The shift towards a so-called new knowledge-based economy has been my theme as the Harry Bridges Chair in Labor Studies. On Oct 13 and 14 of this year we’ll hold a major public forum to explore its longer term ramifications with regard to unions, social policy, education, technology, and income distribution as old style manufacturing jobs continue to be replaced by service sector employment. So, what is a university’s role in this transition, and what obligations does the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies inherit?

Last year in this column, I pointed out that higher education alone cannot ensure decent jobs. I became most acutely aware of this through my research on the large number of highly educated individuals earning near poverty level wages in “contingent employment” as part-time faculty. Make no mistake about it, education will be increasingly important to personal and national economic success; just as certainly, it will not guarantee steady jobs, decent pay, or respect. A ‘knowledge economy’ constantly displaces technology, products, organization and jobs as innovation drives new ways of doing things. Only constant struggle can ensure such changes benefit all.

A knowledge economy challenges labor, especially, by shifting work away from organized sectors and regions. Such a shift is not unprecedented. In the nineteenth century Industrialization similarly undermined agricultural and mercantilist institutions, before being tamed by social struggles including the AFL, the IWW, the CIO, Socialist and Communist parties, and the New Deal. Those responses have their analogs in today’s divisions over politics, organizing, and social policy. Today, effective social movements require that we recognize and adapt to the new patterns within our economy.

Like it or not, the UW is a central player in the new knowledge economy. The University trains skilled employ-

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SOME of the strongest unions in the country operate through hiring halls, including the ILWU, the ILIU, the building trades, and the UFW. On October 4, 2005, students, trade unionists, faculty, and community activists came together for a discussion about the past successes and future prospects of this powerful working class institution. As a central structure of many industries, the hiring hall effectively wrests decisions about hiring, hours, and seniority away from the boss and places them in the hands of workers. In addition to the day-to-day dispatching of workers out to jobs, hiring halls serve as a central location for organizing, education, and training. Given these strengths, it is easy to understand why others have expressed interest in replicating the model. This forum, sponsored by the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, offered an opportunity for these various groups to come together and share ideas. The event focused on two subject areas—the history and ongoing importance of the hiring hall for well-established unions and also the growing sector of casual workers, such as Latino day laborers and casually employed computer programmers.

Several of the speakers commented on the legacy of struggle to establish union hiring halls in Seattle and their role in maintaining union democracy. Ron Magden, author of A History of Seattle Waterfront Workers, reminded the audience that Seattle’s workers had “paid the
highest price” to keep its hiring halls, originally formed after the longshore strike of 1916. Herald Ugles, ILWU Local 19 president, and John Littel, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Washington State Building Trades Council, focused on the role of the dispatch system in offering fair and equal employment to union members. As Ugles noted, the procedure for dispatch is slow to change, but is an example of union democracy at work.

Not only does it allow everyone to be involved collectively in the decision making process, but in the case of the building trades, such as the Carpenter’s Union, the hiring hall represents the point of entry and involvement for young workers in the union. Littel and Ugles did not shy away from some of the tougher issues surrounding the dispatch of workers. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, hiring halls became a target of the civil rights movement because of their hiring practices, which often privileged white workers with seniority and family ties at the cost of black workers. Pressure from the outside, legal rulings, and voluntary reform has turned these practices on their head over the last few decades and the hiring hall is now a leader of job integration. Littel outlined several new initiatives in the building trades to recruit among Seattle’s underrepresented communities.

The second half of the forum featured a discussion of day laborers and worker centers and the new dynamics of casual work in the Seattle area. Casa Latina’s executive director, Hilary Stern, and Jordan Royer from the City of Seattle Mayor’s office discussed recent efforts to assist a growing population of immigrant day laborers in Seattle’s Belltown and SoDo neighborhoods. Casa Latina, a non-profit hiring hall for the largely Latino immigrant population on the corner of Western and Battery, has been part of a public relations battle over the location of a new hiring hall in the city. Regardless of these public relations difficulties, Casa Latina has proven the success of the hiring hall model, with over 18,000 job placements in 7 years. To add to the discussion, Abel Valenzuela of the Center for the Study of Urban Poverty at the University of California Los Angeles highlighted the high frequency of wage and safety violations throughout the country, offering findings from his national survey of day laborers.

Adding more dimensions to the discussion, Marcus Courtney of the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers explained his vision of the “hiring hall of the future.” As thousands of workers are hired through temporary placement agencies in Western Washington, Courtney made a compelling case for the organization of computer programmers and other tech workers through hiring halls.

By the end of the evening, for each of the participants, it was clear the term “hiring hall” has a significance that extends well beyond the established trade union movement. Given these disparate meanings the group left important questions unanswered, for example, how broad is the applicability of the hiring hall and what alliances might be forged between these groups? Despite such questions, as Harry Bridges Chair Dan Jacoby summarized at the end of the evening, “there’s nothing but common ground” when it comes to hiring halls raising both the floor and ceiling for the working class. Regardless of the system used, whether it is workers hired out through Casa Latina, ILWU Local 19’s hiring hall, or the Laborers’ Union, the hiring hall has been and will continue to be a powerful working class institution. That commonality may serve as a point for future organizing and solidarity in the months and years to come.

The HBCLS is pleased to support the continuing investigation of issues related to day labor by funding the study by Sexias et al. See page 3.
As we reported last year, the HBCLS received funding from the Washington State Legislature to support labor force research that would have significant policy implications. This unprecedented public funding has allowed the Center to support a range of important research projects described below. It is our hope that our successful use of these funds will lead to their renewal, and even expansion in future legislative action.

Projects Funded: 2005-06

Diana M. Pearce – Center for Women’s Welfare, School of Social Work; Wages, Work and Poverty in Washington State

This study uses Census 2000 data to analyze the extent and nature of income inadequacy in Washington State and the Self-Sufficiency Standard. Specific research questions include: In what occupations and industries is the incidence of inadequate income concentrated? Given differing costs of living across the state, how is inadequate income geographically distributed? How does family composition (number of adults, number and age of children) affect income adequacy?

Marge Plecki, Anna Elfers, and Michael Knapp – College of Education; An Examination of Longitudinal Attrition, Retention and Mobility Rates of Novice Teachers in Washington State

This study examines the attrition, retention, and mobility patterns of beginning teachers in Washington State over a five-year period. Specifically, it calculates the rates at which elementary and secondary school teachers who begin their careers in Washington State remain in their teaching positions, move to other schools in their same school district, move to other school districts in the state, or exit the Washington education system over a period covering the years 2000-01 through 2004-05.

April Brinkman – UW Tacoma, Urban Studies; Private Property and the Public Forum: An Investigation of the Possibilities of Farm Workers to Exercise their Rights to Free Speech, Expression, and Association

In rural areas there is limited possibility to exercise rights to free speech, expression, and association because First Amendment rights do not in general apply to private property. Furthermore, farm workers often both live and work on the private property of their employers, which affects both the legal rights of farm workers and the potential for economic, social and political coercion by employers. This project investigates the extent to which coercion by agricultural employers, in addition to their private property ownership, influences the possibilities for farm workers to exercise their rights to free speech, expression, and association.

Ming Fan and Debabrata Dey – School of Business; The Effects of Information Technology Use and Increased Skill Requirements On Wages

This study investigates the relationship between IT use and wage structure in the U.S., and Washington State. It offers estimated wage premiums associated with computer use and examines why and how IT affects the wage structure, as well as examining the possible complementarities between computer use and non-routine job tasks and skills. This study can provide important policy implications for IT investment, education, and curriculum development in Washington State.

Projects Funded: 2006-07

Anna Haley-Lock – School of Social Work; Anticipating the Impacts of a Proposed ‘Tip Penalty’ on Front-Line Workers in Washington State’s Restaurant Industry

This study will examine why and how the employment opportunities of Washington’s tipped restaurant workers are stratified and how workers’ income and other benefits are shaped by their employing organizations and jobs, as well as their own demographic attributes. This level of analysis falls between the macro labor market and micro-level worker perspectives common in employment research, both of which can obscure the extent of variation in working conditions within industries, institutions, and job titles. The project thus provides important information for policy makers contemplating lifting the minimum wage law for tipped workers.

Noah Seixas, Janice Camp, and Hilary Blecker – Environmental and Occupational Health Sciences and Environmental Health; Healthy and Safe Work for Day Laborers: A Participatory Approach to Turning Research into Practice

Day laborers, or contingent workers, are a rapidly growing segment of the US workforce. They are employed largely in occupations such as construction and agriculture, and are at high risk of occupational injury and illness. Largely from politically disenfranchised groups such as immigrants, racial minorities and the poor, they are less likely to be protected by current regulatory agencies and may be less likely to act against an employer who places them at high risk or injures them. Researchers are conducting a survey among day laborers working through Casa-Latina, The Millionair’s Club, and on the ‘street’ (at Home Depot in South Seattle) about the type of work done, the hazards encountered, any protection afforded or used, and experience with injuries. They will also hold a series of focus groups to further understand the survey results within the political, cultural and economic context of these communities. The goals of the project are to identify strategies for addressing the hazardous work conditions, to develop educational materials and training sessions for day laborers, and to participate in the development of a national strategy for contingent worker health and safety.

Margaret Levi and David Olson – Political Science; Union Democracy Re-Examined

State funds will be used to support research by the working group examining union democracy. For details, see the report on page 4.
**WORKING GROUPS**

This is our third year of supporting working group research and collaborations involving Visiting Committee Members and Center Associates. Below are updates on the two continuing working groups, *Race, Class, and Work-Life Balance: Exploring Intersectionality in the Domains of Work and Care*, led by Professor Anna Haley-Locke of the School of Social Work, and *Union Democracy Re-Examined*. We are also excited to introduce a new working group this year, *Exploring Intersectionality in the Domains of Work and Care*, led by Professor Margaret Levi of the School of Social Work.

### Race, Class, and Work-Life Balance: Exploring Intersectionality in the Domains of Work and Care

In 2005, the HBCLS undertook an initiative to expand scholarship, activism, and awareness on the subject of “caring labor.” This effort not only produced a major conference and special issue of *Politics and Society*, but was also the seed of many productive conversations among faculty and graduate students from various departments across campus. The newest HBCLS working group builds upon this promising initiative by looking at the ways race, ethnicity and class shape individuals’, families’, and communities’ ability to balance work and care responsibilities. At the same time, the group aims to bridge notable scholarly and practical gaps in knowledge of these “intersectionalities.” There is ample research on race- and class-based residential, educational, and employment segregation and discrimination. Comparatively little is known about the work-life experiences of professional working parents of color, or of working parents who may be racially marginalized and employed in low-wage, low-skill jobs. Moreover, differences in racial, ethnic, and cultural identity among parents and workers – as well as in economic and political status – necessarily shape choices and resources for navigating “work” and “life” in ways not well reflected in research and advocacy.

Beginning this fall, the working group will convene regular meetings with faculty and community members to develop an agenda for both new, collaborative research and education and advocacy around work-life concerns that reflect diverse race, ethnicity and class issues. In its first year, the group is planning a roundtable speaker series (open to the public), featuring presentations and discussions by community members and academic researchers, as well as establish email list and web presences to facilitate communication. In its second year (2007-8), the group will produce a culminating spring conference for academic researchers and community and policy experts to discuss and produce a continued agenda for integrative work-life research and activism.

### Union Democracy Re-Examined

In September of 2005, working group members presented their findings in Palm Springs at the ILWU Leadership Education and Development conference developed by Director of Educational Services and working group member, Gene Vrana. They also discussed their new survey project (see below) with ILWU members and leaders.

In February of 2006, the working group hosted a major workshop conference on “Union Democracy Reexamined.” Participants included distinguished international scholars as well as UW students and faculty.

Details of the papers and attendees are available on their web site: [http://depts.washington.edu/ihlwu/](http://depts.washington.edu/ihlwu/) Working Group funds were supplemented by $15,000 in support from the journal, *Politics & Society*. Under consideration for a possible special issue of the journal are seven papers from the conference, including a piece by team members Margaret Levi, David Olson, Jon Agnone, and Devin Kelly.

Group members are completing research on key issues within the ILWU, such as elder member voting rights, officer term limits, and the very complex M&M agreement. This has involved delving into Sean Maloney’s papers and other archives in Special Collections at the UW Library. Working group member Ron Magden facilitated access to additional materials in Tacoma. This supplements materials already gleaned from the International Convention Proceedings (1938-2000) and ILWU Caucus Minutes Summaries (1938-2000).

Margaret Levi’s receipt of a $178,000 National Science Foundation (NSF) grant enables the research team to analyze how rank and file democracy and union leadership can promote a broad agenda for social justice. With the help of working group member Joe Wenzl, they have begun periodic surveys of new employees on the docks to understand the process by which new recruits learn and/or change the mores of the ILWU. They are also considering the ILWU in comparative perspective with investigations of dockworker’s unions in Sweden, Italy, and Spain; the Waterside Workers’ Federation in Australia through archives and interviews with old-timers in Melbourne, Sydney, and Port Kembla; and Teamster union locals in the 1930s-50s in Minneapolis, Seattle, and Chicago.

David Olson was the Montague Burton Distinguished Visiting Lecturer at the University of Wales in Cardiff in spring 2006. He gave two lectures on the 2002 ILWU contract dispute and Union Democracy Reexamined.

The intention of the working group is to continue to disseminate the results of their research to union members and scholars locally, nationally, and internationally.

### Race, Radicalism and Labor

In the past year, this working group has continued to build the Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project ([http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/](http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/)), which has now grown to be a major public resource. In addition, Professor Erasmo Gamboa organized a student research project interviewing farm workers and activists in the Yakima valley. Coordinating with Heritage University in Toppenish, the group collected materials that will be
part of the upcoming PBS documentary *Los Braceros*. Professor Vicente Rafael arranged the lecture and visit by Professor Augusto Espiritu who spoke on April 20th on *The Anti-Marcos Movement and the Questions of Orientation.* This visit was part of the ongoing project on the history of the KDP. Professor Michael Honey has been working with a group of scholars and community activists to create the Tacoma Civil Rights Project, the immediate goal of which is to produce a film on the civil rights history of Tacoma. The *Seattle Black Panther Party History and Memory Project* conference was held on May 20th at the Langston Hughes Center.

For the coming year working group members plan to continue development of the website. Making the project usable in high schools and middle schools is a top priority. They have already had an enthusiastic response from participants in the Teachers As Scholars seminars taught by Professor James Gregory and intend to develop appropriate lesson plans and other teaching materials. They also plan the continued development of the KDP history project, a set of public events on labor rights as civil rights in Tacoma, and to begin planning meetings for a major conference on American and Trans-Pacific Radicalism that will be jointly sponsored with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in 2007-08.

Professor Moon-Ho Jung organized *Remembering Japanese American Redress: A Symposium on History, Incarceration, and Justice* on April 28, 2006. Activists, academics, and politicians from around the Seattle area came together at Allen Library to reflect on the Japanese American redress movement of the 1960s-80s. The symposium featured many of the leading visionaries, grassroots organizers, and political officials who made the redress movement possible. Speakers and audience members reflected on the historical origins and political struggles of a remarkable movement of everyday working people that culminated in a formal apology and monetary reparations from the U.S. federal government for the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. The symposium concluded with a panel on the lasting legacy of the redress movement for the ongoing struggle for social justice, particularly around civil liberties and immigrant workers’ rights.

**NEW ENDOWMENT ESTABLISHED IN SUPPORT OF THE HARRY BRIDGES CHAIR**

*The Theodore L. and Doris M. Hansen Endowed Fund in Labor Studies*

In October of 2005, the HBCLS became the recipient of another generous endowment established by a supporter from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, the Theodore L. and Doris M. Hansen Endowed Fund in Labor Studies. The Hansen’s have donated $100,000 in order to establish this fund, which will make annual contributions to the Center’s discretionary budget. This budget gives the Chair maximum flexibility in the support of grants, scholarships, and labor studies activities that are viewed as the most urgent by the holder of the Bridges Chair. We are most grateful for this generous gift.

The Hansen endowment has been created to honor the memory of Theodore Hansen, the late father of Theodore L. Hansen. The elder Mr. Hansen began working on the Seattle Waterfront in 1922, working continuously right up to his death in 1965. His son, Theodore L. Hansen, started working part-time on the Seattle waterfront while still in high school. Beginning in 1955, he worked full-time on the waterfront, retiring in 1989 after 35 years of service. Ted and Doris are native Washingtonians and lifelong residents of West Seattle. It is their hope and wish that the University and the Harry Bridges Chair will provide educational opportunities to as many people as possible by programs conducted at venues located in South Central Seattle. The Harry Bridges Chair is consulting with educators at the UW and in the Seattle Community College system to determine how best to direct these funds so that the Hansen’s wishes are fulfilled.

The Hansen Endowed Fund, like all endowed funds within the HBCLS, is open for contributions from labor studies supporters.
GRANTS AND PRIZES

The HBCLS’ capacity to give prizes, scholarships, and research grants continues to expand. Below is a description of the many awards we have made for the upcoming year. All of these winners will be honored at our Annual Awards Celebration on Friday, October 13th, 2006, from 5 – 7pm in the Walker-Ames Room of Kane Hall. You are invited to attend and offer your congratulations to these outstanding contributors to Labor Studies.

Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarships
Each year the HBCLS gives one-year, full tuition scholarships to outstanding undergraduates who demonstrate a commitment to labor research or practice. These awards are named after longtime International Longshore and Warehouse Union member and leaders Martin “Jug” Jugum and his wife Anne.

Michael Schulze-Oechtering Castañeda: Completing a double major in History and American Ethnic Studies, Michael strives to succeed academically while remaining connected to his family’s experience as Filipino immigrants in low-wage service jobs. He writes, “One way I have been able to balance my accountability is through being able to focus my studies on communities of color and how they have organized amidst their marginalized status.” Michael is active in EMPOWER, MEChA, and the People’s Institute Northwest.

Morgan M. Myrdal: As a Political Science major, Morgan has become involved in the Union Democracy Re-Examined working group and participated in the their conference in February of 2006. She writes, “My introduction to labor studies has allowed me to more deeply consider some of my interests, as well as to develop some new ones. For example, what inspires workers to organize? What are the restrictions to organization, and how are they overcome? What role does leadership have in the effectiveness of the organization? How and when do labor unions organize with other similar interests to form coalitions and achieve their goals?”

Martha H. Duggan Fellowship in Labor Studies
This graduate fellowship was created in 2004 to honor the memory of Martha Duggan, wife of Robert Duggan. Both Bob and Marty were founding supporters of the endowed Chair in Labor Studies, and the HBCLS. The endowment that Bob established in Marty’s name has generated sufficient funds that we are able to award two graduate fellowships for the 2006-07 year.

Rose Ernst: A graduate student in Political Science, Rose writes, “My commitment to caring labor both as a field of social inquiry as well as a practice extends to my activism in and study of the welfare rights movement. After finishing my undergraduate work in 2000, I began a VISTA position working with in-home childcare facilities that serve low-income families around the Seattle area. Some of the caregivers established centers in their own homes as a solution to struggling with work requirements of welfare that often forced them to place their children in substandard and sometimes dangerous care so that they might work low pay, dead-end jobs. This work, along with my scholarly interest in race, gender and class politics led me to become involved with welfare rights activism.”

Raine Dozier: A graduate student in Sociology, Raine writes, “Historically, African American women have been concentrated in care giving occupations such as nanny and housekeeper. Although occupational categories have shifted, black women’s position as professional caregivers persists. Currently, the most common job for an African American woman in the United States is as an unskilled service worker in the health care industry – caring for patients, serving food, and cleaning up after both patients and higher-skilled employees. The health care industry is the fastest-growing employer of women, employing the greatest proportion of black women and the second greatest of white women. Much of this work is caring labor, as aids, dieticians, and licensed practical nurses; in hospitals, doctor’s offices, nursing homes, and rehabilitation centers. Black and white women’s differential rewards within the health care industry imply that black woman are doing the “dirty work” of caring labor while receiving much lower pay than their better-trained white counterparts.”

Best Paper Prizes
The HBCLS holds an annual competition for the best Labor Studies papers written in the previous year by both graduate and undergraduate students. The winners and their paper titles are:

Graduate
Raine Dozier, Department of Sociology, for Accumulating Disadvantage: The growth in the Black-White Wage Gap Among Women

Undergraduate
Melanie Harding, Political Science major, for The Trend of Union Density in the United States and Canada – Why the Divide?

Labor and Employment Relations Association Scholarship
The Labor and Employment Relations Association, founded in 1947 as the Industrial Relations Research Association, is an organization of professionals interested in industrial relations and human resources. In 1997 the (then IRRA) Seattle chapter established a $1,000 scholarship to be administered by the HBCLS in support of an outstanding student committed to pursing a profession in labor and/or labor management. This year’s winner is:

Rachel Taber, Political Science major. She writes, “How to make the workplace more humane is a real passion of mine. Essentially, all of my college experience, both in my academic studies and in the activism that I have been involved in outside of school, has been preparation for me for a career in promoting this.”
RESEARCH GRANTS

Each year the HBCLS offers research grants to faculty, staff, and graduate students. In a competitive process, applicants submit proposals which are reviewed by members of the Center’s Standing Committee. For the 2006-07 year, the HBCLS gave out seven research grants. Here are descriptions of the projects we are helping to fund.

Faculty

Moon-Ho Jung, Department of History

His new book, Race Radicals concentrates on Asian American radical struggles, both within the United States and across the Pacific, and the convergent rise of legalized racism and anti-radicalism in American culture. Understanding Asian American political engagement as part of global migrant labor generated by U.S. imperialism, it seeks to unravel real and imagined threats posed by movements against colonialism. This project will attempt to explain how Asian American political activism across borders challenged, justified, and reproduced anti-Asian racism in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.

Divya C. McMillin, Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences Program, UW Tacoma.

Sweatshop Labor and Subjective Agency in a Globalizing World

This research project focuses on the subjective agency of women workers in ancillary factories on the outskirts of Bangalore, India. Her fieldwork will include participant observations, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions to understand the role of television in providing spaces of identity and consumerism for sweat shop laborers, and their strategies for coping with their exploitative environments and precarious work conditions.

Gina Neff, Department of Communication

Workforce Challenges and Emerging Labor Structures in the U.S. Video Game Industry

This research project examines the new labor structures and strategies that are emerging in response to problems such as “crunch,” “off-shoring,” and employee “burnout” among highly skilled workers in a rapidly growing high-technology industry. Workers are beginning a series of conversations about equity and justice within the video game industry. Neff has been taking part in these conversations and serves on an industry-wide taskforce charged by the employee membership association to examine these issues. This involvement gives her unique access to the secretive game development studios.

Graduate Students

Jon Agnone, Department of Sociology

The Unionization of Future Activists?: The Biographical Impact of ILWU Membership

This research will explore how the ILWU transforms the lives of new recruits, particularly focusing on their activist identities. This is one component of a larger survey project being undertaken by the Union Democracy Re-Examined working group (see page 4.) In 2006, the ILWU locals in Seattle, Tacoma and Los Angeles/Long Beach are engaging in open hiring for the first time. Previously, they recruited from among the family members of existing union members for waterfront jobs. This method meant that new recruits were already steeped in ILWU lore. Interviews will help determine how, if at all, recent ILWU recruits brought in through the open hiring process have experienced identity transformations due to their involvement with the union.

Alex Morrow, Department of History

Public Health and the Migrant Workers: A Comparative Study of Anti-Tuberculosis Efforts in Seattle and San Francisco

In 1948, amidst growing public fears of an impending public health crisis, a coalition of charitable organizations joined forces with city and county agencies to x-ray the chests of all King County residents. Particular attention was paid to Seattle’s working class neighborhoods. Organizations in San Francisco and Los Angeles took similar steps. Thus was produced a great deal of knowledge about a population of workers that remain hidden in the historical record. This research project will explore the history of efforts to curb disease and control transient workers in urban centers of the Pacific Coast from 1920 to 1960.

Seema Sohi, Department of History

Echoes of Mutiny: Migration, Empire, and Indian Revolutionaries on the Pacific Coast

This research focuses on labor and political migrations during the imperial age and asks: how did Indian migrant workers, previously loyal subjects of the British crown, end up creating a revolutionary movement to overthrow British rule from the Pacific Coast of North America? While most Indian migrant workers came to North America in search of higher wages, the experience of migration, the passage of discriminatory legislation, and nativist violence, radicalized them. They began to equate the discrimination they faced in North America with their status as colonized subjects and became convinced that only if India were free from British colonialism would Indians around the world be treated with respect and equality. Sohi’s research looks both at the politics of organized labor groups and Indian migrants.

Staff

Kellus Stone, Administrator in Industrial Engineering

Broken Lives: Living and Losing the American Dream

Stone’s father began working at a John Morrell meat packing plant in rural Iowa in 1959. In the 1980s, the company repeatedly pushed the union to reopen contract negotiations with the goal of reducing wages and benefits. The union refused. In return, the company closed the plant. Stone will use original source research to record the history of the impact of this action on workers and the community. By documenting and analyzing the plant closing, we gain a better understanding of how corporations honed the tactics of wage reduction, outsourcing, and union busting in rural America.
DISTINGUISHED SUPPORTER AWARDS

Each year the Standing Committee of the HBCLS names outstanding distinguished supporters in two categories, a retiring UW or regional faculty or staff member, and a significant community supporter. These awards recognize people whose leadership secures the Harry Bridges Chair and the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies. We could not do our work without them, and would not exist in our current form, or continue to grow in their absence. The 2006 winners are:

Robert Duggan Distinguished Supporter of Labor Studies
Ross Rieder, President of the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association and member of the HBCLS Visiting Committee.

Ross K. Rieder has been a part of the trade union movement in Washington State since beginning a teaching career in the early 1960s. He served as president of the Washington Federation of Teachers, AFT; worked as a negotiator and organizer for Local 17, International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers; assisted Local Lodge 289, International Association of Machinists, during a major auto trades strike in the late 1970s, and was Political Action Coordinator for the Washington State Labor Council. From 1986 to 1992, Rieder was a consultant and trainer for local unions, helping with shop steward training, labor history, leadership training, and strategic planning. In 1989, he worked as an organizer for SEIU 1199NW in a major health care organizing drive. From 1992 to 1998, Rieder was an Organizer for the Snohomish County Labor Council, AFL-CIO, the first paid staff person that council had had in its 100 year history. Rieder has been president of the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association since 1978.

He has studied unions in Canada, New Zealand and Australia, published op-ed pieces on Australian unions and other union issues in the labor press. He is a member of Office and Professional Employees International Union, Local 8 and the National Organizers Alliance. As PNLHA President, he continues to provide labor history services to various unions.

Distinguished Staff Award
Karyl Winn, UW Librarian Emeritus

In her position as Curator of Manuscripts in the University of Washington Libraries from 1970 to 2004, Karyl Winn worked with many individuals and organizations to acquire their records. Labor was one area among several, but it often involved voluminous or otherwise memorable gifts. In the Typographers’ office in the Labor Temple, after wheeling load after load of their records, Karyl was reminded by the official there that she shouldn’t expect to move out in two hours what had taken nearly a century to create. Once such records were in the Libraries, Karyl worked with staff to organize and service them. Particularly gratifying has been use of the Cannery Workers’ records, which had been at risk in the former ILWU Local 37 hall where the roof leaked. In the later 1990s, Karyl collaborated with Labor Studies faculty and library colleagues on such special projects as All Powers Necessary and Convenient, Fish Story, and the WTO History Project. Her role was to develop physical and online exhibits. Dialogue with the Labor Center also led to transfer of Tyree Scott’s papers several years before his death. In remodeling his home, Tyree had moved file cabinets to his backyard—in January—but luckily that winter was a warm one. Nevertheless, another layer of socks would have made for more comfortable working conditions.

continued from KNOWLEDGE

...creates professional and production knowledge, and manufactures a technical elite. Any university that allows itself to be subservient to economic interests loses the capacity to perform its other vital function—to arm the citizenry with critical intelligence. Applied as well as theoretical research is compatible with the spirit of knowledge discovery, but university scholarship is most successful when it operates at an arm’s distance from the concerns it investigates.

As a Center within the University, we are committed to social justice, and must separate that commitment from an allegiance to any specific organization or strategy. Social justice is as hard to define as it is to achieve. We require a Center that is sufficiently independent that it can question the interaction between labor strategies and social justice.

The Center for Labor Studies will play a distinctive role in a knowledge economy. In choosing that role, we, like others, must recognize and adapt to actual conditions. In this state, a tri-party division of academic labor is emerging. We support and collaborate with the Evergreen State College Labor Education and Research Center, as well as efforts by South Seattle Community College to assemble an Associates degree program for labor leaders and activists. Their activities complement our emphasis here at UW Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies on labor studies and research. Located within a major research university, our Center is well positioned to produce studies and academic programs exploring social possibilities and stimulating debate about work, workers and their organizations. What we cannot do is to allow ourselves to imagine that we lead or coordinate their movements.

This year’s research and public programs, like those on the Hiring Hall, on Union Democracy, or on Labor and Civil Rights, explored the potential in specific labor strategies and clarified for whom they work and who was left-behind. Our role as academics is to get ideas out to those who will debate and shape them in the cause of social justice. That is what we do best, and our coming forum on Labor, Knowledge and the Economy continues this tradition.
This is a definitive history of the epic struggle for economic justice that became Martin Luther King Jr.’s last crusade. Memphis in 1968 was ruled by a paternalistic “plantation Mentality,” embodied in its good-old-boy mayor, Henry Loeb. Wretched conditions, abusive white supervisors, poor education, and low wages locked most black workers into poverty. Then two sanitation workers were chewed up like garbage in the back of a faulty truck, igniting a public employee strike that brought to a boil long-simmering issues of racial injustice. With novelistic drama and rich scholarly detail, Michael Honey brings to life the magnetic characters who clashed on the Memphis battlefield: stalwart black workers; fiery black ministers; volatile, young, black-power advocates; idealistic organizers and tough-talking unionists; the first black members of the Memphis city council; the white upper crust who sought to prevent change or conflagration; and, finally, the magisterial Martin Luther King Jr., undertaking a Poor People’s Campaign at the crossroads of his life, vilified as a subversive, hounded by the FBI, and seeing in the working poor of Memphis his hopes for a better America.

The HBCLS will be holding a book launch lecture and reception in celebration of this achievement in January, 2007.

George Lovell, UW Political Science faculty and HBCLS Standing Committee member published “Justice Excused: The Deployment of Law in Everyday Political Encounters” in the June, 2006 issue of the Law and Society Review.

This paper examines the use of legal claims by government officials and citizens in everyday political encounters involving civil rights. Data come from 580 letters sent to the federal government between 1939 and 1941, and from the replies sent by the newly formed Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department. In almost every case, the department refused to intervene and explained its refusal by making legal claims about federal jurisdiction. These legal claims masked the department’s discretionary choices and thus helped depoliticize the encounters. Surprisingly, however, a substantial number of letter writers challenged the government’s legal claims by deploying their own legal and moral arguments. The willingness of these citizens to challenge official legal pronouncements cautions against making broad generalizations about the capacity of ordinary people to respond effectively when government officials deploy legal rhetoric.
tion of the fracturing and reuniting nation and the scourge of American civilization. Based on a wealth of archival research, this study makes sense of these contradictions to reveal how American impulses to recruit and exclude coolies enabled and justified a series of historical transitions: from slave-trade laws to racially coded immigration laws, from a slaveholding nation to a "nation of immigrants," and from a continental empire of manifest destiny to a liberating empire across the seas. Combining political, cultural, and social history, Coolies and Cane is a compelling study of race, Reconstruction, and Asian American history.

The HBCLS will be holding a book launch lecture and reception in celebration of this achievement, as of yet unscheduled.

➢ continued from RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Vicente L. Rafael, UW History Dept. faculty, and HBCLS Standing Committee member, published The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines in November of 2005.

In The Promise of the Foreign, Vicente Rafael argues that translation was key to the emergence of Filipino nationalism in the nineteenth century. Acts of translation entailed technics from which issued the promise of nationhood. Such a promise consisted of revising the heterogeneous and violent origins of the nation by mediating one's encounter with things foreign while preserving their strangeness. Rafael examines the workings of the foreign in the Filipinos' fascination with Castilian, the language of the Spanish colonizers. In Castilian, Filipino nationalists saw the possibility of arriving at a lingua franca with which to overcome linguistic, regional, and class differences. Yet they were also keenly aware of the social limits and political hazards of this linguistic fantasy. Through close readings of nationalist newspapers and novels, the vernacular theater, and accounts of the 1896 revolution, Rafael traces the deep ambivalence with which Filipinos came to regard Castilian. Their belief in the potency of Castilian meant that colonial subjects came in contact with a recurring foreignness within their own language and society. Rafael shows how they sought to tap into this uncanny power, seeing in it both the promise of nationhood and a menace to its realization. He thus sheds light on the paradox of nationhood arising from the risks of translation. Repeatedly opening borders to the arrival of something other and new, translation compels the nation to host foreign presences to which it invariably finds itself held hostage.
**Talks**


Brian Mello, UW Department of Political Science presented his research on *The Legacy of a Labor Movement: Repression and the Lingering Impact of Turkish Labor Activism.*

Professor Gordon Lafer, University of Oregon, Eugene Labor Education and Research Center (LERC) gave two talks; *Blaming the Victim: Why Politicians and Big Business Promote Education as the Solution to Poverty* and *From Baghdad to the Bayou: the ‘War on Terror’ and the Attack on American Workers.*

Professor Elizabeth Salas, UW Department of American Ethnic Studies presented her research about *Mexican immigration to British Columbia.*

Maureen Hickey, UW Department of Geography presented her research on *Taxi Work: Making a Living on the Streets of Bangkok.*

Professor Mark Smith, UW Department of Political Science presented his research on *Turning Right in America.*

Karla Kelling, UW Department of History presented her research on *The Lives of Laboring Women in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia.*

Professor Mike Whitty, visiting professor at Seattle University on leave from the University of Detroit, Mercy—*The Battle for Detroit: Hopeful Possibilities for Union Resistance in the Face of Global Competition.*

Professor Augusto Espiritu, Department of History, University of Illinois, Champagne-Urbana—*The Anti-Marcos Movement and the Question of ‘Orientation’.*

Professor Victoria Johnson, Department of Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia—*Political Culture and General Strike Mobilization* at the ILWU Local 19 hall.

**Forum, Conferences And Symposium**

**Hiring Hall Forum**, October, 2005

This forum was on the hiring hall, its past, its successes and its relevance in today’s labor market. See article in this newsletter for more details.

**Conference on Union Democracy Reexamined**, February, 2006

This conference explored central questions regarding union democracy by bringing together scholars, labor leaders and activists. See the working group update in this newsletter for more information.


See the update on the Race, Radicalism, and Labor working group on page 5 for details.


This was the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association’s 38th annual conference, held at The Evergreen State College in Olympia. The HBCLS was a co-sponsor and team members from the Union Democracy Re-Examined working group participated. For more information go to http://www3.telus.net/robbgibbs/PNLHA/home.html.

**Lunches With Labor Leaders**

In 2005, Dan Jacoby initiated lunch meetings to give HBCLS associates the chance to learn more about specific issues and unions in the region.

July, 2005—Diane Sosne, President of SEIU 1199NW

September, 2005—Marc Brenman, Director of the Washington State Human Rights Commission

December, 2005—Robby Stern, Special Assistant to the President of the Washington State Labor Council

**Film Showings**

**Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price**, November, 2005

**Struggles in Steel**, March, 2006

**From Wharf Rats to Lords of the Docks: The Life and Times of Harry Bridges**, April, 2006

**Change in Newsletter**

Readers will notice that this newsletter is condensed compared to recent editions. We have made this change with the intent of sending out quarterly newsletters that provide more timely announcements and commentary.

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Support the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies

The Harry Bridges Endowed Chair and Center for Labor Studies was founded through the initiative of members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. We continue to build on that initiative in order to provide support for UW students, research, public programs, and other labor-related events. We need your support to continue to provide these valuable opportunities. All donations are tax-deductible; checks should be made out to the University of Washington foundation (you may indicate on the memo line to which fund you wish to designate your contribution). If you wish to use a credit card, go to http://www.uwfoundation.org/

The following are the funds to which you can contribute:

**Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship:** Provides tuition for outstanding undergraduates.

**Martha Duggan Fellowship:** Provides support to graduate students who study or provide caring labor.

**Harry Bridges Endowment:** Supports the endowed Chair and Center for Labor Studies.

**Bridges Discretionary Fund:** Provides maximum flexibility to supports special events, teaching, and scholarship.

**The Theodore L. and Doris M. Hansen Endowment:** Provides annual income for the discretionary fund.

**David J. Olson Endowed Fund:** Supports students in the Department of Political Science.