

## WORKERS IN THE GLOBALIZED POLITICAL ECONOMY 2016- 2017

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What is the situation of American workers today? How does it differ by race? Gender? Sexual orientation? Geographic region? How have workers historically attempted to improve their status – both through unions and related movements, and through public policy? And how has globalization (with accompanying increases in both capital flight and immigration) impacted the above? This course will address these and related issues from a theoretical and historical perspective, with an emphasis on current-day labor struggles.

**TEXTS:** \* indicates recommended purchase. All required and most recommended texts are on reserve. Topics and readings subject to change due to time pressures and students' interests and backgrounds.

### Text for introductory section of course:

\*1. Greenhouse, Steven, *The Big Squeeze: Tough Times for the American Worker*, Anchor, 2009. ISBN: 978-1400096527. (Some of his data are a bit outdated. However, his argument remains crucial.)

### Texts for brief overview of economic perspectives:

- \*2. Heilbroner, Robert, *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times, and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., Touchstone (Simon & Schuster), 1999. ISBN 978-0684862149.  
3. Recommended: Ferber, Marianne and Julie Nelson, eds., *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, Univ. Chicago Press, 1993. ISBN 978-0226242019.  
4. Recommended: Ariely, Dan, *Predictably Irrational: The Hidden Forces That Shape Our Decisions*, Harper Perennial, 2010. ISBN 978-0061353246 (re: behavioral economics).

### Text for intro. to basic organizing terminology, law, and history:

\*5. Yates, Michael, *Why Unions Matter*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Monthly Review, 2009, ISBN 978-1583671900.

### Text for U.S. labor law:

\*6. Lynd, Staughton & Dan Gross, *Labor Law for the Rank and Filer*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., PM Press, 2011. ISBN 978-1604864199.

### Texts for history of the U.S. labor movement:

\*7. Murolo, Priscilla & A.B. Chitty, *From the Folks Who Brought You the Weekend*, New Press, 2001. ISBN 978-1565847767.

Technological change, race & labor organizing in coal & steel: (All readings on MySLC).  
Operation Dixie: Race & the CIO: (All readings on MySLC).

### Texts for McCarthyism & the Cold War:

8. Rec: Cherny, Issel & Taylor, *American Labor & the Cold War*, Rutgers, 2004. ISBN 0-813534038.  
9. Rec: Stephan-Norris & Zeitlin, *Left Out: Reds & America's Industrial Unions*, Cambridge, 2003.

### Text for corruption and dissent: The rise of Miners for Democracy

10. Rec: Clark, Paul, *The Miners' Fight for Democracy*, ILR/Cornell, 1981.

### Texts for race, immigration, and labor today:

\*11. Marable, Manning, Immanuel Ness, and Joseph Wilson, eds., *Race and Labor Matters in the New U.S. Economy*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. ISBN: 978-0742546912.

Texts for race, immigration, and labor today, continued:

\*12. Ribas, Vanessa. *On the Line: Slaughterhouse Lives and the Making of the New South*, University of California Press, 2016. ISBN 978-0520-282964.

Text for gender and organized labor:

\*13. Milkman, Ruth. *On Gender, Labor & Inequality*, Univ. of Illinois, 2016. ISBN 978-0252-081774.

14. Rec: Cobble, Dorothy Sue, *The Sex of Class: Women Transforming American Labor*, ILR/Cornell Univ., 2007. ISBN 978-0801489433.

\*15. Flores-Gonzalez, Nilda, ed. *Immigrant Women Workers in the Neoliberal Age*, Univ. of Illinois, 2013. ISBN 978-0252-079115.

Texts for LGBTs and labor:

\*16. Frank, Miriam. *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America*, Temple Univ., 2014. ISBN 978-14399-11402.

Texts for food and labor:

\*17. Gray, Margaret, *Labor and the Locavore: The Making of a Comprehensive Food Ethic*, Univ. of California, 2014. ISBN 978-0520-276697.

18. Rec: Shaw, Randy, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Univ. of California, 2008. ISBN 978-0520-268043.

19. Rec: Pawel, Miriam, *The Union of Their Dreams: Power, Hope, and Struggle in Cesar Chavez's Farm Worker Movement*, Bloomsbury Press, 2008. ISBN 978-1608190997.

20. Garcia, Matt, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement*, Univ. of California, 2012. ISBN 978-0520259300.

Texts for solidarity in an international context:

21. Rec: Nissen, Bruce, ed., *Unions in a Globalized Environment: Changing Borders, Organizational Boundaries & Social Roles*, ME Sharpe, 2002. ISBN 978-0765608697. (Required sections on MySLC)

22. Rec: Bronfenbrenner, Kate, ed., *Global Unions: Challenging Transnational Capital Through Cross-Border Campaigns*, Cornell Univ. 2007. ISBN 978-0801473913. (Required sections on MySLC)

Texts for immigrant worker centers & related:

\*23. Fine, Janice, *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream*, ILR/Cornell, 2006. ISBN 978-0801472572.

24. Rec: Gordon, Jennifer, *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights*, Belknap, 2007. ISBN 978-0674024045.

Texts for global labor in the neoliberal age:

\*25. Ness, Immanuel, *Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class*, Pluto Press, 2016. ISBN 978-0745335995.

Texts for the future of U.S. and global labor: (if we have time)

\*26. Fletcher, Bill, and Fernando Gaspasin, *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path Toward Social Justice*, Univ. Cal. Press, 2008. ISBN 978-0520262563.

**Summary of Texts:** At minimum, you should purchase, borrow, or access on reserve:

Greenhouse, Heilbroner, Yates, Lynd/Gross, Murolo, Marable, Ribas, Milkman, Flores-Gonzalez, Frank, Gray, Fine, Ness, and Fletcher/Gaspasin.

## **EXPECTATIONS and ASSIGNMENTS – Please read carefully!**

1. **Attendance/Illness:** This class relies heavily on in-class interaction, so consistent attendance is important. However, if you have a respiratory illness (cough, cold, etc.), **DO NOT** come to class or to my office. Email me *before class begins* to be excused and send any assignments via email.
2. **Review questions:** After every class, I will send out a list of review questions on the material we discussed, along with a list of your assignments. Please review these carefully and ask if you have questions/confusions. You are **not** expected to write out answers to the review questions.
3. **Academic integrity:** Be careful to avoid committing plagiarism, the intentional or unintentional use of another’s words or ideas without proper attribution. Any citation format is fine. For further information, see the Purdue Online Writing Lab: <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/>
4. **Disabilities:** If you have a physical, learning, or other disability that requires accommodation, please let me know immediately. We will work together to make the necessary adjustments. I also highly recommend that you contact Polly Waldman, Disability Coordinator.
5. **Required readings:** Read all assignments and take reading notes *before* the relevant class and come to class prepared to discuss the texts. \*Please bring either a laptop or a hard copy of the assigned texts to class along with your reading notes.
6. **Summary/Commentary papers:** You will frequently be asked to write short papers on the assigned readings. Some of these papers will be summaries; others will ask for your opinion. Opinion papers should first briefly summarize the text (1 – 2 pp.) and then give your reaction to the author’s argument (~2 pp.). Be careful to cite any outside sources.
7. **Writing:** For all of your written assignments, please use “spell-check” and grammar correction. Papers with unusual numbers of grammatical errors will be returned for mandatory revision. You will have one week to revise your paper; please resubmit it with the corrected original. All papers must be submitted as hard copies by the due dates listed; **NO LATE PAPERS will be accepted.** If you are ill, email me your paper (as a Word file attachment) by class time on the due date.
8. **Portfolio review:** Please keep all of your corrected papers in a folder to be submitted on the last day of class. Decorating the folder is encouraged!
9. **Film series:** We will screen several labor-related films in class. Bring popcorn and friends!
10. **Lecture series:** The Economics Program is sponsoring a lecture series that emphasizes labor issues. The talks (three in the fall, three in the spring) will take place at 5:00 on weekdays. It is highly recommended that you attend; we’ll adjust our group conferences as needed.
11. **Class format:** This class will include a mixture of instructor presentation (especially early in the fall re: economic theory), small group work, directed discussion, and open discussion. We’ll discuss in class the balance that best fits your learning styles and can change the balance as the year progresses.
12. **Contact info:** If you are confused or have questions, feel free to email me at [kchristensen@slc.edu](mailto:kchristensen@slc.edu). In an emergency (e.g., a serious problem at your placement), call me on my cell (914)584-2340 or at home (914)632-7264.

13. Service-learning placement:

13.A. Options: A list of possible sites for service learning placements (including their websites) is found later in this syllabus. Please research all of the available options and come to the second class with a ranking of your top three choices.

13.B. Hours: You are expected to work at your placement a *minimum* of four to six hours per week. We will form “placement groups” in class and attempt to coordinate both the timing of your shifts and your transportation with the other members of your group.

13.C. Subsidies: Transportation subsidies are available from the Office of Community Partnerships (OCP). I’ll distribute the necessary paperwork in class. **Keep your receipts** to submit to OCP at the end of the semester; otherwise, your account will be charged for any subsidy advanced.

13.D. Resume: For the second class, prepare a “placement resume” to send to your on-site supervisor. Include information about your educational background, relevant extra-curricular activities, work experience, and useful skills (e.g., languages spoken, knowledge of Excel, etc.)

13.E. Journal: Keep a weekly “placement journal” that includes the following:

- i. a detailed log of your experiences and activities at your placement
- ii. any personal reactions to/reflections on those experiences and activities
- iii. reflections on the assigned question (see below)
- iv. any questions or concerns that you have.

You will be asked to submit your journal 24 hours before group conferences and should include it in your portfolio.

13.F. Schedules/Absences: If you have to miss your placement, be sure to contact your on-site supervisor **well in advance**, preferably by both phone and email. Be sure your supervisor is aware of SLC breaks, and knows when your final day at the placement will be.

13.G. Evaluations from on-site supervisors: Please remind your on-site supervisor that s/he needs to send me two (online) evaluations of your performance each semester. The first (briefer) report for the fall semester is due on Friday, Oct. 28<sup>th</sup>; the second (longer) report is due on Friday, Dec. 9<sup>th</sup>. For spring semester, the shorter evaluation is due Friday, March 10<sup>th</sup> and the final evaluation is due Friday, May 5<sup>th</sup>. All evaluations should be sent to my SLC email as Word documents or pdf’s.

13.H. Group (& individual) conferences: I will meet with each placement group for a group conference every other week for approximately 30-45 minutes. After group conference, I’ll meet briefly (5-10 minutes) with each person in the group to answer questions and check in.

(continued on next page)

13.I. Conference papers: Each placement group will be asked to write a joint conference paper and make a class presentation on your findings and experiences. The content of your conference paper will vary depending on the nature of your placement work; a suggested outline is as follows:

- (i) What is the context for your group's work? What problem is your group attempting to address? What is the history of this problem? What factors contribute to its continued existence?
- (ii) How is your group attempting to address the problem(s)? Describe your group's strategies & tactics.
- (iii) In what specific activities did you participate? How did your work contribute to the mission of the organization?
- (iv) What did you learn? (Note that "learning" can include changed attitudes or perspectives as well as the acquisition of new skills and information.)
- (v) Evaluate your performance (individually and as a placement group). What did you do well? What could you have done better? What specific skills, information, etc. would have been helpful? You should plan to use assigned class reading, independent research, and materials from your placement site as resources for your paper. If you wish to interview your supervisor or others at your site as part of your research process, please (1) set up a specific appointment well in advance, and (2) talk to me first about appropriate and inappropriate questions.

Hard copies and online copies of the group conference papers are due on the last day of class (no late papers!) Be sure to finish the rough draft of your paper in time to allow for editing (to eliminate redundancies, smooth out transitions, etc.).

13.J. Class presentations: At the end of the spring semester, each placement group will give a presentation on their internship experiences and research findings (two groups per class period). Visual aids are encouraged! Please practice your presentations beforehand, being sure to allow time for questions.

### **JOURNAL QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION RE: YOUR PLACEMENTS**

1. If your placement site is in an area of NYC with which you are unfamiliar, what was your first reaction to the neighborhood?
2. What is your class background? Educational background? How do your class and educational background influence the way you see the neighborhood and the people in it?
3. Is your language group in a minority at your placement? If yes, what does that feel like?
4. Is your race/ethnic group in a minority at your placement? If yes, what does that feel like?
5. Why do you think people are poor? Do your experiences in your placement and/or your own life bear out your beliefs about the causes & consequences of poverty?
6. What messages about the labor movement have you absorbed from the media? From your parents and peers? Do your experiences in your placement bear out these beliefs/views?
7. What is the purpose/mission of your placement organization? Its major activities? How are your actions contributing to their mission? Are there ways you could increase your contribution?
8. Are there other questions you have about your organization, about public policies directed towards their clients/constituents, or about your contribution to the organization? What research might help you to answer your questions?

## **SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS (subject to revision)**

### **I. Introduction: The Current State of American Workers**

Overview of the course; Expectations and assignments

Structural change in the US and world economies; Implications for workers

READ: Greenhouse, Steven, *The Big Squeeze: Tough Times for the American Worker*.

WRITE/SUBMIT: Answer questions #1, 2, 3, and 4 on Greenhouse:

1. Summarize the ways in which the status and treatment of American workers has deteriorated since the 1970s. Include information on the shredding of the safety net as well as on wages & benefits.
2. Briefly summarize the forces/factors that have caused this decline in workers' status.
3. Describe the forces/factors that have decimated the American labor movement in the postwar era. How has this contributed to the decline in workers' status/treatment?
4. Summarize Greenhouse's proposals to reverse the decline in workers' status.
5. (For discussion only): What do you think of Greenhouse's ideas? Do you have others? What obstacles stand in the way of their implementation?

### **II. A Brief Foray into Economic Theory!**

#### **1. The major paradigms/approaches in economics today**

READ: "The Major Paradigms in Economics Today" (found later in syllabus)

READ: Heilbroner, Robert, *The Worldly Philosophers*, ch. 3 "The Wonderful World of Adam Smith," ch. 9, "The Heresies of John Maynard Keynes," ch. 6, "Inexorable System of Karl Marx."

READ: Nelson, "The Study of Choice or Provisioning? Gender & the Definition of Economics"; England, "The Separative Self: Androcentric Bias in Neoclassical Assumptions"; Strassmann, "Not a Free Market: The Rhetoric of Disciplinary Authority in Economics" (all in one pdf)

VIEW: Dan Ariely, "Are We in Control of Our Decisions?" Dan Ariely, "Are We in Control of Our Decisions?" [www.youtube.com/watch?v=9X68dm92HVI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9X68dm92HVI)

Recommended: Ariely, Dan, *Predictably Irrational: The Hidden Forces That Shape Our Decisions*, Harper Perennial, 2010. (re: behavioral economics).

WRITE: Brief answers to the following questions re: Heilbroner, Nelson, et al., and Ariely:

#### Heilbroner on Smith

1. According to Smith, how are the selfish actions of producers & consumers coordinated to further the social good?
2. Explain how the price mechanism allocates resources without centralized authority.
3. Describe the division of labor/specialization. Why is it crucial for Smith?

#### Heilbroner on Keynes

1. Describe Keynes' circular flow argument re: the cause of business cycles. What stabilizing mechanism supposedly restrained cycles?
2. Why is investment an "undependable drive wheel" for economic growth?
3. Describe Keynes' policy prescriptions for economic crises.

#### Heilbroner on Marx

1. Explain the materialist conception of history.
2. Explain economic base/superstructure and the relation between the two.
3. Explain how Marx defines classes & why class conflict is inevitable.
4. How does Marx define value?
5. What determines wage levels? How are profits possible in a competitive capitalist economy?

### Nelson/England/Strassmann (Feminist economics)

1. What does England see as the four basic assumptions of neoclassical economics? How does she critique each?
2. Neoclassical economics presents behavior based in self-interest and choice as the norm. For whom is this not true? How does this focus skew economic theory?
3. Briefly speculate as to what economics would look like if, as Strassmann suggests, the central metaphor was the mother/child dyad instead of the “rational,” self-serving *homo economicus*. Describe the assumptions, focus, and policy prescriptions of such an economics.

### Ariely (Behavioral economics)

1. Cite examples to support Ariely’s contention that we “don’t know our preferences.”
2. Briefly discuss the implications for economic theory and policy.

## **2. Social Structures of Accumulation: A framework for understanding economic change**

READ: “SSAs in American Capitalism” (found later in syllabus)

READ: Bowles, Edwards, Roosevelt (BER), *Understanding Capitalism*, ch. 7 (on MySLC). Read carefully pp. 147-168; skim 169-181.

READ: Kotz/McDonough/Reich, *Social Structures of Accumulation*, pp.1-49 (on MySLC).

WRITE/SUBMIT: Answers to the following questions on SSAs:

1. Define an SSA. Give examples of the types of institutions found in a well-functioning SSA.
2. Explain the authors’ view of the relationship between SSAs and the long waves/swings of capitalist growth and crisis.

Additional, recommended readings on SSAs:

Recommended: Reich, Michael, “SSA Theory: Retrospect and Prospect,” *RRPE*, 1997.

Recommended: McDonough, Terrence, “SSA Theory: The State of the Art,” *RRPE*, 2008.

Recommended: McDonough, Reich & Kotz (eds.), *Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crises: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Cambridge Univ., 2010.

## **III. Why Unions Matter**

The purpose, structure, and function of American unions

Basic union terminology (collective bargaining, grievance procedures, etc.)

READ: Yates, Michael, *Why Unions Matter*, 2<sup>nd</sup>. edition.

Rec: Graham, “How Foreign-Owned Auto Plants Remain Union-Free,” *New Labor Forum*, 9/08.

Peruse: Websites of the AFL-CIO ([www.aflcio.org](http://www.aflcio.org)) & Change to Win ([www.changetowin.org](http://www.changetowin.org)).

WRITE/SUBMIT: Brief (one phrase to one sentence each) \*’d identifications from Yates: (total 9)

1. 1877 Great Uprising, Haymarket, 1894 Homestead, 1896 Pullman, 1919 steel, GM sit-down
- \*2. Norris-LaGuardia (1932); Fair Labor Standards Act (1937)
- \*3. Wagner Act (NLRA) 1935. Who is not covered by Wagner?
- \*4. Process by which a union is certified under Wagner
5. Common employer responses to unionization campaign
- \*6. Unfair labor practice (ULP), possible sanctions for ULP
- \*7. Landrum-Griffin: content, importance
- \*8. Union shop, agency shop, right-to-work state
- \*9. Management rights clause, no-strike clause
- \*10. Mechanics and importance of grievance procedure
- \*11. Seniority system; pros and cons of seniority systems
12. EFCA: provisions, importance

13. Mother Jones, 1891 Atlanta Washerwomen, March of 20,000, Bread & Roses strike
  14. Change in percent of US workforce that is foreign-born; that is un/documented; types of jobs held by immigrants; changing AFL-CIO stance on immigrants
  15. Changes in union density from postwar era to present; comparison to other advanced countries
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**Suggested Class Discussion Questions on Yates** (Do not write out.)

1. Discuss the politics and goals of social movement unions such as the Knights and Wobblies vs. the “pure and simple” unionism of Gompers’ AFL. Describe Zeitlin/Stephan-Norris’ findings re: the efficacy of these approaches.
  2. Discuss the following arguments for the decline of union density and power:
    - “External”: shift from manufacturing to services; decreased worker demand for union services; capital mobility/globalization; anti-union labor law; anti-union corporate campaigns.
    - “Internal”: undemocratic unionism; “servicing model”; management rights clauses; the purge of radicals from the CIO/political orientation of union mvm’t.
- In your opinion, which are the most important? Would you add others? Discuss.

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**IV. The Institutional Context: Labor Law**

The economic/political context: The Depression and the New Deal

The Wagner Act, Taft-Hartley Act, Landrum-Griffin, etc.

Relationship of US labor law to that of other developed countries; to international law

READ: Lynd and Gross, *Labor Law for the Rank and Filer*.

READ (from *New Labor Forum*, posted on MySLC):

- Becker, Craig, “Reconstructing the Right to Organize,” Fall/Winter 1998.
- Benz, Dorothy, “The Case for Card Check Campaigns,” Fall/Winter 1998.
- Brody, David, (Brody #1): “How the Wagner Act Became a Management Tool,” Spring 2004
- Brody, David, (Brody #2): “A Question of Rights,” Fall/Winter 1998.

WRITE/SUBMIT: Group exercise below. Email to me *as a Word file* with your names at the top.

Rec: Bronfenbrenner, “No Holds Barred: Intensification of Employer Opposition” EPI, 2009.

Rec: Compa, “Labor’s New Opening to Int’l Human Rights Standards,” *Working USA*, 2008.

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**GROUP WORKSHEET ON BASIC U.S. LABOR LEGISLATION & CASE LAW**

Using Lynd/Gross, Becker, Benz, Brody, and Yates (not Wikipedia!), identify the following:

1. 1842 Commonwealth v. Hunt
2. “At will” employment
3. 1932 Norris LaGuardia Act
4. 1935 Wagner Act (NLRA): Underlying philosophy; who is omitted; Sections 7, 8, 9, 10
5. Unfair labor practice (ULP); mechanism for remedy
6. 1937 Jones & Laughlin Steel
7. 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
8. 1947 Taft-Hartley Act: Difference from Wagner in *underlying philosophy*; Activities prohibited under Taft; Legal remedies for union violation of prohibitions (vs. penalties for ULPs)
9. Joy Silk (1949); Aaron Brothers (1966); Linden Lumber (1974); Significance of this change
10. Ways in which employers exert power over workers during union campaigns
11. Workers’ right to self-expression (buttons, soliciting, leafleting, bulletin boards, email, media)
12. Workers’ rights to refuse unsafe work (beyond rights in collective bargaining agreement)
13. 1938 MacKay Radio
14. 1959 Landrum-Griffin (Labor-Management Reporting & Disclosure Act)



10. How does Stone's work cast doubt on the neoclassical (& orthodox Marxian) assumption that a more profitable technology is necessarily more efficient?

\*11. Describe the implications of Stone's work for alternative organizations of production.

\*WRITE/SUBMIT: Using Stone, Bruggemann (and, if you wish, Marglin), write a paper (~5-6 pp.) comparing the politics of race in the USWA vs. the UMWA.

Possible film: "Matewan"

Rec: Corbin, David, ed., *Gun Thugs, Rednecks, and Radicals: A Documentary History of the West Virginia Mine Wars*, PM Press, 2011.

Rec: Blizzard, Bill, *When Miners March*, Appalachian Community Services, 2004.

Rec: Shogan, Robert, *The Battle of Blair Mountain: The Story of America's Largest Labor Uprising*, Basic, 2004.

## **VII. US Labor Turns Rightward and Inward**

### **VII.A. McCarthyism and the Cold War**

US empire, the death of social democracy, and the rise of business unionism

READ: Schrecker #1: "McCarthy's Ghost: Anticommunism & American Labor," *New Labor Forum*, Spring/Summer 1999 AND Schrecker #2: "McCarthyism: Political Repression & the Fear of Communism," *Social Research*, Winter 2004.

WRITE: 3 pp. reaction paper on Schrecker #1 and/or #2.

Recommended: Murolo, ch. 9, "Hot War, Cold War"

Rec: Cherny, Issel & Taylor, *American Labor & the Cold War*, Rutgers, 2004.

Possible film (in class): "Salt of the Earth"

Rec: Phillips-Fein, Kim, "Business Conservatism on the Shop Floor: Anti-Union Campaigns in the 1950s," *Labor, Studies in Working Class History of the Americas*, Summer 2010.

Rec: Stephan-Norris & Zeitlin, *Left Out: Reds & America's Industrial Unions*, Cambridge, 2003.

Rec: Rosswurm, Steve, *The CIO's Left-Led Unions*.

Rec: (re: pre-Sweeney AFL-CIO): Sims, Beth. *Workers of the World, Undermined: American Labor's Role in US Foreign Policy*, South End, 1992.

### **VII.B. The CIO's Operation Dixie: Race/Nativity and the Cold War**

READ: Fletcher, Bill, "The Crisis of American Labor: A Book Review," *Monthly Review*, 1990.

READ: Goldfield, Michael, "Race and the CIO" & subsequent critiques, *ILWCH*.

READ: Honey, Michael, "Operation Dixie, the Red Scare, and the Defeat of Southern Labor Organizing," in Cherny, Issel & Taylor, *American Labor & the Cold War*, Rutgers, 2004.

Rec: Griffith, Barbara, *The Crisis in American Labor: Operation Dixie and the Defeat of the CIO*, Temple Univ. Press, 1988. (out of print)

WRITE/SUBMIT: short paper (3 – 4 pp.) on the reasons for the defeat of Operation Dixie.

### **VII.C. Business Unionism, Corruption and the Rise of Union Dissident Movements**

Union corruption: The McClellan Commission and Landrum Griffin

Factors encouraging corruption in some U.S. unions

The rise of the dissidents: The case of Miners for Democracy

Democratization and internal union governance

## The Case of Coal

READ: (as background on the coal industry): Christensen, “‘Dark as a Dungeon’: Industrial Concentration, Technological Change, and Deunionization in the American Coal Industry”

READ: Zajicek & Nash, “Lessons from the UMWA” in Tillman/Cummings, *The Transformation of U.S. Unions: Voices, Visions, and Strategies from the Grassroots*, Lynne Rienner, 1999.

READ: Clark, Paul, *The Miners’ Fight for Democracy: Arnold Miller and the Reform of the United Mine Workers*, ILR/Cornell, 1981.

Rec: Tillman, Ray, “Reform Movements in the Teamsters and United Auto Workers” in Tillman and Cummings, *The Transformation of U.S. Unions*, Rienner, 1999.

WRITE: a brief (~4 pp. paper) on the reasons for, and consequences of, the rise of the MFD.

## **VIII. The Struggle for Solidarity, Revisited: Race, Immigrant Status and Labor**

### VIII.A. The persistence and impact of institutional racism

READ/WRITE/PRESENT: Please read the following five pieces from Marable, et al., *Race and Labor Matters*. Each placement group will lead discussion on one of the pieces.

--Fletcher, “The Imperative of Black Worker Mobilization in Renewing Organized Labor”

--Marable & Wilson, “Black Leadership and Organized Labor: From Workplace to Community”

--Morris & Clawson, “Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement for Building Workers’ Rights”

--Kelley, “Labor Against Empire: At Home and Abroad.”

--Goldfield, “Achilles’ Heel and the Tortoise: Race & the Labor Movement in the US”

Rec: Roediger, David, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Verso Books, 2007. For a contrasting perspective, see Allen, Theodore, *Class Struggle and the Origin of Racial Slavery: The Invention of the White Race*, Center for the Study of Working Class Life, 2006, available at: <http://clogic.eserver.org/2006/allen.html>.

Rec: Frymer, Paul, *Black and Blue: African Americans, The Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*, Princeton Univ., 2008.

### VIII.B. The complicated landscape of race and ethnicity in the US today

READ: Ribas, Vanessa, *On the Line: Slaughterhouse Lives and the Making of the New South*.

WRITE: A brief (max. 5 pp.) paper on Ribas discussing the complexities of African American/Latinx relations at “Swine’s.” End your paper with two questions for class discussion.

## **IX. Gender and Organized Labor: Another Tangled History**

Paid and unpaid labor and women’s economic status

The “family wage.” Protective legislation, cross-class organizing, organizing women workers

READ/WRITE/PRESENT: Please read ch. 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10 in Milkman’s *On Gender, Labor, and Inequality*. Each placement group will lead discussion on one of the chapters.

Ch. 3: “Organizing the Sexual Division of Labor: Historical Perspectives on ‘Women’s Work’”

Ch. 6: “Gender and Trade Unionism in Historical Perspective”

Ch. 8: “Two Worlds of Unionism: Women and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Labor Movement”

Ch. 9: “The Macrosociology of Paid Domestic Labor”

Ch. 10: “Class Disparities, Market Fundamentalism, and Work-Family Policy”

Rec: Dickerson, Nikki, “We Are a Force to be Reckoned With: Black and Latina Women’s Leadership in the Contemporary US Union Movement” from *Working USA*, Sept. 2006.  
Rec: “Seven Strategies to Promote Women’s Leadership in Unions,” IWPR.

## **X. Discrimination by Sexual Orientation & Labor’s Response**

READ: Frank, *Out in the Union*, through p. 74 and then p. 75 – 174.

WRITE/SUBMIT: TBA.

Possible film (in class): “Out at Work”

PERUSE: Website of Pride at Work, the AFL-CIO LGBTQ Constituency Group [www.aflcio.org](http://www.aflcio.org)

Highly Recommended: Kitty Krupat & Patrick McCreery, eds., *Out at Work: Building a Gay-Labor Alliance*, Univ. of Minnesota, 2001.

Rec: Joyce Jacobsen & Adam Zeller, *Queer Economics: A Reader*, Routledge, 2008.

Rec: Hennessy, R. *Profit & Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*, Routledge, 2000.

## **XI. Labor in the Food System**

### **XI.A. The Rise and Fall of the United Farm Workers**

Those of you who did not take Political Economy of Women with me should familiarize yourselves with the basics of the UFW farm worker organizing campaigns:

READ: Tejada-Flores, Rick, “The United Farm Workers”

READ: Bardache, Fred, “Cesar’s Ghost.” *The Nation*, July 26, 1993.

Additional references on the UFW:

1. Shaw, Randy, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Univ. of California, 2008. ISBN 978-0520-268043.

2. Rec: Pawel, Miriam, *The Union of Their Dreams: Power, Hope, and Struggle in Cesar Chavez’s Farm Worker Movement*, Bloomsbury Press, 2008. ISBN 978-1608190997.

\*3. Garcia, Matt, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement*, Univ. of California, 2012. ISBN 978-0520259300.

### **XI.B. Current Day Farm Worker Organizing: The Coalition of Immokalee Workers**

READ: Lujan, Claudia & Andalusia Knoll, “Reframing the Debate on Farmworker Justice” (Note: This is mostly pictures!)

READ: Greenhouse, “In Florida Tomato Fields, A Penny Buys Progress.” NYTimes, 07/04/15.

VISIT: <http://www.ciw-online.org/about/> Learn about the Fair Food Program, their campaigns against agricultural slavery and against sexual harassment in the fields.

VIEW: Jeff Imig, “Immokalee: A Story of Slavery and Freedom”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBc4cOg9-ks>

Class discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the CIW approach, the differences between the CIW approach and the UFW approach, etc.

### **XI.C. Farm Labor in the Hudson Valley**

READ: Gray, Margaret, *Labor and the Locavore*

WRITE: Writing assignment TBA.

## **XII. Spring Semester: Workers in a Globalized World: Solidarity in an International Context**

The globalization of goods, capital, and people: The response of the labor movement

### **XII.A. The Globalization of the Labor Movement – General Approaches**

READ: Gapasin/Bonacich, “The Strategic Challenge of Organizing Manufacturing Workers in Global/Flexible Capitalism” from Nissen, *Unions in a Globalized Environment*. (Please ignore their distinction between manufacturing and service workers!)

Rec: Brecher, Costello & Smith, “International Labor Solidarity: The New Frontier,” *New Labor Forum*, Spring 2006.

WRITE/SUBMIT: Reaction paper on Gapasin/Bonacich.

Rec: Murolo, ch. 10, “The Sixties” and ch. 11, “Hard Times”

### **XII.B. Cross Border Organizing Campaigns – Strategies and Tactics**

READ: Juravich, Tom, “Beating Global Capital: A Framework and Method for Union Strategic Corporate Research and Campaigns,” From Bronfenbrenner, Kate, ed., *Global Unions*.

READ: Babson, Steven, “Free Trade & Worker Solidarity in the North American Auto Industry” from Nissen, *Unions in a Globalized Environment*.

READ: Frundt, Henry, “Four Models of Cross-Border Maquila Organizing” from Nissen.

READ: Quan, Katie, “Women Crossing Borders to Organize” from Cobble, ed., *The Sex of Class*.

Rec: Ramamurthy, Priti, “Why is Buying a ‘Madras’ Cotton Shirt a Political Act? A Feminist Commodity Chain Analysis,” *Feminist Studies* 30(3), Fall 2004 (on MySLC).

WRITE/SUBMIT: ~3-4 pp. reaction paper on Babson, Frundt, Ramamurthy, or Quan.

Rec: Hubbard, Dean, “What Kind of Globalization? Organizing for Workers’ Human Rights,” *Working USA*, Sept. 2006.

Rec: Delgado, Hector, “The Los Angeles Manufacturing Action Project: An Opportunity Squandered?” from Milkman, Ruth (ed.), *Organizing Immigrants* (on MySLC).

### **XII.C. Organizing Immigrant Workers**

#### **Worker Centers**

READ: Fine, Janice, *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of a Dream*, ch.1-7.

Rec: Milkman, Ruth, “New Workers, New Labor, and the New LA” from Nissen.

Rec: Gordon, Jennifer, *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights*, Harvard, 2005.

Rec: Delgado, Hector, “Immigrant Nation: Organizing America’s Newest Workers,” *NLF* 7, 2000.

WRITE: A short paper on one of the following questions on Fine.

1. Discuss the tension, for worker centers, between service provision and organizing. How have various centers attempted to address this tension?
2. re: KIWA/UFCW 770 campaign in LA: Why did this campaign fail? Discuss the pros and cons of organizing via a worker center vs. via an established union.
3. Describe the pros and cons of relying on legislative policies vs. on union organizing to enforce workers’ rights.
4. Summarize possible sources of tension between worker centers and unions. What can worker centers learn from unions? What can unions learn from worker centers?

Possible film (in class): “Bread & Roses” (on Justice for Janitors campaign in LA)

## **Gender and Immigration**

**EVERYONE READ:** Flores-Gonzalez, et al., *Immigrant Women Workers*, “Intro.” (pp.1-16).

**READ/WRITE:** There are four sections in Flores-Gonzalez: “Critique of the Neoliberal State,” “Ethnic Enclaves,” “Informal Economies,” and “Grassroots Organizing and Resistance.” Each group should choose one section, choose an article from that section, and take responsibility for presenting it in class. Write a brief paper on the article chosen by your group.

**Recommended:** Ontiveros, Maria, “Female Immigrant Workers and the Law: Limits and Opportunities.”

## **XIII. Worker Coops and Worker Ownership**

(Note: readings will be chosen by the guest speaker, but will be drawn from the following.)

**READ:** Ellerman, David, “What is a Worker Coop?” ICA (Industrial Cooperative Assoc.), 1984.

**READ:** Austin, Jennifer and the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, “Worker Coops in NYC: A Vision for Addressing Income Inequality.” Jan. 2014.

**READ:** Gordon Nembhard, Jessica, “Cooperative Ownership in the Struggle for African American Economic Empowerment,” *Humanity & Society* 28(3), 2004.

**SKIM:** Dastur, Nina, and the Center for Community Change, *Understanding Worker Owned Cooperatives, A Strategic Guide for Community Organizers*, 2012.

**READ:** Campbell, “The Role of Workers in Management: The Case of Mondragon,” *RRPE*, 2011.

**READ:** Rampell, Ed & Rick Wolff, “Cooperatives and Workers’ Self-Directed Enterprises,” 2013.

**READ:** New Era Windows Coop, “Our Story”

**READ:** Alperowitz, Gar, et al., “The Cleveland Model,” *The Nation*, 2010.

**READ:** Miller, Genna, “‘Gender Trouble’: Investigating Gender and Economic Democracy in Worker Cooperatives in the US,” *RRPE*, 2012.

**Rec:** Gordon Nembhard, Jessica, *Collective Courage: The History of African American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice*, Penn. State Univ., 2014.

**Guest Speaker:** Brian Glick, Fordham Law School, Community Economic Development Clinic.

**WRITE/SUBMIT:** Paper on the strengths and weaknesses of worker cooperatives as a strategy for worker empowerment and equalizing incomes.

## **XIV. Where Do We Go From Here? Closing Thoughts**

**READ:** Fletcher & Gaspasin, *Solidarity Divided*.

**WRITE:** Group discussion questions as explained in class.

**Highly recommended:** Fantasia, Rick & Kim Voss, *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*, Univ. of California, 2004, ISBN 978-0520-240902.

**WRITE:** A self-assessment of your performance in this class. What did you do well? What areas of your work could be improved? How might you go about doing that?

## **XV. Presentations on Group Conference Work**

## MAJOR PARADIGMS IN ECONOMICS TODAY

### I. Neoclassical (dominant in US) – generally conservative (Republican)

Major theorists: Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations* 1776), Walras, Jevons, Marshall

Unit of analysis: the individual consumer (or family), individual business firm

Major assumptions: 1. Individuals inherently, materially selfish (except within families!)

2. Economy characterized by solid information re: consequences of investment, consumption choices; enables consumers & investors to make “rational” (profit/utility maximizing) decisions

3. Supply & demand in free (unregulated), competitive markets determine prices; price/profit mechanism is the best way to allocate goods & resources “as if by an invisible hand” (Smith)

4. Few barriers to entry; most markets will remain reasonably competitive

5. Few externalities (costs to those other than the supplier & demander; e.g., pollution)

Major policy recommendation: Deregulation (*laissez-faire*)

### II. Keynesian – generally liberal (Democratic);

Major theorists: John Maynard Keynes (1930's), Hyman Minsky

Unit of analysis: interest groups (consumers, investors, government, foreign sector)

Major assumptions: 1. Investment is the motor of capitalist economy

2. Aggregate demand determines the level of growth, employment, etc.

3. Advanced technology, liquid money & time mean that investment decisions cannot be “rational”; they are necessarily based on uncertainty, “animal spirits.” People’s confidence in their decisions shaky, subject to panic.

4. When investment falls, can cause downward spiral in economy that market forces will not correct.

Major policy recommendations: Regulation, particularly of financial markets; periodic government intervention (fiscal & monetary policy) to “right the ship.”

### III. Behavioral – generally liberal (Democratic)

Theorists: Kahneman, Thaler, Tversky, Camerer, Lowenstein, Ariely

Unit of analysis: individual humans (re: perceptual, etc. limitations), human groups (re: trends, etc.)

Assumptions: 1. Humans’ perceptual/psychological limitations render “rational” decision-making impossible

2. More choices are not always better and can paralyze a decision-maker

3. Context and socialization have a major impact on decision-making, leading to habits, trends and fads

4. Public policy should use realities of human psychology to bias decisions in favor of health, financial stability, etc.

Policy recommendations: Necessity of periodic, major interventions in the market; Arranging contexts and information to encourage good decisions; (e.g., opt-outs on health insurance, 401(k) plans, organ donation).

### IV. Marxian/Political Economy (includes some post-Keynesians) – generally radical

Major theorists: Karl Marx, Schumpeter, Bowles, Gordon, many others

Unit of analysis: classes (capitalist, working, self-employed, etc.)

Major assumptions: 1. Capitalist economies based upon exploitation of labor (profits come from paying workers less than the value of goods they produce).

2. Economy inherently conflictual; profit rate, wage rates, etc. determined largely by bargaining power among classes. Intensity of labor determined by bargaining power as well.

3. Capitalist economies inherently expansionary and unstable; prone to periodic crises.

4. Institutional framework (SSA) necessary to establish “good business climate” for investment. But process of accumulation undermines SSA; creates periodic crises.

Policy recommendations: Short run: measures to increase working class power: unionization, gov’t regulation. Long run: varies! Social democratic: private ownership of resources, but with tight gov’t regulation, many public services & redistribution. Socialist: public or worker ownership of resources.

### V. Feminist - Major theorists: Sen, England, Strassmann, Bergmann, Nelson, Folbre, Hartmann, Boushey

Unit of analysis: family/community (dynamics/distribution within family examined, not assumed)

Major assumptions: 1. All economies (capitalist, feudal, socialist, etc.) built on foundation of largely unpaid “caring labor,” mostly performed by women in the home & the community. Cannot understand many of the dynamics of the “paid economy” without attention to the dynamics of/changes in this unpaid foundation.

2. Critique neoclassical assumptions re: human nature (selfish, materialistic in public; altruistic in private)

3. Critique gendered and racialized divisions of labor as socialized/politicized

4. Goal of economic growth not necessarily maximum accumulation; it should be social welfare.

Policy prescriptions: social welfare policies (maternity leave, childcare, early childhood ed.), equitable occupational distributions.

## **“SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF ACCUMULATION” IN AMERICAN CAPITALISM**

### **1. Competitive capitalism 1840’s – late 1800s** (Dates of all SSA’s are approximate.)

K/K: Small firms employing <20 people, compete in local & regional markets primarily via price cutting.

K/L: Workers retain skills from independent production; Craft unions. Personal labor control dominant.

L/L: Skilled/unskilled distinctions increase. Immigration increasing labor supply & lowering wages

GOVT: Limited regulation of markets. Police & military functions (contracts, strike-breaking). Subsidies to RR’s, canals, land grants to homesteaders.

INT’L: British colonialism/hegemony unchallenged.

RACE: Slavery, then Black agricultural feudalism in South provides cheap raw materials for industry.

Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo dispossesses Mexican-Am landowners; creates landless labor force for ag.

GENDER: Women in textile mills. Women excluded from higher ed., prof. jobs. Unpaid household labor.

### **2. Corporate capitalism late 1800s - 1939**

K/K: Large corporations (trusts) compete nationally but with substantial market power/market shares.

K/L: Unions violently defeated (steel, coal, etc.). Technical labor control (machine-pacing, Taylorism).

L/L: Homogenized labor, semiskilled factory work. Immigration reduced due to world wars.

GOVT: Limited regulation. Laissez-faire predominant. Federal Reserve established to regulate banking.

INTL: Period of contested int’l dominance leads to two world wars

RACE: Consolidation of Black agricultural feudalism, Black codes, Jim Crow.

GENDER: (White) women gain franchise in 1920. Occupational segregation, GDL in household labor.

### **3. Regulated capitalism 1939-late 1970s**

Increase in gov’t regulation due to Great Depression & WWII.

K/K: US corps dominant in increasingly global competition. Backed by US military.

K/L: Wagner Act 1935, NLRB. Unions legalized, increase membership, become imp’t players.

**Labor accord/Social contract;** wages rise with productivity. Both technical & bureaucratic labor control.

L/L: Primary/secondary labor markets. Unions strong in primary markets

GOVT: Extensive role in stabilizing economy. Keynesian macro policy, Social Security, OSHA, etc.

INT’L: US military, political, economic hegemony exc. in Soviet-dominated sphere; military Keynesianism

RACE: Jim Crow undermined by labor demand (WWII, Great Migration), technology, Civil Rights Mvmt; Blacks partial integrate into (declining) manufacturing sector.

GENDER: Women’s increasing LFPR due to: labor demand, structural changes in economy (increase in “feminine” jobs, stagnant male wages), lower fertility, Women’s Movement. GDL in household persists.

### **4. Neoliberal globalized capitalism 1991(?) - 2008**

Integration of US economy into world system, re: not only re: trade but re: investment & production; increasing migration of technologies, investment, and people.

K/K: Transnational corporations compete in world markets; global outsourcing; formation of truly global capitalist class not tied to any nat’l interest or effectively regulated by any nat’l gov’t. Increasing dominance of finance (vs. manufacturing) capital.

K/L: capital flight gives K’ists bargaining power; US workers compete with workers throughout world.

Decimation of US unions; wages stagnate/decrease. Personal labor control prevalent in services (esp. re: undocumented workers); coexists with technical & bureaucratic.

L/L: increasing income inequality; massive immigration, esp. from Latin/South America & Asia.

GOVT: movement towards global economic governance (WTO, NAFTA, IMF) skewed in capital’s interests; shredding of domestic safety nets (welfare, etc.) via ideology (not reality) of smaller gov’t

INT’L: Unchallenged US military dominance combined with challenges to US economic/political dominance; increasing energy problems: oil wars.

RACE: Economic bifurcation of people of color by education, class. Massive immigration; scapegoating.

GENDER: Increasing gender integration of some professional labor markets; lack of gov’t support for families; GDL persists, esp. in household labor and in service & craft sectors.

## **Service Learning Placement Possibilities for 2016-2017**

**Brandworkers:** Brandworkers is a worker center that strives to protect the rights of food production and retail employees, particularly immigrant workers. See [www.brandworkers.org](http://www.brandworkers.org) for further information. The SLC interns will be working with Dan Gross, a labor lawyer, activist, and former IWW organizer. Brandworkers' offices are located at: 4461 11<sup>th</sup> St., 3<sup>rd</sup> floor, Long Island City, Queens, accessible from the subway. Past activities of Brandworkers interns include learning to write press releases and hold press conferences, leafletting, picketing, visiting sweatshops, and helping to devise organizing strategies.

**Retail Action Project:** RAP is a member-based worker center affiliated with RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union). Its mission is to improve working conditions and wages in the retail industry by building worker leadership and power. See <http://retailactionproject.org/> for further information. Among other activities, RAP has helped to fight wage theft and discrimination in hiring and promotion. Your on-site supervisor will be long-time organizer Rachel LaForest. The RAP offices are located at 140 West 31<sup>st</sup> St., 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Manhattan.

**Center for Front Line Retail:** CFR is a worker center that works with community groups, unions, faith-based organizations, elected officials, and ordinary citizens to improve the working conditions, job security, and wages of workers in retail industries. See <http://retailactionproject.org/> for more information. CFR is requesting SLC interns to help improve their social media presence and to help members access benefits to which they are entitled. Your supervisor will be Nina Terhune, a former student in this class who now works for CFR! CFR is located in the same building as RAP: 140 West 31<sup>st</sup> St., 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Manhattan.

**National Domestic Workers' Alliance:** NDWA is a national coalition of local and regional domestic workers' organizations with membership totaling over 10,000, including nannies, eldercare workers, and housekeepers. In 2010, the NY local of NDWA (DWU) successfully pressured the NY State legislature to pass the Domestic Workers' Bill of Rights, a monumental achievement, which chapters in California, Illinois and other states have since replicated. See <http://www.domesticworkers.org/> for further information. NDWA is requesting SLC interns to assist in their campaigns re: immigration policy and labor law. Your supervisor will be Yashna Maya Padamsee. The NDWA offices are located at 330 Seventh Ave., 19<sup>th</sup> floor, Manhattan.

**Restaurant Opportunities Center United/Colors Restaurant:** ROC-U is a worker center dedicated to improving the wages, working conditions, and training opportunities for restaurant and food service workers. Past campaigns of ROC include partnering with "high road" restaurants to improve workers' compensation, organizing to end the federal \$2.13 tipped minimum wage, and offering low-cost training courses to workers. ROC-U also runs Colors, a "high road" restaurant in the East Village that serves as a base for ROC's training courses and their catering business. For further information, see <http://rocunited.org/>. Your supervisor at ROC will be Roseanne Martino. You will be working at both the ROC offices (275 Seventh Ave., #1703, Manhattan), and at Colors Restaurant (417 Lafayette St., near Astor Place).

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**Workers' course – Student information – Please print clearly.**

1. Legal name (Name on roster):

2. How would you like to be addressed (“nickname,” Anglicized name, etc.):

3. Preferred pronoun(s):

3. Email address(es):

4. Phone(s):

5. Is English your first language?

Are you fluent in any languages besides English? If yes, which one(s)?

6. Do you have any learning or other disabilities that I should know about? Please explain. What accommodations, if any, do you require?

7. Have you taken other courses in economics or public policy (including in high school)? Please list.

8. Do you have any experience organizing? Working for a non-profit? Explain.

9. What are the first three words that come to mind when you hear the word “union”?

10. Anything else I should know about you? 😊