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Work Law in American Society

Second Edition

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Kenneth Casebeer dedicates this book to his family: his parents, Harry and Marjorie Casebeer, his partner, Marnie Mahoney, his children, Gwendolyn and Karl Casebeer.

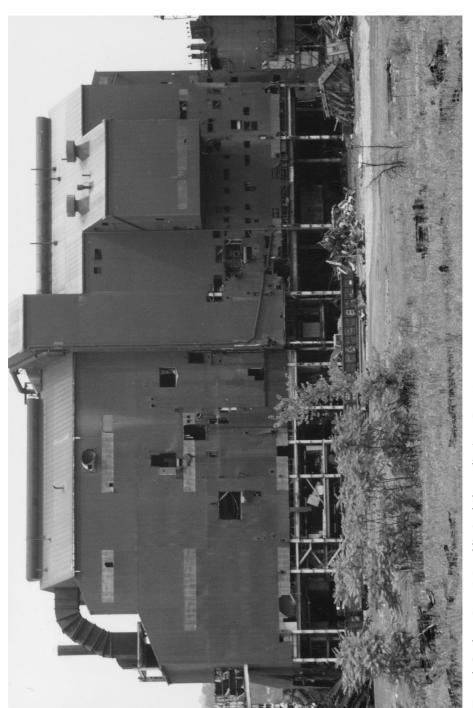
Gary Minda dedicates this book to
Nancy and Maddie,
and assembly line workers who toiled at Mound Road Engine Plant,
Chrysler Corp., Detroit, Michigan



Dorothea Lange, Library of Congress, F34-9328 MB



Arthur Rothstein, SWOC, Aliquippa, Pa. 1938, Library of Congress, LCUSF 33 02837



Kenneth Casebeer, Jones & Laughlin Steel Plant, Aliquippa, Pa. 1995

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Preface to the Second Edition

The Second Edition brings to the casebook the recent developments in work law-both decisions of the courts and labor agency as well as legislation. The Second Edition also brings into the casebook the economic and political changes that have and continue to impact on the world of work. In 2008, the American economic system faced a monetary crisis that rivals that of the Great Depression which had laid the foundations for the trade union movement and federal labor regulation. As we look forward into the future we consider the fate of work law in American Society. We think that at this juncture one can fairly conclude that labor law and employment law continue to merge into what we have called work law and this trend will not change in recessionary times. To the contrary, we continue to believe that the theoretical and doctrinal foundation for modern work law will only strengthen as policy makers rethink the role of the state in the twenty-first century. Command and control regulation of federal labor law continues to decline even as new models of regulation such as the Employee Free Choice Act are debated. It may be that a renewed sense of populism will reunite the American Trade Union and collective bargaining law. On the other hand, it is also apparent that the rise of the Administrative state in America is likely to continue unabated. The doctrinal importance of labor law will thus remain a staple in law schools. In the meantime, the new rights regime of employment law has clearly moved to the center of course offerings and hence one can not do one without covering the other. As we have explained in the Preface to the First Edition, this casebook is premised on the notion that labor law and employment law should be covered as a unified text and that the substantive subject of our course should now best take on the name "work law." The Second Edition thus continues on with this thesis and we hope that our refinement of the chapters as well as new cases and legislation as well as textual material strengthens our underlying goal of providing the reader with a unified and cohesive approach to the modern law of work in American society.

Kenneth M. Casebeer Gary Minda

A Note on the Pedagogy of Work Law in American Society

One might conclude by even a cursory review of this casebook, by a mere glance at the images that precede the text and the acknowledgments of the authors, that this is a casebook that takes on the perspective of workers and unions. The authors wish to concede that this is our intention. How could it be otherwise? Anyone who has spent time considering the law of labor and employment would have to agree that this is a subject that is very much bound-up with worker rights and union organization. The corpus of the law of work is all about workers and their collective organizations. Our presentation merely seeks to bring out the perspective of workers and unions left out of the official understanding of the law of work. Our pedagogical objective aims to highlight both sides of the story about the law of work; both the official narratives told by judges, practitioners, legal scholars found in the authoritative texts of the law as well as the unofficial narratives of workers and their organizations which have been marginalized, ignored or downplayed. We leave it to the reader and the student to decide with which side of the story they most agree, based on their experiences and understandings of work.

It is our hope that the discussions provoked by the casebook will entice all to reexamine their most closely held views about work, workers, managers, supervisors, corporations, unions, judges and legal practitioners. It is also our hope that readers and students of work law will begin to reexamine how the law of work reflects and shapes the society we now inhabit. We offer no apologizes for advancing what we believe is within the tradition of the study of law and society; a perspective and tradition aimed at understanding not just the perceived wisdom of the law but also the subjects the law seeks to regulate, in order to better understand how law is constitutive of the society we inhabit and how that society is constructed by the law. Hence, the relevance of the title to this casebook: *Work Law in American Society*.

Preface to the First Edition

This book is purposefully different—a casebook that focuses on law and legal power in our society. It is meant to facilitate student speculation on the many relationships of legal practices within democratic action. As we enter the next century, there is a clear connection between freedom and the division of labor, of communities and democracy. It is meant to place in discussion and realistically test the role of power in any difference between the law as described, and the law in action. This book leads the student to see law in a new frame, from the standpoint of social organization, and therefore to understand law and the practices of law in a way which will add to his or her abilities and choices. While most other law texts emphasize a bundle of legal relations, this book brings to the student the contemporary legal reality of workers and work within a particular historic type of social development—namely, early twenty-first century democratic capitalism. The law of work provides a most appropriate subject from which to view law and practice in this way, because work affects us all, and in affecting us all, cross-cuts virtually all aspects of our lives.

The book also takes seriously the present historical context in which we live. Thus, it is American as well as global. It is Work rather than labor, given present low union density in the work force. It is Law as a somewhat autonomous forum of contest over the terms of organization; it is Democratic in the form required of the State; and it is Capitalist Society as a distinct type of social rationality in the organization of civil tasks. But it is also American Work Law as more than the sum of the words in the title. Taken as a whole the materials of the book portray a holistic culture in which the contract form cannot be understood to give complete shape to a division of labor. Unequal distribution of the risks of reproduction by gender, and the construction of gender and race and origin and difference as systems with their own force and rationalization, reinforce a particular economy of social practices. The presentation of work law in this manner will be a distinct challenge to those who disagree with these assumptions whether the skepticism rests on traditional union labor law, conservative explanations of political economy, proponents of marginal rationality, or post-modern examination of discourse.

As the book focuses on the substance of work and conflicts over working, students will learn procedural and administrative requirements within the contexts of specific legal strategies of parties seeking legal power over their interests within present social organization. Thus, students will see different jurisdictions and different legal forms—federal and state statutes, administrative decisions, and court cases—all within each area of conflict.

The book's first chapter examines the historical relationship between the structure of work and the structure of the State. The following three chapters illustrate how the regulation of employees in seemingly wildly different legal doctrines, and legal media such as statutes, administrative decisions, and adjudication, and legal jurisdictions, nonetheless simultaneously constructs a market structure of labor force and labor market organization. At the same time the market form of organization is established, the segmented

character of actual organization contributes to the social construction of gender, race, and class identity and legalized inequality. As well, many other social issues such as those of environmental risk associated with production and consumption are often translated into aspects of the definition of work relations, often with the objective of forcing workers to internalize these social burdens. The fifth and sixth chapters examine individual rights as a basis for shaping the labor market. The seventh chapter demonstrates the interrelationship between the development of the political aims of workers and the possibilities of collective action around the conditions of work. Eighth, we examine economic bargaining leverage. The ninth chapter follows the state delegation of governance authority to a cooperative corporatism of organized labor and management for the discipline of the work place, and the joint enforcement of rational work rules. This is distinguishable from the related tenth chapter on the reconstruction of labor and capital under conditions of increasing capital mobility, and resulting shifts of costs of dislocation to labor as a factor of production. These dislocations affect both workers and others in the community in profound ways, which may simultaneously point to new organizational alliances connecting labor to its communities. The final chapter adds the dimension of the internationalization of the economy through the vehicle of particular national labor problems (which is not to assert that any interests of workers or the construction of social organization can be isolated from the international dimension). This choice is made on the assumption that, no matter how powerful the influence of the New World Order, its functioning is neither fully determined nor able to escape the continuing power of national organization.

The content of the book is presented from the viewpoint of the ways in which the interests of workers and citizens become legally embedded in the inescapable historical process of making our society. This approach raises labor market topics explicitly from the perspective of worker/citizen interests. In our modern world and in our global market, it is literally inconceivable that any way of making a living does not depend on the interdependence of each of us upon others required by the price discipline of supply and demand. In the same manner, every wealth earner relies upon market organization and regulation determined by some form of political government. In part, all our social relationships reflect legal power. In part, our social relationships provide the content of law, or at least the need for legal process. Trying to discover a specific priority between these intuitions seems initially less important than the recognition that in our lives we expect to find law as an integral form of the various social interconnections which in part express the meaning of any experience.

Yet the meanings of our social relations seem profoundly contested to each of us, and the conditions associated with modern life often seem alienating. While the social function of law attempts to mediate the different interests brought to legal institutions, we know the outcome will always create winners and losers as a result. What is less investigated is that any particular legal contest will not end the conditions which separated the parties, but simply channel those contests into another time, place, and form. Thus, whether the consequences of any particular legal decision are pro-labor, pro-individual, pro-capital, or pro-management, the possibilities of work taken for granted and limited as if natural within the prevailing discourse of the dispute (the consciousness problem), and the reflection of inequalities of power in the rationalization of an episode of contest (the material problem), are usually of more profound importance.

Only by looking at the law of work within a system of legal action and social functioning can these deeper problems of our society's legitimacy be considered. The law student will be a direct agent in the ongoing making of our social possibilities, and therefore

should be self conscious of the accompanying responsibility. Also important, the masking of power by the arbitrary categorization of the standard legal curriculum needs to be examined and justified by the internal criteria for the acceptance of any rule of law—the articulated rationalization of just why do we do business this way? Who wins and who loses?

This is also meant to be a book with a viewpoint, committed to the values of authentic, participatory democracy, as shaped by the critical insights of legal realism, law and society, the critical legal studies movement and feminist legal thought. Such a democratic practice ultimately depends upon an equality of substantive conditions of political agency and principles of non-domination in social relations necessary to production. It should come as no surprise that American law should functionally reproduce our society, and that the legal structure of work should favor the accumulation and protection of capital within the welfare and governance constraints of a liberal, representational construction of public politics. The assumptions of the appropriately "private" and "public" presuppose and require each other. It should neither be surprising or shocking that workers generally and employees specifically often are disfavored by the twin formal set of terms of this governance. But this reality of power is also neither uniform nor unchallenged. Even a tilted social construction process is continuously challenged and better and worse options for social change fought through. This book tries therefore to capture both the domination and the emancipation potential of present law.

What makes this book significantly different is not only its focus on the relation of law and social construction, and on legal meaning as a contested arena of the terms of social organization, but also its textual assumptions. Wherever possible, cases have been chosen to illustrate the legal issues workers currently encounter. This will often require examining somewhat tortured and hoary central precedents to unpack their distributive assumptions, following cases that show how the interests in contest are currently appearing in surprising new contexts or formulations. In short, where is the struggle now? It will also lead to showing how the formal legal decision is often only part of the deployment of power within a community. In short, what is the social context of struggle? The student will investigate by showing the stakes of legal mediation of worker interests, the difficulty of achieving a more legitimate and democratic society will be demonstrated to the prospective lawyer, and possible alternatives revealed to her. As a lawyer, she must especially bear the inescapable responsibility of all citizens to face the question of what is to be done? This book has been written with a purpose and a hope to make apparent everyone's self interest in the question of the quality of freedom in that now and future vision.

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