

# BUILDING BRIDGES

NEWSLETTER OF THE HARRY BRIDGES CENTER FOR LABOR STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON VOLUME 18 FALL 2008



## A LABOR ARCHIVE FOR WASHINGTON STATE

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR – JAMES GREGORY

WASHINGTON NEEDS A LABOR ARCHIVE. With the help of unions throughout the state and the

cooperation of the University of Washington Library, we are going to create one.

No state has a more dynamic labor history than this one. Working people and their organizations have been at the center of our history since statehood, but Washington has not adequately preserved and acknowledged that history. We need a Labor Archive that will preserve the records of unions and of labor leaders and activists. We need a Labor Archive that will be a center for historical research and that will help new generations understand the importance of the labor movement in the past and its importance to the future of our state and nation.

At its spring meeting, the Bridges Center Visiting Committee created a Labor Archives Organizing Committee to explore

the possibility of creating a Labor Archive that will become part of the University of Washington Special Collections Library. Special Collections already houses many labor related collections but has not had the resources to do much with those materials and in the past few years the library has not been able to process new collections. Recent donations remain largely inaccessible, including the papers of Phil Lelli, Del Castle, and the collections assembled by Otilie Markholt and Ron Magden.

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**“THIS IS AN IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING THAT WILL SECURE THE LABOR HERITAGE OF OUR STATE.”**

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In a series of meetings and consultations with union leaders and library officials, the committee developed a plan that has now been officially endorsed by the M.L. King County Labor Council, Pierce County Central Labor Council, ILWU Local 23, and the ILWU Pacific Coast Pensioners Association.

At its August statewide convention, the Washington State Labor Council voted to support the plan.

The Labor Archive will be part of the University of Washington Special Collections Library. It will be managed by a professional labor archivist who will be employed by the Bridges Center for Labor Studies. The labor archivist will supervise the development of the Labor Archive, adding to and organizing the historical materials already deposited in the Special Collections Library. The labor archivist will also work with unions, advising them on records management and arranging for the donation and processing of materials to the Archive. In addition, the labor archivist and the Bridges Center will develop educational projects and materials that will be widely accessible to union members, schools, and the general public.

The unions of Washington State, the UW Library, and the Harry Bridges Center are raising the funds needed to launch and sustain the Labor Archive. It is going to be

*(continued on page 10)*

## DISTINGUISHED SUPPORTER AWARD



JEAN GUNDLACH

EACH YEAR THE BRIDGES CENTER honors a significant faculty or community supporter with the Robert Duggan Distinguished Supporter of Labor Studies Award. The award allows us to recognize those

individuals who have been instrumental to the success of the Bridges Center since its beginning.

A supporter of the Bridges Chair in Labor Studies since its inception in 1991, the Bridges Center would not be the same without the hard work and commitment of

Jean Gundlach. Born in Missouri, Jean spent time in Idaho, Minnesota and New York City before moving to Seattle in the 1940s. In 1946, Jean began work as secretary of the Committee for Maritime Unity, and later went to work for the National Maritime Union and the United Fisherman and Allied Workers of America (UFAWA). After UFAWA merged with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in 1960, Jean worked for the ILWU regional director, and then the namesake of the Bridges Center himself, Harry Bridges.

Throughout her years, Jean has devoted herself to progressive programs, working with migrant farm worker organizations in the 1950s, and even leading a “walk out” when Harry and the ILWU titled officers

didn't treat staff as they should. Since retirement in the late 1970s, Jean's tireless work only increased. She was central to promoting the creation of the Bridges Chair, and coined the name of this very newsletter, “Building Bridges.” In 1992, Jean wrote a letter to then-UW president William Gerberding which was instrumental in Gerberding issuing a formal public apology for the UW's role in the anti-Communist Canwell Committee trials. Jean's brother, Ralph Gundlach, a UW Professor, had fallen victim to the Committee, fired unjustly in the late 1940s after being accused of being a communist. President Gerberding apologized for university administrative complicity in these proceedings.

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## SCHOLARSHIPS AND PRIZES

A CENTRAL FUNCTION OF THE BRIDGES CENTER is the awarding of its many prizes, scholarships, and research grants supporting working class students and promoting the study of labor. Below is a description of the many awards we have made for the upcoming year. The winners will be honored at our Annual Awards celebration, to occur Thursday, November 20, 2008. Please look elsewhere in this newsletter for more information on the celebration.

### Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarships

Each year the Bridges Center 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.

**April Nishimura:** An active member of the UW Student Labor Action Project (SLAP), April played a large role in pressuring the UW to pledge to purchase apparel from non-sweatshop companies. Her work as a student organizer has seen her working side by side with such unions as SEIU Local 6, WFSE 1488, and ILWU 23. Most recently, she has taken on the role of Northwest Regional Organizer of United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). The Jugum Scholarship will allow April to continue her work of connecting younger students with the labor movement, both at the UW as an active member of SLAP, and throughout the region with USAS. She is especially interested in confronting racism, sexism and classism in order to strengthen the labor movement.

**Lila Zucker:** As a sophomore in high school, Lila was elected to the Steering Committee of Jobs with Justice in Portland, OR. She has brought that experience and passion to campus, becoming active with UW SLAP and serving as a student representative to the Executive Board of Washington State Jobs with Justice. She spent the summer of 2008 again working with Jobs with Justice to bring members of Jewish and Islamic faiths into the labor movement. Academically, she has worked closely with

Professor Margaret Levi's Union Democracy Reexamined Project, conducting primary research with the ILWU. In the coming years, she plans to study abroad both in South Africa and Viet Nam, learning the countries' labor histories and cultures.

### Martha H. Duggan Fellowship in Labor Studies

A graduate student fellowship served with acknowledging the invaluable contributions of caring labor, this award 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, as well the Bridges Center.

**Dena Aufseeser,** Doctoral candidate, Geography. Caring labor is a topic close to Dena Aufseeser's heart, having worked for over ten years with children and youth. Her experiences include working with troubled children in New York City and Rhode Island, with street children in Ecuador and Peru, and her current work with undocumented immigrant youth in the United States. Based on these experiences, Dena writes, "the way in which care is undervalued, as reflected through both governmental policies and the lack of prestige attach to care work continue to upset me." Her doctoral research focuses on how rapid urbanization has changed the welfare of children in Peru, bringing a strong interdisciplinary and international perspective to the study of caring labor. Through her research, Dena hopes to answer the questions of how global changes affect notions of who should be responsible for child well-being, and why caring labor is consistently undervalued.

### Best Paper Prize

The Bridges Center holds an annual competition for the best Labor Studies papers written in the previous year by graduate or undergraduate students. This year, the winner is:

**Vi L. Nahn,** Political Science and International Studies, for *Press Openness in China: A Comparative Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of Labor Disputes.*

### 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 Bridges Center in support of an outstanding student committed to pursuing a profession in labor and/or labor management. This year's winner is:

**Aaron Verzosa**, Linguistics. Aaron has worked extensively to raise awareness about the medical "brain drain" in the Philippines, where nurses and medical professionals are trained to work in wealthier countries to the detriment of healthcare in their own country. Building on his work as a student, Aaron hopes to pursue a career in international health policy and labor management.

### Research Grants

Each year, the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies 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 2008-09 year, the Bridges Center distributed six research grants.

### FACULTY

**Nancy Beaudet**, Occupational and Environmental Medicine; Professor **Dan Jacoby**, Interdisciplinary Arts & Sciences, UW Bothell; Professor **Catherine Karr**, Occupational and Environmental Medicine *Workplace Hazards and Conditions Associated with Child Labor in Vietnam*

Poverty, industrialization, and rudimentary labor and school attendance laws place working children in Southeast Asia at increased risk for significant workplace exposures. Since children's systems are developing, they are particularly vulnerable to workplace chemical and injury hazards. In Vietnam children work in gold mines, timber operations, cargo transport, and other jobs, and mechanisms to track the effects of labor

on children's health are limited. Members of the interdisciplinary team will travel to Vietnam to conduct interviews to identify child labor exposure issues and research policies to address them.

**Professor Mark Smith**, Political Science *Religious Preferences and Economic Views in Contemporary America: The Potential for Interfaith Alliances*

Evangelical Christians, once a demographic identified with the Democratic Party, have since the 1980s become strongly allied with the Republican Party due its stances on numerous social issues, including abortion, homosexuality, gun control, civil liberties, and race relations. By analyzing survey data and religious media, Professor Smith's study seeks to determine to what extent Evangelicals share Republican stances on economic issues, including belief in the free market, the reduction of taxes for the rich, and paring back the welfare state. His study will explore the implications this has for coalitions across religious groups working for progressive economic reform.

### GRADUATE STUDENTS

**Christopher Benoit**, School of Law *Recruitment Abuses in the United States Guest Worker Program*

This project will focus on the organizing and legal protection of Mexican guest workers who are hired in their home country to work in the United States under the H-2A and H-2B visa programs. These workers routinely face abuses of their rights as workers. Chris will travel to Mexico to conduct fieldwork tracking abuses that will provide integral input into the public debate of immigration reform policy in 2009.

**Coleen Carrigan**, Department of Anthropology *The Contradictions of Reproductive Labor in Bahia, Brazil*

Coleen will travel to Brazil to conduct research women's reproductive labor in one of the thousands of *quilombos*, towns formed by African descendents who escaped slavery. Reproductive labor includes unpaid or underpaid work that

attends to basic needs like nutrition, education and emotional and physical well-being. Coleen will explore how Afro-Brazilian women resist exploitation of their reproductive labor, producing a case study with relevance for other social movements.

**Tabitha Hart**, Department of Communication *Intercultural Customer Service in Indian Call Centers*

Many companies in the United States have outsourced their customer service to India. Indian call center workers are required to mask their own culture – hiding their accents and anglicizing their names – in order to serve the US clientele. Tabitha will travel to India to interview call center workers, and will author a case study exploring the effects of this intercultural labor, new communications technologies and globalization on information workers.

**Sarah Veele-Brice**, Department of Health Services *An exploratory study of the perception and reality of workplace physical and emotional violence against correctional nurses.*

While there has been some limited research examining nurses' experiences of violence in the workplace, very little work has been done to look specifically at the experiences of nurses in correctional settings (prisons). Sarah will conduct a survey to determine the prevalence of physical and non-physical workplace violence against correctional nurses, to identify predictors of victimization, to explore factors that influence nurses' perception of risk of victimization in the workplace, and to identify violence prevention strategies.

## WORKING GROUPS

FOR FIVE YEARS, the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies has sponsored working group research and collaborations involving Visiting Committee members and Bridges Center faculty associates. Five in all are currently active. In 2008-2009, we are excited to introduce a new working group, Waterfront Workers History Project. Four other working groups continue their important efforts: Labor, Knowledge and the Economy; Race, Radicalism, and Labor; Race, Class, and Work-Life Balance; and Union Democracy Re-Examined.

### Waterfront Workers History Project

The Waterfront Workers History Project working group consists of faculty members James Gregory, Margaret Levi, and David Olson, and Visiting Committee members Ian Kennedy, Ron Magden, and Gene Vrana. We are developing a public history project that explores the history of waterfront workers and their unions on the West Coast from the 1880s to the present. The heart of the project will be a multi-media website that displays this research in ways that can be used by union members, students, teachers, researchers, and the general public.

We began this summer with the help of a team of research assistants (George Robertson, Steve Beda, Jessie Kindig, Devin Kelly, Jon Agnone, Michael Castaneda) and made remarkable progress. Working with Ron Magden's amazing collection of archival materials, the team has created a digital archive of nearly 200 photographs showing waterfront workers from the 1880s to the present. Thanks to Gene Vrana, who loaned us the invaluable collection from the ILWU Archives, we have also digitized every known copy of the *Waterfront Worker*, the rank and file newspaper that helped radicalize the waterfront in the early 1930s, spurring the 1934 strike and the creation of the ILWU. These materials — photo collections and issues of the *Waterfront Worker* — can be viewed online at [depts.washington.edu/labpics2/repository](http://depts.washington.edu/labpics2/repository).

### Labor, Knowledge, and the Economy

The emergence of a “knowledge” economy has made human capital relatively important compared to the machinery that gave rise to the industrial age. The Labor, Knowledge and Economy working group is researching how low cost information processing has changed where and how we work, as well as how we organize ourselves.

Now in its second, year, the Labor, Knowledge and Economy group is composed of a diverse group of individuals including labor leaders, and faculty from the Business School, the Law School, Communications, Geography, Engineering, UW Bothell, and UW Tacoma.

Brought together through a series of talks and social activities, the working group has secured commitments from eight faculty and labor leaders to write chapters for one of two planned books. The first volume will be aimed at a general labor audience and is tentatively titled, *A Survivor's Guide to the Knowledge Economy: Tales from the Northwest*. Assessing how labor contends with the rapid changes of new knowledge-based technology, the book will provide a novel discussion of virtual hiring halls, academic labor, outsourcing, the use of internships and H2 visas, among other topics. The group also anticipates a symposium for both the labor and the academic communities for the winter of 2009 that will feature work that will engage these topics.

The group also nominated Manuel Castells, Professor of Communications at the University of Southern California and UC Berkeley for a John and Jessie Danz lectureship at the University of Washington. The nomination was successful, and a weeklong visit from Professor Castells is anticipated in 2009 or 2010.

### Race, Radicalism, and Labor

Composed of nine UW faculty members and two members of the HBCLS Visiting Committee, the Race, Radicalism and Labor working group has funded many research and public history projects over the years.

Most recently, it provided funds in support of the visit of Reverend James Lawson to the UW Tacoma campus in February 2008 (see elsewhere in this newsletter for more information). Group members also traveled to the annual Pacific Northwest Labor History Association conference in Vancouver, B.C., hosted jointly with the Labor & Working Class History Association (LAWCHA).

In that conference, Moon-Ho Jung, Michael Honey, and Kimberley Phillips presented a panel on labor and race perspectives on imperialism and anti-war resistance. Trevor Griffey and community and union members Michael Woo, Michael Castañeda and Nicole

Grant also did a workshop on labor and civil rights history projects in Seattle.

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

This working group focuses on illuminating the ways that race, ethnicity and class shape individuals' and families' ability to balance work and care responsibilities. It was originally proposed by a set of UW faculty who saw a glaring gap in the coverage of these important “intersectionalities” in academic and popular literature.

In our first year, we created a website, hosted a series of community events, and submitted a proposal to fund a new research project by our members on the work-life experiences of professionals of color. In our second year, we continued to organize community events and work with our partners in the community, notably MomsRising and the Economic Opportunity Institute. In April 2008 we held an interdisciplinary research conference that highlighted graduate student research on the intersections of care, work and diversity.

In our third year of operation, we will be shifting our primary focus to new scholarly research with policy or other practical applications. We plan to continue supporting graduate students via a series of brown-bag research lunches in 2008-09 on various themes that emerged from the April conference. We have also received funding from both the UW's Institute on Ethnic Studies in the U.S. and the State of Washington (via the Bridges Center's Washington State Labor Research grant) to conduct a mixed-method study of the roles of the location and timing of employment and dependent care arrangements, as well as place of residence, on professionals' experiences and strategies related to work-life balance (see the entry under Washington State Labor Research in this newsletter for more information on this study).

### Union Democracy Re-Examined

The Union Democracy Re-Examined working group is currently completing several years of research on democratic practices within the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

Our major products include a series of prize-winning undergraduate posters (available to unions on demand) and a forthcoming journal article arguing that the union serves as a model for a more participatory, rank-and-file driven democracy than currently exists in most unions. We have also produced materials that will be made publicly available through the website and archive project of the new Waterfront Workers History Project working group.

We are now redirecting our efforts towards exploring how the union reproduces its radical and democratic organizational culture. We are entering the second year of a \$300,000 National Science Foundation grant funding a longitudinal survey of changes in ILWU member preferences and beliefs over time. We recently received an additional \$15,000 from the NSF to support undergraduates researching historical differences in organizational culture at the local level. The work will help test a theory

of preference change currently being formulated by Professor Margaret Levi and recent PhD, John Alquist, who is now a post-doctoral fellow at UCLA's Institute for Labor and Employment Research.

We also recently received a \$10,000 Washington State Labor Research Grant to examine the complicated relationship between ILWU contract negotiations, state politics and the larger economy. This will help us better understand the ILWU's powerful political and economic roles. Graduate student team member Devin Kelly is performing content analysis of ILWU contracts and negotiations, along with legislative reports, press coverage and statements made by public officials.

Finally, working group members will present results of our research at a special American Sociological Association panel commemorating the 75th anniversary of the San Francisco general strike, to take place at the organization's national conference in San Francisco next August.

The working group is composed of Professors Margaret Levi and David Olson, HBCLS Visiting Committee members Joe Wenzl, Gene Vrana, and Ron Magden, and graduate students Jon Agnone, Devin Kelly, and Rebecca Szper along with undergraduate researchers George Robertson and Igor Voloshin. We have enjoyed the support of the officers, education committees and pensioners of Locals 23 and 19. We have received unprecedented access to union archives at the local and international level and to rarely analyzed data on union electoral participation. We have given papers at conferences, run our own conference featuring important international scholars, and worked with the ILWU education department and local committees to provide younger members with information about their union's history and democratic practices.

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## NEW BRIDGES CENTER STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

**Susan Whiting** (Ph.D, Michigan; B.A. Yale) is Associate Professor of Political Science and Adjunct Associate Professor of Law and International Studies at the University of Washington in Seattle. She specializes in Chinese and comparative politics, with particular emphasis on the political economy of development. Her first book, *Power and Wealth in Rural China: The Political Economy of Institutional Change*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2001. She has contributed chapters and articles on property rights, fiscal reform, governance, contract enforcement and dispute resolution to numerous publications. She has done extensive research in China and has contributed to studies of governance, non-governmental organizations, and fiscal reform under the auspices of the World Bank, Ford Foundation and the Asian Development Bank, respectively. She is currently working with Veronica Taylor on a three-year grant for "Empowering Rural Communities: Legal Aid and the Rule of Law in Rural China." Professor Whiting's current research interests include land disputes and the use of the courts in China as well as the politics of fiscal reform in transition economies. Among her courses, she teaches Comparative Politics, Chinese Politics, Qualitative Research Methods, and Law, Development, & Transition, a course offered jointly in the Department of Political Science, the Jackson School of International Studies, and the Law, Societies and Justice Program.

**Glennys Young** has been associate professor in both the Department of History and the Jackson School of International Studies since 1992. Author of numerous articles and book chapters, her book *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia: Religious Activists in the Village* was published in 1997 by the Pennsylvania State University Press. Her scholarship is in the areas of Russian history, particularly the history of the Soviet Union, the history of Communism, the history of emotions, religion, historiography, as well as women and gender. Currently, she is completing a book manuscript, *Writing the Soviet Century: Concepts, Paradigms and the Making of the Soviet Experience*. In 2008-2009, Young received a grant from the UW Simpson Center for the Humanities for "The World the Refugees Made: The Niños de la Guerra in the USSR and Beyond." The project is the first transnational study of the political, social, and cultural consequences of the evacuation, during the Spanish Civil War, of Spanish Republican children to the Soviet Union, their return to Spain, and the participation of a few of them as advisors during Castro's Cuban Revolution. She is also working with Oxford University Press to produce *The Communist Subject Around the World* a collection of documents of how ordinary people in Communist polities around the world experienced, resisted, and sometimes reshaped the Communist project. She is also working on a project entitled "After Bloody Saturday: The Legacy of the Novocheerkassk Tragedy", which examines the political, cultural and social consequences of a workers' strike in 1962 and its violent repression by the Soviet regime.

## WASHINGTON STATE LABOR RESEARCH

SINCE 2005, THE HARRY BRIDGES CENTER for Labor Studies has received funding from the Washington State Legislature to support research by UW faculty on labor-related issues in Washington State. The grant encourages scholars to apply their national or global research in ways that demonstrate implications for, or relevance to, the State of Washington. Please read below for more information about our projects for 2008-2009.

**Matt Barreto**, Department of Political Science  
*Latinos, Labor, and New Campaign Dynamics*

Reflecting trends across the country, Latinos are the largest minority group in Washington State and their numbers are growing. As a result, Latino voters are being targeted more vigorously and concertedly than ever by political campaigns. At the same time, growth in the state's Latino population has contributed to an increase in union membership among laborers, service employees, machinists, and agricultural workers. Unions are also commonly targeted to get out the vote in political campaigns. This study will explore how the voter mobilization of Latinos and unions are connected. For instance, research has shown Latino union members are more likely to vote than other groups. Are they responding to the messages targeting Latinos, or the messages targeting unions? Through a controlled experiment, this study will test the response of Latino and non-Latino voters to various campaign advertisements related to union and non-union themes. The study will identify the role of Latinos in the changing dynamics of how unions engage the political system and mobilize their membership base.

**Kim England**, Department of Geography;  
**Anna Haley-Lock**, School of Social Work  
*Mapping the Balance Between Earning and Caregiving: The Space-Time Constraints and Workplace Flexibility of Urban Professionals*

Do professionals of color have different experiences than white professionals balancing their lives with paid work? What effects does the location of home, employment and dependent care arrangements — and the resulting commute — have on that balance? Do work and dependent care schedules compound those potential effects? This study will address

these questions and others, working to bridge gaps in existing research on the interplay of paid work and caregiving. Focus groups and surveys of Seattle professionals will investigate where they live, work, and obtain dependent care; their schedules for their jobs and dependent care; and their access to an array of employer practices such as flexibility, shape their experiences with managing dual earning and caregiving. By exploring these relationships, the study will generate research findings relevant to policymakers, employers and professional associations, and workers and their families.

**Margaret Levi**, Department of Political Science  
*ILWU Contract Negotiations: The Confluence of State-Level Politics, Economics and Labor*

At a time when union membership and political strength has declined, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) has maintained and arguably increased their control of the waterfront work environment as well as their political clout. Given that two of the busiest ports on the West Coast are located in Tacoma and Seattle, the union's structural position and political strength have vast implications for Washington State, their contract negotiations in particular. This study will conduct an historical analysis of ILWU contract negotiations, in the context of state and national politics, focusing on the reasons why the ILWU has been so successful. Drawing upon analysis of the statements of important public officials, press coverage, legislative reports, and negotiation notes and minutes, it will illuminate the complex relationships among the union, the employers, elected officials of Washington State, national political officials, and others throughout the Pacific Northwest.

### 2007-2008 Washington State Labor Research Reports

A requirement of the Washington State Labor Research grant is the production of a report outlining the results of the funded research, to be written with the public in mind. Reports from the 2007-2008 round of funding are approaching completion. The reports provide information directly relevant to policy-makers, public interest groups and other researchers. Summaries of the 2007-2008's reports are provided

below. For further information on acquiring the complete reports, please contact the Bridges Center.

**Derik Andreoli**, Department of Geography;  
**Anne Goodchild**, Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering; **Kate Vitasek**, Managing Partner, Supply Chain Visions  
*The Rise of Mega DCs: Geographic and Structural Change in the U.S. Warehousing Industry*

Warehousing employment in the U.S. grew at an annually compounded growth rate of 25.3% between 1998 and 2005. The industry also witnessed the emergence of mega distribution centers — warehouses greater than 500,000 square feet that employ more than 100 workers and utilize emerging information technologies. While growth was driven by forces of globalization, it was enabled by information technologies which allow establishments to pursue efficiencies associated with economies of scale.

In *The Rise of Mega DCs*, the authors' analysis indicates that growth in the warehousing industry has neither been geographically even nor has it followed previous geographic patterns. At the state level, a statistically significant inverse relationship exists between location quotients and local factors components of growth ( $r = -0.59$ ). These findings indicate that the sources of competitive advantage have changed as the industry has restructured and that there were clear 'winners' and 'losers.'

In the final section of the report, the authors explore how technologies and structural change have impacted employment structures and wages at the aggregate level. They find that as a proportion of total employment, management and sales occupations have declined while production occupations and transportation occupations have grown. Associating wages with occupational restructuring, they see that the industry average has declined as the fastest growing occupations pay below average salaries.

**Dan Jacoby**, Interdisciplinary Arts & Sciences, UW Bothell  
*Washington State Policy and the Demand for Part-Time Faculty at Community Colleges*

Heavy reliance upon low-wage part-time faculty, especially in our nation's

community colleges is drawing increasing attention, particularly as studies find negative impacts upon student completion rates. As part of a national effort, the American Federation of Teachers advanced the Faculty and College Excellence [FACE] campaign and in 2007 introduced legislation in Washington State to curb the use of part-time faculty. Similar to bills in other states, Washington State HB 1875 and SB 5514 seek to ensure that full-time faculty would teach 75% of undergraduate classes.

The legislative agenda proceeds despite several large unknowns, which are the subject of Professor Dan Jacoby's research. Using data from the National Center for Educational Statistics, this study estimates supply and demand for part-time faculty by introducing a new measure of part-time faculty wages. The study finds demand for part-time faculty in community colleges across the nation is sensitive to part-time wage rates. The research also makes note of a number of difficulties suggesting the need for better wage data. The study finds that schools in which unions do not involve part-time faculty tend to have

higher part-time faculty rates. That effect is offset when part-time faculty are members of the bargaining units. Additionally, this study finds that the demand for part-time faculty is significantly higher when states enroll graduate students in high proportion relative to community colleges.

**Brendan Sweeney**, Department of Geography  
*Economic Restructuring, Policy Change, and the Impacts on Labor in the Forest Products Industry: Implications for Washington State through a Cascadian Lens*

Brendan Sweeney's research compares labor market restructuring in Washington State, Oregon, and British Columbia's forest products industry. It examines restructuring from labor's point of view, rather than that of corporations, shareholders, managers, or politicians. Much of the project is based on interviews and ethnography with union executives and employees in the pulp and paper, sawmill, and logging sectors.

The project departs from the break-up of one of the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia's largest employers — the Crown

Zellerbach Corporation — in the mid-1980s. This set into motion two decades of merger, acquisition, and restructuring activity, marked by a shift from locally-based, vertically-integrated firms with paternalistic ties to labor and communities to horizontally-integrated firms owned by 'absentee' asset management and equity-based firms.

While shareholders and executives continue to profit, labor faces an uphill battle in maintaining living wages and decent working conditions. Despite losing significant membership to reduced harvests on public forests, mill closures, downsizing, and the contracting out of logging operations, the labor movement has been resilient and pursued new strategies. The recent mergers of the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical, and Energy Union and the Canadian International Workers of America with the Steelworkers demonstrates this, as does the partnership between the Steelworkers and the Sierra Club, all of which provide opportunities for renewal and cooperation, and are focal points of Sweeney's report.

## NEW BRIDGES CENTER VISITING COMMITTEE MEMBERS



**Rich Gurtiza** is regional director of Inlandboatmen's Union Region 37, and has been active in the union since 1977. He has been active in the northwest Filipino community for many years. He writes, "It is a privilege to be part of the distinguished committee. I look forward to making a positive

contribution to the success and future of the Harry Bridges Chair in Labor Studies."



**Emily Van Bronkhorst** is the elected Executive Vice President of SEIU Healthcare 1199NW, and has served in that position since 1998. SEIU Healthcare represents 22,000 nurses, techs, service workers in hospitals and mental health workers in Washington State. In 2008, their coordinated bargaining campaign resulted in

a brand new Taft Hartley Training Fund dedicated to training their members to fill needed healthcare positions. The union and five major Seattle area hospitals will work to provide SEIU members with skill development and training to fill needed healthcare shortage positions. Prior to her current role, Emily was an Organizer with SEIU Healthcare 1199NW. She began her organizing as a member of the ILWU Local 37 (Cannery Workers) Rank and File Committee, a reform movement during the 70's and 80's. She worked eight years in Alaska as a Delegate, Executive Board member and Organizer.



**Terri Mast** has been the national secretary-treasurer of the Inlandboatmen's Union since 1993. Before that, she served as regional director of IBU Local 37. In 1982, she became the first-ever female president of an ILWU local. She now serves as vice president of the ILWU district council. She also currently works

as a state-wide co-chair of Jobs with Justice, and is a member of the women's committee of the International Transport Workers' Federation. She is dedicated to the goals of the Bridges Chair, and looks forward to working with the Visiting Committee.



**Conrad Spell** is now in his third term as President of ILWU Local 23 in Tacoma, a position he has held since 2003. Prior to serving as president, Conrad served on the union's labor relations board for two terms. Since 1998, he has been a delegate to the longshore caucus, and has served on the local executive board

since 1994. Recently, he helped Local 23 raise \$92,000 for the Tacoma Working Waterfront Maritime Museum. In his free time, he enjoys spending time with his family.

## RON GUSTIN GIVES US A HAND (AND HOOK)

IN 1999, THE HARRY BRIDGES CENTER for Labor Studies commissioned Ron Gustin to produce a bronze sculpture to adorn a plaque to commemorate the winners of the Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship. Ten years later, the plaque is full up with twenty-three names, recipients of the scholarship that provides undergraduate students interested in labor studies a full year's tuition. This year, Ron has provided us with another sculpture, a new improved take on the iconic hand and hook of the ILWU with the timeless slogan, "An Injury to One Is An Injury to All." It will appear on a new plaque to commemorate the Jugum Scholarship. Ron is known up and down the West Coast among ILWU members for his Bloody Thursday plaque on display at the monument in Peck Park in San Pedro,

California, originally commissioned by the Southern California ILWU pensioners. It is also on display at the Odyssey Maritime Museum at Pier 66 in Seattle, WA.



THE BRONZE FOR GUSTIN'S SCULPTURE BEING POURED



RON GUSTIN POSES WITH THE NEW BRONZE HAND AND HOOK

## NEW BRIDGES CENTER FACULTY ASSOCIATES

**Anne Goodchild** has been an assistant professor of Civil & Environmental Engineering at the University of Washington since 2005. She received her MS and PhD degrees in Civil and Environmental Engineering from the University of California at Berkeley in 2002 and 2005, respectively. Prior to graduate school, she worked in consulting for five years in Europe and North America, modeling business logistics problems such as airline fleet maintenance scheduling. Her academic interests include maritime transportation and port operations, with particular focuses on port efficiency, environmental impacts, and the effects of new technologies. Currently, she leads the Goods Movement Collaborative, a team of students and faculty conducting research on a variety of topics related to the movement of goods, including freight transportation and border delays. She also serves as Associate Director of the Freight Operations Research Program for Transportation Northwest. Dr. Goodchild and the Goods Movement Collaborative received a Washington State Labor Research Grant from the Bridges Center in 2007-2008 to study the changing employment dynamics of the Puget Sound warehousing industry.

**John Hammerback**, professor emeritus in communication at California State University East Bay, currently serves as affiliate professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Washington. Much of his published scholarship, which totals some forty articles and essays as well as four books, is on the rhetoric and public address of Mexican Americans and on communication that changes the character or identity of audiences. Together with Richard J. Jensen and Jose Angel Gutierrez, he authored *A War of Words: Chicano Protest in the 1960s and 1970s* (Greenwood Press, 1984); again partnering with Jensen he wrote *The Rhetorical Career of Cesar Chavez* (Texas A & M Press, 1998) and edited *The Words of Cesar Chavez* (Texas A & M Press, 2002). Seeking to explain and draw lessons from the unexpected success of Chavez in founding and expanding the first permanent union of farm workers, he focuses on the rhetorical dynamics and powerful effects of the United Farm Worker leader's incessant career-long campaign of speaking, writing, and non-discursive communication – and particularly on Chavez's startling transformation of some audiences and persuasion of others. Hammerback is a past president of the Western States Communication Association, former chair of the Public Address Interest Group of the National Communication Association, and recipient of many awards for his scholarship, teaching, and service.

**Priti Ramamurthy** is an Associate Professor of Women Studies and has been a faculty member at the University of Washington since 1997. In courses such as Gender and Globalization, Women and International Economic Development, and Feminist International Political Economy, Ramamurthy brings global perspectives to questions of economic development and feminism. She received a bachelor's in economics from the University of Delhi, and has since acquired a master's of administration from the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, and a doctorate in social science from Syracuse University. Her interdisciplinary scholarship explores questions of agrarian change, cultural politics, and labor from feminist political economy perspectives. She is currently the Director and Chair of the South Asia Center, Jackson School of International Studies, and an Executive Board Member of the Simpson Center for the Humanities. She has received several awards, including the UW Distinguished Teaching Award in 2002. In 2007-2008, Ramamurthy received a Bridges Center faculty grant to study the contemporary crisis of farming in India, interviewing low caste, small holder farm families, then transcribing, translating and theorizing from their stories.

## FORTY YEARS SINCE KING: JAMES LAWSON IN TACOMA BY MICHAEL HONEY

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., died in Memphis on April 4, 1968, helping sanitation workers gain union rights. Forty years later, book tours took me from New York City, to Anchorage, Alaska; to Memphis, where 800 AFL-CIO delegates gathered during the King holiday, and to D.C. at the AFL-CIO national headquarters; and to San Francisco, for the national convention of AFSCME, the union that King helped in Memphis. Everywhere, I found a hunger to recognize and honor King's labor politics. In this super-charged election year, many still hope for King's dream of a land free of racism, poverty and war.

In February, Rev. James M. Lawson, the black minister who led community support in the Memphis strike, came to Tacoma as part of the Bridges Center's observance of

forty years since King. Supported by the Bridges Center's race, radicalism and labor working group and funds from the UW Graduate School, Lawson spoke to students and community folks at two local churches and to a packed auditorium at the UWT campus. Once a leader of sit-ins, freedom rides, and community struggles to end Jim Crow, Lawson today provides one of the most eloquent voices speaking out for union rights for immigrants and the working poor.

The Bridges Center put his talks in Tacoma online and I am editing them into a possible book. UWT students this year also continued collecting oral histories concerning labor and civil rights — over fifty of them in the last fifteen years. These are now indexed on our UWT library web site [[www.tacoma.washington.edu/library/chp/](http://www.tacoma.washington.edu/library/chp/)]. Excerpts

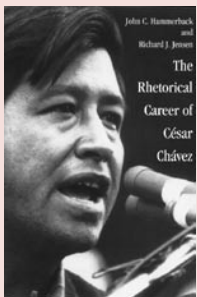
may someday go online, like the oral histories created by UW students in the Seattle Labor and Civil Rights History Project directed by Bridges Chair Professor James Gregory [[depts.washington.edu/civlir/](http://depts.washington.edu/civlir/)].

On March 18, 1968, King told workers and union supporters in Memphis that "all labor has dignity." Through our projects at the Bridges Center, we continue to record the history of that fight for a better world that King helped to inspire.

*Michael Honey's Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign recently received the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award, given in honor of Kennedy, who also died forty years ago, on June 6, 1968.*

## CALENDAR OF UPCOMING EVENTS

October 30, 2008



**Professor John Hammerback (Communications), Talk: "To enable common people to do uncommon things: The Career of César Chávez"**

*UW, Gowen Hall 1A, 12:30-1:30PM*

The fact that Cesar Chavez had an extraordinarily powerful effect on audiences is well known; how Chavez achieved that effect has never before been explained.

Based on his work in such books as *The*

*Rhetorical Career of César Chávez* and *The Words of Cesar Chavez*, Hammerback will discuss how Chavez's style of speech sparked startling transformation of some audiences and persuasion of others, inducing many audience members to support his agenda for union activism.

November 6, 2008

**Film: Present In All That We Do**

*Ethnic Cultural Center / Theatre, 7PM-9PM*

In 1907, more than two-hundred South Asian workers in Bellingham, WA were violently expelled from the city by a mob of white workers. One hundred years later hostility towards non-white immigrants in Bellingham continues. Raids and detentions by government immigration agents are ongoing;



so are surveillance and harassment from both government agents and groups like the Minute Men. How have the events of 1907 shaped Bellingham as we know it in 2007? What has changed and what remains the same? In asking these questions, this film seeks to embody James Baldwin's conviction that "history is literally present in all that we do."

November 12, 2008

**Van Jones**

*University Bookstore, 7PM*

Van Jones, founder of Ella Baker Center for Human Rights and Color of Change, will discuss his new book *The Green Collar Economy*.

November 20, 2008

**Annual Awards Celebration**

*Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall, 5-8PM*

The Bridges Center will host our faculty, staff, students, and community members for dinner and drinks to celebrate the various accomplishments that all achieved last year. All are invited. Hope to see you there!

Mark your calendar...

February 7, 2008

**1919 Seattle General Strike 90th Anniversary Commemoration**  
*Seattle Labor Temple*



## PNLHA CONFERENCE MEETS IN VANCOUVER, B.C.

FROM JUNE 6 TO 8, 225 labor scholars and union activists, about half of them Canadian and half of them from the U.S., met at the Simon Fraser University Conference Center in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia. It was jointly sponsored by the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association (PNLHA), whose president Ross Rieder is a Harry Bridges Center Visiting Committee member, and the Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA), a national association of some 500 labor educators whose president is Mike Honey of UW Tacoma and chair emeriti at the Bridges Center.

This year's conference focused on the theme, "Indigenous, Immigrant, Migrant Labour and Globalization." Dozens of presenters probed how global capitalism has disrupted traditional communities, and how people's movements have challenged and sometimes overcome racial-ethnic, gender, and class barriers. By combining with LAWCHA, the PNLHA produced perhaps the biggest conference in its forty-year history.

Members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Canadian Hospital Employees Union, unions that have experienced sharp struggles with neo-liberal government in Canada, gave important leadership to the conference, and ILWU and other unions played important roles and donated funds. CUPE union members Joey Hartman and Jim Gorman did much of the organizing, along with Honey and LAWCHA program coordinators Colleen O'Neil and Dorothy Fujita-Rony.

Said University of Washington graduate student Trevor Griffey, "the conference shifted the ongoing discussions of race and labor toward Asian and First Nations issues... It was great that the conference brought activists and academics together, and I'm grateful for the support that labor organizations gave to make this possible." Josh Reid, a Ph.D. candidate from the University of California-Davis, commented, "As a scholar of American Indian history, I was pleased to see room made for Indians and Labor, especially as the keynote plenary session."

Graduate students from Canada and the Pacific Northwest, organized by LAWCHA graduate student committee chairperson



PNLHA PRESIDENT ROSS RIEDER SPEAKING AT THE VANCOUVER, B.C. CONFERENCE

Alex Morrow of the UW, met with faculty members to discuss their research. Long-time Canadian activist Ben Swankey, B.C. hospital union organizers, and scholars like labor history pioneer David Brody received awards. Ethnic minority and immigrant scholars as well as labor historians and activists presented plenary and panel sessions through words, songs, and films. Good food and music, the beautiful coastal environs of downtown Vancouver, and many individual exchanges made this a very special meeting on the North American continent.

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### "MESSAGE FROM CHAIR" (cont'd)

a substantial undertaking. The Library will be responsible for about one third of the budget. The labor movement and the Bridges Center will need to raise about \$100,000 per year. This will pay salary and benefits for the labor archivist and also fund an ongoing program of labor heritage and labor education events. We need to guarantee at least five years of funding. After that we hope to have a permanent endowment in place and be able to attract grants from foundations and governmental sources.

This is an important undertaking that will secure the labor heritage of our state. I hope the friends of the Harry Bridges Center who have been so generous in the past will agree to help once again. Please urge your union local to support the Labor Archive. Please also consider sending a tax-deductible contribution to the **Labor Archive Fund-UW Foundation, Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington, Box 353530, Seattle WA 98195-3530.**

The conference addressed current political issues in many ways. After a plenary on restoring the right to organize, an ad hoc committee sent out a call urging labor scholars to help educate the public about the labor law reform bill, the Employee Free Choice Act, pending in the next Congress. Among the presidential candidates, Senator Obama is for it, Senator McCain is against it. (See the LAWCHA website under "Civic Engagement" for resources on Restoring and Defending the Right to Organize).

Said CUPE's Ron Verzuh, "This was a great exchange of ideas about innovative ways to approach labour history and generate new possibilities to explore the nooks and crannies of the history of working people." Mark Leier, Professor and Director of the Simon Fraser University Centre for Labour Studies, concluded, "I think it was one of the best conferences I've been at, ever, period, end of story!"

For more information, see [www3.telus.net/robbgibbs/PNLHA/home.html](http://www3.telus.net/robbgibbs/PNLHA/home.html), and [www.LAWCHA.org](http://www.LAWCHA.org)

## ON-LINE VIDEOS OF BRIDGES CENTER EVENTS NOW AVAILABLE

### Reverend James Lawson

[depts.washington.edu/pcls/lawson.html](http://depts.washington.edu/pcls/lawson.html)

Two talks by Reverend James Lawson given during his visit to Tacoma, WA are now available on-line in streaming video on the Bridges Center's website: "Where Do We Go From Here? Forty Years Since Martin Luther King, Jr." and "Dialogue on Philosophy and Practice of Nonviolence."

### Good, Green Jobs Conference

[depts.washington.edu/pcls/ggcon.html](http://depts.washington.edu/pcls/ggcon.html)

Speeches and panels from the Good, Green Jobs Conference, including remarks by Bridges Chair James Gregory and Bridges Center Visiting Committee member Rick Bender are now available in streaming video courtesy of TVW.org

## HARRY THE HORSE HANGS HIS HOOK BY RONALD MAGDEN

Harry “The Horse” Hilliard, retired from ILWU Local 23, and a long-time supporter of the Bridges Center and a Visiting Committee member, passed away on July 2, 2008 at the age of 88. An obituary written by his friend and collaborator, historian Ronald Magden, was published in the Tacoma News Tribune. In honor of Harry we reproduce it here.

On July 2, 2008, the legendary longshore worker Harry Hilliard, 88, died peacefully in his sleep. Harry the Horse was the last of the sea-going longshoremen. He now joins the “Sky Gang” with Phil Lelli, Shaun Maloney, and John Kresevich.

Harry was born in Portland, OR, orphaned at 5 years of age, and spent several years in a childrens’ home. He ran away, eating what he could find in garbage cans and sleeping in hobo camps. In school for awhile a kindly teacher brought Harry food. His Aunt Lillian Turner, one of the richest women in San Francisco, rescued Harry from poverty. Aunt Lillian went broke in the Great Depression so Harry went to sea at 15, working as an able-bodied seaman on freighters. During World War II his ship was bombed in London, England, but luckily Harry was in a nearby pub. The Germans tried again in Malta, but this time Harry was visiting a sick friend in the hospital. Harry fell in love with Helen Racle and quit the sea when their daughter Linda was born.

He is survived by Linda (Michael) Boespflug and Shirley (Ron) Torkelson. Grandsons

include Harry Bender and Bryan Bender and great-grandsons Andrew Bender and Dylan Bender. There is a large extended family and hundreds of friends who will miss him dearly, especially Ron Magden who worked with Harry on keeping the history of Local 23 alive.

Harry the Horse found a land job in Harry Lynch’s Tacoma longshore gang in 1947. When Lynch retired Harry became the gang boss. Harry’s Gang loaded the first containers in 1949 on the Asa Lathrop. As seagoing longshore workers Harry’s Gang unloaded the boxes in Anchorage. Whenever the maritime business hit a lull Harry would rejoin the Painters Union. Harry teamed with Howard “Sailor” Smith to paint the Puyallup River Bridge on Meridian. Harry did the painting and Sailor did the bossing. Harry was a little man, 140 pounds, but he carried his share of the load in the hold for 30 years.

On June 21, 2008 the Tacoma News Tribune featured Harry on page 1. Harry was very proud of that article. In fact, he considered it the summation of his life. The hard work



THE SKY GANG. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PHIL LELLI, HARRY THE HORSE HILLIARD, SHAUN MALONEY, AND JOHN MAHONEY

packing a 160-pound wheat sacks in the Balfour warehouse was more than offset by the comradeship with his union brothers and sisters. As he had for 26 years, the Friday after the article was published Harry served meals to the poor at Hospitality Kitchen. When one of the hungry thanked him, Harry replied he knew exactly what she was going through. A week later Harry’s heart gave out and he joined all his friends who had hung their hooks in the sky.

In lieu of flowers please send donations to St. Leo’s Hospitality Kitchen 710 So. 13th St., Tacoma, WA 98405 or The Foss Waterway Seaport P.O. Box 1294, Tacoma, WA 98401

### Requiem

*“Here lies Harry where he wants to be  
Home is the last sea-going longshoreman  
Home from the sea”*

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## CORNELIUS J. PECK — DISTINGUISHED LABOR LAW PROFESSOR PASSES

BY GUADALUPE GAMBOA



CORNELIUS J. PECK passed away on June 15th, 2008. He taught for 39 years at the University of Washington Law School. He is survived by his wife

of nearly 59 years, Gloria, and three children and five grandchildren.

Cornelius J. Peck was a legendary professor at the Law School and he was widely renowned as an expert in the field of labor law. I remember taking a labor law class from Professor Peck in the 1970’s. At that time I had come straight from the fields of eastern Washington, and was surprised to

learn that workers had labor rights that were protected by the courts. Professor Peck had a talent for making the teaching of labor law vibrant and exciting. I remember him once stating that his view of labor law had been shaped by the fact that a member of his family had been severely injured in an accident due to employer negligence.

Professor Peck continually challenged conventional notions, even when they were not politically correct. Once during a lively discussion of whether affirmative action designed to correct historical discrimination in the workplace was good policy, he asked the important question of how one would feel if one were in the shoes of the white worker who got passed over. Even though I did not agree with him,

this statement made me realize there were other equally valid ways of looking at this issue. Professor Peck was very down to earth and was very approachable. He was one of only two professors that made an effort to communicate with me at a time when minority students were looked down upon because we had been admitted under affirmative action policies.

Professor Peck was a long time supporter of the Bridges Center. He was the first recipient of the Center’s distinguished faculty and staff award. He is credited with helping to modernize the law school curriculum by introducing courses such as negotiations that focused on the teaching of practical skills and not just legal theory.

# SUPPORT THE HARRY BRIDGES CENTER FOR LABOR STUDIES

THE HARRY BRIDGES ENDOWED CHAIR AND CENTER FOR LABOR STUDIES were founded through the initiative of members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union. We continue to build upon that legacy in order to provide support for UW students, research, public programs, and other labor-related activities.

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 (use the memo line to indicate which fund you wish to designate for your contribution). If you would like to use a credit card, please visit: [www.uwfoundation.org](http://www.uwfoundation.org)

## You can choose to contribute to the following funds:

- **Bridges Community Outreach and Events Fund:** Supports special events, teaching, and scholarship
- **Harry Bridges Endowment:** Supports the endowed Chair and Center for Labor Studies
- **Labor Archive Fund:** Supports Washington State Labor Archive programs and staff
- **Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship:** Provides tuition for outstanding undergraduates
- **Martha Duggan Fellowship:** Provides support to graduate students who study or provide caring labor
- **The Theodore L. and Doris M. Hansen Endowment:** Provides annual income for the Community Outreach and Events Fund
- **David J. Olson Endowed Fund:** Supports students in the Department of Political Science



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