politics, Cambridge UP, 1992, p.155-187.
- Eva Bellin, "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries", *World Politics*, January 2000, 52, 175-205.

Recommended:

Lucio Baccaro, "Social Pacts as 'Coalitions of the Weak and Moderate': Ireland, Italy and South Korea in Comparative Perspective", (unpublished manuscript 2006).

### **Week 5: Immigration and Labor**

- Kenneth Scheve and Matthew Slaughter, "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences over Immigration Policy," *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, February 2001, 83 (1): 133-145.
- Julie Watts, Immigration Policy and the Challenge of Globalization: Unions and Employers in Unlikely Alliance, Cornell UP, 2003, Chapters 1 & 3.
- Janice Fine, "Community Unionism and the Revival of the American Labor Movement." *Politics & Society*, March 2005, 33 (1): 153-199.
- Ruth Milkman, "Organizing the Unorganizable: The Unlikely Spark for a Rebirth of Labor", *Boston Review*, September/October 2006. <http://bostonreview.net/BR31.5/milkman.html>

Recommended:

Ruth Milkman, L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement, Cornell UP, 2006.

### **Week 6: Labor and Workforce Diversity**

- Mary Bellman, "Rationality and identity in the participation choices of female maquila workers", *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 37, No.5, 563-389
- Gerald Hunt, Laboring for Rights. Unions and Sexual Diversity Across Nations, Temple UP, 1999, chapters 1 and 15.

- Gerald Hunt and David Rayside, “Labor Union Response to Diversity in Canada and the United States”, *Industrial Relations*, v. 39, no. 3, July 2000: 401-444.
- Dorian Warren, TBA

### **Week 7: The Informal Sector in the Developing World**

- José Itzigsohn, Developing Poverty.

Recommended:

Manuel Castells and Alejandro Portes “World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics and Effects of the Informal Economy”, in Portes et. al., eds., The Informal Economy, Johns Hopkins UP, 1989.

### **Week 8: discussion of proposal in analytical paper**

### **Week 9: The Challenges for Labor**

- Torben Iversen and Anne Wren, “Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraint: The Trilemma of the Service Economy” in *World Politics*, vol. 50, no.4, July 1998, pp.507-546.
- Paul Kubicek, Organized Labor in Post communist States, Pittsburgh UP, 2004, chapter 2.
- Margaret Levi, “Organizing Power: The Prospects for an American Labor Movement”, *Perspectives on Politics*, vol.1 No. 1, March 2003.

### **Week 10: Economic Liberalization**

- M. Victoria Murillo, Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reforms in Latin America.

### **Week 11: The Public-Private Divide**

- Peter Swenson, “Union Politics, the Welfare State and Intraclass Conflict in Sweden and Germany” in Golden and Pontusson, Bargaining for Change, Cornell UP, 1992.
- Geoffrey Garrett and Christopher Way, 1999. “Public sector unions, corporatism, and macroeconomic performance.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 32(4), 411-432.
- Terry Moe, “Teachers Unions and the Public Schools”, in Terry Moe ed., A Primer on America’s Schools, Hoover Press, 2001.
- Sebastian Etchmendi and Ruth Berins Collier, “Trade Union Resurgence and Neo-Corporatism in Argentina (2002-2006): Evidence, Causes, and Implications”, Paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

### **Week 12: Global Labor Strategies**

- M. Victoria Murillo and Andrew Schrank, “With a Little Help from my Friends: External and Domestic Allies and Labor Rights in Latin America”, *Comparative Political Studies*, October 2005.
- Kerstin Hamann & John Kelly, “Unions as Political Actors: A Recipe for Revitalization?” in Carola Frege and John Kelly, eds., Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Globalizing Economy, OUP, 2004.
- Carola Frege, Edmund Heery & Lowell Turner, “The New Solidarity? Trade Union Coalition-Building in Five Countries”, in Carola Frege and John Kelly, eds., Varieties of Unionism: Strategies for Union Revitalization in a Globalizing Economy, OUP, 2004.

- Thomas Greven, “Transnational ‘Corporate Campaigns’: A Tool for Labour Unions in the Global Economy?”, *The International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations*, v. 19/4, Winter 2003, 495-513.

### **Week 13: Institutions for Labor Regulation in a Global Economy**

- Cesar A. Rodriguez-Garavito, “Global Governance and Labor Rights: Codes of Conduct and Anti-Sweatshop Struggles in Global Apparel Factories in Mexico and Guatemala”, *Politics & Society*, v. 33, no. 2, June 2005: 203-233.
- Gallagher, chapter 5.
- Dara O’Rourke, “Outsourcing Regulation: Analyzing Nongovernmental Systems of Labor Standards and Monitoring”, *Policy Studies Journal*, v. 31, no. 1, 2003, 1-29.
- Michael J. Piore and Andrew Schrank, “Trading Up: An Embryonic Model for Easing the Human Costs of Free Markets”, *Boston Review*, September/October 2006.  
<http://bostonreview.net/BR31.5/pioreschrank.html>
- Paul Osterman, Thomas Kochan, Richard Locke and Michael Piore, Working in America: A Blueprint for the New Labor Market, MIT Press, 2002, chapters 5 and 6.

### **Week 14: Summing up and paper presentations**