



**LABOR RESEARCH &
ACTION NETWORK**
C O N F E R E N C E

JUNE 16–17, 2014

**Georgetown Law Center
Washington, D.C.**

Hosted by Georgetown University's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor

<http://lrnetwork.org>

LRAN is a project of the Jobs With Justice Education Fund.

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The Labor Research and Action Network is a project of Jobs With Justice Education Fund, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Contributions are 100% tax deductible under the law, as no goods or services are being exchanged.

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 2014

9 a.m.

REGISTRATION OPENS

Hart Auditorium

Georgetown Law Center, McDonough Hall
600 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20001

*Entrance on F Street near 2nd Street N.W., near the Judiciary Square Metro station
(4th Street exit)*

10 a.m.–Noon

WELCOME

Hart Auditorium

- **Tom Chamberlain**, President, Oregon AFL-CIO
- **Sarita Gupta**, Executive Director, Jobs With Justice
- **Joseph McCartin**, Director, Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor

OPENING PLENARY: TRACTION FOR TRANSFORMATIONAL TIMES

Working people—here and abroad—are scrambling to protect even minimal gains won over decades of struggle. Global political power shifts cause rising inequality, increasingly precarious employment and destruction of basic social services. To understand today, it is critical to see how policy changes and shifts of the past four decades affect our movements. This plenary discussion will examine how today's economic justice movement can help working people gain power in these transformational times. Are there fresh roles for the state? What significance is there in recent progressive victories at the ballot box?

Speakers:

- **Randi Weingarten**, President, American Federation of Teachers
 - **Theda Skocpol**, Professor of Government and Sociology, Harvard University
 - **Rick Perlstein**, journalist and author of *Nixonland*, moderator
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Noon–1 p.m.

BOX LUNCH

Main Atrium, McDonough Hall

United Workers Congress and National Employment
Law Project will lead a discussion about the recent attacks
on worker centers

Hart Auditorium

Mentor-mentee matching

Noon–2 p.m. **POSTER SESSION**

Main Atrium, McDonough Hall

- **Tara Dunderdale**, George Washington University
Restrictions on Collective Bargaining Content for Educators in Indiana: Patterns and Potential Consequences
 - **Lauren Bonds**, SEIU
Hold the Burgers, Hold The Fries!: Innovative Legal Strategies in the Fast Food Workers Campaign
 - **Nicholas Florko**, American University
People Realize It's a Global Struggle: A Socio-Geographical Study of United Students Against Sweatshops' International Solidarity Campaigns
 - **Charlie Fanning**, AFL-CIO
Building Knowledge, Building Power: Knowledge-Sharing Strategies to Eradicate Labor Recruitment Abuse
-

1:15–2:45 p.m. **WORKSHOP PANELS 1**

1.1 Unionization Strategies and Recent Developments in Organizing the South McDonough Room 109

Corporations in the South continue to exploit Southern workers and have been responsible for negative environmental impacts in working-class communities and communities of color. Billions of dollars of tax breaks are given to companies at the expense of struggling communities, making the South a haven for U.S. manufacturing, foreign investment and finance capital. Although many Southern leaders express deep hostility to workers' participation in collective action, workers in many states are organizing to defend their rights, achieve higher wages and implement innovative strategies to unionize. A concerted unionizing effort is being waged in the automotive sector, where the UAW has active campaigns at Volkswagen, Mercedes and Nissan production plants and supplier companies.

- **Richard Bensinger**, Organizing Director for Transnational Auto Campaigns, UAW
Will discuss recent developments, including the narrow defeat of the union at the Chattanooga VW facility and the UAW's Nissan campaign in Mississippi
 - **Joseph B. Atkins**, Professor of Journalism, University of Mississippi
Will discuss organizing in the South, how the terrain is changing in a pro-union direction due to demographic shifts, and continuing challenges
 - **Raymond L. Hogler**, Professor of Management, Colorado State University, *discussant*
 - **Christian Sweeney**, Deputy Organizing Director, AFL-CIO, *moderator*
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1.2 Working Together: How a Community-Labor Coalition Collaborated to Win Earned Sick Days Ordinances in Jersey City and Newark, N.J.

McDonough Room 110

Close to 40% of U.S. workers have no access to earned sick days, forcing them to make a difficult choice between job and caregiving responsibilities. In recognition of this, two of New Jersey's largest cities—Jersey City and Newark—recently adopted earned sick days laws. These victories would not have been possible without a broad-based coalition of union and community-based organizations. This session will explore the development and delivery of a grassroots campaign jointly led by union and community partners that quickly and effectively brought about these policy changes and built a strong movement for statewide policy change.

- **Analilia Mejia**, Executive Director, New Jersey Working Families Alliance (formerly Political Director, SEIU 32BJ)
- **Phyllis Salowe-Kaye**, Executive Director, New Jersey Citizen Action
- **Marilyn Askin**, Chief Legislative Advocate, AARP-NJ
- **Karen White**, Director, Working Families Program, Center for Women and Work, Rutgers University, *moderator*

1.3 Activating the Citizenship Premium

McDonough Room 140

How compelling is the case for expanding access to citizenship through immigration reform, administrative measures, or by increasing capacity and infrastructure for naturalization services? What strategies are labor, community organizations and social justice activists using to advance the citizenship agenda? This panel will examine the dimensions of the citizenship and immigration reform debate, starting with a description of economic and sociological research on the benefits of citizenship to the labor market, the fiscal health of government, job creation and entrepreneurship. Other speakers will discuss access to citizenship, the creative campaigns being waged by community organizations and youth, and experiments and innovative tools being developed to help aspiring citizens and their families enter the mainstream of economic life.

- **Gustavo Torres**, Executive Director of CASA de Maryland, *a worker center that organizes and provides services to immigrant workers and helps them become citizens. This worker center works closely with unions and serves as a prime model for labor-community partnerships.*
- **Montserrat Garibay**, Vice President for Certified Employees with Education Austin, AFT
- **Eduardo Peña**, Assistant to the Director, Food Processing, Packaging & Manufacturing Division, UFCW

1.4 Building Justice: Innovation in Construction Organizing Partnerships

McDonough Room 141

The construction industry has experienced a decline in union density, particularly in the U.S. South, in the last few decades. The construction workforce is increasingly low-wage, immigrant and facing a lack of adequate training. In light of these trends, innovative partnerships between building trades unions, worker centers and academics have emerged in several parts of the country. The panel will examine two examples of these partnerships, identifying lessons learned and the potential for creative new innovation. Panelists will describe the experience of LIUNA Local 55 in New Jersey and its efforts to organize in the residential sector, and the Build a Better Texas collaboration, which drove the passage of both state and local policy initiatives to raise the bar for working conditions in the Texas industry. The panel also will discuss the participatory research model that was utilized to engage stakeholders in the Build a Better Texas report, which launched the joint efforts of the Workers Defense Project and the building trades in Texas. Participants in this workshop will be invited to share their own experiences with worker center-union-researcher collaborations in the construction industry and to identify opportunities and challenges for this important work.

- **Emily Timm**, Deputy Director, Workers Defense Project
- **Byron Silva**, Assistant Business Manager, LIUNA Local 78
- **Dr. Richard Heyman**, Senior Lecturer, Geography Department, University of Texas at Austin

2:45–3 p.m. **BREAK**

3–4:30 p.m. **WORKSHOP PANELS 2**

2.1 The 1970s: Unearthing the Roots of Today's Political Economy

McDonough Room 109

The 1970s were the formative years for the 21st century political economy. In the United States, workers' wages had been rising steadily since the New Deal, a trend that reversed in the face of a globalizing economy, mechanization and increased employer resistance to unions. Politics took a turn to the right, steered by new conservative energy in grassroots, suburban America. What did these new challenges mean for working people, and how did they respond? Was New Deal liberalism gone for good? What can today's union movement learn from the history of this pivotal decade?

- **Joseph McCartin**, Director, Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, and Professor of History, Georgetown University
- **Rick Perlstein**, author and journalist
- **Naomi Williams**, Ph.D. candidate in U.S. History, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- **Lane Windham**, Ph.D. candidate in U.S. History, University of Maryland, College Park

2.2 Planning for Disaster or Exploitation? Day Laborers and Hurricane Reconstruction after Sandy and Katrina *McDonough Room 110*

After Superstorm Sandy, Hurricane Katrina and other large-scale disasters such as 9/11, day laborers provided essential disaster recovery and reconstruction work. However, they consistently have faced low wages, hazardous conditions, and exclusion from consideration in traditional disaster planning and preparation networks. This panel will provide an analysis of the contributions made by day laborers, the organizing strategies developed and the multiple collaborations between day labor organizing, universities and unions that emerged. Panelists also will discuss policies that would support and promote day labor contributions and prevent exploitation.

- **Hector Cordero-Guzman**, Professor, Baruch College, City University of New York
 - **Ligia Gualpa**, Executive Director, Worker's Justice Project
 - **Jennifer Rosenbaum**, New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice
 - **Mario Murillo**, Professor and Co-chair of Center for Civic Engagement at Hofstra University
 - **Nadia Marin Molina**, National Day Laborer Organizing Network, *moderator*
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2.3 Digital Stones at Neoliberal Goliaths: How Workers are Using Technology to Build Power and Influence Policy *McDonough Room 140*

The advent of online tools promised the progressive movement and labor organizers access to a broader cross-section of potential supporters than they ever had been able to reach before with such limited effort. In large part, the promise of the Internet has been slow to deliver the kind of social change and organization that early academics predicted. Labor was slow to adopt digital tactics. Today, however, through the application of solid traditional organizing strategies to the digital space, workers are challenging their employers to do better and teachers are mobilizing for policy change.

- **Sarah A. Robert**, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Buffalo (SUNY)
Will facilitate the panel and discuss her research on the use of social media by teachers to make their voices heard on neoliberal education reforms
 - **Jamie Way**, Senior Digital Coordinator, Making Change at Walmart
Will give a brief overview of the campaign and efforts online, highlighting a number of the group's successes and failures in online organizing, storytelling and mobilization
 - **Cindy Murray**, OUR Walmart leader
Will speak about the impact of online organizing in stores and in practice, sharing her direct experience with online organizing and the campaign
 - **Ray Suelzer**, Developer and Data Strategist, UFCW
Will give an overview of some of the innovative tools he is developing to turn the digital space into the shop floor, including crowdsourcing story collection tools and groundbreaking database systems
-

2.4 New Models of Organizing in the Taxi Industry

McDonough Room 141

Taxi drivers are building strong worker organizations without the right to typical collective bargaining. Together, they have taken leadership, demanded respect from decision makers and called out intimidation and unfair treatment. This involves fighting to create and maintain standards in an increasingly unregulated, crowd-sharing economy. It also involves finding the way that an independent membership can meet the challenge of sustainable funding without conventional collective bargaining. We'll hear from emerging taxi worker organizations in New Orleans and San Diego and review some of the latest developments in this field.

- **James Spears**, AFSCME Field Coordinator, New Orleans cab driver campaign
- **Mikhail Hussein**, Executive Director, United Taxi Workers of San Diego
- **Judy Stevens**, Strategic Policy Coordinator, AFSCME

5–7 p.m.

RECEPTION

All conference attendees are welcome.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20001
Walking distance from the Law Center. Directions will be provided.

TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 2014

8:15–8:45 a.m. **BREAKFAST**

Main Atrium

8:45–10:30 a.m. **WELCOME**

Hart Auditorium

Conference Co-Chairs:

- **Beth Gutelius**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Illinois at Chicago
- **Elvis Méndez**, Coordinator, Immigrant Worker Center Collaborative

PLENARY II: LESSONS LEARNED: REFLECTIONS FOR BUILDING A STRONGER LABOR MOVEMENT

Labor and academic leaders will reflect on what has turned out well and what could have been done better in work to build the labor movement they have done and observed. Panelists also will discuss suggestions they have for strengthening organizing and research efforts based on these experiences.

- **Keith Kelleher**, President, SEIU Healthcare Illinois
- **Katie Quan**, Associate Chair, Labor Center at University of California, Berkeley
- **Saket Soni**, Executive Director, National Guestworker Alliance
- **Paul Clark**, Director and Professor of the School of Labor & Employment Relations, Penn State University, *moderator*

10:30–10:45 a.m. **BREAK**

10:45 a.m.–
12:15 p.m. **WORKSHOP PANELS 3**

3.1 Bargaining for the Common Good: The Role of Research in a Campaign to Fundamentally Alter Public-Sector Bargaining

McDonough Room 109

This symposium will focus on the role research is playing in the Bargaining for the Common Good effort to redefine public-sector collective bargaining. The goal of the campaign is to create unified community-labor campaigns about common concerns and to bring common demands to the bargaining table. Public-sector collective bargaining will be a compression point in broader community-benefit campaigns. Researchers have been involved in the conversations, grappling with the theoretical underpinnings of the campaign vision, providing research to contribute to building a common analysis of the moment and participating in strategy sessions around innovative solutions that broaden public-sector bargaining for the common good. More than these traditional roles for researchers, though, a part of the vision of Bargaining for the Common Good is to build the research capacities of community organizations and unions through increased funding for internal researchers and deepened partnerships with academic researchers.

- **Joseph A. McCartin**, Director, Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, and Professor of History, Georgetown University
- **Saqib Bhatti**, Fellow, Nathan Cummings Foundation
- **Connie M. Razza**, Director of Strategic Research and Analytics, Center for Popular Democracy
- **Dan Pedrotty**, Director of Pensions and Capital Strategies, AFT

3.2 Outsourcing and Responsible Contracting Initiatives *McDonough Room 110*

In 2013, LRRAN and In the Public Interest partnered on an initiative to train a new set of scholars on outsourcing issues, and to produce research that could be used to promote more responsible contracting practices. This panel will explore that project, including new research on the social and economic impact of outsourcing, research methodologies used to identify examples of poor contract language, and recommendations for best practices or language in contracts and RFPs. Several industry examples will be provided, including prisons and waste collection. This workshop also will include a report on ITPI's responsible contractor policy and legislative agenda moving on the state level, the role of scholars in this effort, and how this work can impact local contracting policies and practices.

- **Daphne Greenwood**, Professor of Economics, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs
- **Shar Habibi**, Research and Policy Director, In the Public Interest
- **Cassandra Ogren**, Deputy Director of Research, Strategic Research and Campaigns Department, International Brotherhood of Teamsters
- **Allie Lupico**, Associate, AFT Strategic Research Department

3.3 Labor Leadership Development: What is Being Done? *McDonough Room 140* What's Working? What Needs to be Done?

Many labor leaders recognize they can't continue doing what they have been doing, just better and harder, and expect a different outcome. At last year's LRRAN conference, AFL-CIO President Rich Trumka conceded that the path forward in building a 21st century labor movement is not yet clear. Leadership development programs should help leaders more critically analyze the challenges they face and more creatively explore innovative breakthrough strategies going forward. Union and university-based leadership development practitioners will share promising practices and facilitate a conversation about how to use rigorous research to evaluate the efficacy of various approaches.

- **Jeff Grabelsky**, The Worker Institute at Cornell
Will review the Union Leadership Institute and National Labor Leadership Initiative
- **Cheryl Teare**, AFT
Will discuss the AFT LEAD Program

3.4 Presentations by LRRAN Research Grantees *McDonough Room 141*

In 2013, LRRAN held its first research grant competition to support faculty and graduate student research on labor-focused projects, broadly defined. On this panel, grant awardees will discuss their projects.

- **Deniz Daser**, Ph.D. Candidate, Rutgers University
How Honduran Workers—Members of an Immigrant Group With Longstanding Ties to New Orleans—Find Meaning and Dignity Through Their Labor
- **Pablo Gaston**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of California, Berkeley
The Growth of Union Density Among Health Care Workers in California During the 1980s and Early 1990s, in the Context of Expanding Managed Care Systems and the Financialization of Long-Term Care

- **Tashlin Lakhani**, Assistant Professor of Management and Human Resources, The Ohio State University
How the Fast Food Franchise Industry Model Impacts the Traditional Model of Union Organizing (joint project with Maite Tapia)
- **Kyla Walters**, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Massachusetts
The Labor Process of How Clothing Store Employers Commodify Workers' Appearances and Personalities in Ways That are Racialized and Gendered
- **Sarah Lewis**, Senior Lead Researcher for Policy, AFL-CIO, *discussant*
- **Thea Michailides**, Strategic Research Director, International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, *moderator*

12:15–1 p.m. **BOX LUNCH** *Main Atrium*
 Meeting to discuss current and future work of LRAN *Hart Auditorium*
 (all conference attendees welcome)

1–2 p.m. **LECTURE** *Hart Auditorium*
Two Cheers for Vertical Integration: Why and How Labor Needs to Identify the Real Bosses and Make Them Responsible and Accountable
 This talk discusses the disaggregation of the corporation over the last third of a century, both at home and abroad, and argues that in a world of “fissured employment,” the state cannot regulate employment standards and labor cannot organize. But there may be legal, administrative and labor strategies for once again linking ownership, control and moral responsibility within the corporation.
 • **Nelson Lichtenstein**, Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara

2–2:15 p.m. **BREAK**

2:15–3:45 p.m. **WORKSHOP PANELS 4**
4.1 Recent Developments in Labor Law and Labor Policy *McDonough Room 109*
 This panel will cover recent and upcoming developments in labor law and labor policy in the U.S. Congress (such as new legislation on workers’ rights), at federal government agencies (such as the Department of Labor persuader rule and NLRB election rules) and in the courts (including the *Harris v. Quinn* case in the U.S. Supreme Court.) Speakers will discuss ways in which labor practitioners and academics in LRAN can provide assistance to support positive reforms.
 • **Bill Samuel**, Director of Government Affairs, AFL-CIO
 • **Bill Lurye**, General Counsel, AFSCME
 • **Catherine Fisk**, Chancellor’s Professor of Law, University of California, Irvine Law School
 • **Lynn Rhinehart**, General Counsel, AFL-CIO, *moderator*

4.2 Jobs to Move America—Building Accountability for Good Jobs Into Transportation Procurement

McDonough Room 110

American cities spend about \$5.4 billion each year to buy buses and rail cars for public transportation systems. Much of this money goes to big global companies that manufacture significant portions of our buses and trains overseas. Jobs to Move America is a national coalition uniting community, labor, faith, civil rights, philanthropic, and academic and environmental groups and small businesses to maximize the value of taxpayer dollars spent today on buses and trains to create good American jobs tomorrow. The coalition has developed a framework for city and regional transit agencies to adopt, by incentivizing bus and train manufacturing companies to create good American jobs when vying for multimillion-dollar contracts paid for with taxpayer funds.

This panel will feature members of the JMA coalition to explain the model, illustrate how it's being rolled out through case studies and to engage the academic community in strategic thinking about ongoing needs for research and independent analysis to support JMA campaigns in different geographies.

- **Elizabeth Bunn**, Director of Organizing, AFL-CIO
- **Emily Goldstein**, Strategic Organizer, ALIGN NY
- **James W. White Jr.**, Director of Organizing, SMART (Sheet Metal, Air, Rail and Transportation Workers)
- **Jeannette Wicks-Lim**, Assistant Research Professor, Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

4.3 Reclaiming Jobs for the Middle Class: Challenges and Strategies in Turning Low-Wage Jobs Into Good Jobs

McDonough Room 140

The Great Recession of 2008 to 2010 saw a concentrated loss of mid-wage occupations in the United States, while the economic recovery brought concentrated growth in lower-wage occupations. According to a report by the National Employment Law Project, mid-wage jobs constituted 60% of recession losses, but only 22% of recovery growth, while low-wage occupations constituted a staggering 58% of job recovery.

This panel will examine the drivers of low-wage job creation, the pervasive trend toward contingent workers and strategies for organizing. With examples from retail, schools, and the automotive and food-processing industries, we'll discuss approaches to tackle legislative assaults on temporary workers, "managerial hegemony" over hourly workers and production standards-based pay.

- **Michael Childers**, Director and Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin School for Workers
Will moderate the panel and discuss production standards strategies used by unions to deal with these systems
- **Chris Schwartz**, Auto Parts Campaign Director, UAW
Will draw from various campaigns to discuss organizing to scale across shops

- **Neil Sardana**, Organizer, Atlanta Jobs With Justice
Will present a case study involving Georgia school workers and legislative attacks on unemployment benefits
 - **Peter Ikeler**, Assistant Professor, SUNY College at Old Westbury
Will present his study on retail workers from a unionized Macy's shop and a nonunion Target shop to highlight potential approaches to organizing big-box retail.
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4.4 New Research and Organizing Models in Construction

McDonough Room 141

Over the last two decades construction unions have begun to initiate more comprehensive campaigns, in part because of two important institutional changes: the hiring of professional research staff and a willingness to organize new immigrants. This panel will review the progress of these efforts by looking at four different case studies, including organizing employees of temporary hiring agencies, building local worker centers, the use of safety and training issues, and establishing prevailing wage enforcement campaigns.

- **Ben Kreider**, Laborers' International Union, Mid-Atlantic Region
 - **Nadia Marin Molina**, National Day Laborer Organizing Network
 - **Allen Smith**, International Union of Operating Engineers
 - **Keith Wrightson**, Public Citizen
-

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Co-chair: Beth Gutelius, University of Illinois at Chicago
Co-chair: Elvis Méndez, Immigrant Worker Center Collaborative
Paul Booth, AFSCME
Paul Clark, Penn State School of Labor and Employment Relations
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