

# 2021 **LAWCHA** Conference

LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY ASSOCIATION



## **WORKERS** on the **FRONT LINES**

A Virtual Conference » May 20–28, 2021

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# WELCOME



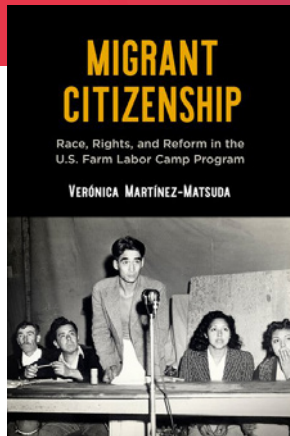
WELCOME TO THE LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS History Association's 2021 Conference! We gather in a moment of both peril and promise, as the COVID-19 pandemic appears to be easing in some places while resurging in others, and as the political winds seem to be gathering force on the left and the right. This year's theme, *Workers on the Front Lines*, reminds us that working people have almost always been the first to confront challenges that eventually confront all of society, ranging from pandemics and police brutality to war, natural disaster, economic crisis and political change. We are particularly reminded of this as we gather remotely to protect ourselves, families and co-workers from COVID-19. We were looking forward to meeting in Chicago, but grateful that we can come together, nonetheless.

One advantage of a remote meeting is that we can hear from scholars and activists from across the United States and around the world. The conference opens with a public summit on *College for All* and a National Agenda for Labor in Higher Education, and our member meeting will include a greeting from an organizer of B'Amazon union in Bessemer, Alabama. Parts of the conference are organized in collaboration with the United Association of Labor Educators, including a cultural event and a screening and roundtable discussion of Julia Reichert and Steve Bogner's documentary film, *9to5: Story of A Movement*. We also have plenaries on the New Labor Journalism and the challenges faced by essential workers in the food industry during the pandemic and a screening of the documentary film, *Haymarket: The Bomb, the Anarchists, the Labor Struggle*, alongside 60 panels, roundtables and workshops.

For this rich and invigorating program, we have an outstanding Program Committee to thank. Co-Chairs Peter Cole and Keona Ervin carried the heaviest weight, along with LAWCHA Executive Assistant James McElroy. Program Committee members Emma Amador, Shennette Garrett-Scott, Toni Gilpin, Sergio González, Robert Johnston, Manu Karuka, Mark Lause, Sarah McNamara, Tejasvi Nagaraja, Colleen O'Neill, Paul Ortiz, Sarah Rose, Marcia Walker-McWilliams, Lane Windham, and David Zonderman helped select panels and organize plenaries. Sophia Lee chaired the Anti-Harassment Investigating Team, which includes Shennette-Garrett-Scott, Claire Goldstene, Manu Karuka and Jon Shelton. I am grateful to all who contributed to making this conference possible.

— William P. Jones, President,  
Labor and Working-Class History Association

# AWARDS



## David Montgomery Award

THE DAVID MONTGOMERY AWARD for the best book on a topic in American labor and working-class history goes to Verónica Martínez-Matsuda, *Migrant Citizenship: Race, Rights, and Reform in the U.S. Farm Labor Camp Program* (University of Pennsylvania Press).

## Philip Taft Labor History Book Award

THE PHILIP TAFT LABOR HISTORY BOOK AWARD will be announced at the conference. The award is sponsored by the ILR School at Cornell University and LAWCHA.

## Herbert G. Gutman Prize for Outstanding Dissertation

THE HERBERT G. GUTMAN PRIZE FOR OUTSTANDING DISSERTATION is awarded to Joshua Hollands, “Work and Sexuality in the Sunbelt: Homophobic Workplace Discrimination in the U.S. South and Southwest, 1970 to the Present” (University College London, directed by Jonathan Bell and Nick Witham).



## Distinguished Service to Labor and Working-Class History Award

JULIA REICHERT is a four-time Academy Award nominee and Oscar-winning documentary filmmaker whose work has centered the stories of workers and labor. Her latest film, with Steven Bognar, is *9to5: The Story of a Movement*.



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Established in 1918, the University of Illinois Press publishes 80 new books annually and 42 journal titles in the humanities and social sciences. For forty-three years, University of Illinois Press has published books in the Working Class in American History series, established by Herbert Gutman, David Brody, and David Montgomery. The current series editors are James R. Barrett, Thavolia Glymph, Julie Greene, William P. Jones, and Nelson Lichtenstein. To date, we have published seven winners of the Herbert G. Gutman Prize for Outstanding Dissertation in U.S. Labor and Working-Class History. [www.press.uillinois.edu](http://www.press.uillinois.edu)



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Visit our virtual exhibit at [uncpress.org/lawcha-virtual-exhibit/](http://uncpress.org/lawcha-virtual-exhibit/) to browse our recent titles in labor history available at our 40% conference discount.



Founded in 1969, Pluto Press is one of the West's oldest radical publishers. We proudly identify as anti-capitalist, internationalist and politically independent. We publish many books on labor and working class politics and history including the groundbreaking 'Wildcat' series, featuring books on Amazon workers, organizing in the Global South, the contingent faculty movement and more. We are delighted to offer LAWCHA attendees 40% off all our books. To claim the discount, please enter the coupon code 'LAWCHA40' at the checkout. For special offers on all our new books, you can sign up to our mailing list here. [www.plutobooks.com](http://www.plutobooks.com)

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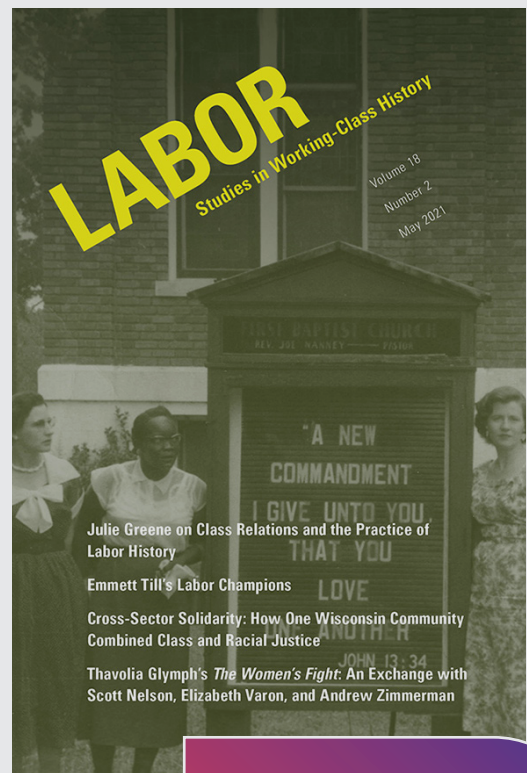
The Labor and Working-Class History Association is an organization of scholars, teachers, students, labor educators, and activists who seek to promote public and scholarly awareness of labor and working-class history through research, writing, and organizing.

## Benefits of Membership:

One-year subscription to Labor:

- » Studies in Working-Class History (four issues)
- » LAWCHA also publishes LaborOnline, our exciting current/historical issues blog
- » Eligibility to receive prizes and travel grants for graduate students, contingent faculty, and independent scholars
- » Participation in a vibrant organization that joins scholarship, teaching and activism, promoting public awareness of labor's role in history and current struggles

*Visit [lawcha.org](http://lawcha.org) for more information.*



### Dues:

Contributing: \$85

Regular: \$50

Reduced: \$25

# LAWCHA

LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY ASSOCIATION

# SCHEDULE

## Thursday, May 20

### 6–8 ET Opening Night Plenary



City University of New York faculty demonstrate pre-pandemic.  
Photo by PSC-CUNY

#### College for All and a National Agenda for Labor in Higher Education

This summit brings together LAWCHA members, labor activists, Scholars for a New Deal for Higher Education (SFNDHE), and union representatives serving a variety of higher ed workers to discuss the College for All bill and how to use it as a foundation for a bottom-up national movement, one that demands fair funding, fair tuition, and fair labor.

SFNDHE successfully fought to include labor provisions that prioritize contingent faculty and tenure-track positions in the College for All bill—but there is still more to be done.

LAWCHA members, as labor scholars, higher ed workers, and union organizers, have a vital role to play in this national agenda and the federal legislative battles ahead.

*Endorsed by the LAWCHA Contingent Faculty Committee*

**Todd Wolfson**, Rutgers University, President Rutgers AAUP-AFT

**Mia McIver**, UCLA Writing Programs, President UC-AFT

**Colena Sesanker**, Gateway Community College, member Congress of Connecticut Community Colleges SEIU Local 1973

**Jill Penn**, Gwinnett College, Co-president United Campus Workers-CWA Georgia

**Aimee Loiselle**, Postdoctoral Fellow at Smith College, co-facilitator for SFNDHE

**Donna Murch**, Associate Professor at Rutgers University, a founding member of SFNDHE

**Ian Gavigan**, PhD candidate at Rutgers University–New Brunswick, media coordinator for SFNDHE

**Eleni Schirmer**, PhD candidate at University of Wisconsin–Madison, representing SFNDHE

**Moderator: Lane Windham**, Georgetown University and the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor

## Friday, May 21

Sessions » 12:00–1:15 ET

### **A1 The Personal is Historical: Incorporating Family Legacies and Personal Experience into Labor History**

Toni Gilpin, Independent Scholar

Sergio M. González, Assistant Professor of Latinx Studies, Marquette University

Jack Metzgar, Emeritus Professor of Humanities, Roosevelt University–Chicago

David Ranney, Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois–Chicago

Beryl Satter, Professor of History, Rutgers University–Newark

Christine Walley, Professor of Anthropology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### **A2 Working People and (Human) Capital: Class, Race, and Education in Twentieth Century America**

Human Capital, Summer Riots, and Disciplining Black Resistance: 1965–68, Mahasan Chaney, Brown University

Historicizing Workplace Power and the Limits of Human Capital, Cristina Groeger, Lake Forest College

“Putting (Some) People First”: Reinventing Democrats and Workers in the Global Knowledge Economy, Jon Shelton, University of Wisconsin–Green Bay

Chair/Commentator: Jeffrey Helgeson, Texas State University

### **A3 The “Frontline” at Home: Domestic Workers as Essential Workers**

Joan Flores-Villalobos, University of Southern California

Anasa Hicks, Florida State University

Anna Jakubek, Arise Chicago (Domestic Worker Organizer)

Emma Amador, University of Connecticut

Premilla Nadasen, Barnard College

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, University of Southern California

### **A4 From the Prison to the Pandemic: Histories of Criminalization, Migration, and Essential Work in the U.S. and Europe**

Policing Precarity: The Criminalization of Spectacle Work at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, David Helps, University of Michigan

Where Domestic and Penal Labor Meet: The National Domestic Workers Union and Georgia’s Work Release Program, Eshe Sherley, University of Michigan

Working under the threat of Covid-19: West-African low-wage workers in New York City, Kalilou Barry, Paris-Est Créteil University

Discipline and Diversity: Forced Labor Inside New York City’s Nineteenth-Century Carceral State, Michael Haggerty, University of California–Davis

Migrant Workers in Slovakia and the Covid-19 Crisis, Benjamin Sorensen, Cape Fear Community College

Chair/Commentator: John Enyeart, Bucknell University

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WEBSITE » [LAWCHA.ORG/ANNUALMEETING/CHICAGO-ILLINOIS-2021](http://LAWCHA.ORG/ANNUALMEETING/CHICAGO-ILLINOIS-2021)



# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 21 » 12:00–1:15pm ET

## A5 High Tech as Management Ideology and Workplace Praxis

The Paradox of Automation: QWERTY and the Neuter Keyboard, Jason Resnikoff, Columbia University  
“The Machine is Neutral”: Imperial Wars in Southeast Asia: American Tech Workers and Silicon Valley Internationalism, 1967–1980, Jeannette Estruth, Bard College  
Grand Illusions: Clinton Intellectuals and the Idea of the “High Performance” Workplace, Nelson Lichtenstein, University of California–Santa Barbara  
Chair/Commentator: Brishen Rogers, Temple University Law School

## A6 On the Margins of Labor and Capital: Shifting Social Identities in the Global South

Becoming pobladores: Identity and Place Making in Santiago, Chile, 1872–1950, Denisa Jashari, University of North Carolina–Greensboro  
Korean Women Workers and Social Reproduction in the Japanese Countryside after World War I, Wendy Matsumura, University of California–San Diego  
Revolutionary Encounters in the Countryside: Spanish Exiles, Mexican Peasants, and Rural Colonization Initiatives, Kevan Aguilar, University of California–San Diego  
Chair/Commentator: Barbara Weinstein, New York University



Republican refugees working as farmers in Pachuca de Soto Mexico (Wikimedia Commons)

## A7 Histories of Unions at the University of Illinois at Chicago

Cathleen Jensen, SEIU Local 73  
Paul Pater, Illinois Nurses Association  
Jeff Schuhrke, University of Illinois at Chicago  
Janet Smith, UIC United Faculty  
Chair: Robert D. Johnston, UIC United Faculty

## A8 Management, Vigilantism, and Repression from the Civil War to the 1930s

Murder on the Border 1865: The Last Battle of the Civil War as a Matter of Company Security, Mark Lause, University of Cincinnati  
Why we must call the first Ku Klux Klan an Employers’ Association, Chad Pearson, Collin College  
The Chamber of Commerce in Action: Employer Violence in Pacific Northwest History, Aaron Goings, St. Martin’s University  
Chair/Commentator: Elaine Frantz, Kent State University

# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 21 » 12:00–1:15, 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **A9** Union and Worker Responses to Police Brutality and State/Corporate Repression in the Early to Mid 20th Century

“Police Brutally Beat Girls Who Strike Against Garment Shop Starvation Wages”: The Sopkins Factory Strike, 1933, Janette Gayle, Hobart & William Smith Colleges

Footloose Under Lock and Key: Policing Pacific Northwestern Migrant Workers in the Early Twentieth Century, Elizabeth Pingree, Boston College

Bloody Sticks and Working Class Martyrs: Responses to Police/Corporate Brutality During the Great Depression by Labor Organizers, James Robinson, Rutgers University

To Slay the “Beast of Reaction”: The IWW, the East Coast Maritime Strike of 1936 and its Repression, Matt White, Ohio State University

## **Friday, May 21**

**Sessions » 1:45–3:00 ET**

### **B1** Working-class Coalitions and the Emerging Neoliberal Order, 1970–1990

“A New Bracero Program”: Mexican American Resistance to Neoliberal Immigration Reform, Eladio B. Bobadilla, University of Kentucky

“Homeless and Jobless”: Organizing for Justice, Dignity, & Reform in the Neoliberal City, Allyson P. Brantley, University of La Verne

Progressive Triangulation: Industrial Conversion, Municipal Politics, and Labor’s Electoral Strategy in Los Angeles, Tobias Higbie and Gaspar Rivera Salgado, University of California–Los Angeles

Chair/Commentator: Grace Davie, Queens College–CUNY

### **B2** Hot Off The Press!: A University of Illinois Press Showcase

Alison K. Syring, University of Illinois Press

Dana M. Caldemeyer, South Georgia State College

Tom Alter, Texas State University

Nick Juravich, University of Massachusetts–Boston

Jenny Carson, Ryerson University

Dawson Barrett, Del Mar College

### **B3** Academic Labor Union Density Growth (2013–2019) in Perspective

William A. Herbert, Hunter College–CUNY

Jacob Apkarian, York College–CUNY

Joseph van der Naald, PhD candidate, CUNY Graduate School

Claire Goldstene, LAWCHA Committee on Contingent Faculty Chair

Robert D. Johnston, University of Illinois at Chicago



Photo by Anthony Chider

# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 21 » 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **B4 Comparative Approaches to Labor History: Canada, Brazil, and the United States**

The Emergence of a Slave Labor System in 16th Century Brazil and Colonial Virginia, Sofia Cutler, Yale University

Separations and Strange Bedfellows: Labor and the New Left in the United States and Canada, Barry Eidlin, McGill University

“The Canadian Jimmy Hoffa”: Hal Banks and a Comparative Perspective on the Issue of Union Corruption, David Witwer, Penn State–Harrisburg

Chair/Commentator: Dorothy Sue Cobble, Rutgers University

## **B5 Agrarian Crusades: Interracialism and Cultural Politics in the Late Nineteenth-Century South**

“Are Not Our Interests the Same?": Black Protest, the Lost Cause, and Coalition Building in Readjuster Virginia, Bryant K. Barnes, University of Georgia

John Brown's Bodies: Civil War Memory and Interracial Class Politics in “the Other South,” Matthew E. Stanley, Albany State University

“Big Landholders” versus “Three Classes” of Farmers: The Rise and Fall of Populism in Gwinnett County, Georgia, 1873–1896, Matthew Hild, Georgia Institute of Technology

Chair/Commentator: Jane Dailey, University of Chicago

## **B6 Visual Culture and Struggle in Latin and Latinx America**

The Bisexual Erasure of Emiliano Zapata: Art, Censorship, and Revolutionary Struggle in Mexico, Robert Franco, Washington University in St. Louis

The Revolutionary Art of Rosendo Salazar: Anarchism, Muralism and State Ideology, Rosalía Romero, Pomona College

Visualizing Juana Colón: Archival Power and the Struggle for Remembrance in Puerto Rico, Jorell Meléndez-Badillo, Dartmouth College

Chair: Kevan Antonio Aguilar, University of California–San Diego

Commentator: Alexander Aviña, Arizona State University

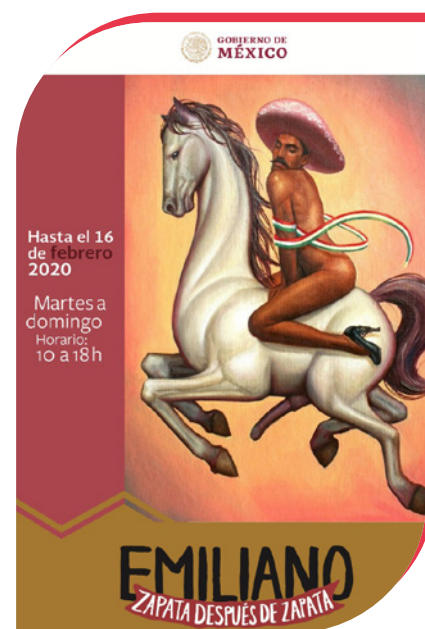
## **B7 Gig Work in the Woods—The Long History of Contingent Logging Work in Maine's Woods, 1850–2020**

Pulling the Strings in Maine's Forests, 1940–2000, Michael G. Hillard, University of Southern Maine

I will be a farmer until I take a job: Agrarian Independence and Contract Labor in Rural New England and New York, 1850–1930, Jason Newton, University of North Carolina–Charlotte

The Struggle Continues—Maine Loggers' Recent Gains, Troy Jackson, Maine State Senate

Chair/Commentator: Elizabeth Tandy-Shermer, Loyola University of Chicago



Poster from the Zapata exhibition at the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City.

## Saturday, May 22

Sessions » 12:00–1:15 ET

**A1 Anti-Apartheid Organizing and the Long Civil Rights Movement in the United States: Corporate Research, Bank Campaigns, and the Push for Sanctions**

From Shareholder Activism to Trade Union Corporate Campaigns: How the International Anti-Apartheid Movement Reshaped the American Left, Grace Davie, Queens College–CUNY

“Redline South Africa, Not Lawndale and Chicago’s Black West Side!”: The 1977–88 Anti-Apartheid Bank Campaign, Prexy Nesbitt, Chapman University

“Radicals in a Broader Sense”: Anti-Apartheid Politics and the Long Arm of the Civil Rights Movement, Leon Fink, University of Illinois at Chicago

Chair/Commentator: Alex Lichtenstein, Indiana University

**A2 Writing Puerto Rican Labor History: A Discussion of ‘Colonial Migrants at the Heart of Empire’**

Emma Amador, University of Connecticut–Storrs

Ismael Garcia-Colón, College of Staten Island and CUNY Graduate Center

Eileen Findlay, American University

Carmen Whalen, Williams College

Jorell Melendez-Badillo, Dartmouth College

Delia Fernandez, Michigan State University

**A3 Metzgar’s Striking Steel: A Twenty Year Retrospective**

Tracy Neumann, Wayne State University

Gabriel Winant, University of Chicago

Samir Sonti, CUNY

Jefferson Cowie, Vanderbilt University

Jack Metzgar, Roosevelt University (retired)

Christine Walley, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**A4 Broadcasting the Working Class: A Podcast and Community Radio Workshop**

Maximillian Alvarez, The Real News Network

Judy Ancel, KKFI, Kansas City Community Radio

Patrick Dixon, Georgetown University

Jerry Mead-Lucero, Labor Express Radio

Liz Medina, Vermont State Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Alan Wierdak, University of Maryland

# SCHEDULE

Saturday, May 22 » 12:00–1:15, 1:45–3:00pm ET

## A5 **Canaries in the Coal Mine: Sex Workers at the Front Lines**

Angela Jones, SUNY Farmingdale

Heather Berg, Washington University St. Louis

Lindsay Blewett, York University

femi babylon, writer and artist

Emily Coombes, University of Nevada Las Vegas

Velvet, Sex Workers Outreach Project

Chair/Commentator: Melinda Chateauvert, Front Porch Research Strategy

## A6 **Walls, Bars, and Fences: Incarcerated Workers in Canada's Past and Present**

From Camps to the Streets: Direct Action During the Great Depression, Mikhail Bjorge, University of Toronto

Prisoner Unionization in Canada, Jordan House, Brock University

Working Over Canada's First National Internment Operations, Kassandra Luciuk, University of Toronto

Chair/Commentator: Paul Gray, Brock University

## Saturday, May 22

Sessions » 1:45–3:00 ET

## B1 **New Directions in Faith, Labor, and the Common Good**

Dan Graff, University of Notre Dame

Karen Kent, Unite Here Local 1, Chicago

Sr. Emily TeKolste, SP, NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice

Kevin Hawkins, US Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

James Franczek, Jr., Franczek P.C.

Chair/Commentator: Heath Carter, Princeton Theological Seminary

## B2 **Tapping into Crises: Identity, Cultural Production, and Exploitation in America's Historic Brewing Industry**

Joseph B. Walzer, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Krista Grensavitch, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

John Harry, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Jacob Remes, New York University



Network Lobby for Catholic Social Justice” visiting law makers in Washington, DC. Courtesy of Network Lobby for Catholic Social Justice.

# SCHEDULE

Saturday, May 22 » 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **B3 Red, Green, and International**

Cindy Domingo, Legacy of Equality Leadership and Organizing  
Carrie Freshour, Geography, University of Washington–Seattle  
Rosalinda Guillen, Community to Community  
Alina R. Méndez, University of Washington–Seattle  
Michael Schulze-Oechtering, Western Washington University

## **B4 Teaching Labor’s Story: Writing Workshop**

Nikki Mandell, University of Wisconsin–Whitewater  
Randi Storch, SUNY–Cortland  
Rosemary Feurer, Northern Illinois University  
Emily Lieb, Seattle University  
Lisa Phillips, Indiana State University  
Nick Juravich, University of Massachusetts–Boston  
Cecelia Bucki, Fairfield University



Lewis-Hine, “Finishing Garments, 10 Hanover Avenue, Boston, Mass,” Library of Congress

## **B5 The Home as an Essential Workplace**

Northern Households, Immigrant Domestic Workers, and the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, Eileen Boris, University of California–Santa Barbara  
“A First-Rate Seamstress For Sale”: Gender, Slavery, and the Contested Meaning of Home, Alexandra Finley, University of Pittsburgh  
Fashioning Community: Black “At Home” Dressmakers in Early Twentieth Century New York City, Janette Gayle, Hobart & William Smith Colleges  
Political Homework: Latina Labors and Political Activisms, 1930–1960, Sarah McNamara, Texas A&M University  
Bargaining for “Work and Family”: Labor Defines Work-Family Benefits and the Meaning of Home, Kirsten Swinth, Fordham University  
Chair/Commentator: Katherine Turk, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill

## **B6 Beyond Desegregation: Waging a Battle Against Apartheid in the South African Workplace.**

Strings Attached: Coke Money and the Student Divestment Movement in Atlanta, Amanda Joyce Hall, Yale University  
Not the country for cheap white labour: U.S. Mining Engineers and the Elaboration of Racial Capitalism in South Africa, 1889–1910, Doug Jones, University of Illinois–Urbana-Champaign  
Beyond Desegregation: Waging a Battle Against Apartheid in the South African Workplace, Mattie Webb, University of California–Santa Barbara  
The American-African Affairs Association and the Conservative Case for South Africa, Kelsey L. Zavelo, Duke University  
Chair/Commentator: Jessica Ann Levy, SUNY–Purchase

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# SCHEDULE

Saturday, May 22 » 1:45–3:00, 8:00–10:00pm ET

## **B7 Essential in the City: Working People and Organized Labor in Times of Urban Crisis**

Empire in Need: Scales of Struggle in 1970s Seattle, Andrew Hedden, University of Washington

Fighting for the Working Class City: Retired Workers, Organized Labor, and Redevelopment in San Francisco, Laura Renata Martin, South Puget Sound Community College

Public Sector Unions and in the Re-Articulation of Essential Work in the 1975 New York City Fiscal Crisis, Michael Beyea Reagan, University of Washington

Mutual Aid and the Hierarchy of Care: Organizing Care Work in Capital's Crises, JM Wong, Office of Civil Rights

Chair/Commentator: Katie Wilson, Transit Riders Union in Seattle

## **B8 Networks of Working-Class Organization in the American Midwest, 1900–1970**

Millions of Honest Workingmen: Reconstructing Socialist Networks in Chicago, 1900–1917, Natalie Behrends, Harvard University

The Kansas City Solidarity Infrastructure: Articulating Class Interests with Progressive Allies in the 1910s, Jeff Stilley, University of Missouri

Red Detroit: Revolutionaries, Labor Organizers, and Communists in the Motor City During the 1970s, Kenneth Alyass, Harvard University

Chair/Commentator: Traci Parker, University of Massachusetts–Amherst

## **Saturday, May 22**

**Plenary » 8:00–10:00 ET**



Essential workers lack a collective voice at FreshDirect after the defeat of a Teamsters unionization drive, Photo by John J. Kelly III

### **Organizing Restaurant and Food Workers During the Pandemic**

The early weeks of the pandemic seemed to teach a general lesson about “essential labor,” a lesson that seems to have been largely forgotten since. In the meantime, the struggle to raise the federal minimum wage continues, despite the recent setback. This panel considers the possibilities of organizing in fast food and other restaurants, as a particularly militant part of the US working class historically, and today.

**Mohamed Attia**, Executive Director, Street Vendor Project

**Dorothy Sue Cobble**, Distinguished Professor Emerita of History and Labor Studies, Rutgers University

**Ryan Coffel**, Colectivo Collective Union Organizer

**Carlos Enriquez**, Restaurant Organizing Project, Democratic Socialists of America

**Ben Wilkins**, Organizing Director, NC Raise Up

**Moderator: Manu Karuka**, Barnard College

# SCHEDULE

Monday, May 24 » 8:00–10:00pm ET

## Monday, May 24

UALE/LAWCHA Cultural Event: A Night of Poetry and Music » 8:00–10:00pm ET

*The United Association for Labor Education Presents*

### *Artistic Inspiration for Global Transformation*

*Monday, May 24, 8-9:30 pm CDT*

Join us for

**A virtual tour of the Maxo Vanka Murals @ St. Nicholas  
Croatian Catholic Church, Pittsburgh**



And performances by

**hip hop artist  
Jendog Lonewolf**

**spoken word performer  
Blaq Ice**

**singer/songwriter  
Tom Juravich**





# SCHEDULE

Tuesday, May 25 to Wednesday, May 26

## Tuesday, May 25

**LAWCHA Board Meeting » 12:00–3:00pm ET**

**LAWCHA/UALE Plenary: 9to5: The Story of a Movement » 8:00–10:00pm ET**

*9TO5: THE STORY OF A MOVEMENT* is a documentary film from the Academy Award winning filmmaking duo of Julia Reichert and Steven Bognar. The film follows a group of secretaries in the 1970s who fought against lack of acknowledgment, demeaning tasks, low pay and harassment in the workplace. Featuring interviews with 9to5's founders, as well as actor and activist Jane Fonda, *9to5: The Story of a Movement* is the previously untold story of the fight that inspired a hit film and song and changed the American workplace.

Panel discussion with audience follows the film at 9:30 pm EDT featuring:

**Julia Reichert and Steve Bognar,**

Academy Award winning filmmakers

**Kim Cook,** Cornell Worker Institute/Past President of SEIU 925, Moderator

**Lane Windham,** Historian, Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, Georgetown University

**Ciara Fox,** Fight for \$15 Organize



Scene from *9to5: The Story of a Movement*

## Wednesday, May 26

**LAWCHA Member Meeting » 6:00–7:30pm ET**

THE LAWCHA MEMBERSHIP MEETING will begin with a short greeting from an organizer of the **B'Amazon Union Council of RWDSU**, which is supporting the organization of workers at Amazon warehouses in Bessemer and across the South. The meeting will also include the announcement of this year's LAWCHA Distinguished Service to Labor History Award and other prizes, and a discussion of LAWCHA's future led by Vice President Cindy Hahamovitch.



San Francisco, CA – Mar 12, 2021: Unidentified participants protesting Morgan Lewis representing Amazon to bust up formation of a union for workers. Photo by Sheila Fitzgerald

LAWCHA 2021 CONFERENCE: WORKERS ON THE FRONTLINES » MAY 20–28

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## Thursday, May 27

Sessions » 12:00–1:15 ET

### **A1 Public Sector Workers on the Front Lines of Democratic Existence**

Gender & Politics among Federal Indian Service Employees, 1800–1930, Cathleen D. Cahill, Penn State University

Night of the Living Dread: Public Sector Workers Can't See Light of Day, Frederick Gooding, Jr., Texas Christian University

"They Won't Work for a Cop of Any Kind": The 1970 Sanitation Slowdown, Municipal Workers and Black Power Politics in Philadelphia, Francis Ryan, Rutgers University

The Meaning of Teachers' Labor in American Education: Change, Challenge, and Resistance, Jon Shelton, University of Wisconsin–Green Bay

"We're the Backbone of this City": Women & Gender in Public Work, Katherine Turk, University of North Carolina

Sick Ins, Heal Ins, and Wildcat Strikes: Labor Organizing at Chicago's Public Hospital in the 1960s and Its Legacy for the 1970s, Amy Zandoni, Southern Methodist University

Chair/Commentator: Eric S. Yellin, University of Richmond

### **A2 Roundtable: On Doing Global Labor History: Challenges and Benefits**

Julie Greene, University of Maryland–College Park

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, University of Southern California

Peter Cole, Western Illinois University

Moderator: Shelton Stromquist, University of Iowa

### **A3 Gangsters, Deindustrialization and Labor History for the Fashion Industry: Perspectives on New York City's Garment District**

Teaching Fashion Students About the History of the NYC Garment District, Kyunghye Pyun, Fashion Institute of Technology

Teaching Fashion Students About the History of the NYC Garment District, Daniel Levinson Wilk, Fashion Institute of Technology

On the Auction Block: The Garment Industry and the Deindustrialization of New York City, Andrew Battle, Common Notions

Murder in the Garment District: The Historic Role of Labor Racketeering in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Catherine Rios, Penn State University

Chair: David Witwer, Penn State University

Commentator: Kim Phillips-Fein, New York University

# SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 27 » 12:00–1:15pm ET

## **A4 Economically Essential, Medically Marginal: Latinx Migrant Worker Health on the Front Lines of Twentieth Century U.S. Industry**

Resisting Death and Dismemberment: Mexican Strategies to Secure Compensation in the Lower Midwest, Bryan Winston, Dartmouth College

20th Century Agricultural Labor, Migrant Death, and Remembering Lost Lives, Juan Ignacio Mora, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Surviving Dairyland: Investigating How Undocumented Immigrants Navigated Workplace Danger in the Rural Midwest, 1988–2004, Dustin Cohan, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Chair: Marla A. Ramírez, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Commentator: Chantel Rodriguez, University of Maryland

## **A5 Exploring Black Power, Political Resistance, and Social Movements**

Forging Radical Inclusivity: Jon Paul Hammond's Architecture of a World Unrealized, J.T. Roane, Arizona State University

Rethinking Black Intellectuals and the “Inner” City: Against the Plantation to Ghetto Narrative in the US Capital, Paula C. Austin, Boston University

“People Can’t Live in a Stadium:” Black Resistance to the Politics of Development in Atlanta, Danielle Wiggins, California Institute of Technology

Chair and Commentator: Marsha Barrett, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign



Stock photo by Disobey Art

## **A6 Democracy in Public Sector Unions**

More Whitley Than Wagner: A Canadian Public Sector Union's Experience with Sectoral Bargaining from 1967 to 2000, Jason Russell, SUNY–Empire State College

Democracy & Authority at Work: Public Employees in 1970s Pennsylvania, James Young, Edinboro University

Striking and Bargaining for the Common Good: The Case of the 1970 New Haven Federation of Teachers, Alexander Kolokotronis, Yale University

Firestorm!: Chaffey College in Crisis, 1978–1980, Lukas Gunderson, Chaffey College

The Struggle Over The Story: Rethinking Schools, Union Democracy and the Milwaukee Teachers' Union, 1975–1990, Eleni Schirmer, University of Wisconsin

# SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 27 » 12:00–1:15, 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **A7 Education and the Making of Working-Class Politics in Boston**

We're doing it our way: Working-Class African American and Latina Mother-Organizers in Boston's Movements for Educational Justice, Tatiana M.F. Cruz, Lesley University

Driving Against Injustice: Boston's School Bus Drivers Union and the Struggle for a Democratic City, Jeffrey Helgeson, Texas State University

Class Politics and School Desegregation in Boston, 1974–1985, Greta de Jong, University of Nevada, Reno

From Busing to Black Lives Matter: The Evolution of the Boston Teachers Union, Nick Juravich, University of Massachusetts–Boston

Chair/Commentator: Zebulon Miletsky, Stony Brook University

## **A8 Collective Bargaining from All Sides: Unionism, the Faculty Senate, Contingent Faculty, and Academic Administration**

Naomi R. Williams, Rutgers University

David Hamilton Golland, Governors State University

Jon E. Bekken, Albright College

Nelson Ouellet, Université de Moncton

## **A9 Labor and the First Amendment: Recovering the Past, Reclaiming the Future**

Sophia Z. Lee, University of Pennsylvania Law School

Laura Weinrib, Harvard Law School

Donna T. Haverty-Stacke, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York

Catherine Fisk, University of California, Berkeley Law

Jessica Rutter, American Federation of Teachers

Amanda Jaret, United Food and Commercial Workers

*Co-sponsored by UALE*

## **Thursday, May 27**

**Sessions » 1:45–3:00 ET**

## **B1 Cold War Labor: Crossing Borders, Crossing Systems**

Flexible Production with Socialist Characteristics in the Soviet Union: The Case of the Shchekino Chemical Combine, 1967–1971, James Nealy, Duke University

From 'Free' Trade Unionism to Free Trade Zones: Labor Internationalism at Cold War's End, Jeff Schuhrke, University of Illinois at Chicago

Reproduction and Destruction: Caring Work in America's Cold War Empire, Hannah Ontiveros, Duke University

Chair/Commentator: Leon Fink, Editor of *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History*

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# SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 27 » 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **B2** **Setting the Stage for Restructuring: Government, Organized Labor, and Finance Capital's Responses to the Prospect of American Industrial Decline**

If We Build It, They Can Profit: How the Area Redevelopment Administration Federalized Corporate Welfare, Alyssa Russell, Duke University

A Nationalist Response to a Crisis of Power: The AFL-CIO and the Burke-Hartke Act, 1971–1974, Melanie Sheehan, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill

Sort of a Renaissance Man: David Murdock's Rusty Paternalism in Kannapolis, N.C., 1982–Present, Will Raby, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill

Chair/Commentator: Erik Gellman, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill

## **B3** **Multispecies Workforces and the Limits of Solidarity**

Reducing Chinese Laborers to Beasts of Burdens: Dehumanization and Resistance in San Francisco during the Great Epizootic Influenza Outbreak of 1873, Thomas G. Andrews, University of Colorado–Boulder

The Making of the Circus Celebrity and the Unmaking of the Circus World, Andrea L. Ringer, Tennessee State University

Who Was a Worker?: Industrial Captivity, Industrial Childhood, and the Politics of Manufacturing Illuminants, 1830–1865, Jeremy Zallen, Lafayette College

Chair: Joshua Specht, University of Notre Dame

Commentator: Susan Nance, University of Guelph

## **B4** **On the Front Lines Against Fascism I: The Making of US Antifascism**

Class War and Peace: Communism, Anti-Imperialism, and Antifascism in the Interwar Period, Alexander M. Dunphy, University of Maryland–College Park

Character of a New Type: Richard Wright's Native Son and Popular Front Aesthetics, John Bohn, Columbia University

Antifascism, Antisemitism, and the Young Communist League in Los Angeles, Caroline Luce, University of California–Los Angeles

Chair/Commentator: Christopher Vials, University of Connecticut–Storrs

## **B5** **If We Can't Enforce Our Rights, Then No One Will: The Worker-driven Social Responsibility Model's History and Impact on Supply Chains**

Cathy Albisa, Chair of Coordinating Committee, Worker-driven Social Responsibility Network (WSRN)

Marita Canedo, Migrant Justice

Gerardo Reyes Chavez, Coalition of Immokalee Workers

Jennifer Lynn Bair, University of Virginia

# SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 27 » 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **B6 Racial Capitalism and Labor History**

Keona K. Ervin, University of Missouri  
Elizabeth Esch, University of Kansas  
Bernadette Pérez, University of California, Berkeley  
Olúfẹ̀mi O. Táíwò, Georgetown University  
Gabriel Winant, University of Chicago

## **B7 Community Organizers and the Building of Worker Power**

Naomi R. Williams, Rutgers University  
Dennis Deslippe, Franklin & Marshall College  
Louis Kimmel, New Labor  
Jonathan Lange, Industrial Areas Foundation  
Andrea Ortiz-Landin, Brighton Park Neighborhood Council  
Mazahir Salih, Center for Worker Justice of Eastern Iowa  
Deborah Scott, Georgia STAND-UP

## **B8 Dignity and Labor: The Push for Fair Pay and Social Respect, 1919–1946**

Before Essential Workers: Chicago's Janitors, Sanitation, and the SEIU, Benjamin Peterson, Alma College  
The Same as a Man: Gender, Labor, and Equality in the Fort Worth Armour & Co Plant, 1942–1946, Justin Jolly, Texas Christian University  
The American Standard: How the Fight Over Minimum Wage for Mexican Women Helped Shape White Supremacy in the State, Leah LaGrone Ochoa, Texas Christian University  
Chair/Commentator: Kenyon Zimmer, University of Texas–Arlington

## **B9 On the Imperial Frontline: Radical Activism Across Borders**

Agrarian Radicals on the Edge of Empire in Texas, 1846–1917, Tom Alter, Texas State University  
Socialism and the Construction of a Global White Consciousness: Race and Colonialism in the Second International (1889–1914), Lorenzo Costaguta, University of Bristol  
The Emergence of an Anarcho-Feminist Movement in the Mexican Borderlands: Caritina Piña, Hermanos Rojos, and Germinal, 1915–1930, Sonia Hernández, Texas A&M University  
Chair/Commentator: Kyle Pruitt, University of Maryland



Waitresses Union at a Labor Day Parade, 1925.  
Courtesy of Labor Archives and Research Center at  
San Francisco State University

# SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 27 » 8:00–10:00pm ET

## Thursday, May 27

### Plenary » 8:00–10:00 ET

#### The New Labor Journalist and the First Draft of Working-Class History

Recent years has seen surging interest in workplace issues as more workers engage in strikes and express interest in unions. The pandemic has further heightened labor conflicts, as inequality of many sorts soars, people debate the nature of essential work, and the gig economy expands but also is challenged. What will historians of the future make of it all? It's often been said that journalism is the first draft of history. Join some of today's leading labor journalists—whose proliferation itself is a sign of greater importance of labor—to discuss these matters.

**Michelle Chen**, *Dissent/Nation*

**Steven Greenhouse**, formerly *New York Times*

**Kim Kelly**, Freelance journalist

**Juliana Reyes**, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

**Micah Uetracht**, *Jacobin*

**Moderator: Peter Cole**, Western Illinois University



## Friday, May 28

Sessions » 12:00–1:15 ET

### **A1 Labor, Disability, and Imperialism in the U.S. Empire**

Labor, Race, and Disability on the Panama Canal, Caroline Lieffers, King's University

The U.S. Imperial World of Labor and Disability, Jack Werner, University of Maryland–College Park

Ability and the Management of Empire, Karen Miller, LaGuardia Community College, CUNY

Chair Commentator: Colleen Woods, University of Maryland–College Park

### **A2 On the Front Lines Against Fascism II: Antifascism Across Borders**

The Spanish Civil War and Anti-Fascism in the USSR: From the Great Patriotic War to the Soviet Postwar, Glennys Young, University of Washington

The Surprisingly Transnational Origins of Antifascism: A New Proletarian Politics in Interwar Rome and New York City, Joseph Fronczak, Princeton University

Aid the Victims of German Fascism! Transatlantic Networks and the Rise of Anti-Nazism in the USA, 1933–1935, Kasper Braskén, Åbo Akademi University

Chair/ Commentator: Julie Greene, University of Maryland–College Park

### **A3 Structuring Home-Based Labor: Professionalization, Organizing, and Resistance Among Child Care and Domestic Workers**

To Dignify Housework: Professionalizing Household Labor in the Early-Twentieth Century United States, Cristina Groeger, Lake Forest College

Importing Care: the History of the Au Pair Program, 1986 to the present, Justine Modica, Stanford University

Organizing Low-Wage Women Workers: A Comparative Report from the Field—Then and Now, Rosa Navarro, SUNY–Albany

Chair/Commentator: Grace Chang, University of California–Santa Barbara

### **A4 New Perspectives on U.S. Socialist History**

Intellectual Radicals: How Ben Hanford and Carl Sandburg Shaped American Socialism, Stephanie M. Riley, University of South Carolina

Fighting Fascists: Socialists and the Social History of Anti-Fascism in the Early 1930s, Ian Gavigan, Rutgers–New Brunswick

After the Party: Socialist Milwaukee in the New Deal and World War II, Aims McGuinness, University of California–Santa Cruz

Chair/Commentator: Tobias Higbie, University of California–Los Angeles



# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 28 » 12:00–1:15pm ET

## **A5 Policing White Supremacy: Police Unions, City Politics, and Police Brutality, a Round Table Discussion**

Aaron Bekemeyer, Harvard University      Simon Balto, University of Iowa  
Michael J. Lansing, Augsburg University      Organizer/Moderator: Colleen O'Neill, Utah State University

## **A6 Redesigning and Reimagining Superhero Narratives and Essential Workers**

Michele Bury, California State University–Dominguez Hills  
Vivian Price, California State University–Dominguez Hills  
Ellie Zenhari, California State University–Dominguez Hills  
Chair/Commentator: Vivian Price

## **A7 Towards a Collaborative Path Forward: Envisioning the Future of Community Connections in the Responsive Curation, Promotion, and Description of Labor—Related Collections**

Documenting the Intersectionality of the Black Lives Matter and Labor Movements: Why We Can't Wait, Ben Blake George Meany Labor Archive, University of Maryland  
Corrective Collecting and Proactive Documentation, Outreach, and Archival Description Strategies: A Collaborative Community-Centered Model, Conor M. Casey, Labor Archives of Washington–Seattle  
Speaking of Work: The Evolution of the Iowa Labor History Oral Project and the Future of Labor Archives in the Midwest, John W. McKerley, University of Iowa Labor Center  
Building Shared Power and Solidarity: Community Programming as a Strategy for Mutual Care, Support, and Growth, Shannon O'Neill, Tamiment-Wagner Collections, New York University  
The Present is Prologue: Building Archival Collections in the Now, Catherine Powell, Labor Archives & Research Center, San Francisco State University  
Developing a Collaborative Relationship between the United Auto Workers and its Archives, Gavin Strassel, Walter P. Reuther Library, Washington State University

*Co-sponsored by UALE*

## **A8 Striking a Chord: A Worker's Awakening (Detroit, 1937)**

*Striking a Chord* is a musical play inspired by historian Dana Frank's account of the 1937 Woolworth's workers' sit-down strike.

Eric Kaufman, Ohio State University

## **Friday, May 28**

**Sessions » 1:45–3:00 ET**

## **B1 Finding Black Resistance in the Archives—Exploring Chicago's Black Labor and Working-Class History**

Erik Gellman, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill      William Adams, University of Kansas  
Melissa Ford, Slippery Rock University      Beverly Cook, Chicago Public Library  
Chair/Commentator: Marcia Walker-McWilliams, Black Metropolis Research Consortium

# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 28 » 1:45–3:00pm ET

## **B2 Farms, Factories, and Files: Centering Women in Modern U.S. Labor History**

Performing the Family Farm: Gender and Labor on Stage at Farm Aid, Daniel Gilbert, University of Illinois–Urbana-Champaign

Pickin' and Shuckin': African American Women's Work in the Mississippi Gulf Coast Seafood Industry, Deanne Stephens, University of Southern Mississippi

Discouraging the Office Wolf: The Delayed Campaign Priorities of the Working Women's Movement, Amanda Walter, Towson University

Chair/Commentator: Caroline Waldron, University of Dayton

## **B3 Populism, Labor, and Social Movements**

Thomas Alter, Texas State University

Omar H. Ali, University of North Carolina–Greensboro

Robin Meade, Boston University

Chair/Commentator: Robert D. Johnston, University of Illinois at Chicago

## **B4 The Right to Labor: Making Multiracial Solidarity from the Gilded Age to the Great Depression**

The Corporation's Racial Body, Yuhe Faye Wang, Yale University

Slave Labor Must Die and Free Labor Shall Be its Executioner, Kyle Pruitt, University of Maryland

Human Rights versus Property Rights, 1880–1940, John Enyeart, Bucknell University

Chair/Commentator: Rachel Ida Buff, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

## **B5 More to the Stories: Communist Party Gains and Rightwing Violence in the 1930s**

Keeping the Peons in Line: Rightwing Rioting in 1939 San Antonio, Gigi Peterson, State University of New York–Cortland

Keeping the Peons in Line: Rightwing Rioting in 1939 San Antonio, Martin Halpern, Henderson State University (Emeritus)

Dead Red Reaction: The Klan Responds to the CPUSA Organizing the South, Ben Schmack, University of Kansas

Popular Radicalism in the 1930s: The History of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, Chris Wright, Hunter College

Chair/Commentator: Randi Storch, State University of NY–Cortland

## **B6 Red, Blue, Purple: Deindustrialization and Working-Class Political Realignment**

Urgent Emergence: Post-NAFTA Working-Class Politics in Southern Indiana, Joseph Varga, Indiana University–Bloomington

Appalachia in the Neoliberal Era, Lou Martin, Chatham University

A "Sweatshop Employer": The Embodied Politics of Workplace and Community Campaigns Against Deindustrialization in Western New York, Jason Kozlowski, West Virginia University

Chair/Commentator: Sherry Lee Linkon, Georgetown University

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# SCHEDULE

Friday, May 28 » 1:45–3:00, 8:00–10:00pm ET

## **B7** A Decade of Documenting Agricultural Workers' Struggles: The Farmworker Association of Florida and the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program at the University of Florida

Erin Conlin, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Matt Simmons, University of Central Florida

Adolfho Romero, University of Florida

Chair: Paul Ortiz, University of Florida

Commentator: J. Antonio Tovar, Farm Workers Association of Florida

## **B8** Chicago Health Care and Activism, Past and Present

The Struggle for Safe Schools and Communities, Stacy Davis Gates, Chicago Teachers Union

Care and Protest during Covid-19, Elizabeth Lalasz, National Nurses United

The History of the Trauma Center Campaign, Toussaint Losier, University of Massachusetts–Amherst

Fifty Years in the Struggle for Health Care as a Human Right, Linda Rae Murray, University of Illinois–Chicago

The Public Hospital and Chicago's History of Health Care Activism, Amy Zaroni, Southern Methodist University

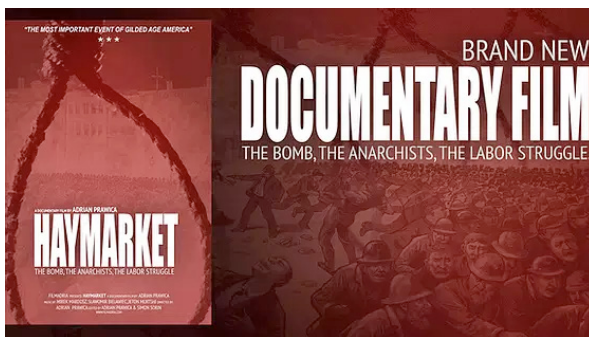


Coretta Scott King (center) with strikers, Charleston, South Carolina, 1969, courtesy of the Avery Research Center.

Left to right: Julia Davis, Mary Moultrie, Coretta Scott King, Rosetta Simmons, Juanita Abernathy, and Doris Turner

## Friday, May 28

Film » 8:00–10:00 ET



Screening of Adrian Prawica's new documentary film, *Haymarket: The Bomb, the Anarchists, the Labor Struggle*.

THE CHICAGO HAYMARKET AFFAIR, where a bomb thrown into the ranks of Police was followed by an eruption of panic and violence resulting in a trial and execution of presumably innocent workers'; rights activists, is examined in this feature documentary film.

Expert historians and professors present the history of

the bomb, the anarchist movement of the 19th century, and the labor struggle of working people fighting for a shorter workday during the industrial might of America's Gilded Age.

ABOUT THE DIRECTOR: Adrian Prawica is an award-winning director, filmmaker, and cinematographer specializing in historical documentaries, advertisement productions, and Sports Car series films in the US and abroad. His historical documentary works have been featured on major television networks including PBS.

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# 2021 **LAWCHA** Conference

LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS HISTORY ASSOCIATION

## **WORKERS** on the **FRONT LINES**



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