



THE CHALLENGE OF PRECARIOUS LABOR

Monday, December 5, 2016
Washington Court Hotel, Washington, D.C.

SPEAKERS

Introduction

Leo Casey

Leo Casey is the Executive Director of the Albert Shanker Institute, a think tank affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers which focuses on issues of public education, unionism and the defense of democracy. Before he assumed his current position at the Institute, Casey served as Vice President from Academic High Schools for the United Federation of Teachers, New York City's 200,000 person strong teacher union. He is the son of two New York City public school teachers. Casey attended Antioch College, the University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania and the University of Toronto in Canada, where he earned a Ph.D. in Political Philosophy.

After a stint in political organizing, Casey began his teaching career in 1984 at Clara Barton High School Brooklyn where he taught classes in Civics, American History, African-American Studies, Ethical Issues in Medicine and Political Science for fifteen years. For ten years, his classes – entirely students of color, largely immigrant and largely female – won the New York City championship of the national We The People civics competition, winning the New York State championship four times and placing fourth in the nation twice. Casey's union activism at Clara Barton began in 1987, when he led an effort to have the school building closed to clean up major asbestos contamination caused by the Department of Education's renovations. He served as UFT Chapter Leader at Clara Barton for ten years. He has a long history of union involvement, including work as a United Farm Worker's organizer and participation in the first unionization drive of graduate teaching assistants in Canada.

In 1999, Casey became a full-time UFT Special Representative for High Schools. He was elected Vice President from Academic High Schools in October 2007. As Vice President he taught a class in Global Studies at Bard High School Early College in Manhattan. Casey has served as Vice President of the Graduate Student Union at the University of Toronto. He was editor-in-chief of the Antioch Record, and National Field Director of Democratic Socialists of America. He was a fellow of the Teachers' Network Leadership Institute. He served as the New York State Teacher Reviewer for the National Standards for Civics and Government Project. Casey has won several awards for his teaching, and was named national Social Studies Teacher of the Year for the American Teacher Awards in 1992. Casey led the design team for the UFT's Secondary Charter School, and led the UFT's work with charter schools, including charter organizing, while he served as UFT Vice President. He has worked with teacher unions and teachers in Russia, Tanzania and China on the development of civics education.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Randi Weingarten

Randi Weingarten is President of the 1.6 million-member American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, which represents teachers; paraprofessionals and school-related personnel; higher education faculty and staff; nurses and other healthcare professionals; local, state and federal government employees; and early childhood educators. The AFT champions fairness; democracy; economic opportunity; and high-quality public education, healthcare and public services for students, their families and communities. The AFT and its members advance

these principles through community engagement, organizing, collective bargaining and political activism, and especially through members' work.

Prior to her election as AFT president in 2008, Weingarten served for 12 years as president of the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, representing educators in the New York City public school system, as well as home child care providers and other workers in health, law and education. In 2012-13, Weingarten served on an education reform commission convened by New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo, which made a series of recommendations to improve teaching and learning. She was appointed to the Equity and Excellence Commission, a federal advisory committee chartered by Congress to examine and make recommendations concerning the disparities in educational opportunities that give rise to the achievement gap. For 10 years, while president of the UFT, Weingarten chaired New York City's Municipal Labor Committee where she coordinated labor negotiations and bargaining for benefits on behalf of the MLC unions' 365,000 members.

From 1986 to 1998, Weingarten served as counsel to UFT president Sandra Feldman, taking a lead role in contract negotiations and enforcement, and in lawsuits in which the union fought for adequate school funding and building conditions. A teacher of history at Clara Barton High School in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood from 1991 to 1997, Weingarten helped her students win several state and national awards debating constitutional issues. Elected as the local union's assistant secretary in 1995 and as treasurer two years later, she became UFT president after Feldman became president of the AFT. Weingarten's column "What Matters Most" appears in the *New York Times*' Sunday Review the third Sunday of each month. Weingarten holds degrees from Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations and the Cardozo School of Law.

Panel One: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PRECARIOUS LABOR

Arne Kalleberg

Arne L. Kalleberg is a Kenan Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is also adjunct professor of an Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, Global Studies and Management at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Kalleberg received his B.A. from Brooklyn College and his M.S. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He was previously a Professor of Sociology at Indiana University in Bloomington. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s* and editor (with Hsiao, Hsin-Huang Michael, and Kevin Hewison) of 2015. *Policy Responses to Precarious Work in Asia*. Kalleberg served as the Secretary of the American Sociological Association in 2001-4 and as its President in 2007-8. He is currently the editor of *Social Forces*, an International Journal of Social Research.

Guy Standing

Guy Standing is Research Professor and former Professor of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. Previously he was Professor of Economic Security at the University of Bath in the UK and Professor of Labour Economics at Monash University, Melbourne. He served as Director of the Socio-Economic Security Programme of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, Switzerland and was previously Director of the ILO's Labour Market Policies Branch, and before that Director of the ILO's Central and Eastern European Team, based in the Hungarian capital, Budapest.

Standing is a founder member and honorary co-president of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), an international non-governmental organisation that promotes basic income, whose members include social scientists from over 50 countries. He has a doctorate in economics from the University of Cambridge and a master's degree in industrial relations from the University of Illinois. He has written and edited books on labour economics, labour market policy, unemployment, labour market flexibility, structural adjustment policies, and social protection policy. His most recent books are *Basic Income: A Transformative Policy for India*, with Sarath Davala, Renana Jhabvala and Soumya Kapoor Mehta, *A Precariat Charter: From Denizens to Citizens*, and *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. Standing was coordinating editor and main writer of the ILO's *Economic Security for a Better World*. He is on the editorial advisory boards of several academic journals, including *Development and Change* and the *European Journal of Industrial Relations*. Standing was a member of the

International Committee on Emerging Human Rights, set up as part of the Barcelona Social Forum. He was a member of the Commission on European Employment and has been a consultant with many international bodies, including the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (now the International Trade Union Confederation), the European Commission, the UN Research Institute for Social Development, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the UN Economic Commission for Europe. He was the main writer for the UN's *Report on the World Social Situation*. In 2014 he was invited by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs to join its expert network on social development for an 18-month project reviewing progress since the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995.

Leah F. Vosko

Leah Vosko is Professor of Political Science and Canada Research Chair at York University where she teaches courses on public policy, women and politics, and labour and employment and conducts research on labour market insecurity in Canada in international context. She is the author and editor of numerous scholarly books, volumes and articles including: *Temporary Work: The Gendered Rise of a Precarious Employment Relationship*; "Standard-Setting at the ILO: The Case of Precarious Employment," in *Hard Choices, Soft Law: Combining Trade, Environment, and Social Cohesion in Global Governance*; with Jim Stanford, "Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income (Introduction)" in *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's; with Judy Fudge and Eric Tucker "Changing Boundaries in Employment: Developing a New Platform for Labour Law" in the *Canada Labour and Employment Law Journal*; with Jim Stanford (eds) *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*; *Managing the Margins: Gender, Citizenship and the International Regulation of Precarious Employment*; co-edited collection, *Liberating Temporariness?: Migration, Work and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity*.

Vosko's research on migration analyzes the role of sending and receiving states in the provision of labour rights and protections for temporary migrant workers. She is also Principal Investigator of "Closing the Enforcement Gap: Improving Protections for People in Precarious Jobs," a SSHRC Partnership Grant concerned with employment standards enforcement and the Gender and Work-Comparative Perspectives Database (GWD-CPD), funded by the Canadian Foundation for Innovation, which includes a research and teaching module on migration. She has a PhD from York University, an MA Women's Studies from Simon Fraser University and a BA Political Studies from Trent University.

Moderator: Cheryl Teare

Cheryl Teare, a licensed attorney, is the Director of the Union Leadership Institute for the American Federation of Teachers. Her team develops and delivers a full range of training to enhance the skills of elected leaders, members and staff in this Labor Union with 1.6 million members. They work with locals and state federations doing strategic planning, staff and executive board development, advanced facilitation, dispute resolution, labor/management and organizing training. Teare, a graduate of Tufts University and Rutgers Law School, is the current President of the United Association for Labor Education and is involved in a number of civic organizations.

Panel Two: ORGANIZING ACADEMIC PRECARIOUS LABOR

Angus Johnson

Angus Johnson is an Adjunct Assistant Professor at CUNY Hostos Community College and a Founder at StudentActivism.net. He is a historian of American student culture. He received a PhD from the City University of New York. His dissertation, "The United States National Student Association: Democracy, Activism, and the Idea of the Student, 1947-1978," is a history of American student organizing before, during, and after the 1960s as seen through the lens of the most prominent student government organization of the time.

Tressie McMillan Cottom

Tressie McMillan Cottom is an Assistant Professor of sociology at Virginia Commonwealth University and Faculty Associate with Harvard University's Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society. Her research on higher education, work and technological change in the new economy has been supported by the Microsoft Research Network's Social Media Collective, The Kresge Foundation, the American Educational Research Association and the UC Davis Center for Poverty Research. Millions List, a leader in publishing, named her book "Lower Ed: The Troubling Rise of For-Profit Colleges in the New Economy" one of the most anticipated non-fiction books of 2016. She has published on race/class/gender, education, and technology in the new economy. McMillan Cottom is also co-editor of two academic books: "Digital Sociologies" from Policy Press and "For Profit U" from Palgrave MacMillan. She speaks extensively, including recent invitations to The White House, South Africa, New Zealand, and Italy. Her public scholarship has appeared in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Slate, and The Atlantic to name a few. She has a Ph.D. from Emory University.

Hamilton Nolan

Hamilton Nolan wrote for Gawker for eight years, covering labor, inequality, politics, and more, before the site was bankrupted by a billionaire this year. He now covers the same topics for Deadspin.

Moderator: Paul Dannenfelser

Paul Dannenfelser is an Adjunct Instructor at Temple University and a Part-Time Lecturer at Rutgers University, where he teaches classes in Social Work. He is a member/leader and organizer for United Academics of Philadelphia (UAP), an AFT contingent faculty local. Prior to working with UAP he served as Recording Secretary and President for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1723. He was also the Council Representative for AFSCME District Council 47 in Philadelphia where he was responsible for contract negotiations, grievances, and arbitrations. His work with UAP has been focused on improving the working conditions for contingent faculty in the Philadelphia area by helping to build a metro-wide local.

Panel Three: ORGANIZING PRECARIOUS LABOR

Janice Fine

Janice Fine holds a PhD in Political Science from MIT and is Associate Professor of Labor Studies and Employment Relations at the School of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University and Director of Research and Strategy at the Center for Innovation in Worker Organization where she leads the work on membership-building and income generation and labor standards enforcement. Fine teaches and writes about forms of collective action among low-wage workers in the U.S including innovative union community organizing strategies, historical and contemporary debates within labor movements regarding immigration policy, labor standards enforcement, privatization and government oversight. She is the author of many scholarly articles and has also published in *New Labor Forum*, *the Boston Globe*, *the Nation*, *the Boston Review*, *the Philadelphia Inquirer* and *the Newark Star Ledger*. She is frequently quoted in the *New York Times* and other national media outlets. Fine is the author of the book *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream* published by Cornell University Press and the Economic Policy Institute. Prior to becoming a professor at Rutgers, she worked as a community, labor, coalition and political organizer for over twenty years.

Shannon Garth-Rhodes

Shannon Garth-Rhodes, is the Communications Coordinator for the Fight for 15, Western Region. Shannon started in the Fight for 15 in St. Louis, Mo., for their very first fast food strike in May of 2013. She went on to coordinate communications for the mid-South region, as the movement expanded to include Missouri, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Garth-Rhodes moved out west for slightly smaller turf, she is now responsible for California, Nevada, Colorado, and Arizona. Prior to communications work, she taught middle school English/Language Arts in Kentucky and Louisiana. She received her Masters in Education Policy and Management from Harvard University, and her Bachelors in English from the University of Houston.

Jose Garza

Jose Garza is Executive Director of the Workers Defense Project. Garza, who started at WDP in Jan. 2016, is a native Texan who has devoted his career to the fight for working families and immigrant families. His homecoming to WDP is inspired by a "deep belief that this state can be a place where working families can get ahead." (Barragan, AAS). Garza started his career in Washington, D.C., where he worked for Congressman Ciro Rodriguez, attended law school at Catholic University, and worked for a federal district judge. He returned to Texas for the first time in 2006 to work on the border as an assistant public defender at Texas RioGrande Legal Aid, and then as a federal public defender in the Western District of Texas. In 2010, Garza returned to Washington, D.C. to serve as the Deputy General Counsel for the House Committee on Education and Labor. He went on to work as Special Counsel to the National Labor Relations Board, and most recently he served Secretary Tom Perez as a senior policy official at the U.S. Department of Labor. Garza brings extensive experience working with local, state and national labor organizations to build opportunity for working families and immigrant families.

Elly Kugler

Elly Kugler is Director of Policy at the National Domestic Workers Alliance. She leads the organization's federal policy work around direct care and childcare; supports organizing and campaigns by and for direct care workers; and collaborates with national organizations and state stakeholders to impact and improve state implementation of the new FLSA protections for homecare workers. She began supporting domestic worker organizing in 2001, when she collaborated with domestic worker leaders to support the creation of the Colectiva de Mujeres in San Francisco, CA. From 2000 to 2007, Kugler supported worker and youth organizing and leadership development at La Raza Centro Legal in San Francisco; City at Peace in Washington, D.C.; and the New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice. She graduated from UCLA School of Law and the Epstein Program in Public Interest Law and Policy in 2010. At Inner City Law Center in Los Angeles, she employed creative legal solutions as part of a trauma-informed, disability-rights oriented unit that used legal advocacy to support veterans to transition out of homelessness, and was Counsel on the federal case, *Valentini v. Shinseki*. She also defended low-income tenants in eviction proceedings as part of a civil Gideon pilot program, and sued slumlords. Many of her clients were domestic workers who had to live in unhealthy and precarious housing situations due to the low pay and wage theft they experienced on the job

Jennifer J. (J.J.) Rosenbaum

Jennifer Rosenbaum (JJ) is a Robina Foundation Visiting Human Rights Fellow for the 2016 academic year where she focuses on a human rights approach to raising standards for low-wage workers on global supply chains—both global production networks and global labor subcontracting chains. Her research and consultations with worker organizations focus on legal, policy, and organizing approaches to raising workplace standards, overcoming forced labor, and promoting new forms of bargaining. She was previously the founding Legal and Policy Director for the National Guestworker Alliance and the New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice. She has litigated cases before trial and appellate courts, lead national policy campaigns, and testified before the United States Congress on labor issues of migrant workers. In 2014, she was appointed by United States Secretary of Labor Thomas Perez to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's Whistleblower Protection Advisory Committee. She has taught courses in immigration, labor and employment, and international human rights at Tulane Law School, Northeastern Law School, and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Moderator: Paul E. Almeida

Paul E. Almeida has been President of the Department for Professional Employees (DPE), AFL-CIO since 2001. Prior to DPE, Almeida was President of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers, AFL-CIO & CLC. In 2000 he was one of the leaders of the longest strike, lasting nearly six weeks, by Boeing engineers. This job action was one of the largest strikes by professional workers in U.S. history. Almeida received his degree in engineering from Franklin Institute of Boston and was employed by Stone and Webster Engineering Corporation in Boston from 1971–1994. Almeida currently serves on several policy committees of the AFL-CIO, including: Vice Chair of the immigration committee; and member of the education and training; legislative/public policy; international affairs; organizing; strategic approaches; and women workers

committee. Almeida is a board member of the Albert Shanker Institute, the Labor Advisory Board of American Income Life, and past board member of the Labor and Employment Relations Association.

Panel Four: PRECARIOUS LABOR IN LABOR LAW & POLICY

Sharon Block

Sharon Block is the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy at the U.S. Department of Labor. She previously served as Senior Counselor to Secretary of Labor Thomas E. Perez from August 2013 to October 2015. The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy provides advice to the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Department on matters of policy development, program evaluation, regulations, budget and legislation that will improve the lives of workers, retirees and their families. Integral to this role, OASP leads special initiatives and manages cross-and inter-Department activities and is the policy innovation arm of the Department of Labor that invests in research and analysis of current and emerging labor issues including: the growing wage gap for working families, ensuring protections and opportunity for all workers, policies that promote work and family balance, and labor standards for the rapidly changing 21st century economy.

Block has held various other senior roles in the Obama Administration, including as White House Senior Public Engagement Advisor for Labor and Working Families. On January 4, 2012, President Obama appointed her to serve as a Member of the National Labor Relations Board. She served on the NLRB until July 2013. From 2009 to 2012, she served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs at the U.S. Department of Labor. Between 2006 and 2009, Ms. Block was Senior Labor and Employment Counsel for the Senate HELP Committee, where she worked for Senator Edward M. Kennedy. Ms. Block previously served at the National Labor Relations Board as senior attorney to Chairman Robert Battista from 2003 to 2006 and as an attorney in the appellate court branch from 1996 to 2003. From 1994 to 1996, she was Assistant General Counsel at the National Endowment for the Humanities, and from 1991 to 1993, she was an associate at Steptoe & Johnson. She received a B.A. in History from Columbia University and a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center where she received the John F. Kennedy Labor Law Award.

Valerio De Stefano

Valerio de Stefano is a Researcher at "BAFFI" Center on International Markets, Money and Regulation and a Teaching Fellow at the *Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Milan, Italy, where he teaches courses on Labor Law and Employment. He is also a Technical Officer at the INWORK Branch of the Conditions of Work and Equality Department. He is a Researcher with grant at *Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Milan, Italy where he studies Italian, European and comparative Labor Law, Industrial Relations Law, Social Law, Contract Law, Constitutional Law. He is also an Associate at Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer LLP, Employment Pensions Benefit Department.

Previously De Stefano was a Visiting Academic at *University College London (UCL)* and a Researcher at the International Labour Office in Geneva, Switzerland, where he carried out research and drafted a paper on the Italian labor market: *Smuggling-in Flexibility: Temporary Work Contracts and the "Implicit Threat" Mechanism*. He is a Tutor and Teaching Assistant of Labor Law and Industrial Relations at *Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Italy. His publications include: "A Tale of Oversimplification and Deregulation: The Mainstream Approach to Labour Market Segmentation and the Recent Responses to the Crisis in European Countries" in the *Industrial Law Journal*; a case law review article on the criteria allowing trade unions to establish employees' representative bodies at the workplace, set out by the Italian Constitutional Court; a book chapter dealing with employment law reforms and the pursue of flexibility subsequent to the economic crisis in European countries; an article on a national framework collective bargaining agreement reforming the Italian system of industrial relations. He has a Ph.D in Business and Commerce Law from *Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Milan, Italy; a Master of Science in Law, *Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Milan, Italy; and a Bachelor in Law, *Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi*, Milan, Italy.

David Madland

David Madland is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. He has written extensively about the economy and American politics on a range of topics, including the middle class, economic inequality, retirement policy, labor unions, and workplace standards such as the minimum wage. Madland is the author of *Hollowed Out: Why the Economy Doesn't Work without a Strong Middle Class*. Kirkus Reviews called the book "a dramatic and clearly delineated outline" of the coming fight between trickle-down and middle-class economics," while Salon wrote that "Madland's book makes a strong and clear argument that an economy geared around the middle class is not only more in keeping with democratic and liberal norms, but it's simply better economics, too."

Madland has appeared frequently on television shows, including "PBS NewsHour" as well as radio talk shows, and has been cited in such publications as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New Yorker*. He has testified before Congress on a number of occasions, as well as several state legislatures. Madland has a doctorate in government from Georgetown University and received his bachelor's degree from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the co-author of *Interest Groups in American Campaigns*, a book on the role and influence of interest groups in American democracy. He has worked on economic policy for Rep. George Miller (D-CA) and has consulted for several labor unions. At American Progress, he previously served as the Managing Director for Economic Policy and the Director of the American Worker Project.

Catherine Ruckelshaus,

Catherine Ruckelshaus is the General Counsel & Program Director, National Employment Law Project. She joined NELP in 1995, after working for the Employment Law Center in San Francisco. For over 20 years, she has litigated and advocated for policy reforms promoting the workplace rights of immigrant and non-standard workers (part-time, temporary and subcontracted workers), enforcement of wage and hour and workplace laws, and anti-discrimination and family and medical leave laws. She has litigated class action lawsuits in state and federal court and authored several amicus briefs before the U.S. Supreme Court and U.S. Courts of Appeal. In 2003, she was honored by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for successfully litigating on behalf of New York City's immigrant workers, and in 1989 she was a Skadden Fellow. She has a J.D. from Stanford Law School and a B.A. from Princeton University

Benjamin Sachs

Benjamin Sachs is the Kestnbaum Professor of Labor and Industry at Harvard Law School and a leading expert in the field of labor law and labor relations. Sachs teaches courses in labor law, employment law, and law and social change, and his writing focuses on union organizing and unions in American politics. Prior to joining the Harvard faculty in 2008, Sachs was the Joseph Goldstein Fellow at Yale Law School. From 2002-2006, he served as Assistant General Counsel of the Service Employees International Union in Washington, D.C., and from 1999-2002 he was an attorney at Make the Road by Walking, a membership-based community organization in Brooklyn, NY. Sachs graduated from Yale Law School in 1998, and served as a judicial law clerk to the Honorable Stephen Reinhardt of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. His writing has appeared in the *Harvard Law Review*, *the Yale Law Journal*, *the Columbia Law Review*, *the New York Times* and elsewhere. In 2007, Professor Sachs received the Yale Law School teaching award. He is also the 2013 recipient of the Sacks-Freund Award for Teaching Excellence at Harvard Law School, and the 2015 winner of the Charles Fried Intellectual Diversity Award.

Moderator: Harold Meyerson

Harold Meyerson is Executive Editor of the *American Prospect* as well as a member of the editorial board of *Dissent*. From 2003 through 2015, he was a weekly op-ed columnist for *The Washington Post*. From 1989 to 2001, he was Executive Editor of the *L.A. Weekly*. From 1991 to 1995, Meyerson hosted the weekly show "Real Politics" on the public radio station KCRW in Sanata Monica, Calif. He is a frequent guest on television and radio talk shows and has been a regular columnist for *The Washington Post* since 2003. He is the author of "*Who Put The Rainbow in The Wizard of Oz?*" (1995), a biography of Broadway lyricist Yip Harburg. In September, 2009 *Atlantic Monthly* named Meyerson one of 50 Most Influential Columnists. Calling its list "its all-star team," *Atlantic Monthly's* Top 50 are the most influential commentators in the nation – the columnists and bloggers and broadcast pundits who shape the national debates.