

## Kim Voss

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### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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Professor, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2004-  
Acting Dean, Division of Social Sciences, University of California, Berkeley, July 2019-  
Jan. 2020; July 2009; Jan.-June 2012.  
Associate Dean, Graduate Division, Jan. 2016- June 2018  
Director, Berkeley Connect in Sociology Program, University of California, Berkeley,  
March 2013-June 2016  
Chair, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2004-2007, August  
2010- December 2011.  
Associate Dean, Division of Social Sciences, University of California, Berkeley, 2008-  
2010.  
Associate Director, Institute of Industrial Relations (now Institute for Research on Labor  
and Employment), 1997-2004.  
Associate Professor, University of California, Berkeley, 1993-2003.  
Director of Graduate Studies, Sociology Department, University of California, Berkeley,  
2000-2002, 2003-2004.  
Visiting Scholar, New School for Social Research, Center for Studies of Social Change,  
1988.  
Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 1986-  
1993.

### EDUCATION

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Ph.D. Sociology, Stanford University, 1986  
M.S. Sociology of Development, Cornell University, 1977  
B.A. Magna cum laude, Catawba College, Salisbury, N.C., 1974

### PUBLICATIONS

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#### **Books:**

*Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21<sup>st</sup> Century America.* Edited  
Volume with Irene Bloemraad, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

*Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement.* With Rick Fantasia. Berkeley:  
University of California Press, 2004.

*Des Syndicats Domestiques: Repression Patronale et Resistance Syndicale Aux Etas-Unis.* With Rick Fantasia. Paris: Editions Raisons D'Agir, 2003.

*Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement.* Edited volume, with Ruth Milkman, Cornell University Press, 2004.

*Inequality by Design: Cracking the Bell Curve Myth.* With Claude Fischer, Michael Hout, Martin Sanchez Jankowski, Sam Lucas, and Ann Swidler. Princeton University Press, 1996.

\* Award: 1998 "Outstanding Book" on Human Rights, Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in North America.

\* Excerpted in:

– T. Shapiro (ed.), *Great Divides: Readings in Social Inequality in the United States*, 2nd Ed.

(Mayfield, 2000)

– D. Grusky (ed.), *Social Stratification*, 2nd Ed. (Westview 2001).

– D. Grusky and S. Szelenyi (eds.), *The Inequality Reader* (Westview, 2006).

*The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century.* Cornell University Press, 1993.

\* Winner of the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award for a First Book, 1995 Political Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association

### **Journal articles and book chapters:**

"Movement or Moment? Lessons from the pro-immigrant movement in the United States and contemporary challenges," with Irene Bloemraad. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46 (4) 2020: 683-704.

"The Limits of Rights: Claims-making on Behalf of Immigrants," with Fabiana Silva and Irene Bloemraad. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46 (4) 2020: 791-819.

(An earlier, conference paper version of the article was awarded Honorable Mention for the Best Paper Prize from the American Political Science Association's Migration & Citizenship Section, 2018)

"Been Down So Long, It Looks Like Up to Me: Shifting Targets, Changing Repertoires, and Internal Democracy in the U.S. Labor Movement," with Pablo Gaston. PP. 91-123 in James Jasper and Braydon King, *Protesters and Their Targets*, Temple University Press, 2020.

"Rights, Economics, or Family? Frame Resonance, Political Ideology, and the Immigrant Rights Movement," with Irene Bloemraad and Fabiana Silva, *Social Forces* 94 (4) 2016: 1647-1674.

“Same as it Ever Was: New Labor, the CIO Organizing Model, and the Future of American Unions,” *Politics and Society* 43 (2015): 453-457.

<http://pas.sagepub.com/content/43/3/453>

“The Local in the Global: Rethinking Social Movements in the New Millennium, with Michelle Williams, *Democratization*, Vol. 19 (2) 2012, pp. 352-377.

“The Immigration Rallies of 2006: What Were They, How Do We Understand Them, Where Do We Go?” with Irene Bloemraad and Taeku Lee. In Voss and Bloemraad, *Rallying for Immigrant Rights*, University of California Press, 2011, pp. 3-43.

“Enduring Legacy? Charles Tilly and Durable Inequality,” *American Sociologist* 41 (November 2010): 368-374.

“Democratic Dilemmas: Union Democracy and Union Renewal,” *Transfer: European Review of Labor and Research*, 16 (August 2010): 369-382.

\*German Translation, “Innengewerkschaftliche Demokratie und die Erneuerung der Gewerkschaften.” In Stefan Schmalz and Klaus Dörre, (eds.), *Comeback der Gewerkschaften? Machtressourcen, innovative Praktiken, internationale Perspektiven*, Frankfurt/ New York: Campus, 2013, pp. 56-69.

“New Unity for Labor?” With Ruth Milkman. *Labor*, Spring 2005; 2: 15 - 26. A shorter version appeared in *South African Labor Bulletin*, vol. 28, no. 2 (April 2004), pp. 43-47.

“The Future of American Labor: Reinventing Unions” With Rick Fantasia. *Contexts* 3 (Spring 2004): 35-4.

“Against the Tide: Projects and Pathways of the New Generation of Union Leaders, 1984-2001,” With Marshall Ganz, Teresa Sharpe, Carl Somers and George Strauss. In Milkman and Voss, *Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*, Cornell University Press, 2004. An earlier version was published as “Why Lead Labor: Projects and Pathways in California Unions, 1984-2001,” With Marshall Ganz and George Strauss, Center for Public Leadership, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2003.

“Sombart, the Knights of Labor, and Class Formation in America.” In *Werner Sombart and “American Exceptionalism,”* edited by Mark R. Thompson. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2004.

“Made in the USA: The TUC, the Organising Model and the Limits of Transferability.” With Bob Carter, Peter Fairbrother, and Rachel Sherman. In *Labor Revitalization: Global Perspectives and New Initiatives*, edited by Daniel B. Cornfield and Holly J. McCammon, *Research in the Sociology of Work*, Volume 11. Amsterdam: JAI Press, Elsevier, 2003.

"You Can't Just Do It Automatically: The Transition to Social Movement Unionism in the United States." With Rachel Sherman. In *Trade Unions in Renewal: A Comparative Study*, edited by Peter Fairbrother and Charlotte A.B. Yates, pp. 51-77. London: Continuum, 2003.

"Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy: Tactical Innovation and the Revitalization of the American Labor Movement," With Rachel Sherman. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106 (September 2000): 303-349.

\* Distinguished Article Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems, Labor Studies Division, 2001.

\*Reprinted in *The Sociology of Organizations: An Anthology of Contemporary Theory and Research*, edited by Amy Wharton, Roxbury, 2007.

"Organize or Die: Labor's New Tactics and Immigrant Workers." With Rachel Sherman. In *Organize or Die: Labor's New Tactics and Immigrant Workers*, edited by Ruth Milkman, pp. 81-108. Cornell University Press, 2000.

"Claim-Making and the Interpretation of Defeats: The Interpretation of Losses by American and British Labor Activists, 1886-1895." In *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics*, edited by Michael Hanagan, Leslie Page Moon and Wayne Te Brake, pp. 136-148. University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

"The Collapse of a Social Movement: The Interplay of Mobilizing Structures, Framing, and Political Opportunities in the Knights of Labor." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*, edited by in Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald, pp. 227-258. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

"The Political Economy of Inequality in the 'Age of Extremes'," with Michael Hout and Richard Arum. *Demography* 33 (November 1996): 421-425.

"Disposition Is Not Action: The Rise and Demise of the Knights of Labor," *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (Fall 1992): 272-321.

"Formal Organization and the Fate of Social Movements," With Carol Conell. *American Sociological Review* 55 (1990): 255-269. Winner of the Best Recent Article Award, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association, 1991

"Labor Organization and Class Alliance: Industries, Communities, and the Knights of Labor," *Theory and Society* 17 (1988): 329-364.

### **Work in progress and under review:**

*Immigration and Social Movements* (Book manuscript in progress)

“Frame Backfire” with Fabiana Silva and Irene Bloemraad (under review)

“Persistent Inequalities in College Completion, 1980–2010 with Mike Hout and Kristin George (under review)

**Policy briefs, encyclopedia articles, and public commentaries:**

*Taking Count: A Study on Poverty in the Bay Area.* With team from Tipping Point Community and UC Berkeley. July 2020.

“Inequality at Work: Job Quality in the Bay Area,” with Daniel Schneider and Payal Hathi, in *Taking Count: A Study on Poverty in the Bay Area.* Tipping Point Community, July 2020.

“Letter from the Chair,” *Trajectories*, Fall 2016.

“What it Takes for Unions to Enlarge Their Mission Beyond Existing Workplace Contracts,” *Scholars Strategy Network*, Key Findings, August 2013.

“Labor Movement,” with Rick Fantasia and Barry Eidlin, in David A. Snow, Donatella Della Porta, Bert Klendermans, and Doug McAdam, eds, *The Wiley- Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, Blackwell, 2013.

“Labor Movement,” With Rick Fantasia. *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 2006.

“US: State of the Unions,” with Rick Fantasia, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 2003. (In French; English translation entitled “Bush Administration’s Low-Intensity War Against Labour.”)

"Myths About Inequality in America," with Claude Fischer, Michael Hout, Martin Sanchez Jankowski, Sam Lucas, and Ann Swidler. Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, July 1996.

**Comments and Reviews:**

The Great Defunding: Public Higher Education in America,” *British Journal of Sociology*, 69 (2018): 506-510.

“Digitized (Big) Data and Comparative-Historical Sociology,” Conference Report, *Trajectories*, Winter 2017.

“Comment on Jake Rosenfeld’s *What Unions No Longer Do*, *Trajectories*, Winter 2016. [http://asa-comparative-historical.org/newsletter/Trajectories\\_Winter\\_2016.pdf](http://asa-comparative-historical.org/newsletter/Trajectories_Winter_2016.pdf)

“Forum on Ann Miche’s “Projects and Possibilities: Researching Futures in Action,” *Sociological Forum* 24 (2009): 901-906.

Ruth Milkman, *L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement*, *American Journal of Sociology* 114 (2008): 553-555.

Gay Seidman: *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights, and Transnational Activism*, review symposium, *Labor History* 49 (2008): 341-368.

Roger Gould, *Insurgent Identities, International Labor and Working Class History*, 52 (Fall 1997): 186-188.

Victoria C. Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States*, *Contemporary Sociology* 23 (1994): 196.

"Rosie Revisited," a review of Ruth Milkman's *Gender At Work*, *Socialist Review* 19 (1989): 143-150.

## HONORS, AWARDS, AND GRANTS

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Tipping Point Foundation (\$199,000), "The Taking Count Survey – Wave 4" Taeku Lee, Daniel Schneider, Irene Bloemraad, and Kim Voss (Co-PIs). 2020-2021

Tipping Point Foundation (\$700,000), "The Taking Count Survey - Waves 1-3." Taeku Lee, Daniel Schneider, Irene Bloemraad, and Kim Voss (Co-PIs). 2017-2019

Peder Sather Center Grant (\$10,000), "Claims-Making on Behalf of Migrants in a Time of Populism: Comparative Survey Experiments in Norway And California," Elisabeth Ivarsflaten and Kim Voss (Co-PIs). 2017-2019.

Elected Chair, Comparative Historical Section, of the American Sociological Association, 2015-2018

Mellon Project Grant (\$35,000), "Worker Identities in a New Era of Immigration," 2012-13.

University of California Humanities Research Institute Summer Research Award (\$7000), "Worker Identities in a New Era of Immigration," Summer 2013.

Committee on Research Bridging Grant, (\$20,000) "From Character to Fit in College Admissions," 2012-2013.

Spencer/Teagle Grant for Undergraduate Education in Research Universities (\$45,000), "Enhancing Writing in Sociology," with Irene Bloemraad. 2008-2011.

Labor and Employment Research Fund Grant (\$34,388), 2008-09.

Educational Innovation Grant (\$10,000), "Creating a Booklet on Writing for Sociologists," 2007-2008.

First Elected Chair of the Labor and Labor Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, 2002-03.

Institute for Labor and Employment Grants (\$90,000), "Leadership, Organization, and Institutional Change," 2001-2003.

Distinguished Article Award, Society for the Study of Social Problems, Labor Studies Division, 2001, for "Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy."

National Science Foundation Grant (\$101,722), "Defeat Frames and Social Movements,"

1997-1999

Elected to the Sociological Research Association, 1998

The Myers Center Award for the Study of Human Rights in North America, 1998, for  
*Inequality by Design: Cracking the Bell Curve Myth*

Fellow, Center for the Teaching and Study of American Cultures, Summer 1996.

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Award for a First Book, 1995 Political

Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association, for *The Making of  
American Exceptionalism*

Best Recent Article Award, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological  
Association, 1991, for "Formal Organization and the Fate of Social Movements."

Regents' Junior Faculty Fellowship, 1990

National Science Foundation Dissertation Grant, 1983-84

American Association of University Women, 1983-84

New Jersey Historical Commission Grant, 1984

## PRESENTATIONS, PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

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"Poverty, Precarity, and Privilege in the San Francisco Bay Area: Implications for  
Labor's Future," Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, On-line  
(originally scheduled for San Francisco), August 2020.

"Working for Respect" Author Meets Critics session, Annual Meetings of the American  
Sociological Association, New York, August 2019.

"Toward a History of Crisis in American Higher Education," Plenary session,  
Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association Mini-Conference  
on "The Crisis of History, The History of Crisis," Philadelphia, August 2018.

"Neoliberal Dilemmas: Shifting repertoires of labor contention in the United States and  
their democratic implications," International Sociological Association Congress,  
Integrative session of RC09 Social Transformations and Sociology of Development,  
RC44 Labour Movements, RC47 Social Classes and Social Movements, July 2018,  
Toronto, Canada.

"Selection During College and the Global Transformation of Higher Education," Annual  
Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Montreal, August 2017.

"The Limits of Rights: Claims-making on Behalf of Immigrants,"  
Mini-conference, Institute of Research on Labor and Employment, UC Berkeley,  
May 5, 2017.

American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 2017.

"Confronting Challenges to U.S. Labor's Legitimacy," Social Science History  
Association, Chicago Ill., November 2016.

“*What Unions No Longer Do: Author Meets Critics*,” Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 2015.

“What’s the Best Way Forward for Framing the Immigrant Movement in the U.S.: Rights, Family, or Economics?” Paper presented to the International Sociological Association, Yokohama, Japan, July 2014.

“Worker Identities in a New Era of Immigration.” Paper presented to the “How Global Migration Changes the Workplace Diversity Equation” conference, UCLA, June 2013. Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, August 2013.

“Fighting For Inclusion: The origins and consequences of the 2006 immigration protests in the United States,” Paper presented to the International Sociological Association, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 2012.

“Author Meets Reader: *Restoring the Power of Unions: It Takes a Movement* by Jack Getman,” Law and Society Association, San Francisco, June 2011.

“Contentious Politics and Immigrant Mobilization,” Presentation at “The Political Incorporation of Immigrants: Progress, Prospects, and Pitfalls in Europe and North America,” UC Berkeley International House, March 2011.

“Whither Social Movement Unionism?” Paper presented to the International Sociological Association, Gothenburg, Sweden, July 2010.

“Durable Inequality,” Paper presented to the annual meetings of the Social Science History Association, Long Beach, California, November 2009.

“Community Organizing and Labor Renewal,” Paper presented to the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, California, August 2009.

“From the Folks Who Brought Us May Day: Labor’s Role in Mobilizing the U.S. Immigrants Rights Protests of 2006,” Biannual meetings of the International Sociological Association, Barcelona, Spain, September 5-8, 2008.

“Democratic Dilemmas: Labor Revitalization and Union Democracy,” Annual meetings of the Canadian Industrial Relations Association, Vancouver, Canada, June 4-6, 2008.

“The Local in the Global: Rethinking Social Movements Theory in the New Millennium.”

Annual meetings of European Group for Organizational Studies, Bergen, Norway, July 6-8, 2006

International Sociological Association, Durbin, South Africa, July 23-29, 2006

American Sociological Association, New York, New York, August 14, 2007.

“Rethinking Union Democracy,” Conference on Union Democracy, Harry Bridges



Center, University of Washington, Seattle, February 2006.

“How Social Movement Theories Might Help US Make Sense of Union Leadership”  
Paper presented to the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association,  
Atlanta, Georgia, August 2004

“Projects and Pathways of Labor Activists,” Conference on Narrative Analysis in  
Sociology, sponsored by the American Sociological Association, Boston, Massachusetts,  
October 2002.

“Stories of Defeat,” Paper presented to the annual meetings of the Eastern Sociological  
Association, Boston, Massachusetts, March 2002.

“Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy,” Paper presented to the annual meetings of the  
American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August 2000.

“Putting the ‘Move’ Back in Labor Movement: Tactical Innovation and Contemporary  
American Unions,” with Rachel Sherman.

American Sociological Association, Toronto, Canada, August 1997

Annual meetings of the UCLEA/AFL-CIO Education Conference, May, 1998  
Work, Employment and Society Conference, Cambridge, England, September  
1998.

"Defeat 'Frames' and Solidarity: Researching the Impact of Social Movement Culture,"  
Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, New  
York, N.Y., August, 1996.

Giving Up or Living On? The Lessons Participants Draw From Social Movement  
Failures," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association,  
Oakland, Ca., April 1992.

"The Knights of Labor Through a Social Movements' Lens," Paper presented at the  
annual meetings of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, Ill., November  
1988.

"Disposition Is Not Action," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American  
Sociological Association, Atlanta, Ga., August 1988.

"Working Class Formation and the Knights of Labor," Paper presented at the annual  
meetings of the Social Science History Association, St. Louis, Missouri, October 1986.

## INVITED TALKS

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“Making Claims on Behalf of Noncitizens: What Works and What Does Not?” Center for the Study of Law and Society, UC Berkeley, November 2019.

“The Limits of Rights: Claims-making on Behalf of Immigrants,” D-Lab, UC Berkeley, May 2017.

“What Future for the American Labor Movement?” Dept. of Sociology, UC Berkeley, April 2017.

‘*The Great Mistake: Author Meets Critics.*’ UC Berkeley, February 2017.

“From the Immigrant Rights Movement to Human Rights: What Kind of Appeals Sway Americans?” University of Bergen (Norway), October 13, 2016.

“Neoliberal Delimmas: Shifting Targets, Changing Repertoires, and Internal Democracy in the Labor Movement,”

University of Bergen (Norway), October 12, 2016.

Keynote Address, Canadian Association for Work and Labour Studies Annual Meeting, Calgary, Canada, June 2, 2016.

“Local Movements, Global Possibilities: Organizing workers at the bottom in an era of neoliberalism,” Keynote Address, UC Berkley Sociological Research Symposium. April 10, 2015

“Neoliberal Delimmas: Shifting repertoires of labor contention in the United States and their democratic implications,” Kyoto University, July 25, 2014.

“Building Alliances Across Movements,” Harry Bridges Center, University of Washington, April 25, 2014.

“Worker Identities in a New Era of Immigration,”

University of British Columbia, Kelowna, March 6, 2013.

University of Essex, U.K., March 21, 2013

Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, September 23, 2013.

“Fighting For Inclusion: The origins and consequences of the 2006 immigration protests in the United States,” London School of Economics, March 19, 2013.

“What’s at Stake: The View From California,” Plenary talk presented to the International Conference on Union Futures, Montreal, October 2012.

“The Transformation of Actors and the Transformational Role of Actors,” Plenary session, at the 5<sup>th</sup> CRIMT Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council MCRI Project Meeting, Magog, Quebec, Canada, May 9-12, 2012.

“Rallying for Immigrant Rights” Book talks, University Press Books, Center for Latino Policy Studies, Center for Race and Gender, Fall 2011.

“The Immigrant Rights Protests of 2006: Explanatory Quandaries and Future Prospects,” UCLA Institute for Labor and Employment, May 18, 2011.

“Representation, Employee Rights, Voice and Power at Work,” Plenary session at the 4<sup>th</sup> CRIMT Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council MCRI Project Meeting, Magog, Quebec, Canada, May 6-10<sup>th</sup> 2009.

“The Local in the Global,” Dept. of Sociology, University of California, San Diego, March 5, 2009.

“Looking Backward and Facing Forward: A Decade of Research on Union Renewal,” Inter-University Research Centre on Globalization and Work, Magog, Quebec Canada, October 12, 2007.

“Motherhood and the Professoriate: Women, Family, and the Academy,” Changing the Culture of the Academy Conference, UC Berkeley, March 22, 2007.

“The Present and Future State of Labor,” 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference for the Institute of Industrial Relations, Berkeley, California, November 17, 2006.

“Rebuilding the American labor Movement in an Era of Globalization,” LO, Bergen, Norway, July 5, 2006.

“The Local in the Global: Rethinking Social Movements Theory in the New Millennium,” Dept. of Sociology, University of California, Irvine, April 2006.

“Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement,” Local 925, Service Workers International Union, Seattle, Washington, September 2005.

“The American Labor Movement in Neoliberal Times,” Departments of Sociology and Political Science, University of Tromso, Norway, June, 2005.  
and University of Trondheim, Norway, June 2005  
and University of Bergen, Norway, June 2005.

“Rethinking Social Movement Theory,” University of Tromso and University of Oslo, Norway, 2005.

“Against the Tide: Projects and Pathways of the New Generation of Union Leaders.”  
Dept. of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, May 2005  
Department of Sociology, University of California, San Diego, May, 2004.

“Rebuilding the American Labor Movement in an Era of Globalization.”  
University of Pittsburg, March, 2005

Boalt Law School, University of California, April, 2005.

“Designing Good Research,” Haas Scholars Conference, June 2003, Berkeley, California.

“Consent and Cooperation in the Workplace” Comment to the UC Institute for Labor and Employment Graduate Student Conference, Santa Barbara, Feb. 21-22, 2003.

“Where Have All the Leaders Gone?” Institute for Labor and Employment Research Conference on Union Organizing, May 17, 2002, UCLA.

“Social Movement Unionism: Perspectives from South Africa and the United States,” with Edward Webster, May 2, 2002, UC Berkeley.

“The Causes and Consequences of Overwork,” Berkeley Journal of Sociology Conference, March 16, 2001, UC Berkeley.

“Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy,” Dept. of Sociology, UCLA, March 12, 2001

“The Changing Face of Labor,” Berkeley Journal of Employment and Labor Law Conference, February 23, 2001.

“What Makes Social Movements Successful?” Comment to the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, DC, August 2000.

“Changing to Organize: The Revitalization of the American Labor Movement,” Bay Area Labor History Workshop, San Francisco, May 2000.

“‘You Just Can’t Do It Automatically’: The Transition to Social Movement Unionism in the United States,” Cardiff University, UK, November 1999.

“Class Formation and the American Labor Movement: A Challenge to the Sombartian Understanding of American Exceptionalism,” Werner Sombart and American Exceptionalism Conference, Erlangen, Germany, July 1999.

“The Right and Capacity to Organize,” The AFL-CIO Lawyers Conference, Colloquium with the Academic Community on the Right to Organize, New Orleans, May 1999.

“Tactical Innovation and the Revitalization of the American Labor Movement,”  
The Coming of the Information-Intensive Century Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii,  
December 1998.  
McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, March, 1999.

“The Outcomes of Social Movements,” Comment, annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August, 1998.

“Public Policy, Organizational History, and Political Movements,” Workshop on Social Movements and Society, University of California, Davis, August 20, 1998.

“New Organizing Tactics and Immigrant Workers,” with Rachel Sherman, Lewis Center for Policy Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, May 15, 1998.

"Inequality By Design," with coauthors, Cody's Bookstore, Berkeley, California, Sept. 1996; Berkeley Hillel, March, 1997; Cal Day, April 1997.

"Setback or Failure? A Comparison of the ways British and American labor activists framed defeat, 1886-1914," Invited paper, Structure, Identity, and Power: The Past and Future of Collective Action Conference in honor of Charles Tilly, Amsterdam, June 1995.

"The Making of American Exceptionalism," Invited lecture, Department of Sociology, University of Arizona," April 1993.

"Studying Social Movement Defeats and Framing Processes," Invited seminar, Department of Sociology, University of Arizona, April 1993.

Comment, "The Shifting Boundaries of Labor Politics Conference," European Center, Harvard University, March 1993.

"Social Movement Defeats and Framing Processes," Invited paper, the European/American Perspectives on Social Movements Conference, Washington, D.C., August, 1992.

"The Knights of Labor Through a Social Movements' Lens," Invited lecture, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, March 1991.

"Disposition is Not Action," Invited lecture, Sociology Department, University of California, Santa Cruz, May 1989.

"Why Did the Knights of Labor Fail?"

New School for Social Research, New York, Winter 1988

Department of Sociology, City University of New York, Winter 1988.

"The Decline of the Knights of Labor: A Failure of Solidarity?" Invited lecture, The Bay Area Labor History Workshop, San Francisco, California, November 1987.

"The Rise of the Knights of Labor," Invited lecture, Department of Sociology, University of California, Davis, Spring, 1986.

"Women Have Always Worked . . .," Invited lecture, American Association of University Women, Pittsburgh, California, 1984.

## **Courses taught**

### *Graduate Classes*

Two semester sequence on Historical and Comparative Methods; Seminars on Work and Politics, Gender and Work, Industrial Sociology, Comparative Labor Movements, Social Movements, Research Design.

### *Undergraduate Classes*

Lecture courses on Working People in the Global Economy, Industrial and Occupational Sociology, Evaluation of Evidence, Social Movements; Seminars on Social Movements, Work and Labor in the New Economy, Doing Sociology, Higher Education and Inequality, Researching and Writing a Honors Thesis and Writing Across the Partisan Divide.

## **Advising and mentoring**

### Post-doctoral mentoring

Jamie McCallum, Middlebury College, Visiting Scholar, 2015-2016

Tachi Ito, Osaka University of Economics, 2015-2016

Sachi Kotani, Nihon University, Visiting Scholar, 2014

Philippe Pochet, European Trade Union Institute, Visiting Scholar, , 2013-14

Joanna Robinson, University of British Columbia, postdoctoral fellow, 2010-2012

Susanne Pernicka, Oldenburg University, Visiting Scholar, Austria, 2009

David Peetz, Griffith University, Visiting Scholar, 2008

Georgina Murray, Griffin University, Visiting Scholar, 2008

### Ph.D. Dissertations

*Ph.D. Dissertation Chair, Completed [graduation date]*

Pablo Gaston (Sociology), “A Caring Class: Labor Conflict and the Moral Economy of Care in California Hospitals” [*August 2017*]

Nicholas Adams (Sociology), “Contention and Control: U.S. City and Police Responses to the Occupy Campaigns of 2011” [*December 2015*]

Laura Nelson (Sociology), “Critical Communities, Social Movements, and Language: Understanding the Development of Women's Collective Political Action in the United States, 1900-1975” [*December 2014*]

Jen Schradie (Sociology), “This is (Not Exactly) What Democracy Looks Like: The Internet and Democratic Practices in Social Movement Organizations” [December 2014]

Barry Eidlin (Sociology), “The Class Idea: Politics, Ideology, and Class Formation in the U.S. and Canada in the Twentieth Century” [December 2012]

Teresa Sharpe (Sociology), “Cultures of Creativity: Politics, Leadership and Organizational Change in the U.S. Labor Movement” [December 2010]

Christopher Wetzel (Sociology), “One Spirit, One Nation: The Politics of Potawatomi Cultural Revitalization” [May 2007]

Andrew Perrin (Sociology), “Civil Society and the Democratic Imagination” [May 2001]

*Ph.D. Dissertation Chair, In-progress*

Kristin George (Sociology), “Faithful Adaptations: American Christianity and the Moral Status of Slavery, 1780-1865”

Steven Lauterwasser (Sociology), “Sound and Fury, Signifying Something: Partisan Polarization and Social Movement Activity”

Joohyun Park, “We Are the True Victims: Victimization and Political Empathy in New Wave Feminist and Anti-feminist Movements in South Korea”

Adam Storer (Sociology), “Evaluating Work: How Frontline Foodservice and Retail Workers Evaluate Their Jobs

*Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member, Completed*

Elizabeth C. McKenna (Sociology), “The Revolution Will Be Organized: Power and Protest in Brazil’s New Republic, 1988-2018” [August 2020]

Dmitri Scott Seals (Sociology), “Identity/Politics: Intersection and Distinction in Digital Publics” [June 2020]

Mina Barahimi (JSP), “Due Process, Coerced Consent, and the Expansiveness of ‘Border’ Enforcement”: An Empirical Examination of the Practice of Administrative ‘Voluntary’ Departure” [December 2018]

Benjamin Shestakofsky (Sociology), “Working Algorithms: Software Automation and the Future of Work” [May 2018]

Matthew S. Rowe (Sociology), “Crafting the Institutional Self Identity and Trajectory in Artistic Training and Creative Careers” *[May 2018]*

Jennifer Robin Terry (History), “A Century of Denying Child Labor in America” *[May 2018]*

Katherine Maich (Sociology), “Domesticated Democracy? Labor Rights at Home in Lima and New York City.” *[August 2017]*

Fabiana Silva, (Sociology), Mechanisms of Labor Market Inequality: Social Networks and Employer Discrimination *[August 2017]*

Christopher Chambers-Ju (Political Science), “Protest or Politics? Varieties of Teacher Activism in Latin America” *[June 2017]*

Emine F. Elcioglu (Sociology), “The State Effect and the Politics of Immigration in Arizona,” *[May 2016]*

Perrin L. Elkind (Sociology), “How Foundations’ Field-Building Helped the Reproductive Health Movement Change the International Population and Development Paradigm” *[December 2015]*

Maliheh M. Vafai (Education), “Integrated Education and Training: Making Sense of a New Form of Vocationalism Impacting Adult ESL Learners” *[December 2015]*

Elizabeth Pearson (Sociology), “New Taxes and the American States: The Social Origins of Fiscal Citizenship Debates, 1945-1970” *[August 2015]*

Ryan M. Acton (History), “Harvard Business School and the Making of a Capitalist Elite, 1908-1980” *[June 2015]*

Akasemi Newsome (Political Science), “Fair Weather Friends? Explaining Labor Union Support for Immigrants in Western Europe” *[December 2015]*

Venna Dubal (JSP), The Last Cowboy: Freedom, Flexibility, and Myths of Legal Identity in the San Francisco Taxi Industry” *[December 2014]*

Benjamin Moodie (Sociology), “Plus Ça Change: Change and Continuity in French and American Gender Culture, 1952-2007” *[December 2013]*

Lina Hu (Sociology), “Familial Politics of Production: Household Production in China” *[May 2013]*

Hillary Berk (JSP), “The Legalization of Emotion: Risk, Gender and the Management of Feeling in Contracts for Surrogate Labor” *[May 2013]*



Francisco Casique (Ethnic Studies), "Race, Space and Contestation: Gentrification in San Francisco's Latina/o Mission District, 1998-2002" *[May 2013]*

Megan Adams (History), "The Patrolmen's Revolt: Chicago Police and the Labor and Urban Crises of the Late Twentieth Century" *[December 2012]*

Adam Reich (Sociology), "Between Mission and Market: The Contested Commodification of Hospital Care" *[August 2012]*

Ronald Williams (African American Studies), "Adversarial Diplomacy and African American Politics" *[December 2011]*

Eli Friedman (Sociology) "Rupture and Representation: Migrant Workers, Union and the State in China" *[August 2011]*

Angelo James Gonzales (Political Science), "Forbidden Fruit: Contested Policy Change, Organizational Resources, and the Teaching of Evolution in Public Schools" *[August 2011]*

Robert W. Smith (City and Regional Planning), "Towards a Theory of Movement Planning Practice" *[August 2011]*

Lynette Chua (JSP), "How Does Law Matter to Social Movements? A Case Study of Gay Activism in Singapore" *[May 2011]*

Celeste Arrington (Political Science), "Accidental Activists: How Victim Groups Hold the Government Accountable in Japan and South Korea" *[August 2010]*

Ligaya Domingo (Education), "Building a Movement: Filipino American Union and Community Organizing in Seattle in the 1970s" *[May 2010]*

Ofer Sharone (Sociology), "Blame Games: Why Unemployed Israelis Blame the System and Americans Blame Themselves" *[December 2009]*

Gretchen Purser (Sociology), "Labor on Demand: Dispatching the Urban Poor" *[August 2009]*

Marianne Cooper (Sociology), "Doing Security in Insecure Times: Class and Family Life in Silicon Valley" *[December 2008]*

Edith Replogle Sheffer (History), "Burned Bridge: How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain" *[August 2008]*

Shannon Gleeson (Sociology), "The Intersection of Legal Status and Stratification

The Paradox of Immigration Law and Labor Protections in the United States”  
*[May 2008]*

Mark Massoud (JSP), “Who Rules the Law? How Government, Civil Society, and Aid Agencies Manipulate Law in Sudan” *[May 2008]*

Mark Toney (Sociology), “A Second Chance For the First Time: Movement Formation Among Formerly Incarcerated People” *[December 2007]*

Elizabeth Popp Berman (Sociology), “Creating the Market University: Science, the State, and the Economy, 1965-1985” *[May 2007]*

Joshua Page (Sociology), “The 'Toughest Beat': Incarceration and the Prison Officers Union in California” *[May 2007]*

Jennifer Jee Hae Chun (Sociology), “The Symbolic Politics of Labor: Transforming Employment Relations in South Korea and the United States”  
*[May 2006]*

Hwa-Jen Liu (Sociology), “Red and Green: Labor and Environmental Movements in Taiwan and South Korea” *[August 2006]*

Brinda Sarathy (ESPM), “Hidden in the Understory: Immigrant Labor and Forest Management in Southern Oregon” *[August 2006]*

Timothy Randazzo (Ethnic Studies), “Terms of Acceptance: Social Inequalities in United States Asylum Policy” *[December 2005]*

Michelle Williams (Sociology), “Democratic Communists: Party and lass in South Africa and Kerala, India” *[May 2005]*

Tamara Kay (Sociology), “NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism”  
*[December 2004]*

Brian McCook (History), “The Borders of Integration: Polish Migrant Workers in the Ruhr Valley of Germany and Pennsylvania Anthracite Regions of the United States, 1870-1924” *[December 2004]*

Laura Henry, “Activism, Civil Society, and Political Transformation in Russia”  
*[August 2004]*

Isaac Martin (Sociology), “The Roots of Retrenchment: Tax Revolts and Policy Change in the United States and Denmark, 1945-1990” *[August 2003]*

Rachel Sherman (Sociology), “Class Acts: Producing and Consuming Luxury

Service in Hotels” *[December 2003]*

Alesia Montgomery (Sociology), “Family, Friends and Co-Ethnics as ‘Reserve Labor’ in Silicon Valley” *[December 2002]*

Melissa Wilde (Sociology), “Reconstructing Religion: A Sociological Analysis of Vatican II” *[May 2002]*

Maria Yen (City and Regional Planning), “Welcome to the Neighborhood? Understanding Ethnic Conflict and Its Urban Planning Implications in Demographically Changing Communities” *[December 2001]*

April Gilbert (Business Administration), “Work Absorbtion: Causes among highly educated workers and consequences for their families” *[May 2001]*

Steven Lopez (Sociology), “Reorganizing the Rust Belt: Social Movement Unionism and the SEIU in Pennsylvania” *[August 2000]*

Elizabeth Rudd (Sociology) “Coping with Capitalism: Gender and the Transformation of Work-Family Conflicts in Former East Germany” *[December 1999]*

Elizabeth Armstrong (Sociology), “Multiplying Identities: Identity Elaboration in San Francisco's Lesbian/Gay Organizations, 1964-1994” *[December 1998]*

Lisa Ellen Cohen (Business Administration, Deus Ex Machina? A Study of How Jobs are Designed” *[December 1997]*

Lawrence Casalino (Public Health), “Medical Groups and the Transition to Managed Care in California” *[May 1997]*

Deborah Cohen (History), “The War Come Home: Disabled Veterns in Great Britain and Germany, 1914-1939” *[August 1997]*

Mona Younis (Sociology), “Liberation and Democratization: The South African and Palestinian National Liberation Movements in Comparative Perspective, 1910s-1990s” *[December 1996]*

Samuel Weinstein (History) ““The Cause of Our Hard Times.” Popular Economic Belief, Popular Economic Movements, Professional Economists, and the Expansion of the American State, 1877-1941” *[December 1996]*

Jeff Manza (Sociology), “Policy Experts and Political Change During the New Deal” *[December 1995]*

Tomoji Nishikawa (Sociology), "Diversifying the State: American Grassroots Groups and Japanese Companies" *[December 1995]*

Ruth Florence MacKay (History), "To Obey and Comply: The Limits of Royal Authority in Seventeenth-Century Castile" *[May 1995]*

Valerie Sperling (Political Science), "Engendering Transition: The Women's Movement in Contemporary Russia" *[May 1994]*

Nancy Lynn Quam-Wickham (History) "Petroleocrats and Proletarians: Work, Class, and Politics in the California Oil Industry, 1917-1925" *[August 1994]*

Richard Kaplan (Sociology), "Transformations in the American Public Sphere: News and Politics, 1865- 1920" *[May 1994]*

Brian Lindsay Rich (Sociology), "Class, Patriarchy, or Human Capital? Determinants of Labor Feminization in the United States Banking Industry, 1940-1980" *[December 1993]*

Andrew Green (Political Science), "South Korea in the 1990s: Dependent Development or Economic Breakdown" *[December 1993]*

Marshall Poe (History), "'Russian Despotism': The Origins and Dissemination of an Early Modern Commonplace" *[December 1993]*

Eleanor Bell (Sociology), "Social Institutions, Individual Choice and Risk Aversion: Fertility and Labor Force Participation Among American Women" *[December 1992]*

Charles Kurzman (Sociology), "Structure and Agency in the Iranian Revolution of 1979" *[December 1992]*

Lawrence Glickman (History), "A Living Wage: Political Economy, Gender, and Consumerism in American Culture, 1880-1925" *[August 1992]*

Michael Tien-Lung Liu (Sociology), "Playing Cricket and State Dikat: The Role of British and German Labor Ministries, 1916-1930 Toward a Constrained Autonomy Model of the State" *[May 1992]*

Steven Leikin (History), "The Practical Utopians: Cooperation and the American Labor Movement, 1860-1890" *[May 1992]*

Lynn Spillman (Sociology), "The Culture of National Identities: Constitutional Conventions, Centennials, and Bicentennials in the United States and Australia" *[December 1991]*

Beth Roy (Sociology), “Some Trouble with Cows: Making Sense of Social Conflict” [May 1991]

Kurt Alan Thompson (Sociology), “Social Theory and the Origin of the Modern Peace Movement in the United States” [May 1991]

Maxwell Allan Cameron (Political Science), “Political Cycles of Class Conflict and Regime Change: The Case of Peru 1956-1986” [May 1989]

*Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member, In Progress (UC Berkeley, unless otherwise indicated)*

Carmen Brick (Sociology) – Earned Income Tax Credit and the American welfare state

Matt Cannon (JSP) – activism by American investor groups

Olivia Meeks (Political Science) – union behavior and political strength

Tomas Peng (Sociology) – comparative study of incorporation of migrant workers in China

### Mentoring on Teaching

With funding from the Teagle and Spencer Foundation and the co-leadership of Irene Bloemraad, instituted a Teaching Fellows program in Sociology and produced two editions of *Writing For Sociology* (2009, 2011) and *Instructors Guide* (2010)

### Undergraduate Mentoring and Advising

*Undergraduate Research Mentoring Program (URAP) U.C. Berkeley, 2009-2015*

Becky Ming Chao, Gladis Chavez, Cindy Gamez, Hugo Garcia, Patricia Gomez, Francesca Gonnella, Amariah Hash, David Herrera, Abhilasha Madan, Alejandra Martin, Eva Masadiego, Sandra Portocarrero, Ana Reyes, Maria Rohani, Denise Stephen, Rebecca Thompson

Hass Scholar Mentor, Malcom Harvey, 2003-4

McNair Scholar Mentor, Sandra Portocarrero, 2011-12

Summer Undergraduate Research Fellowship, Giovanni Roman 2015

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND AFFILIATIONS

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### **Service, professional & international**

Co-organizer, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association Mini-Conference on “The Crisis of History, The History of Crisis,” Philadelphia, August 10, 2018.

Chair-Elect, Chair, and Past Chair, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association, 2015-2018.

Secretary, Research Committee on Labor Movements (RC 44), International Sociological Association, 2014-2018.

Regional Co-Chair, Scholars Strategy Network, 2016-2019

<http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/>

Member, Scholars Strategy Network, 2013-

Organizer, “Comparative Historical Section Mini-Conference,” Philadelphia, August 2018.

Organizer, “Organizing in a Gig Economy: Atomized Work and the Labor Movement.” International Sociological Association Congress, Toronto, July 2018.

Organizer, “The 2006 immigration protests: a decade later,” Mini-conference, UC Berkeley, May 5, 2017.

Organizer, Thematic Session, “The Immigrant Rights Movement, Ten Years After the 2006 Marches,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Seattle, 2016.

Organizer, “Digitized (Big) Data and Comparative Historical Sociology,” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Seattle, 2016.

Organizer, “Honoring the 50th Anniversary of Barrington Moore’s *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*” American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Seattle, 2016.

External Review Committee, University of North Carolina, January-March 2014.

External Review Committee, University of Washington, April-June 2014.

Organizer, “The Attack on Public Sector Unions and Labor’s Response,” for the Second Forum of Sociology, International Sociological Association, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 2012.

Organizer, “Hope in the Dark?” for New Deal or No Deal?: The Age of Obama and the Lessons of the 1930s Conference, Institute for Research on Labor and Employment Conference, October 2010.

Nominations Committee, American Sociological Association, 2008-2010.

Elected Council Member, Research Committee on Labor Movements (RC 44), International Sociological Association, 2006-2010.

Organizer, "Building and Rebuilding Labor Movements Around the World," for the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, 2008.

Research Collaborator, Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada [roughly equivalent to a combination of NSF and NEH], Major Collaborative Research Initiative, "Building institutions and capabilities for work and Employment in a global era: the social dynamics of labor regulation, 2007--

Organizer, Labor and Social Movements stream for the annual meetings of the European Group for Organizational Studies, Bergen, Norway, July 6-8, 2006.

Organizer, "Understanding the Immigration Protests of Spring 2006: Lessons Learned, Future Trajectories Conference," Institute for Research on Labor and Employment and Pew Hispanic Center, April 20, 2006.

Organizer, Author Meets Critic Session, *The Next Upsurge: Labor and The New Social Movements*, " by Dan Clawson, for the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 2005.

Organizer, "New Perspectives on Labor Movement Research," for the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, Georgia, 2004.

Editorial board, Rose Monograph Series, 2003—2006.

Chair, Labor and Labor Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, 2002-2003

Secretary/Treasurer, Political Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association, 2002-2005.

Editorial board, *Contexts*, 2000--2005

Editorial board, *American Sociological Review*, 1995 - 1998.

Council Representative, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association, 1996-1999

Nominations Committee, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association, 1999

Council Representative, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, 1994-1997

Chair, Prize Committee, Comparative Historical Section of the American Sociological Association, 1991-1992

Session organizer and discussant, "Sociology of Labor Movements," Annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C., August 1990.

Member, American Sociological Association, International Sociological Association

Journal Reviewer: *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Contexts*, *Industrial Relations*, *Industrielles/Industrial Relations*, *Mobilization*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Social Problems*, *Theory and Society*.

Book Reviewer: Cornell University Press, University of California Press, University of Illinois Press

Grant Programs: National Science Foundation, U.S.-Israel Binational Science Foundation

## **Service for UC Berkeley**

### *University Service, ongoing*

Chair, Dean's Advisory Board, 2020-

Chair, Advisory Board, Institute of Governmental Studies, 2018-

Advisory Board, Art of Writing, 2015-

Advisory Board, IRLE Labor Center 1996—

Faculty Affiliate, Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative, 2016-

Faculty Affiliate, Center for the Study of Law and Society, UC Berkeley, 2015-

### *University Service, completed*

Academic Senate Privileges and Tenure Committee, Fall 2020

Acting Dean, Division of Social Sciences, July 2019-Jan. 2020; July 2009; Jan.-June 2012.

Associate Dean, Graduate Division, January 2016-June 2018.

Associate Dean of Social Sciences, University of California, Berkeley, 2008-2010

Joint Administration-Academic Senate Task Force on Self-Supporting Degree Programs, 2016-2017.

Academic Senate Vice Chair, Admissions, Enrollment & Preparatory Education, 2014-2017

Academic Senate Committee Member, Admissions, Enrollment & Preparatory Education, 2013-2014

Organizer and Coordinator of U.C. Berkeley's Commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Free Speech Movement, January 2014-December 2014

On The Same Page Selection Committee, 2013-14

Co-Organizer, Faculty Workshop, Framing Immigrant Rights, 2013-2015

Faculty Affiliate, Center for Latino Policy Research, 2011-2016

Advisory Board, Program on Comparative Studies of Societies, 2010-12



Member, Social Science Research Transition Team, 2009-2011  
Transition Team, Institute for Labor and Employment, 2000  
Associate Director, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1997– 2004

*Sociology Department Service*

Chair, Sociology Department, 2004—2007, 2010-11.  
Search Committee and DEI Designate, Fall 2020  
Graduate Admissions Committee, Sociology Dept. 2015-16  
Director, Berkeley Connect in Sociology, 2013-2016  
Committee for Academic Progress, Sociology Dept., 2014-15  
Diversity Officer, Sociology Department, 2013-14  
Director of Graduate Studies, Sociology Department, 2000-2002, 2003-2004  
Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, 1994-95