

Teacher Unions and Social Justice Handouts



This focused academy focuses on strategies used by a growing number of affiliate staff supporting the creation of multiracial alliances with communities and the importance of centering social justice in their unions. Social Justice Unionizing seeks to expand how we think about issue identification, power building, bargaining, partnerships, and the wins we achieve. Content and resources from the book, “Teacher Unions and Social Justice,” will be highlighted through a variety of media and discussion formats.

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Community Agreements for Our Time

Awareness and Self-Knowledge

This requires self-knowledge and self-awareness. Self-knowledge allows you to see what causes you pain and conflict and enables you to embrace your contradictions and inconsistencies. It allows the space to work on things about yourself that you are not happy with. In turn, self-knowledge helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a positive attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others.

Listening for Understanding

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, looking him or her in the eye, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. Remember that most people need time to open up and might not be willing to immediately share their personal stories, hopes, fears and/or concerns.

Being Gracious

Being kind is a vital way of bringing meaning to our own lives, as well as the lives of others. Kindness is about caring genuinely for others around you, wanting the best for them and recognizing in them the same wants, needs, aspirations and even fears that you may have. Being kind and generous allows us to communicate better with others, to be more self-compassionate and to be a positive force in other people's lives. We are gracious when we accept and genuinely work to use the pronouns that others ask us to use. Being gracious includes following the COVID protocols that are in place to protect the health of this learning community.

Staying Engaged

Staying engaged requires you to be morally, emotionally, intellectually and socially involved in the conversation. Staying engaged means that you are listening with curiosity and willing to deepen your understanding. Staying engaged might also require you to sustain the conversation even when it gets uncomfortable or diverted. This means a commitment to keeping your electronic communications to a minimum with folks not present in this learning community. This also means being present for all portions of the learning agenda.

Being Open and Suspending Judgment

Listening with an open mind includes being receptive to the influence of others. You can suspend judgment by becoming aware of preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. Most importantly, suspending judgment also means listening to what the speaker has to say for understanding, not just to determine whether the speaker is right or wrong. This means that we recognize each of us will make mistakes and that we have the capacity to grow. We should expect imperfections.

Saying "I" - tell your truth

Speaking your truth in authentic and courageous conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours requires a willingness to take risks. It means that you will be absolutely honest and candid about your own thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions and not just saying what you perceive others want to hear. Speaking your truth will require you to speak from the "first person" and use "I" statements.

Seeking Discomfort

Leaning in to discomfort will require you to let go of understandings and stereotypes that you may be holding onto in order to move forward. Leaning in means that you will avoid pre-judgment and be open to the kernel of wisdom in each individual's experiences. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to sit through moments of embarrassment, confusion, anxiety, and/or fear.

Reaching Empathy

Empathy and compassion allow you to understand the other person's point of view. When you are empathetic, you are more understanding, patient and kind. Expanding your capacity to feel empathy will also allow others to enter your circle of human concern. Sharing, using, and respecting pronouns is a very simple form of empathy.

Expecting Non-Resolution and Non-Closure

Expect and accept that there may not be closure. It is not likely that you will resolve your personal understanding about race or another person's racial experience in a single conversation. The more you talk about race or other issues with another person, the more you learn and the more they will learn. Authentic and productive conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours are continuous and always evolving. This means that sometimes we will have unfinished, unexplored, and shortened conversations about some concepts.

**Adapted from "Embracing equity and inclusion", Annie E. Casey Foundation*

What questions do you want to ask about any of the ideas in these agreements?

What additional agreements do you need in order to be a fully participating member of our learning community?

Can you commit to these agreements? IF not, what would it take for you to be able to commit?

Teacher Unions and Social Justice



Day 1 Handouts

Outcomes:

- What is Social Justice Unionism?
- What would it take to move to that?
- Who are the leaders we need?
- What does a successful campaign look like?
- What is my role as a staff person?

rethinking schools

Social Justice Unionism

A Call to Education Activists

By the National Coalition of Education Activists

*Originally published in **Rethinking Schools** Volume 9, No.1 — Fall 1994.*

The following statement was issued by 29 teacher union activists following a three-day institute in August 1994 sponsored by the National Coalition of Education Activists. Because it makes an important contribution to a much-needed discussion about the role of teacher unions, we are reprinting it in its entirety.

Public education is at a crossroads and so, too, are our unions. Our society's children face deepening poverty and social dislocation. Our schools face a growing crisis of confidence as they confront greater challenges and higher expectations with declining resources. Our unions face powerful political opponents, the punishing consequences of economic hard times, and a crisis of identity borne, in part, of uncertainty about our capacity to rise to the demands of the day.

As the organized core of the teaching profession, education unions remain central to resolving these crises. While there is some promising movement in new directions, the prospects for the future are far from certain.

Much is at stake. The rights of education workers and the interests of public education are under attack and must be defended and strengthened. But relying on strategies which in the past secured better lives for our members is no longer enough.

Economic hard times pose a sustained threat to hopes for improvement in the social welfare. Savage inequalities in the public education available to children of different racial and class backgrounds reflect growing social and economic polarization and squander the potential of our youth. Gaps between schools and the communities they serve are widening. The price of continued decay in public education and social well-being will be paid in reduced prospects for a democratic future.

With the stakes so high for ourselves and for our country, we have good reason to respond urgently to calls for reform. Yet too often that response has been reactive and timid. While some bold innovations have shown that union initiative can make a crucial difference, those initiatives have been the exception rather than the rule. Too often, unions have resisted reform efforts or have uncritically followed the lead of others, rather than raising the voices of educators and school communities. Too rarely does reform constructively affect our classrooms or our schools, with teachers and educators leading the way. Too many have been quick to blame children and their communities for school failure, and slow to identify educational policies and classroom practices that, in the long run, serve those who want to see public schools die out or be sold off to the highest bidder.

Prevailing definitions of educational success and failure remain overly preoccupied with standardized test scores or focused on narrow conceptions of economic competitiveness. Instead, reform should be driven by standards of equity and social justice, including high expectations and educational excellence for all. The ideals that led us to organize our unions and fight for economic justice — indeed, that led many of us to enter teaching in the first place — are no less compelling than in the past: a desire to help children; hope for the future; service to community; and a conviction that public education is a cornerstone of society's commitment to opportunity, equity, and democratic participation. But these ideals cannot be served by business-as-usual in our schools or in our unions. Both demand new vision.

Without a broader conception of the interests of teachers and of teaching, our unions will find themselves on ever-more shaky ground, defending fewer jobs and shrinking privileges against repeated attacks. Without a better partnership with the parents and communities that need public education most, we will find ourselves isolated from essential allies.

Without a new vision of schooling that raises the expectations of our students and the standards of our own profession, we will continue to founder. Without a new model of unionism that revives debate and democracy internally and projects an inspiring social vision and agenda externally, we will fall short of the challenges before us.

Key Components of Social Justice Unionism

Social justice unionism retains the best of traditional unionism, borrows from what has been called “professional unionism,” and is informed by a broader concept of our members’ self-interests and by a deeper social vision. Social justice unionism should:

1. Defend the rights of its members while fighting for the rights and needs of the broader community and students.

The interests of education workers are best served by defending public education while simultaneously working to transform it. Unions of education workers need to accept some responsibility for the problems in public schools. We need to use our resources, membership, and power at the bargaining table and in the legislative arena to help resolve these problems.

For example, education unions should fight to extend collective bargaining laws to the 16 states that currently lack them, so that unions can better protect teachers and teaching. Yet they also need to be willing to reconsider contract language that proves to be an obstacle to school reform.

2. Recognize that the parents and neighbors of our students are key allies, and build strategic alliances with parents, labor unions, and community groups.

Instead of promoting policies that may alienate the communities where our students live, we should forge alliances and resolve differences whenever possible.

Because parents play a central role in the education of their children and are our strongest political allies, education unions should work to insure that parents are full partners in our schools. Unions should advocate for significant parent and community involvement on local school governing bodies, and should urge staff to promote parental involvement in school activities. Where racial and cultural differences exist between our members and the communities they serve, the union should work pro-actively to close the gap. For example, unions should urge schools to communicate to the parents in their native language, to secure childcare and transportation for meetings and conferences, and to schedule meetings at times and places accessible to parents. Unions should lobby for legislation which would allow parents paid time off from their jobs for conferences and school activities.

3. Education unions should also work to unite all staff members at a school. They should build ongoing alliances with a wide range of groups, from other public service unions to the broader labor movement, churches, community and social organizations, advocacy groups, and business and political groups that support public schools. Such alliances are necessary to defeat budget cutbacks, fight for adequate and equitable funding of public education paid for by progressive tax reforms, and advocate for comprehensive school reform. Our unions must also participate in alliances taking up other issues affecting our students, such as job programs, housing, health care, recreation, safety, and anti-violence and anti-racism initiatives.
3. Fully involve rank-and-file members in running the union and initiate widespread discussion on how education unions should respond to the crises in education and society.

Only by changing the culture of our unions will they become a force for changing the culture of our schools. Many local education unions need to move from a “service” model — where inactive members are passive recipients of services provided by the paid staff — to a model where a mobilized membership takes active responsibility for union affairs. Members often feel that their union is as distant from them as the school administration. Communication is too often one way, with union newspapers and newsletters rarely seeking opinions or input. Some local and state apparatuses are dominated by cliques of

individuals, making entry into union activities difficult for new members or rank-and-file activists. While democratic structures formally exist in virtually all education employee unions, such structures on their own do not ensure democratic practices or membership involvement. Bureaucratic styles and parliamentary obstacles can too easily thwart a concerned member. Unions need to constantly encourage membership involvement and mobilization.

4. Put teachers and others who work in classrooms at the center of school reform agendas, ensuring that they take ownership of reform initiatives.

Those who work in schools and classrooms on a daily basis are in the best position to implement and evaluate school reform initiatives. Unfortunately, unions have not ensured that the voices of these educators are adequately heard. Unions need to allocate sufficient resources to promote reform initiatives and build grass-roots support for them.

Just as we demand that school administrators empower staff to make educational policy decisions, union leaders must equip their members to make decisions at local school levels. This means being open to changes in contract language that inhibits reform, and committing resources to train members for active, decision-making roles at the school level. While the union has a responsibility to protect the rights of all its members, only by moving more decision-making power to the school site will there be enough initiative and expertise to make school reform successful. Such a transfer of the locus of power, if done properly with adequate training, could also bring historically disenfranchised union members back into our organizations.

5. Encourage those who work with children to use methods of instruction and curricula that will promote racial and gender equity, combat racism and prejudice, encourage critical thinking about our society's problems, and nurture an active, reflective citizenry that is committed to real democracy and social and economic justice.

Too often, schools fail to challenge students intellectually, dull their creativity, and bore them to a point of alienation from learning. Moreover, the difference in achievement levels between children of color and their white counterparts is totally unacceptable. Education unions should work with communities of color to address this grave problem.

Unions need to give higher priority to classroom and school-based practices that promote better education and equity for all students. These include: changes in curricula that affirm a child's home language and culture while teaching English and respect for all cultures; practices that promote gender equity; teacher training in the reduction of prejudice, including homophobia; alternatives to tracking and ability grouping; and school restructuring. In addition to the inherent merits such practices have, parents and communities who see unions promoting reforms that better serve their children's needs are more likely to support schools and teachers.

6. Forcefully advocate for a radical restructuring of American education.

Daily life for teachers must be changed from one of isolation and over-extension with few standards and little accountability, to one of collaboration, reflection, high standards, and mutual accountability. For this to happen, schools must be radically restructured. Some of the components of this restructuring include: lower class sizes so students can establish more productive relationships with teachers; smaller schools; a substantial increase in collaborative planning and staff development time; peer mentoring and evaluation; new, more equitable forms of standards and performance assessment; faculty selection processes in which the staff and principal of a school have more power; sharply reduced bureaucracy at all levels; and the reintegration of administrators into classroom teaching on a regular basis. Unions should use their power at the bargaining table and in the legislative arena to fight for these measures.

7. Aggressively educate and mobilize its membership to fight for social justice in all areas of society.

Growing racial and class divisions are threatening not just our schools, but the very foundations of our

society. Education unions, from the local to the national level, must address these divisions. Ultimately, such problems will only be adequately addressed by a massive social movement similar to the civil rights movement and the movement against the War in Vietnam. In the short term, however, much can be done — from creating classrooms that encourage students to critically reflect and act on social problems, to building coalitions that address specific social problems.

Education unions need to move beyond a crisis orientation and become part of ongoing, long-term coalitions. We must stress constant, grass-roots education and organizing and not just sporadic media blitzes. We must lobby behind the scenes but not forego militant public actions when necessary. We need to build bridges to political leaders and parties, but not rely too heavily on them. We need to work with others to build a political movement that is independent of the Democratic and Republican parties and that focuses on the fight for social and economic justice.

A Call to Action

Social justice unionism cannot be implemented in a top-down fashion. Nor can it be just words on paper. It will require both enlightened leadership and rank-and-file mobilization.

It will mean learning to teach in new ways; restructuring local union activities in new ways; reaching out to different communities in new ways; and building alliances at both local and state levels. It will require the national unions, perhaps one merged national teacher union, to provide leadership to build a national movement for social and economic justice.

Classroom and Building Level

For classroom teachers, social justice unionism might mean changing their methods of teaching so that they draw on students' experiences; developing alternatives to tracking, ability grouping, and antiquated forms of assessment; and embracing anti-racist, anti-bias approaches. Teachers and other workers most concerned about educational reform should demand that their unions facilitate that reform.

At the building level, social justice unions would move beyond the role of "information pushers" whose main presence is newsletters stuffed into mailboxes, to an expanded role that helps develop the capacities of members to participate in school restructuring and all union activities. School-based union committees or chapters might promote staff development activities, encourage site-based governance that would allow staff and parent decision making at the school, and push for the creation of structures and the freeing up of time for collegial dialogue and support. Such union committees could help mobilize members to advocate for progressive perspectives within the union, and, when working in concert with parents, advocate for the school as a whole before the administration and school board.

Local, Community and State Level

Internally, members need to demand changes in union structures and policies, so that democratic discussion is encouraged, training programs are available on labor/management relationships, pedagogical matters, and reform issues, and so that newer teachers feel that the union is an important part of their school lives.

Externally, a social justice union should be a public advocate for the needs not only of school staffs, but of public education, school restructuring, and most importantly, of their students and their communities. Such advocacy ranges from political action and coalition building to membership education.

Given the increasingly difficult straits facing public education, building alliances on the local and state levels is particularly important. Unions should build ongoing relations with organizations and communities to fight for equitable and adequate funding for schools, progressive school reform, programs to increase the number of teachers of color, and social initiatives such as universal health care, progressive tax reform, housing, jobs programs, and so forth.

National Level

On the national level, the likely merger of the NEA and the AFT presents an historic opportunity. Such a merged union would have the potential to become one of the most powerful advocates for children and social justice in our nation.

It is crucial that members fight for a merged union that is more democratic, more concerned about equity, and more capable of building and leading a national social movement around key social issues.

In the immediate term, local, state, and national offices of the AFT and NEA should initiate widespread discussion of the need for social justice unionism. The national offices can seed social justice unionism projects at the local level by allocating staff time and resources, and can encourage such perspectives by orienting conferences and training sessions toward that theme. More- over, world economic trends make clear that unions in the U.S. must work cooperatively with unions and other social justice organizations on an international basis.

Ultimately, the likelihood of this vision becoming a reality rests on the actions of the members of both the NEA and AFT. These members understand that their commitment to children will best be served not only by being high-quality teachers and support staff, but also by being social justice advocates in a society that so desperately needs equality and justice. We encourage all like-minded people to join us in this effort.

For more information, copies of this draft, or information about upcoming activities to promote this vision of education unionism, contact NCEA, Box 679, Rhinebeck, NY 12572; 914-876-4580.

The union institute was attended by the following union activists from the AFT and NEA, including national staff, state and local officers, and rank-and-file members (Organizations are listed for identification purposes only):

Barry Abel, Local Assistance and Development, NEA

Nina Bascia, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto

Sara Belcher-Barnes, United Federation of Teachers Building Representative, P.S. 130, District 15, New York City

Roscoe Caron, Executive Board, Eugene Education Association

Michael Charney, Executive Board, Cleveland Teachers' Union

Maggie Crain, Director of Publications, Seattle Education Association

Tom Edminster, Building Representative and Executive Board member, United Educators of San Francisco (AFT/NEA)

Jackie Ellenz, Portland Association of Teachers

Margaret Garrison, Representative, Olympic UniServ Council, Washington

Donna Gold, National Center for Innovation, NEA

Darla Hartley, Field Assistant, Olympic UniServ Council, Washington

Lynda Hayashi, Parent Outreach Coordinator, Spokane Education Association

Joel Jordan, United Teachers-Los Angeles

Stan Karp, Executive Board, Paterson Education Association, Patterson, N.J.

Grainger Ledbetter, President, Arkansas Education Association

Larry Lewin, Human and Civil Rights Committee, Eugene Education Association

Heather Lewis, Director, Center for Collaborative Education, New York City

Barbara McGrew, Center for Membership and Affiliates, NEA

Cora McHenry, Executive Director, Arkansas Education Association

Tom Mooney, President, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers

Bob Peterson, Milwaukee Teachers Education Association, Rethinking Schools

Diana Porter, Chair, Educational Policies Committee, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers

Dina Portnoy, Philadelphia Schools Collaborative

Ann Randall, Representative, Olympic UniServ Council, Washington

Mark Simon, NEA Board of Directors

Kent Spring, Secretary, Portland Association of Teachers

Rita Tenorio, Milwaukee Teachers Education Association, Rethinking Schools

Ben Visnick, President, Oakland Education Association

Howard Yank, Co-chair, Human and Civil Rights Committee, Eugene Education Association

Resources:

Kerchner, C. and Julia Koppich. "A Union of Professionals: Labor Relations and Educational Reform" (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993).

"Rethinking Our Unions Institute of the National Coalition of Education Activists, Social Justice Unionism: A Working Draft" (Washington DC: NCEA, 1994). For a copy send \$1 to NCEA, PO Box 679, Rhinebeck, NY 12572.

Two Tensions for Teacher Unions

“Two tensions have been specifically pivotal for teacher unionists. Although advocates of social justice in education sometimes seem to expect teachers to forswear any self-interest or dedication to the children they teach, unionism sees teachers as agents and beneficiaries of social justices. At issue is how teachers have understood the relationship of their self-interest (sometimes represented as business or bread and butter unionism) to broader political concerns (sometimes described as social justice or social movement unionism).

A second tension involves teachers simultaneously making demands upon the state while serving it... Questions involving the relationship of self-interest to social justice and the relationship of working people to the state have shaped the history of teacher unions and their participation in movements for social change.” (pg.43)

“Teacher unions have at times challenge the inequalities of American life, and foster broader demands for the public good. At other moments, they have allied themselves with the state to place teachers’ immediate interests and privileges about more expansive ideas. At times teachers have been served reasonably well by such visions, even if their more disadvantaged students have not been. But teachers are also harmed by theories that lead them to ally themselves with class, gender, and racial privilege. In order to protect both material self-interest and the joy of their work, public school teachers must, in the long run, protect the public interest.” (pg. 51)

After reading either the Howard Zinn interview (pg. 25), “Why Teachers Should Know History,” or the Bill Fletcher interview (pg. 34), “Organizing in Defense of the Public Sector,” use the space below to develop what you think Zinn or Fletcher would have had to say about the tension between self-interest and broader fights for the common good.

Zinn/Fletcher would say –

How do you see these tensions in your own work with members?

Key components in the three models of teacher unionism

INDUSTRIAL

PROFESSIONAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Orientation

Emphasizes separation of labor and management. The role of the union is to limit what teachers can be asked to do and to increase the pay/benefits they get for doing it.

Emphasizes and defends teacher professionalism and promotes teacher leadership at school and district levels through union/district mentoring programs, etc.

Emphasizes alliances with parents and community to organize for social justice in schools, the community, and the curriculum. Challenges white supremacy and other forms of oppression.

View of Management

Assumes labor/management relations are hostile and adversarial.

Encourages management/labor cooperation to promote quality programs and achievement.

Partners with management when they promote anti-racist social justice policies, and organizes with parents and communities against management when they don't.

Bargaining

Win/lose bargaining with emphasis on bread-and-butter issues of salary, hours, and working conditions. Views the contract as way to institutionalize changes.

Interest-based bargaining that addresses teaching quality and programmatic initiatives, include MOUs outside of the contract. Views the contract as way to institutionalize changes.

Bargaining for the common good. Bargains bread-and-butter and professional issues, but balances those demands with the broader social justice issues in the schools and community. Views the contract as way to institutionalize changes, but rank-and-file and community organizing as key features in sustaining wins.

INDUSTRIAL

PROFESSIONAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE

District Decision-Making

Management prerogatives respected at school and district levels. Union staff grieves management decisions.

Seeks to expand decision-making and instructional leadership at school and district levels. Joint labor/management committees address professional issues.

Democratic input by key stakeholders through democratically elected school boards, shared leadership at school level, and district councils and committees that include educators, administrators, parents, community, and students. Promotes creation of transformative community schools.

Internal Union Leadership

Often a “business model” that is staff- and/or leader-dominated with limited member decision-making. Promotes member passivity except for occasional mobilizations. Members view “the union” as a third party—the staff and elected leaders.

Promotes moving significant leadership to the school level and works to infuse the district operations with teacher leaders.

Broad membership engagement and involvement in decision-making. Vision and direction provided by elected leadership; diversity and debate encouraged. Members view the union as “first person plural”—We are the union.

Service to Members

Staff “solves” most individual problems through contract enforcement.

Emphasis on school-based problem-solving.

School-based leaders are trained to organize staff to solve most problems at the school level. Districtwide problems are solved through pressure and collective action.

Equity and Race

At worst, defends white privilege; most commonly ignores such matters.

Main proponents of professional unionism are silent on race issues.

Strong emphasis on race and equity-supporting movements in the community on issues that don’t directly affect teachers. Openly deals with racial issues internal to the union.

INDUSTRIAL

PROFESSIONAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Pedagogy and Curriculum

Union cedes control of curriculum and professional development to management.

Union promotes additional responsibility for teacher leaders and brings teacher voice to design, implementation, and evaluation of curriculum, assessment, and instruction.

Union promotes more teaching and less testing, restorative practices over punitive discipline, and culturally relevant, anti-racist social justice curriculum that is participatory and connected to students’ lives.

Student Rights/School Safety

Focus is on teacher authority, classroom control. Teachers quick to refer students for discipline, without listening to students. Leads to zero-tolerance policies and enables school-to-prison pipeline.

Silent on the subject.

Promotes restorative practices and anti-bias training of staff, and fights for the “schools the students deserve,” which includes full social and health services, counseling, and respect for students’ personal rights.

Social Issues, Community, and Parents

Limited involvement with social and community issues; parent outreach is emphasized only during bargaining or other contractual dispute with management.

Mainly silent on broader community issues. Works with parents to improve individual parent support for their child’s learning.

Reaches out to community and parents to improve the quality of teaching and learning; supports social justice movements in the community even if not directly involved with schools and encourages members to participate in such movements.

INDUSTRIAL

PROFESSIONAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Relations with the Labor Movement

Supports labor struggle when in the self-interest of teachers. (Historically NEA rank and file not encouraged to view themselves as part of the labor movement.)

Silent on the subject.

Views teacher unions as on the front lines to revitalize the labor movement. Stands in solidarity with labor struggles—both union-based and community-based, like \$15 and a Union.

SOURCES

- Kerchner, Charles Taylor and Julia E. Koppich. 1993. *A Union of Professionals: Labor Relations and Educational Reform*. Teachers College Press.
- Rethinking Our Unions Institute of the National Coalition of Education Activists, Portland 1994.
- Charney, Michael and Bob Peterson (eds.). 1999. *Transforming Teacher Unions: Fighting for Better Schools and Social Justice* (first edition). Rethinking Schools.
- The Three Frames of Progressive Unionism, from the NEA's Center for Organizing.

You work for a small school district that serves all grades from K-12 across three sites: an elementary school (K-6), a middle school (7-8) and a high school (8-12). The elementary and middle schools are located next to each other and the high school operates on its own site about 4 miles from the elementary and middle. Because of a budget shortfall that happened just before your last negotiations nearly three years ago, there were layoffs, class sizes grew, and the raises barely kept up with inflation. Members weren't happy with the contract settlement and there's been the most turnover of staff since that anyone can remember. You have a new contract to negotiate starting four months from now. You have just been elected to lead your local union, and you are trying to figure out how to build a strong union before contract negotiations begin. You've just finished meeting with the former union leader who left at the end of the last school year to return to university, and here is what you've learned from talking to her, and a couple others, about potential leaders and other workers who wield influence:

Tina Love is a second-grade teacher at the elementary school and has been at the school for seven (7) years. She is well liked and personable. She is always sharing and liking your union's posts on social media and seems to really like the union. She was recruited to the teaching profession by Teach for America and she still participates in this program as a mentor to incoming teachers who come from the same program. She knows A LOT of teachers through this effort and from the annual incoming cohorts of new teachers she helps mentor. She also regularly organizes well-attended happy hours with teachers from across the three different school sites in the district. She volunteers with a couple of local community organizations and regularly wears her union button on her jackets.

Destiny Jackson is a science teacher at the middle school and has been there for 10 years. Destiny never publicly supported the union, saying unions are for blue collar workers, not professionals. Once Janus passed, she dropped her membership. She was recently appointed by her principal to sit on the school site council with administrators and parents to discuss issues in the school. During a staff meeting Destiny asked that the position be elected and a majority of teachers voted for her to be on the council. Recently, her school's administration decided to change the school bell schedule to have an earlier start time for the next academic year without discussing the change at the school site council. Destiny worked with the parents on the council to hold a town hall meeting with the teachers and parents together to talk about the change and find out if most were in favor of the change. After a majority in the meeting objected to the change, Destiny got them all to sign a letter objecting to it, and made a plan with others there to get a majority of all the teachers and parents. She then took the letter to the administration and they backed off of the change.

Paul Hammer works as a Math teacher at the high school. He is the most senior teacher and has been teaching at the high school for 14 years. He's always been a union member. He coaches the boys' basketball team. He received a Master Teacher evaluation rating from the school district several years ago and was named "Teacher of the Year" by management last year. Teachers go to Paul to get advice on how to navigate the evaluation system since he was able to achieve the seemingly unattainable rating of Master Teacher. When Destiny pulled together the meeting about the school bell and school start time, she asked Paul to get signatures in his school for the letter. Paul got all but two of the other teachers to sign. When the previous union leaders asked him to become a union steward, Paul declined, citing his

busy schedule during basketball season, and leading community basketball leagues in his free time.

Jorge Rivera is the Art teacher at the high school. He's been there 4 years and the students really like him. His colleagues appreciate the fun energy he brings to the classroom and the school. He's always got a smile and something nice to say to people. Jorge is pro-union, and helped Paul get a few of the signatures when Paul was passing the letter about the school bell start time. He is always busy preparing for his own big art shows of his own work and thinks people should just be pro-union and says he can't be bothered with them if they aren't.

1. Based on what's in the scenario only:

Who do you identify as the Leader who has moved people the most? Why?

Who is the mobilizer – actively working on the behalf of the union and carrying out actions that get others involved? Why?

Who is an activist – a pro-union supporter and may take action if asked? Why?

In what order should you be building relationships with your choices?

2. Assessing Your Current Worksites:

How many people have been identified as trusted and respected by a number of people in the worksite? (Leaders connect mobilizers into structures)

How many people are actively working in support of the union and have a group of folks that they influence? (Mobilizers get activists to show up and act)

How many people are ready to take pro-union action? (Activists see their relationship with the union as a participatory one)

Celebrating Ella Baker and Her “Group-Centered Leadership”

Ella Baker’s Legacy: A Different Model of Leadership

As a community organizer, Ella Baker brought a different style of leadership to the civil rights movement—one that contrasted with the traditional model that celebrated a few charismatic individuals. Baker believed in deemphasizing top organizational figureheads and instead cultivating the abilities of everyday people to collectively join together and take action. She upheld the idea that organizations should be run by those most impacted by the problems the organization is trying to solve.

In a June 12, 2015 article in Colorlines, Barbara Ransby discussed Baker’s approach to leadership:

Although she objected to the top-down, predominately male leadership structures that were typical of groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) and the NAACP in the 1950s and ’60s, she realized the necessity for grounded, community-based leader-organizers such as sharecropper Fannie Lou Hamer and Cleveland, Mississippi-based local organizer Amzie Moore. Baker was not against leadership. She was opposed to hierarchical leadership that disempowered the masses and further privileged the already privileged.

When Oprah Winfrey complained that recent protests against police violence lack leadership, she was describing [Martin Luther King’s] style of leading, or at least the way in which the King legacy has been most widely branded: the reverend as the strong, all-knowing, slightly imperfect but still not-like-us type of leader.

Baker represented a different leadership tradition altogether. She combined the generic concept of leadership— “a process of social influence in which a person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task”—and a confidence in the wisdom of ordinary people to define their problems and imagine solutions. Baker helped everyday people channel and congeal their collective power to resist oppression and fight for sustainable, transformative change....

That collective effort required leaders who were accountable to one another and were not singular. There were many organizers in groups such as SNCC who modeled Baker’s brand of what sociologist Charles Payne has called “group-centered leadership.”

Rather than someone with a fancy title standing at a podium speaking for or to the people, group-centered leaders are at the center of many concentric circles. They strengthen the group, forge consensus and negotiate a way forward. That kind of leadership is impactful, democratic, and, I would argue, more radical and sustainable, than the alternatives.

<https://www.colorlines.com/articles/ella-taught-me-shattering-myth-leaderless-movement>

Another way in which Baker’s leadership style contrasted with the norm within many civil rights organizations was her emphasis on valuing the contributions of women. Baker was opinionated and outspoken, even when social norms held that women should be quiet and deferential. At both the SCLC

and NAACP, she protested the fact that formal power rested in the hands of men, who almost exclusively were given top offices, while women were relegated to support roles.

Congressperson John Lewis, himself a prominent civil rights activist, wrote in his memoir *Walking with the Wind*: “Long before people began using the term ‘male chauvinism,’ Ella Baker was describing it and denouncing it in the civil rights movement, and she was right. There were very, very few women getting credit for their work, and even fewer emerged into leadership positions.”

In a January 16, 2017 article for *Time* magazine, journalist Julie Scelfo notes that the prevalence of sexism, even within the movement, may be one reason that Baker is less well-known today than she might be otherwise:

Despite her level of experience and proven track record, [Martin Luther King, Jr.] had difficulty allowing a woman’s decisions to trump his own, and her idea was that the organization should devote its resources more to promoting and enabling its overall mission rather than celebrating a charismatic leader. Wyatt Tee Walker, an early SCLC board member, told the filmmaker Joanne Grant that the ministers’ refusal to follow Baker’s advice was in practice with the era’s norms. “This was before the days of women’s liberation,” he says in the 1981 film [Fundi: The Story of Ella Baker....](#)

Despite Baker’s gifts for leadership and oratory, the SCLC pastors, intent on preserving their patriarchal hierarchy, refused to allow her to share in their prestige.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Scelfo goes on to discuss another reason why Ella Baker may be less well-known and widely celebrated today than some other civil rights activists:

Baker spent years of her life performing the essential—but far from glamorous—act of listening, a crucial first step in helping beleaguered Blacks develop enough self-worth to demand being treated with dignity in an environment where they had every reason to fear brutality and economic reprisal from their white neighbors. She also understood group dynamics and how to empower people to join forces, a delicate task that involves responding to a wide array of human feelings.

A narrative about this kind of work is inherently less dramatic and far more complicated than, say, the tale of a discreet act of bravery on a bus. But great leaders have recognized for centuries that high emotional intelligence, or the ability to recognize and respond to other people’s feelings, is central to successfully influencing them.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Baker possessed this type of intelligence and infused it into her approach to organizing. In doing so, she paved the way for many young people and women to grow in their own leadership.

Today, her legacy can be seen in organizations like Black Lives Matter, which promote a “leaderful” and feminist style of organizing. Because of this, Baker not only helped change the world, she changed how people went about changing the world.

For Discussion:

1. How much of the material in this reading was new to you, and how much was already familiar? Do you have any questions about what you read?
2. Did your perspective of the civil right movement change due to this reading? If so, how?
3. In what ways has sexism affected how we remember the civil rights movement? What were some ways that Ella Baker tried to intervene to highlight the work contributed by women?
4. What do you think about Ella Baker's style of leadership? What positives do you see? Are there any potential negatives you can think of? Explain your position.
5. Ella Baker believed that everyday people should be empowered to lead their own struggles against issues that directly affect them. Do you think this idea is relevant today? If so, how?
6. Think about the changes you think we need to see in this society. Do you think this change will be brought about only if great leaders emerge to make it happen?
7. Do you share some of Ella Baker's qualities, such as the ability to listen to others closely? Understand group dynamics? Encourage people to join forces? How might your talents be put to use for positive social change?

INTRODUCTION TO ENGAGEMENT ORGANIZING

Organizing and Leadership Practices that Lead to People-Powered Change

OBJECTIVES:

- Think critically about organizing, leadership, and relational power
- Understand the basics of interdependent leadership in contrast to other leadership models
- Overview the 5 organizing practices of interdependent leadership: Story, Relationships, Structure, Strategy and Action

ORGANIZING IS:

Identifying leaders and coordinating them in leadership teams,
Building community and commitment around that leadership,
Building power from the resources of that community,
Using that power strategically to make concrete change in the world.

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

"Leaders are those who take responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty"

In order to launch a new campaign, or strengthen an existing one, your job as an organizer is to identify and recruit others to work with you to build a campaign powerful enough to win change.

But what type of leader should you be, and what are you looking for in others? Sometimes we think the leader is the person everyone goes to, like this "I'm the leader!" approach.

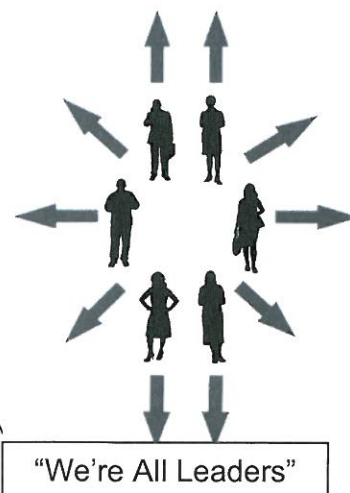
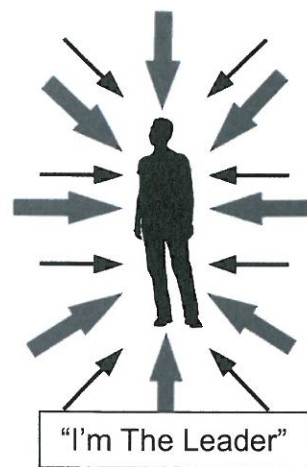
But what does it feel like to be the "leader" in the middle? What does it feel like to be the arrow that can't get through? What happens if the "leader" in the middle drops out?

Sometimes we go to the other extreme and think we don't need a "leader." We can all lead, because "we're all leaders!"

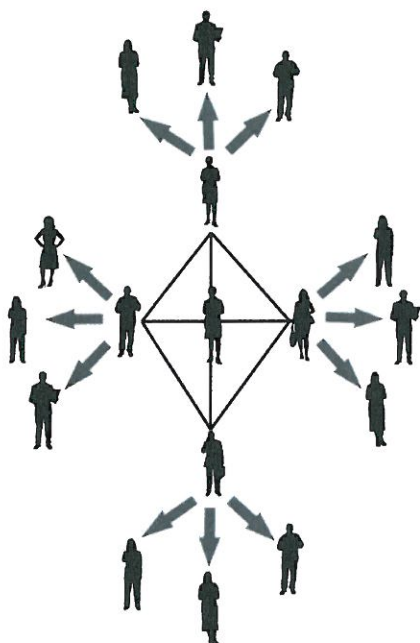
Sometimes this works. But who's responsible for coordinating everyone? And who's responsible for pushing the whole group forward when you can't reach a decision? Who takes ultimate responsibility for the outcome?

Organizers are those who ultimately are held accountable for meeting campaign goals. However, organizers are also

Originally adapted from the works of Marshall Ganz of Harvard University Modified by The N



responsible for coordinating and enabling others to take leadership. This requires delegating responsibility (rather than tasks), holding others accountable for carrying out that responsibility, and supporting them in their work.



Interdependent Leadership

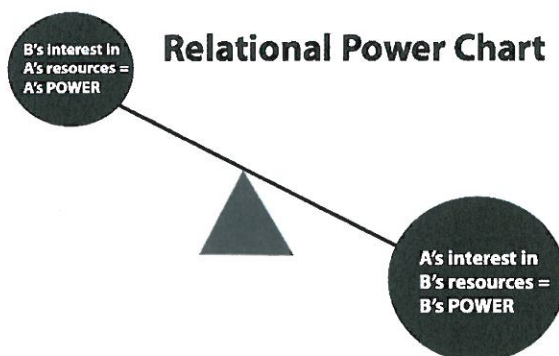
Remember, we don't yet have all the leadership we need in order to win the change we want to see. An organizer's job is to reach out and develop leaders in your community who can help you recruit and coordinate others. They may not be people others usually see as leaders, but they are people committed to change, willing to invite others to join them in the hard work of moving a campaign forward.

These leaders will be the backbone of your local campaign. You must be able to trust them to delegate responsibility to other dedicated, reliable people, and to follow through on commitments. You may be the leader in the middle, or part of a leadership team in the middle, guiding others' efforts and being held accountable for outcomes, but you will be deeply reliant on your relationships with others for success.

WHAT IS POWER?

Organizing is about turning the resources we have into the power we need to win the change we want. So what is power?

Richard Emerson argues that power is not a thing, an attribute, a quality, a characteristic or a trait -- it is a relationship. Power is the influence you have if my interest in your resources is greater than your interest in my resources: you have power over me if I need you more than you need me.



You can uncover the power relations by asking, and getting the answers to, four questions to “help track down the power”:

- What are YOUR interests? What change do you want?
- Who holds the decision-making power or resources you need to meet your interests?
- What are THEIR interests?
- How do THEY need YOU? What resources do you hold which other actors need to meet their own interests?

Our power comes from relationships with people. When we organize to build power we do so with the belief that the same people who need change can organize their own resources into the power they need to create change. Marshall Ganz says, “The unique role of organizing is to enable the people who need or want the change to be the authors of the change, because that addresses the causes of the problem (powerlessness in one form or another), not only the problem.”

So organizing is not only a commitment to identify more leaders, but also a commitment to engage those leaders in a particular type of fight: in nonviolent action to build the power to create the change we need in our lives. Organizing power begins with the choice and commitment made by the first person who wants to make something happen. Without this commitment, there are no resources with which to begin. Commitment is only observable through action. The work of organizers begins with their acceptance of their responsibility to challenge others to join them in action.

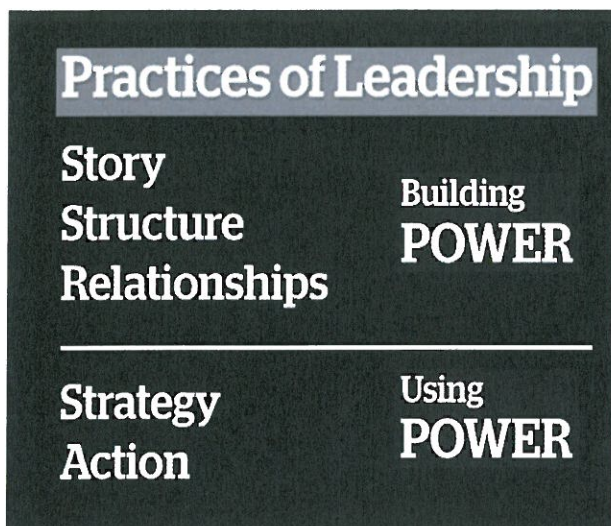
WHAT IS CHANGE?

Change is not inherently good or bad—it’s a break in routine that sends us in a new direction. We all have regular routines in our daily lives. However, sometimes those routines are inherently problematic, like sending our kids to schools that aren’t good enough for them, or working for less pay than we deserve, or putting deadly chemicals in our air and water.

It takes motivation, focused application of resources, and mobilization of others to break these routines and forge a new path forward. The purpose of organizing is to build that focus, the collective resources, and the community to make change.

The challenge of making change is to always measure its concrete impact in our lives. At the end of our campaign have we only changed policy or opinion? Or have we actually improved our schools, do we actually have safer workplaces, do we really have cleaner air, soil and water? And do we have new capacity within our community to win further change?

WHICH ORGANIZING AND LEADERSHIP PRACTICES LEAD TO CHANGE?



Building power requires learning the craft of organizing. The five practices of organizing listed below create change in individuals, in how groups operate, and in how the world looks, feels, and is. As leaders, we can use these key practices to enable others in our organizations to act together with clear purpose, active participation, understanding and initiative, and accomplish shared goals towards creating the measurable change we seek.

1. Creating Shared Story

Organizing is rooted in shared values expressed as public narrative. Public narrative is how we communicate our values through stories, bringing alive the motivation that is a necessary precondition for changing the world. Through public narrative, we tell the story of why we are called to leadership. Public Narrative has three elements:

“Story of Self” illustrates the values that move YOU to act—what calls you to leadership.

“Story of Us” illustrates the values and shared experiences embedded in our community calling us to collective action

“Story of Now” illustrates the urgent challenges to those values and clarifies why action must be taken NOW (not tomorrow, not the next day). The Story of Now also paints a picture of the hopeful vision of what we can achieve together and invites others to join us in taking specific action towards that vision immediately.

2. Creating Shared Relational Commitment

Organizing is based on relationships and creating mutual commitments to work together. It is the process of association—not simply aggregation—that makes a whole greater than the sum of its parts. Through association we can learn to recast our individual interests as common interests, allowing us to envision objectives that we can use our combined resources to achieve. And because it makes us more likely to act to assert those interests, relationship building goes far beyond delivering a message, extracting a contribution, or soliciting a vote. Relationships built as a result of one-to-one and small group meetings create the foundation for local campaign teams, and they are rooted in commitments people make to each other, not simply commitment to an idea, task, or issue.

3. Creating Shared Structure

A team leadership structure leads to effective local organizing that integrates local action with broader regional or national purpose. Volunteer efforts often flounder due to a failure to develop reliable, consistent, and creative local leaders. Structured leadership teams encourage stability, motivation, creativity, and accountability – and use volunteer time, skills, and effort

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effectively. They create the structure within which energized volunteers can accomplish challenging work. Effective teams strive to achieve three criteria of effectiveness: meeting the change objectives of those they serve, learning how to be more effective at meeting outcomes over time, and enhancing the learning and growth of individuals on the team. Team members work to put in place five conditions that will lead to effectiveness: real team (bounded, stable and interdependent), engaging direction, enabling roles, clear ground rules, and a diverse team with the skills and talents needed to do the work.

4. Creating Shared Strategy

Although based on broad values, effective organizing campaigns learn to focus on a clear strategic objective, a way to turn those values into action and to unleash creative deliberation (for example elect a President; desegregate buses in Montgomery, Alabama; getto 100% clean electricity). Statewide campaigns locate responsibility for statewide strategy at the top (or at the center), but are able to “chunk out” strategic objectives in time (deadlines) and space (local areas) as a campaign, allowing significant local responsibility for figuring out how to achieve those objectives. Responsibility for strategizing local objectives empowers, motivates and invests local teams. This dual structure allows the movement as a whole to be relentlessly well oriented and fosters the personal motivation of volunteers to be fully engaged.

5. Creating Shared Measurable Action

Organizing outcomes must be clear, measurable, and specific if progress is to be evaluated, accountability practiced, and strategy adapted based on experience. Such measures include: volunteers recruited, money raised, people at a meeting, voters contacted, pledge cards signed, laws passed, etc. Although electoral campaigns enjoy the advantage of very clear outcome measures, any effective organizing drive must come up with the equivalent. Regular reporting of progress to goal creates opportunity for feedback, learning, and adaptation. Training is provided for all skills (holding house meetings, phone banking, canvassing, etc) to carry out the program. New media may help enable reporting, feedback, and coordination. Transparency exists as to how individuals, groups, and the campaign as a whole are doing on progress to goal.

Have you ever been part of an organization or “disorganization” described by the words on the left? The difference between that and the organization described on the right is not any particular issue, any particular demographic or any particular geography. It’s about the practice of leadership from the inside out. This training is structured around teaching these practices, and supporting you in practicing them.

DISORGANIZATION	INTERDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP CREATES	ORGANIZATION
Drift	Shared Story	Purpose
Passive	Shared Relational Commitment	Participation
Confused	Shared Structure	Understanding
Reactive	Shared Strategy	Initiative
Inaction	Shared Measurable Action	Change

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Three Theories of Change

Organizing, Mobilizing, and Advocacy

BY ELENI SCHIRMER

Why have unions gotten so weak, and how can they strengthen? In her book *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age* (Oxford, 2016), labor organizer and strategist Jane McAlevey argues that a major factor in labor's decline has been that unions have abandoned the work of organizing, relying instead on the more superficial methods of building power, namely mobilizing and advocacy. What are these three different methods of union strength, and what path toward power does each build?

To organize is to build mass support and strength among ordinary people. Organizing draws its power from working people's biggest strength: our numbers. Working people may or may not see themselves as activists or politically active or even in political agreement, but through organizing, they come together to act in common cause. The work of organizing is systematic and rigorous: It requires connecting with every single worker in a shop, every educator in a building, every building in a district. At its core, it asks people to understand their own agency and to make choices about how they will exercise it. The work of organizing is difficult; ordinary people are seldom confronted by their own agency nor asked to make choices that recognize their own power. As McAlevey notes in her first book, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement* (Verso, 2012), a memoir of her organizing work: "In the normal course of human events, workers don't expect much from their jobs, government, or unions, because the reality is they don't get much. The job of the organizer is to fundamentally change this." The work of organizing is difficult, but as McAlevey argues, it is essential: There are no shortcuts.

Mobilizing, by contrast, activates an already-convinced membership. Mobilizing encourages those who already support a cause or a mission to take action to defend their belief—for example, by attending a protest, wearing a button, or signing a petition. Mobilizing is a very important step for building movements, but it is not the same thing as organizing. The crucial difference between mobilizing and organizing is that mobilizing relies on the actions of people who have already been brought on board; organizing is the work bringing ever more people on board, having a stake in the direction and outcomes of the actions (mobilizing can be an important component of organizing). McAlevey distinguishes mobilizing as



BRIAN STAUFFER

relying on the participation of a “self-selecting” group—people who have chosen to participate in something due to personal preferences or beliefs, such as environmental protection groups, the ACLU, or Planned Parenthood. Organizing, by contrast, relies on “structure-based” groups, groups determined by a predefined, often structural, relationship, such as working for the same employer, living in the same housing complex, or attending the same place of worship. Membership in a structure-based group, unlike a self-selecting group, is not a result of personal

affinity. In a structure-based group, the number of possible members—and therefore people to organize—is finite and knowable: the number of workers in a firm, residents in a housing building, or members in a church, for example. Whereas mobilizing relies on participation from a self-selecting group, organizing builds high participation among all eligible individuals.

Advocacy is the work of creating change through the actions of professionals or technical experts—lobbyists, pollsters, lawyers, communication specialists, researchers. Advocacy relies on the expertise, status, and know-how of these groups of people to make change. Advocacy usually happens in a closed-door room; ordinary people play a small to nonexistent role in its efficacy. Advocacy has become a dominant strategy for unions and liberals. But its efficiency comes at a cost; it disables the masses of ordinary people who have a stake in the issues under scrutiny by advocates.

These three forms of making change do not exist in isolation; a successful campaign may very well rely on all three strategies. Yet organizing, McAlevey argues, is the most fundamental: The base of any campaign should come from its organizational capacity above all. Yet in reality, according to McAlevey, it's often the strategy most avoided or shortchanged. After all, it is often hard, slow work that requires building connections with mass numbers of people. As a result, it's often sidestepped for quicker grabs for power—mobilizing or advocating support, rather than organizing for it.

McAlevey's framework rests on a more fundamental argument about power. In an age of massive inequality, many see power as the province of the elite—the small, powerful minority who run the courts, the banks, and the media in the U.S. and around the world. From this perspective, forging change is the process of altering who occupies those powerful institutions: voting in new leaders, appointing new judges, securing better regulators who can safeguard the system with an eye toward fairness. In McAlevey's words, this belief is little more than replacing one set of elites with another, better set of elites. It relies on advocacy and, to a certain extent, mobilizing to get the job done.

Yet exclusively focusing on the undemocratic hyper-concentration of elites obscures the power of ordinary people. Ordinary people have two major forms of power: our numbers—there are more of us than them—and our ability to withhold our participation in a system that denies us fairness, dignity, and health: They need us to keep working. Organizing, especially organizing with an eye toward building strikes, activates both forms of power. Successful labor movements and social movements often use a combination of advocacy, mobilizing, and organizing. But as McAlevey argues, organizing is the most important of those tasks—yet often the most overlooked. Her work aims to bring the movement back into labor, and winning back into the movement. 📖

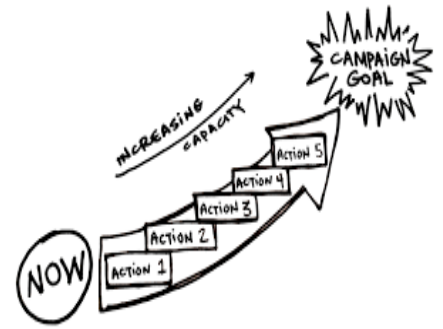
Eleni Schirmer reads, writes, and teaches about labor movements and education. She has a PhD in Educational Policy Studies from the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

	ADVOCACY	MOBILIZING	ORGANIZING
Theory of Power	Elite. Advocacy groups tend to seek one-time wins or narrow policy changes, often through courts or backroom negotiations that do not permanently alter the relations of power.	Primarily elites. Staff or activists set goals with low to medium concession costs or, more typically, set an ambitious goal and declare a win, even when the “win” has no, or only weak, enforcement provisions. Backroom, secret deal making by paid professionals is common.	Mass, inclusive, and collective. Organizing groups transform the power structure to favor constituents and diminish the power of their opposition. Specific campaigns fit into a larger power-building strategy. They prioritize power analysis, involve ordinary people in it, and decipher the often hidden relationship between economic, social, and political power. Settlement typically comes from mass negotiations with large numbers involved.
Strategy	Litigation; heavy spending on polling, advertising, and other paid media.	Campaigns, run by professional staff, or volunteer activists with no base of actual, measurable supporters, that prioritize frames and messaging over base power. Staff-selected “authentic messengers” represent the constituency to the media and policymakers, but they have little or no real say in strategy or running the campaign.	Recruitment and involvement of specific, large numbers of people whose power is derived from their ability to withdraw labor or other cooperation from those who rely on them. Majority strikes, sustained and strategic nonviolent direct action, electoral majorities. Frames matter, but the numbers involved are sufficiently compelling to create a significant earned media strategy. Mobilizing is seen as a tactic, not a strategy.
People Focus	None	Grassroots activists. People already committed to the cause, who show up over and over. When they burn out, new, also previously committed activists are recruited. And so on. Social media are over-relied on.	Organic leaders. The base is expanded through developing the skills of organic leaders who are key influencers of the constituency, and who can then, independent of staff, recruit new people never before involved. Individual, face-to-face interactions are key.

Reprinted with permission of Jane McAlevey from her book No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age (Oxford University Press, reprint edition: April 1, 2018).

Achieving Social Justice Wins Case Studies

Our focus is on leaders and structures that transform the relationships of rank and file, leaders, and communities with their union. There are eight mini-case studies from page 107-169. Your group will use this to answer the questions for your case, and then as you work with the other “case groups” you will work to answer the questions for each one. By the end of this session, you should have a completed chart for all eight cases.



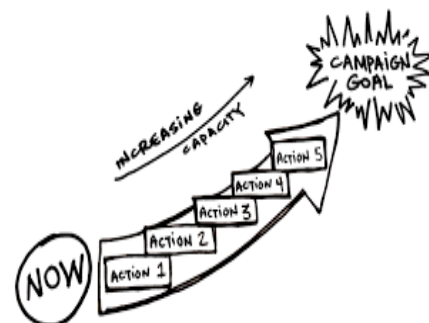
Case	What are the key issues that this story “wins” ?	What are the ways that they thought of leaders and structures? How did this transform their union?	What are the small steps along the way (tactics or structure tests) that were put in place?	What is the staff role?

Case	What are the key issues that this story “wins” ?	What are the ways that they thought of leaders and structures? How did this transform their union?	What are the small steps along the way (tactics or structure tests) that were put in place?	What is the staff role?

What are some of the common themes you see across the eight cases?

Was there something that surprises you?

Is there something that you are really left wondering?



Teacher Unions and Social Justice



Day 2 Handouts

Outcomes:

- What are the systems of oppression that work to prevent change?
- What are successful strategies for taking on big fights?
- What is my role as a staff person?

Then and Now

You will need the essay found on pages 67-69 of Teacher Unions and Social Justice



What does Margaret Haley describe in her essay that are still problems today?

How well do you think our unions have achieved wins around these issues?

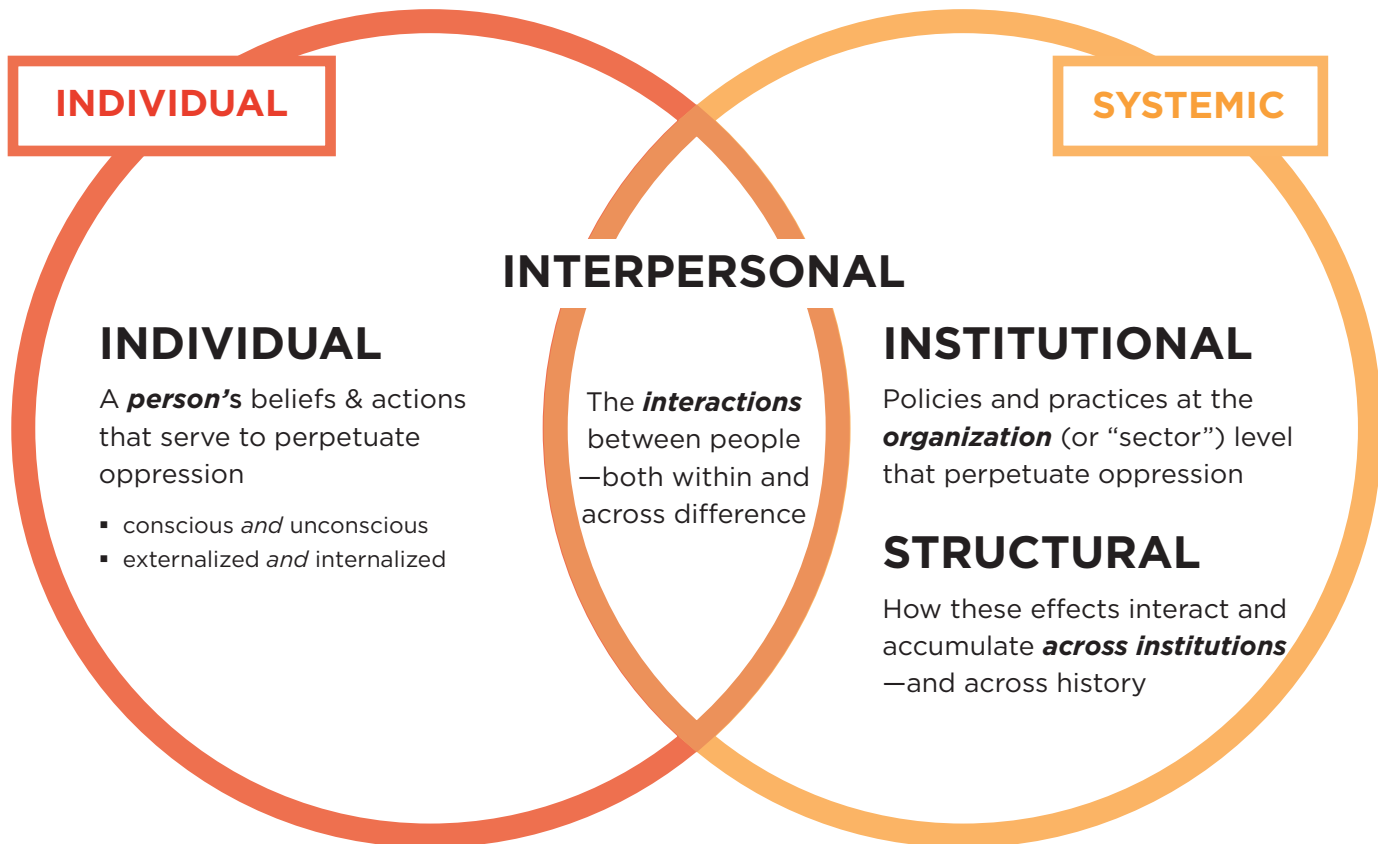
If we could bring Margaret Haley here, what would you want to tell her about your work for a union that makes you proud?

Club or Union?

	Unorganized	Club	Union	Fighting Union
Budgeting	Little or no local funding	Funding used to recognize activists -- stipends, meals	Funding used to recognize activists and also to reach out to members: stickers, buttons, tee shirts, picket signs.	Funding used to release activists to do work, to communicate with members, and to open opportunities to the newly active. Funding supports coalition work and socially focused issues
Roles	A few officers, risk of vacancy	Proliferation of titles and stipends to Presidential allies	Titles and roles generally tied to actual activities; if there's a treasurer, there is a budget; if there's a newsletter chair, there's actually a newsletter	Titles rotate regularly, or are even dropped when no longer needed
Bargaining	No bargaining, or done by a single expert (UD, President)	Small group of the usual folks on the bargaining team that the president trusts	Team represents all major job categories. Criteria is whether or not the president trusts them and they are recognized by members	Team represents all major job categories; criteria is whether they are trusted by the members
Leaders	Volunteers if any	Tends to be the same small group of folks that populate other teams. Little to no risks are taken.	Elections are regularly held and there are sometimes contested positions. Leaders can move others to act. However, their focus is on activism and mobilizing instead of term organizing.	Are trusted and respected by members, and there is a healthy election process with a number of good candidates. Leaders routinely deliver on persuading large groups to take public collective action; the and actively seeks other trusted and respected leaders. Leaders use their agency to take risks that result in growth.
Advocacy	None, or done by staff and/or local president Used as one of the few justifications to pay dues	Few members may help with advocacy with much support from staff. Advocacy is solely viewed as a service to single members.	Intentional identification and training of member advocates who conduct low-level meetings with support of higher levels from staff. Most advocacy is still viewed as a service to individuals with some understanding that protecting the work standards are in everyone's interest.	Advocacy is primarily viewed as way to build worker solidarity and ways to exercise collective action in response to poor work standards. Issues to organize around.
Activity	None, or led by the union, the staff, or by union members. No ownership.	Programs for individual interest with little risk in participating. Led by one person, and focus of change is on personal practice.	Works to have leaders design and lead the programs. Focus is on change of relationship with the union from rank and file to leader. Mobilizing and activism are the norms focused on traditional worker issues.	Organizing is the norm focused on the solidarity of the group and the work is to apply pressure on a system of oppression. Issues are broad and include social movement thinking.



THE LENS OF SYSTEMIC OPPRESSION



Some phenomena playing out at each level

INDIVIDUAL

- Identity and difference
- Individual advantage and disadvantage
- Explicit bias
- Implicit bias
- Stereotype threat
- Internalized oppression

INTERPERSONAL

- Reproductive discourse (“Discourse 1”)
- Microaggressions
- Racist interactions
- Transferred oppression

INSTITUTIONAL

- Biased policies and practices (e.g. in hiring, teaching, discipline, parent-family engagement)
- Disproportional (e.g. racialized) outcomes and experiences

STRUCTURAL

- Systems of advantage and disadvantage
- Opportunity structures
- Societal history of oppressive practices and policies

Four Levels of Oppression

Systemic oppression manifests on the individual, the interpersonal, the institutional, and the structural level, and we offer an example of each.

INDIVIDUAL

A teacher holds an unconscious mental model that her students of color are not “college material.” This belief, left unchecked, leads to lower expectations of work quality, which allows for less rigorous teaching methods, and finally produces a gap in the actual skills and preparation of these very students. Similarly, a college counselor might push lower-income students toward community colleges or job training programs while counseling more privileged students to apply to four-year universities. These scenarios are all too real and, we would argue, a result of unexamined belief systems nurtured by an oppressive system.

INTERPERSONAL

By interpersonal, we mean the interactions between individuals that play out, both within and across difference. These are where the individual and the systemic levels of oppression intersect. These interactions are playing out constantly, within institutions and in the private spheres of life. Much of the interpersonal level manifests through discourse—how issues and situations are framed, talked about, not talked about.

INSTITUTIONAL

By institution, we mean a single school or organization with its own internal set of norms, policies, and practices. On this level, we might witness a discipline policy that correlates to a disproportionate number of African American boys being sent out of class or a master schedule that de facto tracks English Language Learners into lower-level coursework. It may be that an organization creates a culture centered on dominant culture that makes it inhospitable to people of color. Though one might argue that these policies stem from individual belief systems, the institutional lens reveals how an organization’s patterns are self-sustaining and thus more than the sum of its individual actors.

STRUCTURAL

Structural oppression involves the macro-relationship between institutions that perpetuates or even exacerbates unequal outcomes for children. Despite its title, we would posit the “No Child Left Behind” Act as a prime example of structural oppression. In her recent piece “A Nation’s Education Left Behind”, former Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch wrote in 2011:

We have now had ten years of No Child Left Behind, and we now know that there has been very little change in the gaps between the children of the rich and the children of the poor, between black children and white children. Just this week, the federal government released the urban district test results and we could see that the gap remained as large as ever. After ten years of NCLB, the children at the bottom were still at the bottom.

By critically analyzing this policy, we can see how politicians colluded with financial interests to create a hollow discourse of opportunity while in fact sowing the seeds of oppression.

“I’ve wanted to see beyond the Western, mechanical view of the world and see what else might appear when the lens was changed.”

–Margaret J. Wheatley

“Whenever I arrive on a real location, I have to move around and work out what the best angles are going to be. When I was moving around with the lens, I discovered things that the naked eye would not have.”

–filmmaker Pedro Almodovar

The Metaphor of A Lens

We make dozens of decisions each day that impact those we serve. We grapple with how to respectfully reach out to new communities and serve them in culturally responsive ways that don’t perpetuate inequities they face. At a foundational level, we must analyze the culture and conditions that impact the people and places we interact with in order to aid our decision-making.

Even as an organization operating in multiple settings that manifest a wide range of organizational patterns, policies, and practices, we know that each site requires learning and unpacking a new set of “rules” of operation.

As leaders for equity, our primary concern is to interrupt those rules that serve, either implicitly or explicitly, to perpetuate opportunity gaps for vulnerable students. To become agents of change who make strategic and courageous decisions, we must learn to run a set of filters, or lenses, that shift our vantage point and uncover what the “naked eye” can - not see.

The metaphor of a lens describes the possibility of seeing our contexts in new and revealing ways. If seeing leads to believing, and believing ultimately shapes our actions, then we must expand our ways of seeing to transform troubling outcomes for young people.

Three levels of analysis inform each lens: the individual, the interpersonal, the institutional, and the structural. By applying our lens at each level, we can begin to identify opportunities for equitable change.

No single lens can tell the whole story, but using a strong filter allows us to stand “on the balcony” and observe the “dance floor” below (in this case the school or organization) with its complex set of relationships, rules, and moves. From this aerial viewpoint, we can think critically about our decisions and increase the predictability that our actions will lead to more equitable outcomes.

The Importance of Critical Judgment

When using a racial equity lens, we must exercise critical judgment before taking action. Critical judgment is the process of separating the essential from the non-essential, distilling any number of decisions into those best matched to our desired outcome or vision. Critical

judgment implies a cycle of questioning, action and reflection premised on the belief that there is no “right answer” lying in wait. Finally, critical judgment implies a leap of faith – faith that if we take a calculated risk to disrupt the status quo, we do indeed possess the will, skill, knowledge, capacity and emotional intelligence to adjust our actions as necessary.

Here are some key principles of critical judgment that we seek to embody:

- I will take responsibility for what I don't directly control—structural racism, systemic oppression, and all forms of bias—and attempt to influence transformative change within seemingly entrenched systems.
- I will act within my “zone of proximal development” (Vygotsky, 1978), or stretch zone, to model the types of discourse and decisions that I want adults to enact with young people. I understand that positive behavior and modeling have a reproductive effect and thus hold every moment with a client as sacred and teachable.
- I will rigorously and flexibly apply my racial equity lens to assess the current culture, conditions, and competencies needed to best serve our clients.
- I will engage in a cycle of action and reflection, what Paulo Freire called praxis, that allows me to learn from both successes and failures.
- I will set personal learning goals that bring into high relief my growth areas while committing to continuous professional development that cultivates my will, skill, knowledge, capacity, and emotional intelligence.

The Frame of a Racial Equity Lens

The racial equity lens allows us to uncover the structures, policies, and behaviors that sustain unequal outcomes for children. The “Western, mechanical” worldview cited by organizational consultant and community activist Margaret Wheatley elevates the individual over the system, which can lead to distorted perspectives on inequity. We hear frequent refrains premised on this notion of individualism: If only that student would work harder; she just doesn't care! Why don't those families invest enough in their children's education to come to Back-to-School Night? Such comments decontextualize the behavior of individuals from the larger system of oppression and feed a “blame- the-victim” mentality.

In naming systemic oppression, we seek to challenge individualistic thinking and interrogate the complex interaction of people, practices, institutions, and ideology that perpetuate inequity. Oppression in the United States maps all too predictably to socio-economic, cultural, and racial factors. The U.S. Census Bureau recently reported that the income gap between rich and poor Americans grew to its largest margin ever. The top-earning 20% of the country garnered nearly 50% of the income while the bottom 20%, those below the poverty line, went home with 3.4 %. (www.census.gov)

At the same time, the United States is home to 5% of the world's population but 25% of its prisoners, and those incarcerated are disproportionately African American and Latino. These statistics reveal historical patterns of inequality that, despite the gains of the civil rights era, have persisted and even deepened over the last three decades.

As leaders for equity, we must understand our schools and organizations as part of the systemic fabric of inequality. Failing to acknowledge this reality, we will unwittingly reproduce oppressive dynamics that blame children for the deep-rooted opportunity gaps that hinder their growth.

Assumptions and Questions

A racial equity lens is grounded in several assumptions that cut across the three levels above. These assumptions help us grapple with how and why oppression continues to play out in schools staffed with good, well-intentioned people. What we know is that inequitable racialized outcomes do not require racist actors. A person can be committed to the care, well-being, and educational progress of a child and still, unconsciously, participate in systemic oppression.

“Inequitable racialized outcomes do not require racist actors.”

–John A. Powell

Here are the core assumptions we offer for understanding oppression:

- Oppression and injustice are human creations and phenomena, built into our current economic system, and therefore can be undone.
- Oppression (e.g. racism, colonialism, class oppression, patriarchy, and homophobia) is more than just the sum of individual prejudices. Its patterns are systemic and therefore self-sustaining without dramatic interruption.
- Systemic oppression exists at the level of institutions (harmful policies and practices) and across structures (education, health, transportation, economy, etc) that are interconnected and reinforcing over time.
- Systemic oppression has historical antecedents. We must face our national legacy and current manifestations of racism and economic inequality in order to transform them.
- Without rigorous examination, behavior is reproductive. By default, current practices, cultural norms and institutional arrangements foster and maintain inequitable outcomes.
- To undo systemic oppression, we must forge multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual alliances and create democratic processes that give voice to new organizing systems for humanity.
- Addressing oppression and bias (conscious and unconscious) inevitably raises strong emotions in clients, and we must be prepared and trained to address these feelings.

We also offer a set of analytical questions to ask while applying this lens:

1. How do we understand the economic and racial forces behind the inequities we see?
2. How might we name the “system” in which we are all sitting?
3. What level of consciousness do colleagues, partners and affiliates possess about the forces underlying inequity?
4. How are we talking about the problem we are trying to solve? Is the conversation digging down to root causes in a way that could lead to productive action?
5. Who are the people affected by the current structure of oppression? Are they at the table?

6. Who shapes the dominant narrative about those being served at any given moment?
7. How are different constituents described? How would they tell their story? Is there a counter-narrative coming from those being served?
8. What are the specific disparities/inequities we seek to eliminate through this collective focus and action? What barriers stand in the way of achieving more equitable outcomes?
9. What are the population and geographic targets for our effort? Specifically, for whom and where are we trying to make a difference?
10. What will an equitable OUTCOME look like? How will we KNOW we have made progress?
11. When do we expect to see results? What is our timeframe?
12. Who does and does not have power in this institution, in the community? What is power based on here?
13. How safe is it here for different people to share their truths here, and how can I foster a culture of safety and relational trust to move forward?
14. How can I build my practice as a leader for equity, starting with who I am and how I understand my own experiences around oppression?
15. How can I build the alliances to move forward in making decisions that interrupt reproductive practices?

Poster Walk

You and your group will travel to each of the 5 stations. Your group will take one full minute to observe and read without speaking. Your group will then spend 5 minutes responding to and discussing questions posted at each station.

Station 1:

After reading this list and looking at this chart, how do you feel?

What are some additional ways the redistribution of wealth could impact education?

Station 2:

What is happening with the flow of resources in this illustration?

Who is really controlling the flow?

Station 3:

How does the graph illustration relate to the cartoon?

How does this make you feel?

Station 4:

What strikes you about this illustration and the statistics?

How does the wealth gap among black, white, and Latino working people impact public education?

Station 5:

What stands out for you in this illustration?

What is this illustration saying about the relationship between school privatization and segregation?

Learning Outcomes and Additional Information for Each Station

Station #1:

Learning Outcome: The wealth gap in our country is huge and growing, leaving everybody at the bottom further and further behind.

Station #2:

Learning Outcome: Banks and corporations are taking resources from our communities and hoarding them to increase their own profits and politicians are letting it happen.

Station #3:

Learning Outcome: Corporate greed and tax breaks and loopholes lead to fewer resources for public services and public schools.

Station #4:

The Dream by the Numbers: The **Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI)** is an American [nonprofit, nonpartisan](#) research and education organization that conducts [public opinion polls](#) on a variety of different topics, specializing in the quantitative and qualitative study of political issues as they relate to religious values.^[1] PRRI is a public resource for journalists, scholars, policy makers and the general public.

Mother Jones Image (October 3, 2014): Today, a closer look at how income inequality splits along racial lines. Whites' average household income is 56 percent larger than that of African Americans and 39 percent larger than that of Hispanics. But the discrepancy is even greater when it comes to wealth: The median white family holds nearly 20 times more assets than the median black family and 74 times more assets than the median Hispanic family. <https://poorandpissed.wordpress.com>

Station #5:

Learning Outcome: Privatization of schools does not improve outcomes or segregation. There is a strong link between school segregation and school choice programs.

Schools are as segregated now as in 1968 chart: We have lost much—in some places all—of the progress in school desegregation made from the mid-1960's to the late 1980's.

School Choice and School Segregation research points:

Education Week, March 2014

Regardless of the specific methodology used, however, the preponderance of research evidence leads to the following conclusions:

1. There is a strong link between school choice programs and an increase in student segregation by race, ethnicity, and income.
2. The risk of segregation is a direct reflection of the design of the school choice program.
3. Even beyond race, ethnicity, and income, school choice programs result in increased segregation for special education and language-minority students, as well as in increased segregation of students based on religion and culture.

Financialization Created Chicago Public Schools' Fiscal Crisis

BY

STEPHANIE FARMER

Chicago Public Schools has constantly found itself in fiscal crises in recent years, crises that then justify brutal austerity. But those crises didn't come from nowhere: they were the logical outcome of turning to Wall Street for funding on credit instead of taxing the rich.

Chicago Public Schools (CPS) is in a deep and enduring fiscal crisis. After decades of budget cuts, Chicago's public K–12 schools have been hollowed out, magnifying the hardships of stagnant wages, rising housing prices, and more faced by the city's working class. Pundits have predictably blamed CPS's fiscal crisis on either the greedy teachers' union (Republicans' and a few austerity-minded Democrats' scapegoat) or on conservative suburban and rural "downstate" politicians in Illinois hostile to urban children's plight (most Democrats' scapegoat).

But Chicago is a one-party city, controlled by the Democrats, in a solidly blue state, where Democrats usually control the state government. In reality, CPS's endless fiscal crises and austerity are consequences of a ruling-class project to chip away at Chicago public education. This has involved a two-pronged strategy of school-choice policies and education financialization carried out by successive Democratic mayors with the backing and active encouragement of key elements of Chicago capital. School-choice policies seek to remake public education in the image of a competitive market, where schools compete for education consumers (children and their parents). Education financialization expanded the role of financial instruments, actors, and markets in public education's operations.

Together, these policies have reconfigured Chicago Public Schools. The district's funding streams now function as a rent extraction machine, channeling revenue out of the CPS classrooms that serve black, brown, and immigrant working-class neighborhoods and into the pockets of Wall Street.

A Marketplace of Schools

Public K–12 education has many uses. It provides hard and soft skills in preparation for the labor force; socialization in civic, cultural, and political norms; and acts as de facto childcare centers for younger children, reducing the cost of living for parents. Radicals and reformers have demanded tuition-free public education since the late eighteenth century. Universally accessible, tuition-free, public, K–12 education contributes to the social wage, the mix of publicly provided goods and services that add to the normative standard of living. Universal access to tuition-free public K–12 education was rolled out alongside other New Deal reforms of the 1930s and '40s — taxing the rich, the expansion of unions, and regulation of finance and industry — associated with the Keynesian period in the development of US capitalism.

By the 1970s, the Keynesian phase of US capitalism was in crisis as competitor economies in Europe and the Pacific Rim rebuilt following World War II, and high wages and high fixed costs cut into the corporate profit rate. In the 1980s and 1990s, an ideologically committed and organized capitalist class rolled back Keynesian capitalism and rolled out a more cutthroat neoliberal capitalism.

By the 1990s, an anti-tax, anti-union, anti-regulation, and anti-public-sector ideological conventional wisdom had taken root among Republicans and Democrats alike. Taxation was characterized as rent-seeking by the “parasitic state” with its inherently “inefficient” public sector. In contrast, free enterprise capitalism with open markets and light regulation was held up as the ideal institutional arrangement for organizing the production and distribution of nearly all goods and services.

In this context, the meaning of public education shifted. Public education became less about cultural enrichment and civic engagement. Under neoliberalism, the emphasis in public education was placed, first and foremost, on providing individuals with the skills and habits appropriate for the marketplace. Anyone could overcome the hardship of their circumstances so long as they were willing to work hard, first in school and later in the labor force.

Public schools were expected to operate akin to businesses and adapt to the new era of iterative austerity, doing more with less. Public education was expected to reflect and advance the same norms and practices as the prevailing neoliberal capitalism it was embedded in.

In Chicago, Mayor Richard M. Daley and his business-elite organization backers (like the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club) were ahead of the national trend in implementing neoliberal reforms of the school system. In order to make schools function more like businesses, CPS adopted school-choice reform policies (like the 1996 Illinois Charter School Law and the Renaissance 2010 plan of 2004) that would create a simulated “marketplace” of schools. Parents were encouraged to approach education like consumers and choose the best school product for their children, comparing metrics of success like shopping for toothpaste in the grocery store.



Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley in May 2010 (Chris Eaves / Wikimedia Commons)

To create this school marketplace, CPS closed putatively low-performing public schools and rolled out a portfolio of high-performing public schools (like gifted elementary, magnet, and selective enrollment high schools) with competitive admission criteria, primarily in high-value real estate markets.

CPS also privatized the school system through charter schools, schools that are privately operated but still publicly funded. These less transparent, less democratically accountable, and initially nonunionized charter schools were overwhelmingly placed in black and Latino working-class communities.

According to the Chicago Public Schools Comprehensive Annual Financial Report from 1995 to 2018 (our data source throughout), between those years, CPS opened 230 new schools, while closing 123 schools, for a net gain of 107 schools. Over half of CPS's 230 new schools were charter schools. Charter school expansion privileged the interests of charter operators, seeking a foothold for their business enterprises in the city, over what was best for the public school system as

a whole. As the CPS system was growing dramatically with a wave of charter expansion, Chicago's population of school-aged children actually declined from over 435,000 students in 2005 to 371,000 students (64,000 fewer kids) in the CPS system in 2018.

Despite this pattern of population decline, nearly 85 percent of the new charter schools were opened after 2005. By 2018, charter school proliferation consumed 11 percent of CPS's budget, up from just 3 percent in 2006.

The Financialization of Chicago Public Schools

Due to the prevailing neoliberal anti-tax conventional wisdom, the state and city governments were unwilling to raise taxes to fund CPS. So, in order to carry out these school choice reforms, CPS turned to credit markets, paving the way for education financialization. Local education administrators, financiers, and politicians partnered up to devise frameworks and investment instruments that insinuated finance capital into the funding and operation of public education as the needs and well-being of children were monetized for rent-seeking investors.

Finance capital was attracted to public education because it provided new sites for capturing profits. By the 1990s, due to overaccumulation in other markets and government deregulation of finance, capital flooded into US finance and real estate markets. Moreover, dollar-denominated US municipal bonds were comparatively safer and provided steadier returns (albeit at a lower rate of return) than other, more traditional private-sector investment instruments.

With this new, expanded access to credit markets, CPS leveraged \$8.5 billion in debt to finance its oversupply of choice schools. By 2018, CPS was dedicating \$651 million of its budget (or 10 percent of its operations budget) to make payments on its debt, up from \$133 million, or 3.5 percent of its operations budget in 1998 (adjusted for 2018 inflation).

Predictably, charter schools carved out their own niche in the financialization game. Since their finances are considered proprietary, researchers could only find data for 27 percent of all CPS charter schools in 2015 through audits filed with the Illinois State Board of Education. The combined outstanding debt from bond issuances for these Chicago charter schools totaled \$225 million. Ultimately, charter school debt becomes taxpayer debt, since charter schools receive a per-pupil stipend from CPS to cover their facility and operations expenses.



The Chicago Public Schools logo. (WBEZ)

As the debt obligations of CPS grew, the district pursued financial fixes to address debt-driven budget shortfalls. CPS leadership contracted with banks to develop new, higher-risk speculative instruments around CPS debt, including variable rate bonds, auction rate bonds, credit swaps, and options. CPS officials were hoping to deliver a financial windfall for the public sector via these high-risk, high-reward instruments.

CPS made an unprecedented \$1.5 billion bet on bonds with high-risk floating interest rates. Traditional municipal bonds have a fixed interest rate for the term of the bond. In contrast, bonds with floating interest rates have rates of interest that rise or fall in relation to some agreed reference rate (frequently the LIBOR rate at which banks lend to one another). If interest rates fell below the traditional fixed interest rate bonds, CPS would capture significant savings. Yet if interest rates rose above that fixed interest rate, CPS would be obligated to pay more for their bonds than traditional bonds.

Then, in a gambit to protect CPS from the impact of interest rates falling, the district “hedged” their risk by buying \$1 billion worth of interest-rate swap derivatives from Bank of America, Goldman Sachs, Merrill Lynch, and Lehman Brothers.

When the 2007 financial crisis hit, the Federal Reserve reduced interest rates to 0.5 percent. CPS’s interest-rate swap agreements mandated the school district pay a higher fixed interest rate on their variable rate bonds to the investment banks holding the swaps, which only had to pay a little over 0.5 percent interest rate on the variable bond. The investment banks pocketed the difference between what CPS paid them and what they owed on the bond. The *Chicago Tribune* has shown that the variable rate bonds may have cost Chicago taxpayers \$100 million more than if the schools had borrowed the debt with more traditional fixed interest rate bonds.

Meanwhile, the same banks that were reaping windfall profits from CPS’s interest-rate swap disaster were also receiving federal bailout dollars. There was no bailout for CPS. The district had to pay a total of \$254 million in penalties to terminate all their associated swap contracts in order to refinance their underlying debt at the lower interest rates now

on offer. Since CPS revenues nose-dived during the crisis, they had to turn once again to the credit markets, to borrow money (at interest) from banks awash in government bailout dollars to pay those penalties.

CPS also sold option derivatives to the Royal Bank of Canada and Bank of America on its bonds, where the contract compelled CPS to issue debt if certain conditions occurred, like credit rating devaluations. In the wake of the financial crisis, CPS's bond rating fell below the rating needed to be in good standing for those options. In turn, the banks exercised their rights to make CPS issue another \$263 million in new debt in order to protect their investments.

Altogether, CPS's fling with exotic debt instruments cost the school system at least \$617 million. Since these payments were themselves largely debt financed, the people of Chicago, via the taxes paid to CPS, will end up paying Wall Street nearly \$1 billion on these losses.

Public Education Dispossession

Chicago Public Schools' school choice reform and financializing strategies have entrenched the public schools in a cycle of austerity. Tax cuts for the rich and retrenchment of federal and state government forced local governments into footing the bill for public goods and services under conditions of fiscal austerity. CPS overbuilt public schools through a high debt leverage funding strategy. This debt-driven oversupply of schools in an era of austerity pushed CPS to use risky financial instruments that then increased the debt burden of CPS.

The rising costs associated with building and operating redundant schools, growing debt service obligations, and the fling with high-risk exotic financial instruments produced recurrent fiscal crises. The response from the mayor and CPS leaders has been to embrace more austerity for the public schools, dispossessing Chicago residents of essential public education services.

“Chicago Public Schools’ school choice reform and financializing strategies have entrenched the public schools in a cycle of austerity.”

By the mid-2010s, the school system was anticipating annual half-billion-dollar deficits. With raising taxes off the table, CPS again cut its expenditures to close budget gaps. Since 10 percent of the district's general operations budget is locked into servicing debt, this portion of the budget is off-limits to cuts, requiring CPS to make even deeper cuts to the parts of the budget associated with frontline teaching and learning.

The district cut teaching and other student-facing education professional positions. Between 2010 and 2018, CPS reduced spending on teachers' salaries by \$421 million. In that same period, CPS's debt service payments increased by \$264 million, from \$387 million in 2010 to \$651 million in 2018. Ballooning debt service payments consumed the "savings" from downsizing the teaching labor force, effectively transferring revenue from Chicago's teachers to the investor class.

CPS starved school budgets, forcing individual schools to make repeated \$1 million cuts from their budgets. Things got so bad that schools held toilet paper drives to supply their schools. Other schools have packed forty kindergarteners into single classrooms and slashed arts, language, and other enriching but noncore curriculum. The most vulnerable students with learning disabilities were not spared, as \$40 million in supports was pulled out from under them.

Dispossession was largely racialized. In 2013, under the directive of Mayor Rahm Emanuel, CPS closed forty-nine schools with low enrollments, nearly 90 percent of which were in mostly black communities.



Protesters march in the Loop on March 27, 2013 during a rally to protest the proposed closing of 54 Chicago public schools. (WBEZ / Robin Amer via Flickr)

In contrast, the affluent (and mostly white) families who sent their kids to CPS were largely insulated from dispossession, thanks to activist parents' fundraising activities. According to CPS's Internal Accounts data, CPS schools raised a combined \$33 million from parent groups and "friends of" committees that hosted whimsical holiday craft markets, teacher bartender nights, and school spirit stores in 2018.

You can't blame wealthier parents for plugging the holes in their kids' budgets. But schools in poorer communities could not equally tap into parents' or charitable community members' pockets.

When cuts and closures proved insufficient to fill in the holes in the budget, CPS doubled down on its financialization strategy and issued another \$725 million bond to pay off one year's worth of debt service and short-term operation expenses in 2016. The district was forced to borrow at an onerous 8.5 percent interest rate, since its debt burden drove down its credit rating. The dependence on debt to pay for operating expenses sealed the conversion of CPS into a rent extraction machine for finance capital.

A New Era of Education Inequality

The two-prong strategy of market-based school choice reforms and education financialization pursued by CPS has created a new era of education inequality. Compelling public education to mimic a marketplace of competition has privileged the interests of elites and the affluent over and against the interests of the working-class majority, hollowing out mostly black and Latino communities' schools so that the district could roll out exclusive enrollment schools (disproportionately serving white professional-class families) and a wave of privately operated charter schools.

Education financialization is transforming the distributive role of public schools, from taxing the rich to fund public education, to borrowing money from the rich to pay for schools. CPS's strategy of education financialization turns schools into income streams for rent-seeking finance capital, which siphons public dollars out of classrooms and communities. Those dollars are then channeled into investors' portfolios. As the burden of debt grows, debt overhang is used by austerians as an alibi to further shrink the public sector by inflicting cuts on frontline teaching and learning.

Political leaders can continue to debt finance and grind public education into dust. Or they can change course and tax the rich to raise the revenue necessary to fund public K–12 education. Clearly, taxing the asset-owning rich is the better option than borrowing money from them (through the bond market) and paying them back with interest.

Taxing the rich to spend on universal, tuition-free, public K–12 education funds quality education for all children; reduces economic inequality, channeling revenue away from the rich and raising the social wage for the working class; and demonstrates the efficacy of providing goods and services via the more transparent, more accountable, and democratically planned public sector. If we don't tax the rich to pay for public goods and services, we'll be stuck in endless waves of austerity — and working-class students, parents, and educators will pay the price.

The author thanks Rachel Weber for her contributions to this piece.

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FILED UNDER

Mapping the Movement to Dismantle Public Education

BY

MOLLY GOTT / DEREK SEIDMAN

It's not just the Koch brothers: a state by state look at the forces driving school privatization.

The following was originally published by LittleSis.

The ongoing wave of teacher strikes across the US is changing the conversation about public education in this country. From West Virginia to Arizona, Kentucky to Oklahoma, Colorado to North Carolina, tens of thousands of teachers have taken to the streets and filled state capitals, garnering public support and racking up victories in some of the nation's most hostile political terrain.

Even though the teachers who have gone on strike are paid well below the national average, their demands have gone beyond better salary and benefits for themselves. They have also struck for their students' needs — to improve classroom quality and to increase classroom resources. Teachers are calling for greater investment in children and the country's public education system as a whole. They are also demanding that corporations, banks, and billionaires pay their fair share to invest in schools.

The teachers' strikes also represent a major pushback by public sector workers against the right-wing agenda of austerity and privatization. The austerity and privatization agenda for education goes something like this: impose big tax cuts for corporations and the .01 percent and then use declining tax revenue as a rationale to cut funding for state-funded services like public schools. Because they are underfunded, public schools cannot provide the quality education kids deserve. Then, the right wing criticizes public schools and teachers, saying there is a crisis in education. Finally, the right wing uses this as an opportunity to make changes to the education system that benefit them — including offering privatization as a solution that solves the crisis of underfunding.

While this cycle has put students, parents, and teachers in crisis, many corporations, banks, and billionaires are driving and profiting from it. The key forces driving the austerity and privatization agenda are similar across all the states that

have seen strikes:

- **Billionaire school privatizers.** A small web of billionaires — dominated by the Koch brothers and their donor network, as well as the Waltons — have given millions to state politicians who will push their pro-austerity, pro-school privatization agenda. These billionaires lead a coordinated, nationwide movement to apply business principles to education, including: promoting CEO-like superintendents, who have business experience but little or no education experience; closing “failing” schools, just as companies close unprofitable stores or factories; aggressively cutting costs, such as by recruiting less experienced teachers; instituting a market-based system in which public schools compete with privately managed charter schools, religious schools, for-profit schools, and virtual schools; and making standardized-test scores the ultimate measure of student success.
- **Regional corporate forces.** Major corporations in each state, often from the fossil fuel industry, are key drivers and beneficiaries of the pro-austerity, tax-cutting policies that have gutted school funding — and now they are opposing the teachers trying to fix the mess these corporations created. Many of these corporations also fund and lead charter schools (which can drain funding from traditional public schools), donate to pro-austerity/pro-education privatization school-board candidates, and advocate for policies like increased standardized testing, using inexperienced teachers to cut costs, and outsourcing school functions to private companies.
- **Koch-backed think tanks.** A slew of state-level front groups — many tied to the State Policy Network, a national network of think tanks funded by the Kochs, Mercers, Waltons, and other billionaires — serve as a key PR wing for the anti-teacher privatization agenda.

We put together the following list to begin identifying which corporate actors are driving and profiting from austerity in the states where teachers have gone on strike. For each state we asked: Who are the main power players? What banks or corporations are taking money out of the public budget? Who are the major donors to politicians who are slashing public education budgets while doling out big tax breaks to corporations? Which one-percenters are bankrolling education privatization?

This article lays out some information about the corporations, banks, and billionaires that teachers in Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia are up against. (We also include a table at the end that shows the biggest corporate beneficiaries of public subsidies).

Arizona’s Koch-funded Gov. Ducey and corporate-backed Arizona Education Project

In Arizona, top individual tax rates have plummeted from 7 percent to 4.54 percent since 1990, and revenue from corporate income taxes have been more than halved in the past decade, dropping from \$986 million in 2007 to \$368

million in 2017. This austerity agenda has cut funding per student by nearly a fifth over the past decade — from \$4,949 in 2008 to \$4,157 in 2018.

Arizona governor Doug Ducey is a longtime Koch ally and a big proponent of school privatization. The Koch brothers poured \$1.4 million into Ducey's 2014 gubernatorial run, and he recently headlined a Koch donor retreat. Ducey's chief of staff used to be president of the Koch-funded Americans for Responsible Leadership. Last year, ALEC hosted a luncheon for a third of Arizona's GOP state legislators, and Rep. Debbie Lesko is an ALEC member.

The Koch donor network also funds the Goldwater Institute, Arizona's anti-teacher SPN affiliate. Trump backer Rebekah Mercer is on the Goldwater board, and a former Ducey official now heads up the Institute. Today, Arizona has proportionally more charter school students than any other state, and ALEC puts Arizona at the top of its Report Card on American Education. Furthermore, the Walton Foundation has funneled a whopping \$4,294,000 (and possibly more) to pro-charter forces in Arizona since 2009 (more on the Waltons below).

Arizona corporations fund the Arizona Education Project, which spent more than \$1 million on pro-Ducey education ads before the teachers' strike. AEP is backed by the Arizona Chamber of Commerce, the Service Group of America (a private food-service company), and Pinnacle West Capital, the parent company of Arizona Public Service, the state's largest electric utility. Pinnacle West has poured big money into Arizona politics — top executives have already given Ducey over \$130,000 for his 2018 run, not to mention millions of dollars in dark money that APS has put in play in other elections. Pinnacle supported Ducey during his 2014 campaign — its CEO even chaired Ducey's inauguration committee. Both Pinnacle and Service Group of America have ties to the Koch network.

Oklahoma's pro-austerity fossil fuel industry and Koch-backed Gov. Mary Fallin

Since 2004, Oklahoma has cut the top personal income tax rate from 6.65 percent to 5 percent, abolished the estate tax, and exempted capital-gains income from being taxed — all while the state faced a billion-dollar budget shortfall.

The fossil fuel industry drives the state's austerity agenda. Three companies — Devon Energy, Chesapeake Energy, and Continental Resources, whose CEO Harold Hamm is worth \$18.8 billion — succeeded in getting an ultra-low tax rate of just 2 percent on new drilling wells for the first three years of operations. In 2015 alone this amounted to a \$470 million subsidy for the industry. All told, general funds are down 35 percent in Oklahoma since 2006. Meanwhile, spending on students has dropped 28 percent per pupil since 2008, and teacher salaries are ranked forty-eighth in the nation.

Oklahoma governor Mary Fallin has close ties to the Koch network. She received an award from ALEC in 2013, spoke at an ALEC summit in 2008, and has been an ALEC "Legislator of the Year." The Koch-backed SPN has three affiliates and associates in Oklahoma — the Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs, the 1889 Institute, and the EFoundation. The EFoundation's advisory council includes Todd Lamb, the current Lieutenant Governor, and oil and gas industry billionaires like T. Boone Pickens. The head of the 1889 Institute used to be at the Goldwater Institute, and many staff from the OCPA have ties to the Koch donor network-backed web of think tanks.

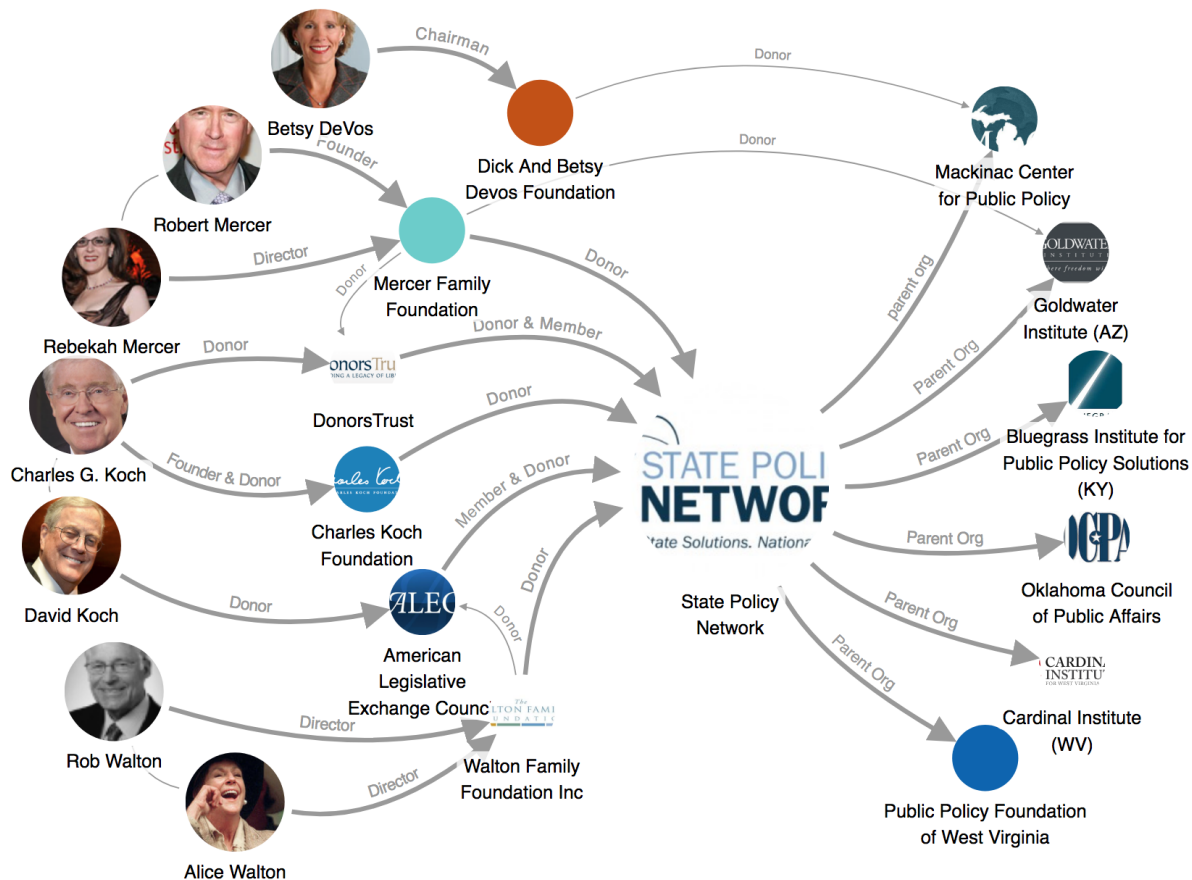
Nor is it just SPN affiliates pushing the privatization agenda in Oklahoma — billionaire charter school pusher Eli Broad has been a key backer of school privatization there.

West Virginia's coal barons push tax cuts that gut school funding

West Virginia has steadily slashed corporate taxes since 2006. It cut its corporate net income tax rate from 9 percent to 6.5 percent and phased out its business franchise tax. The West Virginia Center on Budget and Policy estimates that these and other cuts have gutted state revenue by more than \$425 million a year. Because of this, funding per student has dropped 11 percent in West Virginia since 2008, and teacher salaries are ranked forty-ninth in the nation.

Oil, gas, and coal dominate West Virginia and are key pushers of austerity. For example, Bob Murray — CEO of Murray Energy, the state's largest coal company — pushed hard for cuts to the state's severance tax on oil, gas and coal companies (the state legislature passed a 40 percent cut to the severance tax in 2016). Murray has been a major GOP donor — in 2014 alone, he spent \$250,000 trying to get Republican lawmakers elected. Current Governor Jim Justice is a coal baron — and the state's only billionaire — who owes \$15 million on taxes even though he's received \$379,799 in public subsidies.

The Koch-backed SPN has two affiliates in West Virginia — the Cardinal Institute and the Public Policy Foundation of West Virginia. The Cardinal Institute's leaders have ties to other billionaire-backed groups like Americans for Tax Reform and the Center for Individual Freedom. Its social media profile steadily pushes school privatization and it has made the rounds in the Virginia media, writing op-eds with titles like "Teacher pay system institutionalizes mediocrity."



In Kentucky, the Koch brothers and coal industry have systematically defunded public education

In Kentucky, Governor Matt Bevin has pushed tax cuts for corporations and the ultra-wealthy and cuts to public services since he took office in 2015. A *Lexington Herald-Leader* investigation found that Kentucky gives away \$13 billion in tax expenditures (a mix of accumulated tax breaks, tax credits, and incentive payments involving tax money) every year — more than the state collects. In the early 2000s, subsidiaries of the now-bankrupt coal giant Peabody Energy received \$266 million in tax subsidies from Kentucky. Amazon has received \$111 million in tax subsidies from the state.

Who has helped drive these cuts to education and corporate tax giveaways? The Koch brothers and the coal industry.

Even though Governor Bevin wasn't the Koch's first choice for Kentucky governor, he has loyally pushed the billionaire donor network's agenda. Bevin recently spoke at a Koch donor retreat, and the Koch-backed American for Prosperity praised his new work requirements for Medicaid recipients. Americans for Prosperity has orchestrated the systematic defunding of Kentucky's public education system — it has played an integral role in bringing charter schools to Kentucky and advocated for tax cuts for the ultra-wealthy that rob Kentucky's schools of desperately needed revenue.

In Kentucky, the coal industry has extracted natural resources and community wealth from the state for decades. One of the most powerful men in Kentucky is billionaire coal magnate Joe Craft, CEO of Alliance Resources. Craft and his wife Kelly Knight Craft are two of Bevin's biggest supporters. While Bevin was running for governor, they hosted a private event to introduce him to the biggest Republican donors in the state. Once Bevin won, the couple chaired his inauguration fundraising committee.

Craft also chairs the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, which has again and again advocated for tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy that have left Kentucky's schools underfunded. Craft has also emerged as an outspoken Trump supporter. He gave \$1 million to the Trump inauguration committee and "sat front and center as the president signed an executive order and declared the 'war on coal' over."

In Colorado, billionaires Philip Anschutz and Charles Ergen, oil and gas companies, and Wells Fargo avoid taxes to keep schools underfunded, while advocating for privatized education

Out of the forty-four states that levy a corporate income tax, Colorado ranks the third lowest. The state has doled out at least \$732 million in tax subsidies to corporations over the past ten years. The single largest subsidy, worth \$300 million, went to Starwood Property Trust, the largest commercial mortgage Real Estate Investment Trust in the United States. Starwood is run by billionaire Barry Sternlicht, whose investment empire includes single-family rental homes and Westin Hotels.

Teachers in the state are supporting a ballot initiative that would fund public education by raising taxes on corporations and people earning more than \$150,000. The ballot initiative would certainly ensure that Colorado's eleven billionaires and other wealthiest residents pay their fair share to fund the state's public education system. These billionaires include Philip Anschutz, the fossil fuel and real estate billionaire who is worth \$13 billion; Charles Ergen, the DISH Network Chairman who is worth \$13.4 billion; and Kent Thiry, the politically active CEO of DaVita Healthcare.

Anschutz and his family have spent hundreds of thousands in campaign contributions to elect state legislators and school-board members, while also financing charter schools in the region, including KIPP:Colorado. Thiry has spent over \$75,500 in school board elections, while DaVita executives have influential positions at organizations including KIPP:Colorado and Colorado Succeeds, an organization for businesses aiming to transform Colorado's education system.

Similarly to other states on this list, Colorado's oil and gas industry has played a central role in defunding education. It has successfully campaigned for deregulation and low tax rates, spending more than \$80 million over the past four years to influence ballot initiatives, elections, and public opinion. In 2016, BP won a court ruling that amounted to an estimated \$100 million tax refund to oil and gas companies across the state.

Anadarko Petroleum and Noble Energy, the top energy producers in the state, have been major donors to the pro-corporate agenda in Colorado. The two companies have spent over \$22 million combined in campaign contributions — primarily to various pro-business ballot initiatives and Republican candidates — at the state level. Anadarko and Noble are also leaders in several corporate trade organizations, including the Colorado Association of Commerce and Industry, the Metro Denver Chamber of Commerce, and Colorado Concern. These corporate trade groups have advocated for keeping taxes low for corporations and the ultra-wealthy, as well as leaving corporate-tax loopholes intact, while simultaneously promoting education privatization and charter school expansion.

Wells Fargo, Colorado's biggest bank, Xcel Energy, the state's largest utility, and Molson Coors are also driving forces behind the Colorado Association of Commerce and Industry and the Metro Denver Chamber of Commerce. Wells Fargo saved \$3.35 billion in taxes last year due to the federal tax-reform bill — even as it avoided paying taxes in Colorado that could help fund public services.

The Walton Family also has Colorado ties. Nationally, the Walton Family Foundation has been one of the biggest funders of charter schools and education privatization. The foundation estimates that it has provided startup funds to one out of every four charters in the country. The foundation also funds the State Policy Network (mentioned above). In 2016, it announced a \$1 billion initiative to expand charter school and other choice initiatives even more over five years. In 2016 alone, the Walmart Family Foundation provided \$60,000 to the Colorado League of Charter Schools, \$250,000 to education privatization organization Colorado Succeeds, and at least \$100,000 to KIPP:Colorado.

While many of the Waltons live in California and Arkansas, Denver has its very own Walton family heir — Ben Walton, a board member at the Walton Family Foundation. Of course, Walmart is also a major beneficiary of the decades-long strategy to cut corporate taxes.

North Carolina's billionaires collaborate to push privatization

North Carolina has implemented some of the most aggressive tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy in the entire US, and it's home to some of the most aggressive right-wing and school privatization forces in the country as well.

Similar to teachers in other states, North Carolina teachers are making demands to reverse the crisis created by these corporate forces and their austerity agenda. These demands include a rise in per-pupil spending, \$1.9 billion to fix crumbling schools and large class sizes, an end to corporate tax cuts until per-pupil spending and teacher pay reach the national average, and hundreds of new nurses, social workers, and counselors.

North Carolina teacher pay ranks thirty-ninth in the nation, and teachers have experienced a 9.4 percent decline in real income since 2009. Whereas the national average of per-pupil spending is \$11,642, it is significantly less in North Carolina at only \$9,329. Moreover, as we discuss below, corporate school-privatization advocates have succeeded to reallocating public education funds into the coffers of private and charter schools.

This defunding of public education is the product of one of the deepest waves of tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy in the entire US. These tax cuts have benefited big businesses and the super-rich tremendously — the top 1 percent of North Carolinians have received more than a one-third of the money from the tax cuts — but gutted state revenues for public services like schools.

In 2013, the GOP-dominated North Carolina state legislature approved a plan that cut corporate taxes from 6.9 percent to just 3 percent by 2017. According to the *Denver Post*, this is the lowest corporate tax rate in the nation — though still not low enough for North Carolina plutocrats and conservatives, who are lowering it even more next year to 2.5 percent. In addition to this, the personal tax rate, which taxed the wealthiest at 7.75 percent, was turned into a 5.75 percent flat tax, which was lowered again to 5.49 percent in 2017 and it set to fall to 5.25 percent in 2019. On top of all this, North Carolina abolished its estate tax while boosting sales taxes on things that would disproportionately hit working people, like car repairs.

These tax cuts have devastated state revenues that go into funding services like public schools. In 2017, the North Carolina Justice Center wrote that tax cuts from 2013 to 2017 would result in \$3.5 billion less revenue than before the tax cuts were implemented (at most, economic growth in the state made up for only about one-third of these losses). Meanwhile, the North Carolina Legislature's Fiscal Research Division projects a budget shortfall of at least \$1.2 billion in 2019, which is 5 percent of the total state budget.

As a result of all this, real spending on per-pupil spending is down, and there are 10,000 fewer public teachers in the state. According to the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, since 2009–2010 state funding for textbooks has declined 45 percent, funding for supplies and materials has declined 55 percent, and funding for technology in schools has declined 59 percent. Earlier this month, the State Board of Education pleaded with state leaders to hold off on a \$5 million cut to the school budget planned for July, which comes on top of another \$3 million cut last year.

As mentioned, this damaging agenda of tax cuts and public school defunding has been driven by powerful corporate forces and their far-right allies. A key player has been Art Pope, a multimillionaire who is the founder and CEO of Variety Wholesalers, a chain of hundreds of discount stores based in North Carolina. Pope's net worth is unclear — he denies that he's a billionaire, though he has spent tens of millions on state politics and a 2011 story said his family foundation may have \$150 million in assets.

Pope has bankrolled the conservative austerity agenda in North Carolina as well as reactionary causes like HB2, the so-called "Bathroom Bills" that discriminated against transgender people. He has spent at least \$55 million on conservative think tanks and advocacy groups — and this number is from 2014. After throwing millions into pushing a far-right agenda in North Carolina, then-Governor Pat McCrory even made Pope his budget director — quite literally letting this big donor become a major architect of the state's austerity agenda (Pope's political donations stopped when he was in government, but they shot back up when he left the position in late 2014).

Pope is a key player in the same donor network as the Koch brothers. He is a funder of American for Prosperity (which he gave \$215,000 to in 2015–2016) and dozens of other far-right, billionaire-backed groups that push the austerity and privatization agenda. In particular, Pope bankrolls a slew of State Policy Network (SPN) affiliates and associates. The SPN is an astroturf network of think tanks that pushes school privatization and has issued guidelines — that were leaked to the media — on how to discredit striking teachers. North Carolina SPN affiliates and associates include the John Locke Foundation, the Civitas Institute, and the Jesse Helms Center. Pope gave these three groups a combined \$3,836,000 in 2015–2016, and the John Locke Foundation and Civitas Institute in particular have been big opponents of teachers, publishing a stream of anti-teacher, pro-school privatization articles in the lead up to North Carolina teachers' actions. (The Civitas Institute also created a repugnant database of those arrested in Moral Monday protests that included their mugshots).

While Pope has been a big driver of North Carolina's far-right austerity and privatization agenda, other corporate forces have pushed and benefited from that same agenda. One big player is Duke Energy, a major fossil fuel and utilities corporation based in North Carolina. The board chair of the North Carolina Chamber of Commerce, David Foundation, is the North Carolina president of Duke Energy, and Duke is one of the Chamber's foundation investors. Pat McCrory, who was governor when the state legislature passed its huge tax cuts, and who appointed Art Pope as his budget director, worked at Duke Energy for twenty-eight years prior to entering politics. McCrory hosted a private dinner with Duke CEO Lynn Good and other Duke executives at the Governor's mansion in 2015. Good is widely seen as one of the most powerful people in the state. In the past, Duke has been tied to the state's school privatization movement.

Two of North Carolina's four billionaires, Jim Goodnight and John Sall, co-founded and are top executives of SAS, a business analytics software vendor based in the state. Goodnight and Sall together are worth almost \$15 billion. Goodnight and former Governor McCrory are friends, and Goodnight is a big political big donor and is viewed as influential in North Carolina politics.

Other major corporations with their headquarters in North Carolina include Bank of America and Nucor. Corporations in North Carolina have also benefited from close to \$5.5 billion in subsidies, most of it since 2008, according to Good Jobs First. The biggest beneficiaries of corporate tax subsidies include Apple (which has received over \$360 million in subsidies), Dell (which has received over \$303 million in subsidies), and Fidelity Investments (which has received over \$105 million in tax subsidies).

These corporate forces that have benefited from North Carolina's huge tax cuts have also created conditions for the state to become a laboratory for school privatization. A leader of Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina, or PEFNC — a big beneficiary of Walmart money with ties to Betsy DeVos, which we discuss below — remarked that “you'd be hard-pressed to find another state that has done so much in education reform.” One big thing that has paved the way for this school privatization has been the rise of vouchers — with different titles like Disabilities Grant, Opportunity Scholarship, Education Savings Account — that have channeled public revenue away from public schools and into the private and charter school system.

The Waltons — heirs to the Walmart fortune — have intervened in North Carolina to push school privatization (Walmart is also the biggest private employer in North Carolina). Since 2009 the Walton Foundation has channelled a whopping \$4,635,000 to PEFNC. In February, PEFNC's president left the organization to become national director for state teams and political strategy for the American Federation for Children (AFC) — the school-privatization advocacy group that was founded by Betsy DeVos. The AFC funded the PEFNC while DeVos was in charge of it.

As the Waltons' actions show, the school privatization push in North Carolina gets a lot of money from out of state. Another example of this is Oregon multimillionaire John D. Bryan, who runs a charter school network with thirteen

schools in North Carolina. Bryan threw \$600,000 into North Carolina politics to ultimately help pass a law allowing for the takeover of low-performing schools in the state. Now, Bryan's charter network, TeamCFA, is being recommended to partner on the takeover of several schools.

Strike Against Austerity and Privatization

As all this shows, striking teachers across the US are taking on some powerful forces — the billionaires and corporations that are driving austerity, propping up far-right politicians, and pushing school privatization. The strikes may be occurring in different states, but they all face similar corporate forces and a similar agenda that is the source of the chronic underfunding of public education. Teachers get this — and it's part of the reason their demands have gone well beyond things like (well-deserved) pay raises and protection of benefits. As the teachers' fight continues, it will be important to continue to identify and map out the key corporate players behind austerity and school privatization — so as to better challenge their damaging agenda.

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FILED UNDER

UNITED STATES

EDUCATION / RICH PEOPLE / CONSERVATISM

PRIVATIZATION / 2018 TEACHERS' STRIKES

The House of Injustice Stands on Pillars of Support

The diagram consists of a large triangle representing the roof, with its base at the top of a rectangular structure. This rectangular structure is divided into seven equal-width vertical columns, each representing a pillar of support. The entire structure is outlined with a black border.

For the issue that you select – Who are the powerholders? Write the name(s) in the “roof” of the House of Injustice. Now, name each of the “pillars of support” - the institutions and organizations that help the powerholders to sustain power. Within each pillar, identify if you think it can be won over or at least neutralized. If possible, add some thinking about HOW you might do that.

Pillars of Support Content

Summary Definition: Power stems not just from a ruler's ability to use force, but from the consent and cooperation of the ruled, which can be voluntarily and nonviolently withdrawn by identifying, targeting and undermining the ruler's "pillars of support" — the institutions and organizations that sustain its power.

Origins: Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Robert Helvey

Conventional wisdom tells us that power resides in the hands of those at the top, and that when push comes to shove, "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," as Mao famously said. If so, then the only way to defeat a violent opponent is through the use of even greater violence.

At the root of all nonviolent action, however, is a different understanding of the nature of power — one that flips this conventional wisdom on its head. This understanding posits that power is ultimately dependent on the cooperation and obedience of large numbers of people acting through the institutions that constitute the state. These are its pillars of support.

Some of these pillars, such as the military, the police and the courts, are coercive in nature, compelling obedience through force or the threat thereof, while other pillars, like the media, education system and religious institutions, support the system through their influence over culture and popular opinion. Hence, the power of even the most charismatic or ruthless leader is contingent upon the support of key institutions, themselves vulnerable to popular action or withdrawal of consent from the general population.

Once people decide they no longer accept the status quo and begin to resist, the balance of power shifts. For example, when millions of Americans participated in the successful five-year national boycott of grapes led by Cesar Chavez to improve the pay and workers conditions of exploited farm workers; when tens of thousands of activists effectively shut down the World Trade Organization gathering in Seattle in 1999 by blocking the streets and entrances to the convention center; when thousands of U.S. soldiers refuse to deploy or redeploy to the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan, the power of the powerful is constrained, and can, in extreme situations, disintegrate entirely.

For activists, the key takeaway lesson of the pillars of support concept is to identify a ruling target's pillars of support, determine which can be won over and how, and then set about working to win over, or at least neutralize, those pillars of support, so that the foundation that sustains the target begins to crumble.

Power ultimately rests not in the grip of presidents, generals and billionaires, but in the hands of millions of ordinary people who keep society running smoothly on a day-to-day basis, and who can shut it down should they so choose. This is the meaning of the slogan people power. One of the principle reasons that so many injustices persist is not that the powerful can simply do whatever they want with impunity, but because most people are ignorant of the power they can wield by withdrawing their consent.

<https://beautifultrouble.org/theory/pillars-of-support/>

Teacher Unions and Social Justice



Day 3 Handouts

Outcomes:

- What are strategies that allow us to win?
- What are the key ideas this book outlines?
- What are we going to do when we go home?

Social Justice Unionism Organizing Strategy Readiness Assessment

To determine readiness for using a Social Justice Unionism Organizing Strategy, locals should assess and reflect on four categories: general readiness and landscape, community/parent relationships, internal organizing capacity, and bargaining status. For each of the four categories below rate each readiness descriptors with a 1-4 in the small boxes, then use the larger box to do a brief SWOT reflection.

1 – Not yet

2 – Basic Understanding and Planning

3 – Emerging Implementation

4 – In Place and Proven

1. General Readiness and Landscape:

- ☐ How interested is your affiliate in using a Social Justice Organizing Strategy? Is there buy-in from the key players (Leadership, board, staff)?
- ☐ Has the affiliate addressed the change in this structure and workload with the UD staff?
- ☐ What is the local public sentiment towards unions and worker issues?
- ☐ What is the relationship like with the local administration? School Board? Elected officials? Business? Community?
- ☐ *In what ways does the local currently frame racial justice in their work? (See Three Frames of Unionism for Guidance)*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

3. Internal organizing capacity:

- ☐ How many members and potential members?
- ☐ What are membership trends?
- ☐ Who are the decision-makers in the affiliate? State leadership, board, local leadership, UDs, bargaining team?

- ☐ What distributive leadership structures does the affiliate currently use? Building reps, building action teams, community liaisons, bargaining team, social justice teams, etc. (Refer to Dunbar's Number as you do an honest assessment of your leader to member ratios in each worksite)
- ☐ How has the affiliate sought buy-in from the membership for focusing on social justice issues?
- ☐ Do members readily take action as part of their union?
- ☐ Are members participating in all levels of organizing not just the actions? (planning, designing, leading, etc)
- ☐ Are individual buildings, or the local as a whole, running issue campaigns around worksite issues?
- ☐ Have leaders and staff in the affiliate been trained in organizing conversations/relational organizing?
- ☐ *Does the local or state affiliate have an advertising budget for the campaign?*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

2. Community/parent relationships:

- ☐ Is the affiliate part of a coalition? (Is this ALREADY formed and do you support those partners in their actions?)
- ☐ Has the affiliate mapped their local community organizations and ties?
- ☐ What is the nature of their parent and community relationships and coalitions? (Informal or formal, designated liaisons, etc.)
- ☐ Are the community partners interested in a Common Good strategy, or attending a meeting/training?
- ☐ *Are community partner spokespeople identified? Media trained and/or experienced with media?*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

4. Bargaining Affiliates:

- ☐ Do the laws in this state facilitate open bargaining, or have any other limits to flexibility with bargaining teams? (not necessarily a deal-breaker, but helpful to know).
- ☐ Does the law allow for the ability to strike upon contract expiration? If not, what possibilities do exist for potential job action?
- ☐ How much has the affiliate moved towards student-centered advocacy?
- ☐ Do you do open bargaining and/or large, representative bargaining teams?
- ☐ Do you have community partners in bargaining?
- ☐ What stage are you in the contract cycle? *Expiration date?*
- ☐ *How did or will you determine bargaining priorities?*
- ☐ *Do you have anyone focused on the communications for bargaining effort? Staff or volunteer comms coordinators? Does this person work on media outreach, member materials, spokespeople training, community outreach?*

For this category – what are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

4. Non - Bargaining Affiliates:

- ☐ Do the laws in your state allow you to bargain at the local level ? or is bargaining not permitted?
- ☐ How does your union secure and define worker rights? School Boards? Legislature? What are the laws regarding this level of advocacy and policy development?
- ☐ Does the law allow for the ability to strike? If not, what possibilities do exist for potential job action?
- ☐ How much has the affiliate moved towards student-centered advocacy?
- ☐ How much experience has your local had with large, ongoing, public worker actions?
- ☐ Do you have community partners that share in securing worker rights?
- ☐ *How do you determine organizing or advocacy priorities?*
- ☐ *Do you have anyone focused on the communications for organizing efforts? Staff or volunteer communications coordinators? Does this person work on media outreach, member materials, spokespeople training, community outreach?*

For this category – what are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

Structure Tests

From Jane McAlevey’s *A Collective Bargain: Unions, Organizing, and the Fight for Democracy* (2020). Reprinted with permission from the author. (See Inouye, p. 252 and Schirmer, p. 227.)

UNIONWIDE STRUCTURE TEST	DATE	IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURE TEST
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Each of these was done by hand, face-to-face, across 900 schools. They were carried out by teacher leaders under the guidance of staff organizers. Each test helps the leadership understand where they are strong and where they are weak, which helps to prioritize their efforts.

Regional rallies in the contract that had expired in 2011	November 2014	Used an “I’ll be there” sign-up sheet in the weeks before these smaller regional rallies, as they planned their first big citywide rally set for early 2015. This was the contract the new leadership inherited: the people who lost the election had been negotiating it for more than three years.
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Organizing for February 2016 Stand Up citywide rally for the 2011 contract	January 2015	Launched a campaign-commitment card with check boxes of what people were willing to do: school-site picketing, parent outreach, attend a downtown rally in February 2015, boycott faculty meetings, protest testing, and strike if necessary.
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Stand Up rally at Grand Park, escalating to citywide	February 2015	15,000 union members attended, making it the largest action since the 1989 strike
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The teachers win big, a 10 percent raise (the first raise in 10 years), finally settling the 2011 contract and demonstrating to members that the new methods of organizing work.

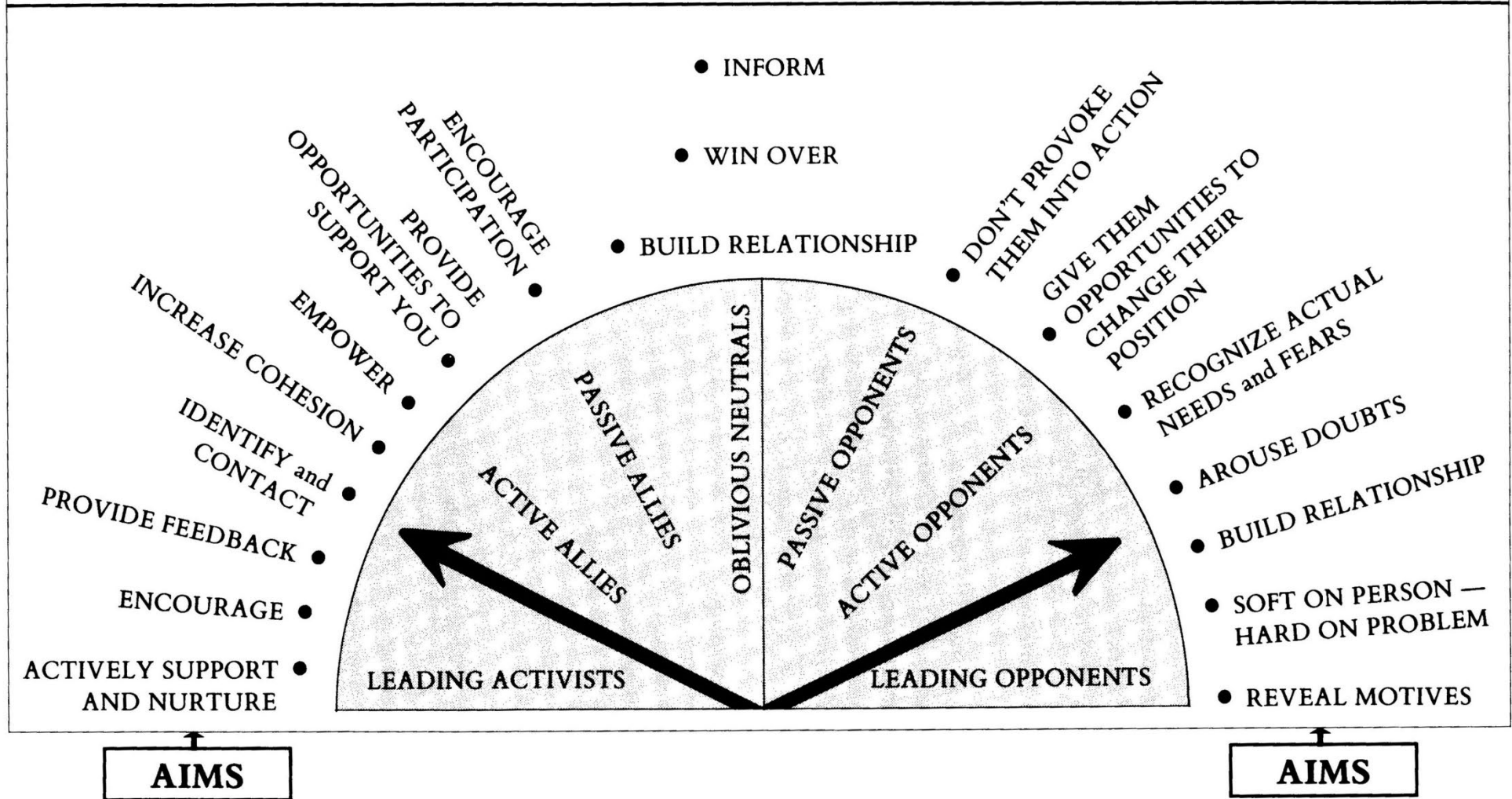
UNIONWIDE STRUCTURE TEST	DATE	IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURE TEST
Launch I'll Vote Yes to Build the Future, Fund the Fight	Fall 2015	More than half of the members of the union signed a public petition saying they would vote yes to increase their dues, which they framed as Build the Future, Fund the Fight.
Membership-wide union election to allow the rank-and-file members to vote to increase dues	February 2016	A majority of members actually participate in the ballot, with 83 percent voting yes. Like most union elections, as with most American elections, traditionally only a minority vote. But UTLA was determined to have real union democracy, with an important question going to the members, and they achieved more than 50 percent turnout.
School site-based rallies for health insurance	Fall 2017	Health benefit negotiations took place parallel to the overall contract bargaining (with a coalition of LAUSD unions), because nonteachers and teachers alike negotiate insurance benefits at the same time.
All In launches and ratification of healthcare contract	February 2018	Because the union anticipated that the right wing would prevail in the <i>Janus</i> Supreme Court case, it planned ahead and had the entire membership sign new cards with language the court would stipulate.
4 Questions petition launch	April 2018	This petition asked members about their willingness to take four actions, indicated by hand checks on boxes and their signature.
All-In for Respect rally	May 2018	12,000 members turn out at Grand Park rally
Strike vote	August 2018	84 percent turn out and participate, 98 percent vote yes.
I Will Strike petition	Fall 2018	More than 75 percent sign.

SOCIAL BAROMETER

* WHERE DO OTHERS STAND ON YOUR ISSUE? Identify Individuals and Groups

* WHAT ARE YOUR AIMS WITH EACH?

ARE YOUR TACTICS CONSISTENT WITH THESE AIMS?



I wish to acknowledge inspiration from David H. Albert: "People Power — Applying Non Violence Theory" New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, PA, 1985.

Worksheet: Spectrum of Allies Segments

1. **Active Allies:**

You believe you can already count on them to help you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – you tactics will need to find ways to engage your allies even more actively in working with you toward your goal.

2. **Passive Allies:**

You think they have the same interest, investment or need to solve the problem as you do, and may be close to agreeing with you about your vision, but perhaps may not be able or willing to actively or overtly support you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum - your tactics will need to help move them to the “*active ally*” position; increasing their interest and willingness to be active.

3. **Neutral:**

These are people, organizations, institutions that may not know about the problem; may not know about you and your work; have no particular investment in the problem.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – your tactics will need to find ways to inform or educate them about the problem and your position in order to move them to a “*passive ally*” position. Examine your tactics to be sure you will not move them toward your opponent’s position.

4. **Passive Opponents:**

These are people, organizations, institutions that you think have some interests that would be opposed to your vision; they may have relationships with people who are actively opposed to you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – your tactics will need to create doubt about their position, raise fears that their position may be “costly” to them in some way. You want your tactics to move them to a “neutral” position and NOT to an active opponent position.

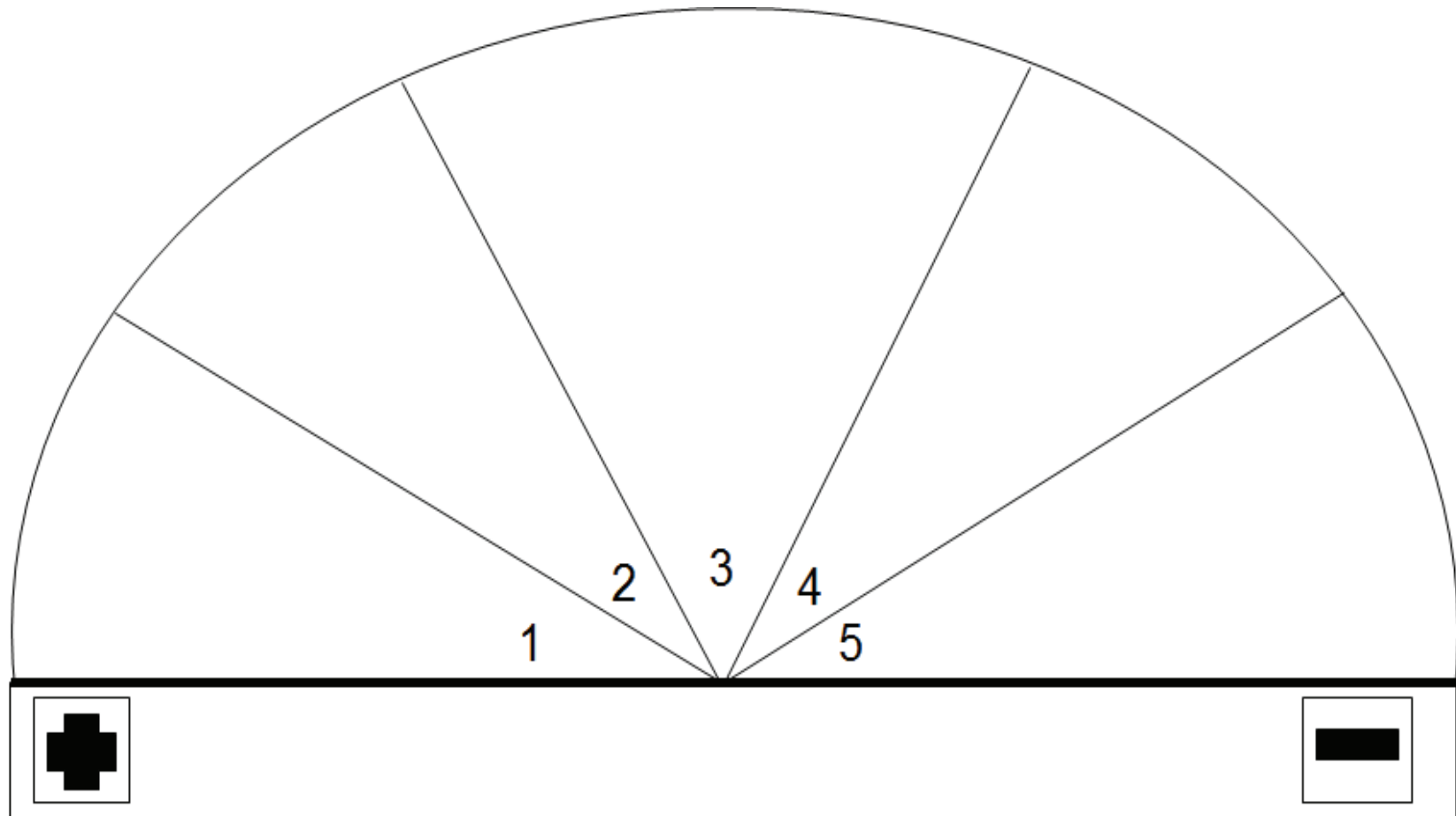
5. **Active Opponents:**

These are people, organizations, institutions that have a big investment in opposing your position (related to power, position, finances, relationships, etc.).

If your target is located in this area of the spectrum – your tactic goal would need to put them into a great dilemma, that any action they would take against you would be very “costly” to them. Your tactic goal would be to move them into a “*passive opponent*” position.



Problem Statement: _____



Source: Original Source – Training for Change (www.trainingforchange.org) and adapted into five segments by New Tactics in Human Rights.

New Tactics in Human Rights is a program of **The Center for Victims of Torture**

www.newtactics.org • www.cvt.org

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5 Steps for Launching Your Community Outreach and Engagement Program



Strong partnerships between educators and parents and the community are among the greatest needs in public education today. Affiliates across the country are turning this obstacle into an opportunity to improve student outcomes. Thanks to outreach and engagement of educators, parents, and the community, they've dismantled toxic testing, reduced class size and invested in—rather than close—struggling schools. In the process, they're discovering a new path toward Association leadership and activism and securing important wins for students, educators and the greater common good.

Follow these five steps to build partnerships with the community:

1. LINK ENGAGEMENT GOALS TO AFFILIATE GOALS.

Consider your organizational goals. Increasing membership. Getting ESSA right in your district. Fighting privatization. Have conversations with key people within the Association—UniServ, ARs, the Board—about how those goals could benefit from the Association having ongoing mutually supportive relationships with other groups and individuals in the community.

The bottom line: community outreach and engagement is not a separate body of work, but a smart strategy that should be integrated into all we do!

2. GET MEMBERS INVOLVED.

Members aren't just educators. They're coaches and customers. Parishioners and party activists. Neighbors and volunteers. When it comes to building your outreach and engagement program that makes them a great place to start. Don't forget our ESPs tend to live where they work and retired members possess gifts of experience and time—assets to be leveraged. From surveys on where they live, play, and pray to establishing a "Community Connections" committee, an outreach and engagement program builds bridges to two key constituencies: the community and members! Use this as an engagement tool that meets an important need of members, while also allowing them to get connected and stay connected to their Association.

3. MAP YOUR COMMUNITY.

To engage the community you must understand the community. Who are the organizations touching the concerns of students, educators and public schools? What agencies and groups are respected for doing good work? Go beyond the usual suspects to influencers like entertainment, businesses and media figures that enjoy grassroots respect and loyalty. How are your leaders, members and staff connected? Lastly, make sure your community engagement looks like your community. Diversity across geographic, racial, ethnic, and socio-economic lines is essential.

4. KNOW YOUR REPUTATION.

Two prevailing narratives: the union as the obstacle or the union as the opportunist equals long-standing skepticism. Whether a result of reformers' dirty tactics or because the Association hasn't been visible since the last funding fight, an honest assessment about how others in the community see us is first step toward building trust. Just as your community is not monolithic, your reputation probably won't be either. As a reflective exercise, knowing our strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats can be instructive on who to outreach—and how to engage and even navigate challenges.

5. REACH OUT. ENGAGE. CONNECT.

Look to the current priorities and upcoming events of community groups for ways to kick start engagement. Schedule coffee and LISTEN to ideas on how the Association could partner. Get on e-mail lists and use social media to like, follow and show support. Offer space and other resources of the Association. Invite the community in by adding parent, community and even student elements to Association events. But make it FUN, sitting through a long policy meeting is not the way to build a relationship.

For more information, contact CAPE Senior Policy Specialist Stacey Grissom at sgrissom@nea.org.

Overview of Coalitions

In situations where issues are too large and complex for a single organization to address, a coalition of groups and individuals working together may be the solution. A coalition can develop a coordinated response to an issue, increase the efficiency of service delivery, pool community resources, create and launch community-wide initiatives, build and wield political clout to influence policy, and work effectively toward long-term social change.

Coalitions may form in response to:

- Significant or disturbing community events
- New information
- Changes in circumstances or regulations
- The availability of funding
- An outside threat to the community
- The need to create significant change in the community

Whatever the reason, coalitions can only form when the possibility - in the form of mutual trust and a perceived need - exists. They should encompass all stakeholders - those affected by the work of the coalition and by the issue it addresses - as well as community opinion leaders, policy makers, and community members at large.

To start a coalition, it's best to begin with a core group and work outward, pulling in the necessary members mentioned above, as well as a more general membership from the community and from other, more peripherally-involved organizations. Holding an exciting first meeting at which there are real accomplishments and/or the work of the coalition is set in motion will help to launch the enterprise successfully.

Even more important is following up before the second meeting to make sure that groups are doing the work they said they would do, that attendance won't fall off, and that new members will be added. Areas that must be addressed are

- An agreed-upon definition of the issue or problem the coalition is addressing
- The creation of vision and mission statements
- The development of an action plan
- The design of a structure for the coalition
- The need for professional staff
- Resources

Finally, you have to continue to pay attention to some general rules for forming and running a coalition:

- Communicate openly and freely with everyone.
- Be inclusive and participatory
- Network at every opportunity
- Set reachable goals, in order to engender success
- Hold creative meetings
- Be realistic about what you can do: don't promise more than you can accomplish, and always keep your promises
- Acknowledge and use the diversity of the group

A coalition can be a powerful force for positive change in a community. If you can form one that lasts and addresses the issues it was meant to, you've done a major piece of community building work.

Online Resources

[Coalition Building](#) is a brief outline by Skipp Porteous, aimed specifically at forming coalitions to oppose the Religious Right.

[Coalition Building](#). A brief but useful coalition-building outline from the Gay Straight Alliance.

[Coalition Leadership](#) by Tom Wolff offers a series of tips on building coalitions.

[Community Partners, Inc.](#), a Massachusetts-based coalition-building organization. Links and publications.

[Consultation on Coalition Building & Collaborative Solutions: A Practitioner's View](#) is a YouTube video of an SCRA webinar presentation conducted by Dr. Tom Wolff.

[Enhancing Effective Partnerships for Health Equity](#) from the Prevention Institute explores the power of partnerships for improving equity. It introduces the Eight Steps to Coalition Building, which can be used to develop a successful collaborative health equity effort.

[A Guide to Coalition Building](#), by Janice Forsythe, is a paper on forming advocacy coalitions.

[How Can We Build Partnerships that Perform](#) - In this video from the Saigh Symposium: The Path to Powerful Partnerships, Pennie Foster-Fishman describes the complexity of community problems, and how we can more effectively address problems by understanding and addressing root causes.

[Independent Sector](#) provides an excellent example of creating partnerships - it is a national coalition of foundations, corporate giving programs, and nonprofit organizations that joined together to strengthen the nonprofit sector. It sponsors initiatives and highlights research and policy news related to advancing the public good.

Home page of the [National Coalition Building Institute](#).

A [series of fact sheets on coalitions and coalition building](#) from Ohio State University.

[Office of Partnerships and Grant Services](#) offers guidance on creating partnerships for grant purposes, with links to other materials on evaluating and improving collaborations.

[Pan-Asian Coalition Building](#). An interesting essay pointing up the unresolved difficulties of a particular attempt at coalition.

[Project Report - Community Coalitions in Action](#) - the research report includes examples of collaborative efforts in Michigan to address the needs of children and youth in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The County Health Rankings & Roadmaps Take Action Cycle, especially [Work Together](#), provides tips on how to engage diverse stakeholders from all sectors, and work with others to establish a coalition to address common goals.

[Working Upstream: Skills for Social Change](#) - a resource guide for developing a course on advocacy for public health.

Checklist for Starting a Coalition

What is a coalition?

___ You know that a coalition is a group of individuals and/or organizations with a common interest who agree to work together toward a common goal

Why start a coalition?

___ To address an urgent situation.

___ To actually obtain or provide services.

___ To bring about more effective and efficient delivery of programs and eliminate any unnecessary duplication of services.

___ To pool resources.

___ To increase communication among groups and break down stereotypes.

___ To revitalize the sagging energies of members of groups who are trying to do too much alone.

___ To plan and launch community-wide initiatives on a variety of issues.

___ To develop and use political clout to gain services or other benefits for the community.

___ To create long-term, permanent social change.

When should you start a coalition?

___ You respond to dramatic or disturbing community events

___ You react to new information

___ You respond to changes in circumstances or regulations

___ You take advantage of new funding

___ You address an outside threat

___ You try to create significant change in the community

___ You form a coalition when trust and perception of a need make it possible

___ You recognize the barriers to starting a coalition.

Who should be part of a coalition?

___ You include stakeholders, both beneficiaries of the work of the coalition and those otherwise affected by it.

___ You include opinion leaders.

___ You include policy makers.

___ You include members of the community at large

How do you start a community coalition?

___ You form a core group.

___ You identify necessary coalition members.

___ You recruit coalition members, using appropriate means:

Personal contact

Phone

E-mail

Letter

Advertising

Posters and flyers.

___ You plan and hold an inclusive and exciting first meeting, where something actually gets done and people leave with assignments and the next meeting scheduled.

___ You follow up on the first meeting, checking on assignments, reminding people about the next meeting, and continuing to recruit new members.

You continue to pursue the important tasks started at the first meeting:

___ Defining the issue and drafting vision and mission statements

___ Developing an action plan

___ Working out an acceptable coalition structure

___ Deciding on the need for professional staff

___ Obtaining resources.

You continue to pay attention to the general guidelines for coalition success:

___ Free, open, and multi-directional communication

___ Inclusiveness and participation

___ Networking

___ Setting reachable goals

___ Holding creative meetings

___ Being realistic about what the coalition can do

___ Acknowledging and using diversity

___ Rewarding accomplishment and celebrating success

Checklist for Maintaining a Coalition

___ You understand that maintenance of a coalition and other social partnerships is as important as physical-world maintenance for optimal functioning.

___ You have made a decision to engage in maintenance, considering the various parts of the coalition that need attention:

The coalition's reason for being-its vision, mission and objectives

The basic governance and operating rules of the coalition

The coalition leadership

The coalition membership

The division of labor, within and among the leaders and members

The coalition's strategic and action plans, both short-and longer-term

The coalition's actions and results, so that it is accomplishing something (what it means to) in the world

The coalition's funding, so that those accomplishments can be continued

The coalition's visibility in the larger community

The coalition's public support

The spirit of the coalition

___ You have designed a maintenance plan, deciding:

who should design the plan (or multiple plans if appropriate)

how comprehensive the plan should be

how formal the plan should be

who should carry out the plan

how frequently maintenance should take place

___ You carry out your maintenance plan, including external or internal review. Internal review may be formal or informal.

___ You consider and choose, if appropriate, alternatives to maintaining the coalition

Growing

Spinning off

Changing focus

Cutting back

Ending

Staying the way you are

Contributor

Phil Rabinowitz -<https://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/assessment/promotion-strategies/start-a-coalition/checklist>

Coalition Mapping Exercise

A functioning Coalition encompass all stakeholders - those affected by the work of the coalition and by the issue it addresses - as well as community opinion leaders, policy makers, and community members at large.

Step 1

You and your team will need to identify an issue/injustice that your affiliate would want to take on.

Step 2

Identify your close group of partners – those that you already have a high degree of trust with and that you already have shared interests in the issue/injustice that you have identified.

Identify the key resource that each of these close group of members would bring to the work.

Step 3

Identify who is affected by the work you plan to do or the issue/injustice.

Identify the key resources that these people bring to the work.

Step 4

Identify any of the following groups or others that you don't see listed and the key resources that each would bring to the work. These have the potential to be part of your coalition.

- Community Opinion Leaders
- Policy Makers
- Community Members at Large
- Non-Governmental Organizations
- Other Labor Unions

Step 5

Once you have created your coalition map – determine where there may conflicts between the partners. For example they may all get along with your affiliate – but not each other. OR, they may get along with other partners, and share this one issue stance with your organization – but not much else. How do you manage these?

CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

Phases of a Campaign

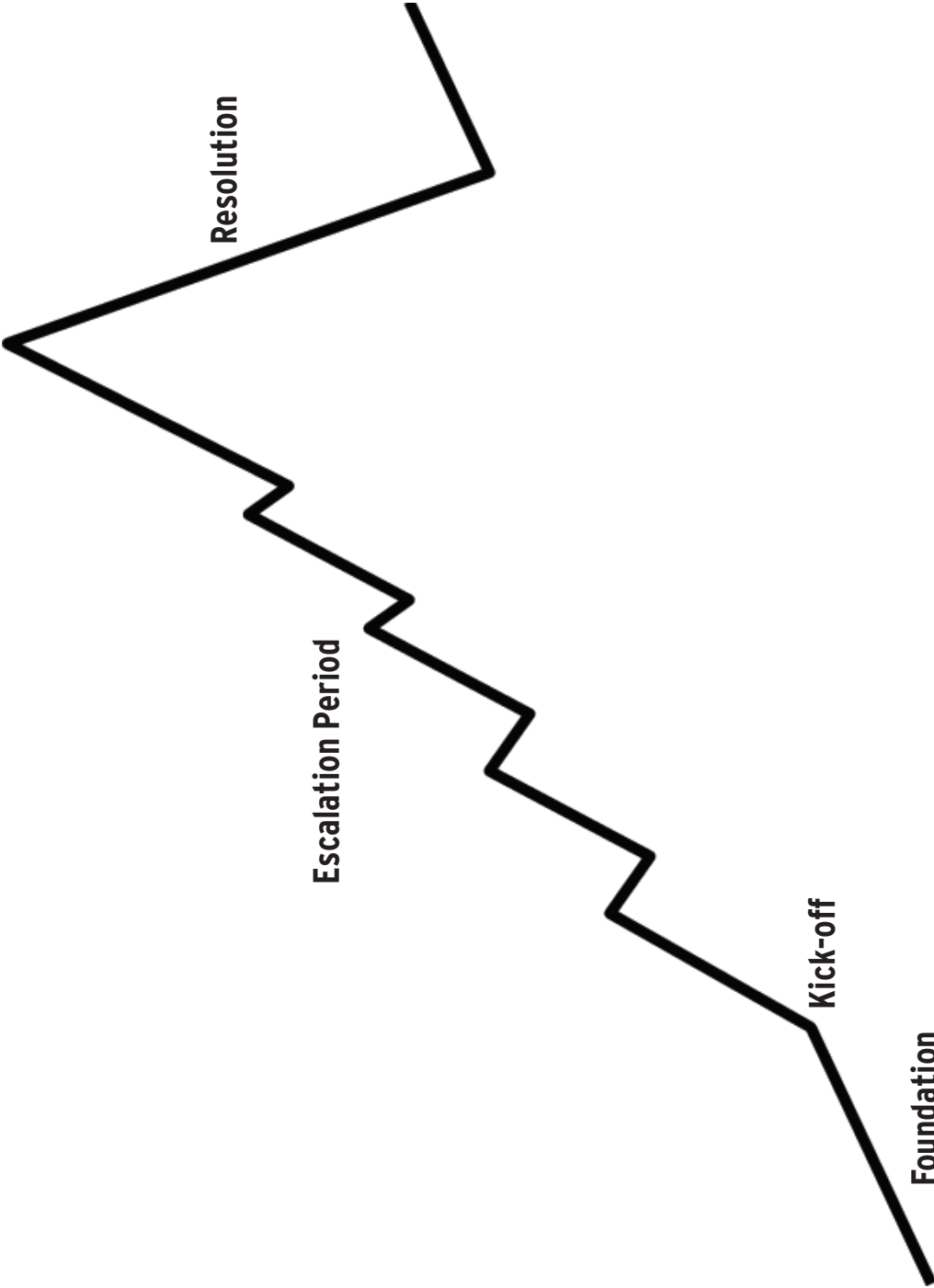
The Peak of Our Strength

Resolution

Escalation Period

Kick-off

Foundation



Reflections and Considerations for Social Justice Planning

What are your key reflections and analysis of your affiliate?	Strengths -Opportunities - What already exists that you can use in your planning?	Weaknesses – Threats - How do you prioritize these? Which are most critical to include plans to address?
Advocacy, Mobilizing, Organizing		
Three Frames- Industrial, Professional, Social Justice		
Social Justice Readiness Assessment		