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Bunche 3282 x6-8166
Office hrs.: Fri. 9-12
and by appointment

Fall 1998
PS257
Tues. 1:00-3:50
Bunche 4280

Topics in Comparative Labor Politics

This course investigates problems in the area of comparative labor politics. Empirical materials reflect the instructor's expertise and interests, and are drawn from the U.S., Western Europe, and Japan, although students with interests in other areas of the world are encouraged to take the course. The course is not exhaustive in its coverage. Each week's reading is organized around a theoretical problem or puzzle, often using literature from economics or economic approaches to politics. Usually some relevant empirical materials are also assigned in order to provide a context in which to think through a theoretical problem. The goal of the course is provide students with enough background in the study of labor movements and labor politics to permit subsequent independent research in the area.

Readings

I have assigned readings that I believe will pose interesting problems each week. In addition, I assume that many of you will find it helpful to think about issues in relation to contemporary European, North American, and Japanese industrial relations. To this end, I have assigned a good country textbook on industrial relations in Europe, Ferner and Hyman's *Changing Industrial Relations in Europe*. Please read at least two chapters for the first class meeting. This should give you a descriptive introduction to industrial relations and a sense of the variety of institutions and conditions that currently obtain in various European countries. Note that the first edition of this book (entitled *Industrial Relations in the New Europe*) contains country chapters with more extensive historical background materials than are found in the second edition, so you may wish to consult that as well. In addition, I encourage those of you interested in advanced democratic contexts to read on American and Japanese industrial relations.

Research Papers

Students enrolled in the course are required to write a research paper. I do not allow incompletes in *any* circumstances (except medical emergencies). Thus, you must begin work right away. In order to get a jump on research topics, the syllabus is arranged so that we read on topics that I consider especially fruitful for generating research topics in the early weeks, and only later do we go back and acquire some relevant historical and conceptual background. Thus, the course is arranged to help you plunge into demanding but important areas of research.

In order to get a good start on your research papers, each of you will make a very brief

presentation of your proposed topic at the third class meeting, for discussion by all members of the class. In addition, you will hand in a short research design (of a page or two) at that class meeting.

You may work on any topic relevant to labor, labor movements, and working class politics, using empirical materials from any region of the world. Your paper must be organized around a problem or theoretical issue. Research papers are due at the end of the quarter. Late papers will be marked down by one full grade for each 24 hours or portion thereof.

Although you are welcome to propose alternatives, two approaches to the paper would be especially easy to get going on. Working with the Golden-Wallerstein-Lange comparative data set on unions, employers, industrial relations and collective bargaining in 16 OECD countries from 1950 to 1992 (available at <http://www.shelley.polisci.ucla.edu/data>), you may undertake a quantitative analysis of some aspect(-s) of bargaining or labor market institutions in OECD countries. Alternatively, you may write a comparative paper on two OECD countries analyzing changes in bargaining arrangements and labor market institutions in the 1990s in response to international pressures. If you select the latter option, you may wish to select one corporatist and one non-corporatist nation in order to maximize the variation between your countries. Alternatively, you could examine different sectors (sheltered versus exposed) in one or two countries. These papers require original research on labor relations in each country; ideally, you should be able to read the relevant language(-s).

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Oct. 6 Introduction to Unions and Working Class Organization

Read at least two chapters from Anthony Ferner and Richard Hyman, eds., *Changing Industrial Relations in Europe* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1997), selecting those countries you are likely to include in your research paper.

Oct. 13 Do Unions Affect Macroeconomic Performance, and If So, How and
Why? Background Debate

Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange, "The Politics of Growth: Strategic Interaction and Economic Performance in the Advanced Industrial Democracies," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 47, no. 3 (1984): 790-827.

Robert Jackman, "The Politics of Economic Growth in the Industrial Democracies, 1974-1980: Leftist Strength or North Sea Oil?" *Journal of Politics*, vol. 49 (1986): 202-12.

Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange, "The Politics of Growth Reconsidered," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 49 (1987): 257-74.

Michael Alvarez, Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange, "Government Partisanship, Labor Organization and Macroeconomic Performance, 1967-1984," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 85 (June 1991): 539-56.

Nathaniel Beck and Jonathan Katz, "What to Do (and Not to Do) with Time-Series Cross-Section Data in Comparative Politics," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 89, no. 3 (Sept. 1995): 634-47.

Lars Calmfors and John Driffill, "Centralization of Wage Bargaining and Macroeconomic Performance," *Economic Policy*, vol. 3, no1 (April 1988): 13-61.

David Soskice, "Wage Determination: The Changing Role of Institutions in Advanced Industrial Countries," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1990): 36-61.

Miriam Golden, "The Dynamics of Trade Unionism and National Economic Performance," *American Political Science Review*, 87 (June 1993): 439-54

Oct. 20 Do Unions Affect Macroeconomic Performance, and If So, How and
Why? Recent Work

OECD, "Economic Performance and the Structure of Collective Bargaining,"
Economic Outlook (July 1997), ch. 3, pp. 63-92

Robert J. Flanagan, "Macroeconomic Performance and Collective Bargaining:
An International Perspective," unpublished paper, 1997.

** Class presentations of research topics by all students **

Oct. 27 The Changing Impact of the International Economy I: Why
Internationalization Should (Probably) be Bad for Labor

Richard Freeman, "Are Your Wages Set in Beijing?" *Journal of Economic
Perspectives*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 15-32.

J. David Richardson, "Income Inequality: How to Think, What to Conclude,"
Journal of Economic Perspectives, vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 33-55.

Adrian Wood, "How Trade Hurt Unskilled Workers," *Journal of Economic
Perspectives*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 57-80.

Ethan Kapstein, "Workers and the World Economy," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no.
3 (May-June 1996): 16-37.

Dani Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for
International Economics, 1997).

Nov. 3 The Changing Impact of the International Economy II: The Evidence

Colin Crouch, "Trade Unions in the Exposed Sector: Their Influence on Neo-
Corporatist Behaviour," in *Labour Relations and Economic Performance*, ed.
Renato Bruneta and Carlo Dell'Aringa (Houndsmill: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 68-
91.

Geoffrey Garrett and Christopher Way, "The Sectoral Composition of Trade
Unions, Corporatism, and Economic Performance," in *Monetary and Fiscal
Policy in an Integrated Europe*, ed. Barry Eichengreen, Jeffry Frieden, and Jürgen
von Hagen (Berlin: Springer, 1995), pp. 38-61.

Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-73),

Geoffrey Garrett, "Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?" *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 4 (Fall 1998), forthcoming.

Miriam Golden and John Londregan, "Globalization and Industrial Relations," paper presented at the 1998 meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place and Sheraton Boston Hotel and Towers, Sept. 3-6.

Italia, * Anyone who can read Italian should also read Aris Accornero, "La terziarizzazione del conflitto e i suoi effetti," in *Il conflitto industriale in* ed. Gian Primo Cella and Marino Regini (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985).

Nov. 10 Unions, Business and the EC: Is the EC a Capitalist Plot?

Europe Philippe C. Schmitter and Wolfgang Streeck, "Organized Interests and the of 1992," paper presented at a conference on The United States and Europe in the 1990s, AEI, Washington, D.C., 1990.

Stephen Silvia, "The Social Charter of the European Community: A Defeat for European Labor," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 44, no. 4 (July 1991): 626-43.

Jeffrey Frieden, "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance," *International Organization*, vol. 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 425-51.

Melvin Reder and Lloyd Ulman, "Unionism and Unification," in *Labor and an Integrated Europe*, ed. Lloyd Ulman, Barry Eichengreen, and William T. Dickens (Brookings, 1993), pp. 13-44.

John Addison and W. Stanley Siebert, "Recent Developments in Social Policy in the New European Union," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 48, no. 1 (Oct. 1994): 5-27.

Christopher L. Erickson and Sarosh Kuruvilla, "Labor Costs and the Social

Review, Dumping Debate in the European Union," *Industrial and Labor Relations* vol. 48, no. 1 (Oct. 1994): 28-47.

Michael Wallerstein, "The Impact of Economic Integration on European Wage-Setting Institutions," in *Forging an Integrated Europe*, ed. Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey Frieden (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

Nov. 17 What Do Unions Want? Egalitarianism as Union Policy

Peter Swenson, *Fair Shares. Unions, Pay, and Politics in Sweden and West Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), ch. 1 (pp. 1-30).

Richard Freeman, "Labour Market Institutions and Economic Performance," *Economic Policy*, vol. 3, no. 1 (April 1988): 64-80.

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr. and Håkan Locking, "Solidarity Wage Policies and Industrial Productivity in Sweden," *Nordic Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 22 (1995): 95-108.

Richard B. Freeman and Lawrence F. Katz, eds., *Differences and Changes in Wage Structures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), preface and chs. 1 and 8 (pp. 1-66 and 265-306).

Michael Wallerstein, "Wage-Setting Institutions and Pay Inequality in Advanced Industrial Societies," Working Paper No. 7, Center for Labor Studies, University of Washington, May 1998.

David Rueda and Jonas Pontusson, "Wage Inequality and Varieties of Capitalism," unpublished paper, Cornell University, March 1998.

* Anyone who can read Italian should also read: Aris Accornero, "Sindacato e rivoluzione sociale: il caso italiano degli anni '70," *Laboratorio Politico*, vol. 1, no. 4 (July-Aug. 1981) and *idem*, *La parabola del sindacato: ascesa e declino di una cultura* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), introduction (pp. 13-35).

Nov. 24 Unions and Industrial Action I: Why Do Strikes Occur?

Orley Ashenfelter and George E. Johnson, "Bargaining Theory, Trade Unions and Industrial Strike Activity," *American Economic Review*, vol. 59, no. 1 (1969): 35-49.

Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Interindustry Propensity to Strike an International Comparison," in *Labor and Management in Industrial Society*, ed. Clark Kerr (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1964).

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., "Industrial Conflict in Advanced Industrial Societies," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 70, no. 4 (1976): 1033-58.

Miriam Golden, *Heroic Defeats: The Politics of Job Loss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-39).

Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, "The Shape of Strikes in France 1830-1960," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 13 (Jan. 1971): 60-86.

Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., "On the Political Economy of Long-Run Trends in Strike Activity," *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1978): 153-75.

Dec. 1 Unions and Industrial Action II: Strike Waves

Eric Hobsbawm, "Economic Fluctuations and Some Social Movements," in *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), ch. 8 (pp. 126-57).

Alessandro Pizzorno, "Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict," in Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno, eds., *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, vol. 2, *Comparative Analyses* (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 277-98.

David Soskice, "Strike Waves and Wage Explosions, 1968-1970: An Economic Interpretation," in Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno, eds., *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, vol. 2, *Comparative Analyses* (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 221-46.

Roberto Franzosi, *The Puzzle of Strikes: Class and State Strategies in Postwar Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chs. 1 and 4-8 (pp. 1-29 and 96-142).

Dec. 8 Cross-National Variations in Unionization: Why Some Countries are More Organized Than Others

Michael Wallerstein, "Union Organization in Advanced Industrial

Democracies,"
481-501.

American Political Science Review, vol. 83, no. 2 (June 1989):

1991):
John Stephens, "Industrial Concentration, Country Size, and Trade Union
Membership," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 85, no. 3 (Sept.
941-49.

Michael Wallerstein, "Reply to Stephens," *American Political Science
Review*, vol. 85, no. 3 (Sept. 1991): 949-53.

Bo Rothstein, "Labor-Market Institutions and Working-Class Strength," in
Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis, ed.
Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1992).

Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the
Capitalist Democracies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), chs. 6-8
(pp. 87-140).

*** Research papers due Wed. Dec. 15 by 4:00, instructor's office ***