

**PADM-GP 4455.001**

Labor Movement Politics, Advocacy, & Social Change
Spring 2024

Instructor Information

* Anthony Thomas
* Email: ast439@nyu.edu

Course Information

* Class Meeting Times: Thursdays 6:45pm-8:25pm
* Class Location: Silver Center for Arts and Science Room 618

# Course Description

*According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the number of U.S. workers involved in work stoppages in 2018 reached its highest point since the mid-1980s. The resurgence of the use of strikes and worker activists withholding labor is set against the backdrop of enormous societal challenges such as building wealth and income inequality, climate change, a lack of affordable, quality health care, and access to housing. All of which are exacerbated by the COVID-19 global pandemic.*

*These powerful issues also come at a time when unions themselves are facing innumerable challenges: declining memberships and dues, increasing employer offensives, a weakening of the labor law, a societal lack of understanding of the labor forces and a changing economy that makes traditional methods of union organizing more difficult, costly and less successful.*

*Unions raise the standard of working conditions and wages for all workers, strengthen the overall economy and decrease inequality. Since the 1970s, the labor movement has seen a significant decline in strength, density and strikes - one of their key sources of leverage and expressions of power. Consequently, the decline of union density in the past forty years has coincided with and contributed to a modern economy that doesn’t work for working people.*

This class is an exploration of the political expression of labor unions and a discussion of where the labor movement goes from here. To explore objectively, we must first familiarize ourselves in how our nation, our economic history, and the labor movement evolved to this point. The class will acquaint students with the story of the U.S. labor movement and seek to examine the ways in which unions have driven multiple types of social change. Furthermore, the class will analyze what conditions were necessary to successfully ignite change and seek to apply those learnings to the current labor movement and political work of unions.

With an emphasis on developing both knowledge of unions and their relationship to political change and practical skills in labor movement advocacy, this course will provide an overview of the history, recent trends, and current topics.

# Course and Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, students will:

1)  Be acquainted with the history of the American labor movement including the rise and fall of unions.

2)  Understand the role of unions in social and economic justice movements and policy change.

3) Learn fundamental economic and historical dynamics which impact the lens through which unions, workers, and policy makers engage(d).

4)  Assess the political role of unions.

5)  Evaluate the current resurgence of the labor militancy and understand its relationship to today’s political context.

6)  Evaluate different policy options to strengthen unions.

# Course Expectations and Requirements

**1. Class Participation (20%)**

The course depends on and requires active and ongoing participation by all class participants. This will occur in three ways:

a. Class participants are expected to read and discuss the readings on a weekly basis. That means coming prepared to engage in class, with questions and/or comments with respect to the reading. Students are expected to have completed all the required readings before class to the point where they can be called on to critique or discuss any reading.

b. In class itself, the key to quality class discussions is listening. Asking good questions is the second key element. “What did you mean by that?” “How do you/we know?” “What’s the evidence for that claim?” Be reflective, thoughtful, and fully engage with the ideas of others in the class. Students should share thoughts and reactions in ways that promote critical engagement with their classmates. While engaging, remember the classroom agreements. Discussion topics will often be very personal, sensitive, and even controversial. Being respectful of everyone’s opinion is essential to creating a safe and engaged learning environment.

c. There will also be regular classroom exercises and discussions. Forums are a great way to add to the participation grade and remain engaged in the conversation throughout the week**. We will consider the use of discussion prompts related to the reading each week. Participation in class exercises, discussions, and forums all go into the participation grade.**

d. Class participation is crucial and the quality and thoughtfulness of your involvement will be reflected in your final grade. If speaking in public is difficult for you, please let me know early on.

**2. Reading & Class Reflections (40%)**

Students will have the opportunity to share thoughts and reflections on a given a topic through two written reflections. While I will provide a prompt, reflections can be based on anything that arose from the readings, class sessions or current events related to the labor movement, advocacy and politics.

For a reflection, you are to write a response to the - **maximum two pages single-spaced.** Each response, while reflecting rigorous and careful reading, allows you to explore what excites you intellectually and how you imagine applying what you read and discuss in class to professional areas that interest you. Along with your readings, you may also use lecture, power-point presentations, in-class exercises and the presentations of guest speakers as resources**.**

**3. Final Presentation (40%):**

For the final assignment, students will work in teams to choose a topic related to the course and make a final presentation. For inspiration on topics, please use the overarching questions of the course. As this is a short class, these presentations should be used to expand the topics covered in the course. Please use the opportunity to educate yourselves and classmates on ground we did not cover or express ideas on course-related topics like the future of the labor movement or policy ideas to improve union density. **Groups must get topics approved by April 20th and presentations should be no longer than 10 minutes. Final presentations will take place on the last day of class.**

**NYU Classes and Readings**

1. You are responsible for checking NYU Brightspace for readings, announcements, and other class related documents and information. You are also responsible for regularly checking NYU email.
2. You will need Adobe Acrobat Reader in order to view some of the materials. Make sure that you have it installed.
3. Articles will be added to Brightspace or books will be placed on reserve in the library.

**Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and NYU. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by Wagner’s Academic Code. All Wagner students have already read and signed the Wagner Academic Oath.

If any student in this class is unsure about what is expected of you and how to abide by the academic code, you should consult with me.

**Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Students with Disabilities at NYU**

Academic accommodations are available for students with disabilities. Please visit the Moses Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) website and click on the Reasonable Accommodations and How to Register tab or call or email CSD at (212-998-4980 or mosescsd@nyu.edu) for information. Students who are requesting academic accommodations are strongly advised to reach out to the Moses Center as early as possible in the semester for assistance.

**NYU’s Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays** 

Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to me.

NYU’s Calendar Policy n Religious Holidays states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. Please notify me in advance of religious holidays that might coincide with exams to schedule mutually acceptable alternatives.

**Student Resources**

Wagner offers many quantitative and writing resources as well as skills workshops. The library also offers a variety of data services to students.

o Quantitative resources (https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/academics/advisement/quantitative)

o Writing resources (https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/academics/advisement/writing-center)

o Skills workshops (https://wagner.nyu.edu/education/courses/search?search\_api\_fulltext=&subject %5B%5D=2343&field\_course\_semesters\_offered=All).

o Data services (http://nyu.libguides.com/dataservices)

# Readings

All of your readings are available online or provided under NYU Brightspace Resources for this course. **Readings are subject to change**, but will always be final by the Thursday prior to the next class.

**Overview of the Semester**

WEEK 1: March 14th INTRO: THE STATE OF UNIONS & THE LABOR MOVEMENT

(NO CLASS Week of March 18th)

WEEK 2: March 28th U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT HISTORY: THE RISE & FALL OF UNIONS

*REFLECTION #1 DUE April 4th*

WEEK 3: April 4th Winning & Losing – Efforts to divide the working class and how race and class intersect yesterday and today.

WEEK 4: April 11th Unions, Campaigns, Governance, and the diaspora of union politics and their members.

*REFLECTION #2 & PRESENTATION TOPIC DUE April 18TH*

WEEK 5: April 18th Political education, (internal vs external) organizing, and mobilizing

WEEK 6: April 25th Contemporary Labor Unions and the future of workers.

WEEK 7: May 2nd Final Presentations & Class Wrap up

Week 8: May 9th Final Exams

**Overarching questions to grapple with:**

1. How do unions benefit union members, working people and society?
2. Who, and what type of workers, join unions?
3. Historically, what roles have unions played in political movements and advocacy and how does that compare to now?
4. What roles have businesses, management entities, or government played in relationship to various unions?
5. What has led to the decline in union membership? What can be done to strengthen unions? Should we?
6. Do unions fight for the working class? If so, how? Strategy vs tactics.
7. In what ways do unions mobilize their members in advocacy and political work?
8. How have unions hindered progress for working people?
9. How do union leaders and their commitment to members interact with a commitment to the public good? How can we define or measure this?
10. How do different unions see their role in the labor movement, movement for social and economic justice? And to the extent this is an intentional/strategic choice, why?
11. What would it take for working people to be politically prioritized in the US? And who do we mean by ‘working people’?

**SESSION 1: The Toplines**

*This session will give an overview of what unions are, what unions do, and the current state of unions. This session will also make a case for why learning about and building the strength of unions is essential in taking on economic inequality – and the many other significant challenges of our time.*

* What are unions? What is collective bargaining? What is the labor movement?
* What is the current state of unions in the U.S.?
	+ Unions in relative to density and strength
	+ how Americans feel about unions.
* What exactly does a union do?
* How do unions serve economic justice goals?
* What is the difference between unions and other worker organizations?
	+ Advocacy organizations?
	+ Membership based/led organizations?
	+ Political organizations?
	+ Why is this important?

**Required Reading:**

* Chapter 1&4: ***Why Unions Matter,*** Michael D. Yates [*Access via BRIGHTSPACE]*
* **Latest data release on unionization is a wake-up call to lawmakers**, Heidi Shierholz, Margaret Poydock, John Schmitt and Celine McNicholas, January 20, 2022, EPI, https://www.epi.org/publication/latest-data-release-on-unionization-is-a- wake-up-call-to-lawmakers/
* **LISTEN**: The Rise & Fall (and rise?) of organized labor, NPR, November 29, 2021 https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1059910517

**Optional Reading:**

* **The State of Unions 2021 in NYC, NYS and US,** Ruth Milkman and Stephanie Luce https://slu.cuny.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Union\_Density- 2021\_D.pdf

**SESSION 2: Labor Movement History**

*This session will explore the roots of the modern US labor movement from the early 1900s through the PATCO strike including the rise and fall of unions.*

* How did the labor movement start in the US?
* How did the strikes of the 1930s lead to the Wagner Act and enshrinement of collective bargaining?
* What union victories occurred during this period?
	+ Who was included and who was excluded?
* What were monumental moments in the US labor movement and how did they

contribute to the overall strength of unions?

*Special Guest: TBA*

**Required Readings:**

• **The State of the Union**, Nelson Lichtenstein - Ch 1 in full, and pages pgs 98-99, and 105-114 of Ch. 3. [Access via BRIGHTSPACE]

* “**The Labor Question**,” The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980, Steve Fraser https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv131bvcc.6
* “**The Strike that Busted Unions”**, Joseph A. McCartin, August
2011, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/03/opinion/reagan-vs-patco-the-strike- that-busted-unions.html

**Optional:**

* The full Chapter 3 of State of the Union
* **The Lessons of 1934**, Sharon Smith, The Socialist

Worker https://socialistworker.org/2009/10/06/lessons-of-1934

* **PODCAST:** When Reagan Broke the Unions, December 18,

2019 https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/when-reagan-broke-the- unions/id290783428?i=1000460023060

**SESSION 3: When Working People Fight, (sometimes) Working People Win: Working people victories, efforts to divide us and the ongoing class war.**

*This session will look at instances where the labor movement has fought and won policy change for social progress. This session will also look at the rise of neoliberalism, its ties to the republican party, and how this has led to an ongoing class war.*

* What have working people fought for and won?
* What role did unions and working people play in the Civil Rights Movement?
* Why is union density in decline?
* How has a changing economy contributed to the decline of unions?
* What roles do employers and union busting play in the decline of unions?
* What led to the rise of neoliberalism?
* How has neoliberalism contributed to the class war?
* What are hallmarks of the class war?
* What have the results of the class war been?

**Required Readings**

* Capital Flight, “States’ Rights,” and the Anti-Labor Offensive After World War II *[Access via BRIGHTSPACE]*
* Chapter 5, ***The State of the Union* Film**: At the River I Stand
* The Powell Memo, Lewis Powell *[Access via BRIGHTSPACE]*
* Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech to the AFL-CIO Convention on Dec. 11, 1961. http://www.substancenews.net/articles.php?page=4740

Optional:

How McCarthyism and the Red Scare Hurt the Black Freedom Struggle, Paul Heideman - https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/05/mccarthyism-red-scare-civil- rights-movement

**SESSION 4: The Role of Unions in Politics & Movement Building and the Complicated Politics of Union Members***This session will talk about how race and racism has been used to divide working people and make an argument for unionism through a race/class lens. We will also explore legislative and political work from the perspective of a union as well as think through issues relating to developing members and engaging members in movement building and political work.*

* How has racism been used to divide working people? What have the consequences been?
* What role should unions play in fighting racism?
* Why should unions be involved in political work? How does ideology play into the political role of a union?
* What is the role of union members in a union’s political work?
* How do you engage and mobilize members in advocacy work?
* What limitations do unions face when engaging in political work because of their membership?
* What about a labor party?

**Required Reading:**

* **Pgs 14-17** (I marked off the section to read), Chapter 1, “Building Social Movement Unionism,” *Rekindling the Movement: Labor’s quest for relevant in the
21st century,* Lowell Turner and Richard W. Hurd
* "New Polling Data Shows Complicated Politics of Union Members", CM Lewis & Kevin Reuning, https://www.thestrikewave.com/original-content/complicated- politics-of-union-members
* - The Field: A Divided Latino Vote in Arizona, *The
Daily*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/19/podcasts/the-daily/latino-voters- biden-trump.html?

Optional:

* **Pages 24-27 and 131-133**. *Theories of the Labor Movement*, Simeon Larson & Bruce Nissen
* **"The Forgotten Militants"**, Charlie Post, Jacobin, August
2016. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/the-forgotten-militants/ - "The Union Members who Voted for Trump Have to Be Organized - Not Ignored", Mindy Isser, December 28 2020. https://inthesetimes.com/article/trump-voters-labor- unions-election-2020
* "Time for Unions to Give the Democratic Party an Ultimatum" Hamilton Nolan, https://inthesetimes.com/article/unions-election-president-biden- democratic-party-pro-act

**SESSION 5: Organizing, Mobilizing and Striking**

*This session will discuss recent organizing examples around the country. Admits the discussions on why workers organize and what unions do, we’ll move deeper into how it happens, what variables are in play, and how in contemporary settings organizing drives occur and members are mobilized. We will also explore some of the legal dynamics which impact organizing and worker strikes.*

Required Readings: *[Access via BRIGHTSPACE]*

* Auto Workers & Amazon:
	+ Alabama Residents Overwhelmingly Support Union Drive at Amazon\_ Poll.pdf
	+ [Was the Failed Union Drive in Bessemer a Net Positive for the Labor Movement\_ \_ The Nation.pdf](https://www.thenation.com/article/society/bessemer-amazon-organizing-labor/)
* Red for Ed: Public Education strikes in Right to Work States
	+ [West Virginia Raises Teachers’ Pay to End Statewide Strike - The New York Times.pdf](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/06/us/west-virginia-teachers-strike-deal.html)
	+ [West Virginia Teachers Walk Out (Again) and Score a Win in Hours - The New York Times.pdf](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/19/us/teachers-strikes.html)
	+ [West Virginia's Education Bill Dies As Teachers Strike \_ NPR.pdf](https://www.npr.org/2019/02/19/695856032/w-va-teachers-go-on-strike-over-state-education-bill)

**SESSION 6: Contemporary Labor Movement & The Future of Unions**

* Precarious Work – Gig Economy, Guest Workers, & Migrant Crisis

Readings TBA.

**SESSION 7: Final Presentations & Class Wrap Up**