

Teacher Unions and Social Justice



Session 2 Broadening Leadership and Expectation for What Unions Can Win

Online Resource Package

This is a four-part series 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. The series will provide an in-depth study of the full text, and full attendance is strongly encouraged, but not required.

**January 19, February 3, March 3,
March 31 - 2:30 to 4:00 ET**

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Leader Mobilizer Activist Discussion Activity (Adapted from Jane McAlevey 2021)

Based on what's in the scenario only:

1. Who do you identify as the Leader who has moved people the most? Why?
2. Who is the mobilizer – actively working on the behalf of the union and carrying out actions that get others involved? Why?
3. Who is an activist – a pro-union supporter and may take action if asked? Why?
4. The BIG discussion - In what order should you be building relationships with your choices?

Scenario:

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.

For Further Consideration

Assessing Your Current Worksites:

1. How many people have been identified as trusted and respected by a number of people in the worksite? (Leaders connect mobilizers into structures)
2. 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)
3. How many people are ready to take pro-union action? (Activists see their relationship with the union as a participatory one)

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.

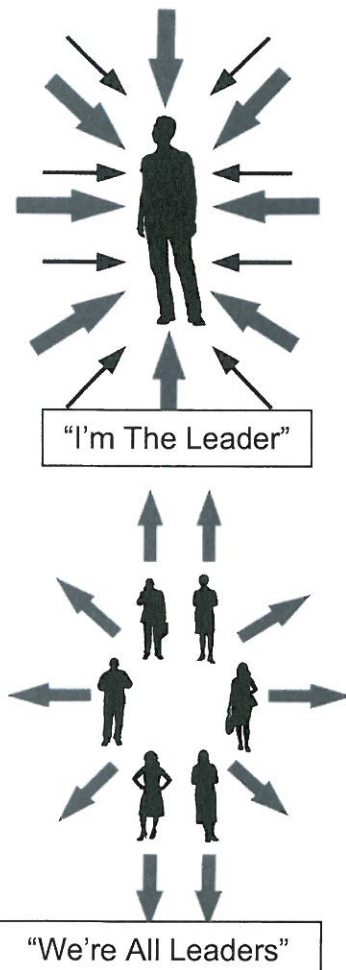
But what does it feel like to be the "leader" in the middle? What does it feel like to be the arrow that can't get through? What happens if the "leader" in the middle drops out?

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

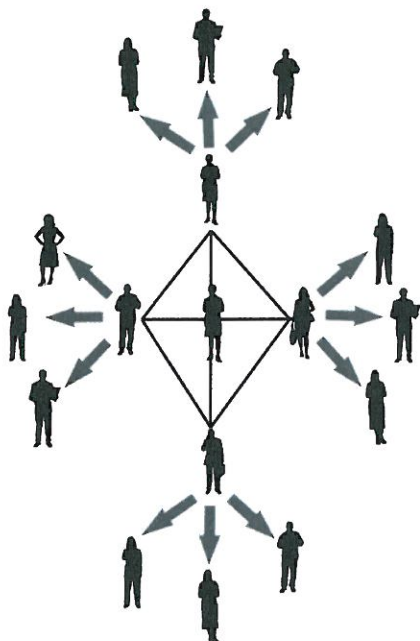
Sometimes this works. But who's responsible for coordinating everyone? And who's responsible for pushing the whole group forward when you can't reach a decision? Who takes ultimate responsibility for the outcome?

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

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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

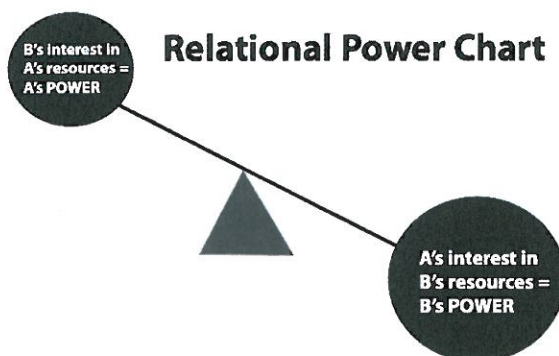
Remember, we don't yet have all the leadership we need in order to win the change we want to see. An organizer's job is to reach out and develop leaders in your community who can help you recruit and coordinate others. They may not be people others usually see as leaders, but they are people committed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

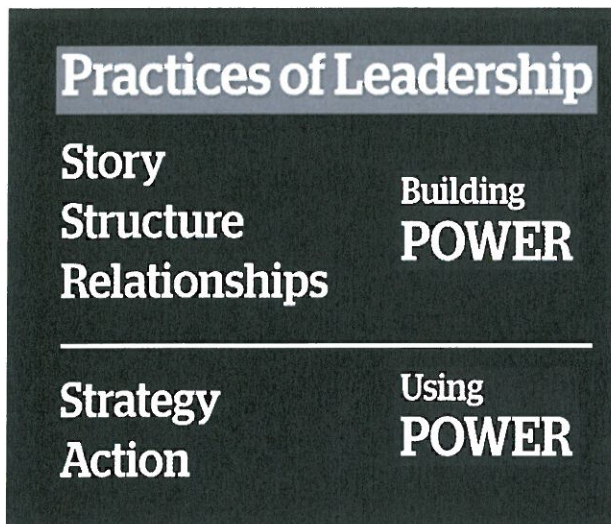
WHAT IS CHANGE?

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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Elements of BCG Campaign

1) Expand the scope of bargaining beyond wages and benefits: Identify issues that resonate with members, partners and allies and that address the many ways the school impacts our communities. Put forth demands that address structural issues, not just symptoms of the problem.

2) Go on offense in your campaign by identifying, exposing and challenging the real villains, the financial and corporate actors who profit from and increasingly drive school policies and actions.

3) Engage community allies as partners in issue development and the bargaining campaign: Bring in community partners on the ground floor and ask them what they need out of the bargaining campaign.

4) Center racial justice in your demands: Campaign demands should address the role that school systems often play in creating and exacerbating structural racism in their communities.

5) Strengthen internal organizing, membership and member engagement: These campaigns must deeply engage the memberships of both unions and community organizations, and there must be opportunities for deep relationship-building and joint-visioning between the members of the different organizations

6) Leverage capital in our campaigns: We need to develop strategies that leverage the financial power of workers' investments in order to win common good demands.

7) The campaign doesn't end once the union settles its contract: Organizing for the common good is about building long-term community-labor power, not about giving unions some good publicity during a contract fight. The boss doesn't automatically become a good actor once the contract is settled and the community's demands don't become any less important.

NEA BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Sample K-12 Demands for the Safe Return to In-Person Learning

Below are sample Bargaining for the Common Good demands for safely returning to in-person instruction. They can be helpful as you organize, plan, and negotiate the return to school buildings and campuses.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY

- Plans for in-person instruction must involve all stakeholders in order to ensure the safety of students, educators, and communities.
- Continue remote learning for as long as necessary to ensure the health of students and staff.
- Fair, clear, and consistent expectations across districts related to COVID-19 mitigation strategies.
- Provide school leaders with clear guidance to establish procedures if students or staff become unwell. Guidance should include monitoring student and staff health, maintaining regular contact with local health authorities, and updating emergency plans and contact lists.
- Follow available guidance from the CDC on maximum gathering sizes and personal protective equipment.
- Provide educators and staff access to PPE and disinfectant items as well as sufficient training and clear guidelines for students and staff on how and when to use them safely and properly.
- Ensure that reliable, widespread COVID-19 testing, vaccination availability, effective tracing and social distancing have been used in the communities that are considering reopening their public schools for in-person learning.
- Ongoing, open communication with all stakeholders must continue.



ACADEMIC SUCCESS

- Hybrid delivery of instruction available – continued delivery of instruction no matter what.
- Seek policy waivers on number of student days, length of day, length of year, to allow for hybrid models or split scheduling for schools to ensure smaller class sizes and social distancing.
- Abeyance of all standardized tests.
- Additional availability of trained substitute teachers.
- Create a multi-language communication plan for all stakeholders and include parent/ community input.
- Suspend requirements for fire drills, active shooter drills, and other planned emergency drills that disrupt student learning and could lead to large gatherings of students and staff.
- Modify attendance requirements so that students are held to the expectation of completing their work – not necessarily to “checking in” to class every day.
- Hold harmless arts and elective classes from funding cuts.

EQUITY

- Support in providing educational opportunities for special populations of students including students with disabilities, English learners, migrant students, those who are medically fragile, and students experiencing homelessness.
- Increase investment in special education accommodations, such as IEPs and 504 plans.
- Bring back small groups of special education students for in-person learning before other students to give them extra attention and time.
- Utilize technology for occupational therapists and speech pathologists through distance learning or other mechanisms if available.
- Allow amendments to IEPs through distance learning plans.
- Reduce amount of work required for students who are easily overwhelmed.
- Design all online learning so it is accessible to students who may need larger font and/or more explanations to ensure success for all students, not just those with special needs.
- Establish a mechanism to communicate with non-English speaking parents and guardians to provide more access to up-to-date information.
- Create a system for providing food-insecure students with school meals, either through meal delivery or vouchers for grocery stores or restaurants.

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING

- Ensure all services are culturally responsive and include access to community-based providers/programs.
- Establish trauma training at the start of school year (and ongoing) to help to identify trauma in students.
- Expand crisis teams to every school building to monitor and assist with social/emotional health.

- Extend re-entry for students with a focus on social and emotional impacts of COVID-19 to prepare students for learning.
- Increase staffing of specialized instructional support personnel.
- Ensure mental health professionals are able to perform their job function instead of working on administrative duties.
- Partner with local medical and mental health professionals to provide full range of services for students.
- Track long-term effects of pandemic on students including changes in grades, test scores, graduation rates, and absenteeism.
- Prioritize stress counseling.

SAFE WORKING AND LEARNING CONDITIONS

- Provide sufficient funding for PPE for all staff and students.
- Extend and clarify paid leave provisions under state/federal law.
- Compensate all educators – full-time, part-time, hourly, and per diem workers, including teachers, secretaries, paraeducators, food service, transportation, and substitutes – during this time.
- Ensure employees are not required to use personal devices to conduct classes.
- Seek employee feedback about various digital platforms used to provide instruction to students including, but not limited to, ease of use, security, student interaction, and participation.
- Utilize COVID-19 response as an opportunity to review policies on use of school facilities during emergencies.
- Publicize state, district, and school plans in time for educators to prepare adequately.
- Assess teacher and staff workload to avoid burnout and ensure the work is distributed equitably and staff shortages are addressed to increase capacity as necessary.
- Declare a moratorium on all educator evaluations.

INVESTMENTS IN SCHOOLS

- Identify response and recovery financing for immediate investments in school water, sanitation, and hygiene.
- Direct education funding to schools and communities hit hardest by the crisis.
- Close the technological gap by providing as many devices as possible to all students.
- Waive school fees and other costs wherever possible and eliminate other barriers to entry.
- Ensure that educators have professional pay and healthcare benefits and fight against privatization of educators' jobs.
- Suspend all state funding of private schools that do not meet public school guidelines for safe and effective delivery of instruction.

RACIAL JUSTICE

- Acknowledge the pandemic was not experienced equally by all communities and populations, particularly in rural areas and communities of color. Listen and learn how different families handled the time out of school buildings.
- Provide and prioritize housing, food, health, dental, and job services in neighborhood schools because it is a common-sense way to begin to address these issues and the racial inequities they create and exacerbate.
- End attempts to funnel resources away from public schools and re-segregate our school communities with charters, vouchers, and other privatization schemes.
- Ensure school plans for in-person instruction are inclusive and equitable for all educators and students by humanizing learning environments and designing spaces that are situated in the experiences of communities of color, not just through white, cis-hetero, and ableist lenses.
- Ensure adequate time is provided for classroom-community-building activities and consider the paid time and additional staff to allow for the development of restorative practices in schools.
- Prioritize hiring, retaining, and promoting educators of color.

MORE INFO/RESOURCES

Navigating COVID-19 Pandemic
[EducatingThroughCrisis.org](https://educatingthroughcrisis.org)

Bargaining for the Common Good
nea.org/bcg or
BargainingForTheCommonGood.org



EDUCATING
THROUGH CRISIS
COVID-19

Sample COVID-19 Health and Safety Demands for In-Person Learning

No one understands the importance of in-person learning more than educators and parents. After all, we see first-hand what students are going through. We are also responsible for safeguarding the health and safety of our students and school communities. And, we have a responsibility to ensure reopening school buildings and campuses addresses longstanding inequities rather than compound them.

Here are criteria that your community can put in place to ensure the health and safety of students, educators, and families when returning to in-person instruction.

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IS UNDER CONTROL IN YOUR COMMUNITY.

Use metrics to determine when and how to provide in-person instruction. Ensure they are at least as protective as the K-12 guidance issued by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC): total new cases per 100,000 persons in the past 7 days and the percentage of positive diagnostic and screening viral tests that are nucleic acid amplification tests (NAATs).

SPECIFIC PROTECTIONS HAVE BEEN PUT IN PLACE TO KEEP THE VIRUS UNDER CONTROL AND PROTECT STUDENTS AND STAFF.

- **COVID-19 VACCINES:** Educators of all types, including teachers, education support professionals, and specialized instructional support personnel, have the option to get vaccinated. Employer provides paid leave for employees to get vaccinated.
- **DETECTION:** Procedures are in place to detect COVID-19 cases among students, staff, and visitors, including education on symptoms, requiring those who are sick to stay home, isolation of symptomatic individuals, and closing some or all school buildings to contain potential outbreaks. Frequent, robust, and equitable COVID-19 testing screening must be in place.
- **ACCOMMODATIONS:** High-risk students, staff, and



families are protected through appropriate accommodations such as remote learning and instruction arrangements.

- **MITIGATION:** Strong mitigation measures have been put in place, including:
 - ✓ A requirement that everyone wear appropriate face coverings, including N95 respirators for staff having close contact with students, and that the employer provide those face coverings and respirators.
 - ✓ A requirement that students, staff, and visitors wash their hands for 20 seconds several times a day and, where doing so is not possible, are provided with hand-sanitizer of at least 60% alcohol.
 - ✓ Plexiglass protections installed where necessary to address droplet transmission.
 - ✓ Heating, ventilating, and air-conditioning (HVAC) systems inspected and, if necessary, modified to increase air flow, air filtration, and the circulation of clean air while adjusting environmental conditions like temperature and humidity. Windows, doors, fans, and other methods of addressing indoor air quality (IAQ) — including portable high-efficiency particulate (HEPA) filters — must also be considered.¹ Areas that cannot be properly ventilated should not be occupied.
 - ✓ Sufficient classroom supplies and consumables are provided so each student has their own.
- **DISTANCING:** All necessary steps have been taken to maintain appropriate physical distance among all students, staff, and visitors throughout the day including, where necessary, class size reductions, reconfiguring classrooms, and readjusting school schedules and traffic patterns. Safe school-sponsored transportation must also be provided including reconfiguring school buses and transportation schedules to allow for distancing.
- **CLEANING AND DISINFECTION:** Thorough protocols are in place for appropriate cleaning and disinfecting of school and campus facilities and buses, as well as more frequent cleaning and disinfection of high-touch surfaces and frequently used areas such as restrooms. Protocols must ensure that over-disinfection and unnecessarily harsh chemicals are not used and staff have been trained and provided the necessary personal protective equipment (PPE) to perform the cleaning and disinfecting tasks safely.
- **QUARANTINE, ISOLATION AND NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES:** Triggers for school/campus closures to in-person instruction are clear to families and staff. A protocol is in place that provides for notification of individuals exposed in school to someone with COVID-19, for immediate isolation of that person in appropriately ventilated isolation rooms, and quarantines of those who have been exposed. Paid leave for those who cannot work due to COVID-19 illness. Robust plans exist for continuity of instruction through substitutes or other instruction when teachers or professors must quarantine or when in-person instruction must be closed. During any such closure, continuity of instruction, nutrition, and support services for all students must be provided.
- **EDUCATOR AND FAMILY INVOLVEMENT:** Procedures are in place to ensure educators and families have a voice in how the return to in-person instruction occurs and how necessary protections function throughout the school year. Potential avenues for educator and family input include district- and building-level health and safety committees and, where possible, collective bargaining.

- **MONITORING:** Health and safety protections are independently enforced through regular, unannounced building inspections by local health and labor department authorities and a widely publicized hotline to report violations. Whistleblowers must be protected against any and all retaliation or adverse actions.
- **ENFORCEMENT:** Clear policies are established for how protective measures will be enforced consistently, ensuring disparate discipline of students or staff does not occur. All federal, state and local laws and regulations for worker safety and health, infection control, and environmental protection must be met or exceeded.
- **RACIAL AND SOCIAL EQUITY:** Analysis and planning have taken place to ensure that equitable health and safety protocols are adopted and that resources are distributed equitably.

PLANS TO ENSURE CONTINUOUS LEARNING FOR ALL STUDENTS

- There is a plan for instruction (whether in-person or virtual) that addresses racial and social equity in the provision of instruction and support services.
- The plan includes training for educators, families, and students on the processes and protocols in the event a COVID-19 outbreak necessitates returning, in whole or in part, to virtual instruction.
- Educators are involved at each step of the planning process for any form of virtual teaching and learning, including adjusting the curriculum and methods of instruction.
- The plan for continuous learning addresses device access for every student, high-speed internet access for every student and educator, and accommodates gaps in such services. This should include adaptive equipment for staff, students, and students' families with disabilities.

ENDNOTES

- 1 NEA's Designing and Implementing a COVID-19 Indoor Air Quality Plan in Schools October 28, 2020
nea.org/resource-library/indoor-air-quality-plans-schools

MORE INFO/RESOURCES

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EDUCATING
THROUGH CRISIS
COVID-19

NEA BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD



Sample Higher Education Demands for Safe Return to In-Person Learning

These demands are largely taken from the great work of the United Faculty of Florida / Florida Education Association, the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the California Teachers Association, all of which actively organize and represent higher education members.¹

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING²

- Reduce student and parent anxiety by providing clear information to students and families as to the safety of re-opening campuses.
- Prioritize existing mental health programs and staff (rather than outside consultants) and respect their expertise in developing protocols and triage care.
- Provide a single webpage for students and parents, and another for faculty and staff, that list all online resources that would be different than normal, including:
 - ✓ Mental health resources
 - ✓ Current information with the source of recommendations, who made them, and when they were made
 - ✓ Reassurance to students and staff about the physical space such as new protocols for cleaning, access, etc. that will make people more confident that they are safe
- Reach out to student groups so they know how to access and share resources
- Ensure International Association of Counseling Services (IACS)-recommended ratio student-to-mental health professional of 1:1499 FTE.
- Ensure mental health counselors are available online and assist counselors in reaching out to students with technological barriers.



- Include student and faculty/staff groups in decision-making and in the dissemination of information.
- Provide clear information about accessing mental health resources included in all communication (emails, texts, websites, online learning resources/classrooms, etc.).
- Conduct mental health assessments or surveys by app or other methods to get a feeling for anxiety levels of the students, faculty, and staff.
 - ✓ Create mental health assessment or surveys to get a feeling for anxiety levels of the students, faculty, and staff.
 - ✓ Provide extra resources for vulnerable populations: (LGBTQ, international, low-income, minority, housing-insecure students).
 - ✓ Train administration and faculty in the use of a trauma-informed approach to dealing with the reopening of campus, including reducing stigma for those who have been quarantined, contracted the virus, and/or who have been caregivers.
 - ✓ Create a method for students, faculty, and staff to report issues without fear of reprisal.
- Create spaces on campus for grieving and healing.
- Bring students on campus early to reacquaint and reconnect them if conditions are safe.
- Engage student leaders and communications staff to create materials to direct people to the new normal.
- Provide staff and faculty with training on how to identify students struggling with anxiety and/or trauma and how to refer them to mental health professionals for support.
- Allow housing-insecure students and those who cannot return home to stay on campus. Work with local landlords to arrange forgiveness of rent payments for students who leave off-campus housing.
- Make provisions for feeding food-insecure students.

STUDENT SUCCESS

- Provide expanded access to broadband and technology to close the “digital divide.” Identify students who lack sufficient access to the internet and the hardware that has become critical to learning, and determine solutions for equal access (i.e., checked out or loaner computers, hard drives, broadband access, etc.).
- Waive internet access fee for students.
- Upscale Student Assistance Programs to include all previous needs as well as pandemic needs. They must be easily found and accessible.
- Provide increased Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act support (ASL interpreters, physical and technological needs of the visually impaired, etc. available for all course modalities). Purchase excellent captioning software — and end the reliance on YouTube, Google, and other programs not specific to captioning, as they are not accurate enough and are a disservice to our students.
- Supply face shields and/or clear masks for American Sign Language ASL interpreters and staff who interact with hearing-impaired students.

- Provide specific guidance from national accrediting institutions for programs that focus on practicum and/or clinical applications will need to ensure students can complete program requirements.
- Hire more staff to ensure Student Assistance Programs are available when students need them with no wait times.
- Provide extra tutoring services for struggling students.
- Campus administrations must provide easily accessible resources to assist faculty with the transition to temporary remote teaching.
- Give students who live in poverty, working students and students of color the support, resources and funds they need to safely stay in school. When campuses reopen, all students should be safe and have access to the same quality of education, including poor, working, Native People and People of Color.

SAFE LEARNING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

- Preserve higher education as a provider of good, family-supporting jobs by providing PPE and keeping everyone on the payroll.
- Define health requirement for clearance to return to campus, such as recent negative tests.
- Provide access to healthcare and free testing for all employees.
- Create test and trace mechanisms.
- Create clear protocols for notifying public health officials, students, staff, and faculty of positive COVID-19 cases.
- Reduce class sizes to ensure social distancing.
- Promote a method for faculty and staff to report health, safety, and academic issues related to the pandemic without fear of reprisal.
- Create a clear policy (respecting HIPAA) for identifying high-risk students and employees.
- Provide flexible use of paid sick leave that does not come out of accrued sick leave. The institution can fund this from the American Rescue Plan, such as utilizing ESSER and ESSER II funds, and other pandemic relief funds or employers should provide extensions either voluntary or through collective bargaining. No negative repercussions will occur for sick leave when required by policies and/or advised by medical professionals.
- Clear protocols for class cancellation, substitution, or relocation due to symptoms or confirmed exposure and/or how those classes will be covered/made up. Whatever conditions are created must be uniform across departments and colleges within the same institution.



- Include adjunct faculty in healthcare and sick leave plans, and in testing programs.
- Provide documentation and support for adjuncts to be able to access pandemic unemployment insurance, and to traditional unemployment insurance.
- Hire more maintenance staff due to increased need for cleaning and disinfecting. Do not require non-maintenance personnel (staff, faculty) to be responsible for implementing cleaning protocols.
- Limit campus access to non-students and non-employees.
- Train staff on use and storage of new chemicals, including interactions.
- Immediately pass legislation providing access to health insurance for adjunct faculty.
- Recognize the importance of maintaining safe learning opportunities for the benefit of the students and communities served by the college or university and its faculty.
- Guarantee that all higher education workers are paid, including adjunct and visiting faculty, tutors, students, graduate students, and contracted and per-diem employees.

EDUCATOR RIGHTS

- Suspend all evaluations. Otherwise, evaluations must acknowledge the unusual circumstances of this year. No one should be penalized for canceled conferences, work that is suspended for public health reasons, or teaching evaluations that may be adversely affected. Faculty should be assured that these disruptions will not affect their evaluations, tenure, promotion, or contract renewal decisions now or in the future.
- Campus administrations must provide easily accessible resources to assist faculty with the transition to temporary remote teaching.
- Provide computers, webcams, high-speed internet access, etc. for all instructional personnel or create an easy and quick reimbursement stipend. These must be provided just as classroom space or equipment would normally be provided for on-campus class meetings.
- Faculty should get credit for their additional efforts these semesters as they do the work to create remote teaching and learning systems, including covering other colleagues' work if necessary.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Florida Education Association feaweb.org/covid19
 Massachusetts Teachers Association massteacher.org/current-initiatives/coronavirus-and-schools
 California Teachers Association cta.org/for-educators/covid19
- 2 forgeorganizing.org/article/heres-how-we-not-just-reopen-transform-higher-education

MORE INFO/RESOURCES

Navigating COVID-19 Pandemic EducatingThroughCrisis.org

Bargaining for the Common Good nea.org/bcg or
BargainingForTheCommonGood.org



EDUCATING
THROUGH CRISIS
COVID-19

NEA BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD



Safe and Equitable Protections for All Working People and Our Most Vulnerable Populations

Everyone deserves the right to a safe, healthy workplace and learning environment. We can come together across race and across place to ensure we are all treated with dignity and respect. Educators can unite with other unions, workers, and communities to demand justice.

COMMUNITY HEALTH AND SAFETY

- Deploy support teams uniting public health, social services, food and agriculture, housing and community development, aging, and business agencies.
- Develop culturally- and linguistically-accessible communications and resources for diverse communities.
- Address barriers to testing and treatment including availability and costs.
- Train bilingual, bicultural contact tracers and case investigators.
- Childcare for first responders and healthcare personnel, nutrition program for students, and other social services necessary to preserve and maintain life, health, property, or the public peace.
- Provide a weekly disaster stipend for working parents to stay home with their children without losing pay.
- Learn about the specific needs of Indigenous people, Black and brown people, LGBTQ relatives, educators, freelancers, undocumented and documented immigrants, and low-income workers, and work towards answering these needs as rapidly as possible.
- Recognize all workers on the front line during the COVID-19 crisis, such as grocery store workers, postal service workers, and educators, through a substantial increase in wages and benefits.



SOCIAL SAFETY NET

- Call on state and federal government officials to immediately release funds to support our vulnerable student and family populations.
- Demand that city, county, and state officials create a healthy, socio-economic safety net for our students, working families and communities.
- Extend unemployment insurance for people whose hours are reduced due to COVID-19 and a basic income subsidy to those workers not covered by unemployment laws.
- Provide funding for universal childcare as we navigate the reopening of schools in the midst of the pandemic.

HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS

- Advocate for debt forgiveness, suspended rent and mortgage payments, as well as eviction court and utility shutoffs.
- Provide safe shelter, healthcare services and support for all, including students, who are suffering from homelessness.

HEALTHCARE AND PAID SICK LEAVE

- Remove of all economic barriers for COVID-19 testing and treatment, including eliminating all insurance co-payments and deductibles.
- Require paid family and medical leave for all workers, including municipal workers, either through their employer or a state system, to cover any needed self-quarantining to reduce the spread of the virus.
- Provide additional paid sick days each year to all workers to align with quarantine period for COVID-19; additional paid time off for those who do not have paid sick days with their employers.

UNDOCUMENTED/IMMIGRANT JUSTICE

- Create an economic relief fund specifically for undocumented residents excluded from federal stimulus.
- Cease ICE arrests/deportations; release vulnerable populations, demilitarizing and decarcerating non-violent offenders and political prisoners from jails, prisons, and detention centers.
- Ensure that undocumented individuals are included in any universal basic income distribution with added support for path to citizenship.



HOMELESS STUDENTS

- Open up school facilities (i.e., washrooms, locker rooms, computer labs, libraries, and gyms) before and after school hours for student use.
- Provide washers and dryers for student use.
- Hire additional staff whose responsibilities include finding and re-engaging homeless students and connecting them to services like housing, food assistance, and child care.
- Provide professional development focused on identifying and educating homeless students to all educators.
- Purchase pre-paid cell phones to keep homeless families connected to the school community.
- Utilize school vehicles to conduct outreach and supply drops to local motels, campgrounds, food banks, and homes with doubled-up students.
- Hire additional school counselors to assist students with credit recovery, graduation, and college transition.
- Hire additional school psychologists to screen for and address trauma.
- Provide professional development to all educators on trauma-informed training.

MORE INFO/RESOURCES

Navigating COVID-19 Pandemic
[EducatingThroughCrisis.org](https://www.educatingthroughcrisis.org)



EDUCATING
THROUGH CRISIS
COVID-19



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE • CLIMATE JUSTICE • EDUCATION

FINANCE • IMMIGRATION • PUBLIC SERVICES

PRIVATE SECTOR • PRIVATIZATION



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
*Kalmanovitz Initiative
for Labor and the Working Poor*

RUTGERS

School of Management
and Labor Relations

Center for Innovation in Worker
Organization

CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD?

The Bargaining for the Common Good network grew out of successful campaigns driven by unions, community groups, and racial justice organizations. Today, groups across the country are partnering around a long-term vision for the structural changes they want to see in their communities and using union bargaining as a critical moment in a broader fight for the common good. The BCG network is convened by the Action Center on Race and the Economy, the Center for Innovation in Worker Organization at Rutgers University, and the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor at Georgetown University.

KEY PRINCIPLES OF COMMON GOOD CAMPAIGNS

- Expand the scope of bargaining beyond wages and benefits
- Go on offense in your campaign by identifying, exposing and challenging the real bad actors
- Engage community allies as partners in issue development and the bargaining campaign
- Center racial justice in your demands
- Strengthen internal organizing, membership and member engagement
- Leverage capital in our campaigns
- The campaign doesn't end once the union settles its contract

CONTENTS

This packet includes concrete examples of common good demands that unions and community groups have bargained for across the country. Some of these demands have been won in bargaining or outside the negotiations table, and some have only been introduced. A few demands are listed more than once as they are tied to multiple areas of BCG work. This is a living document as new demands are always being put forward and brought to our attention.

These sectors and issues are covered in this packet, but others are being developed as this movement grows:

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| • Racial Justice | • Climate Justice |
| • Education | • Finance |
| • Immigration | • Public Services |
| • Private Sector | • Privatization |
| • Housing | |



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

1. **Linguistic and Cultural Competency.** We demand that teachers may, as part of their professional development, attend community-based trainings based on the specific linguistic and cultural needs of the community.
--Lake County Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 504
2. **Diverse Staffing.** We demand that the District recruit, hire and assign staff proportionately in terms of racial minorities to total employees in every department, school and at every level of operation within Seattle Public Schools.
--Seattle Education Association, SEA/WEA/NEA
3. **Racial Justice Equity Teams.** We demand that educational assistants be given paid time to attend racial equity trainings and the opportunity to join their building's Equity Team.
--Saint Paul Federation of Educators, AFT Local 28/NEA
4. **Defund Campus Police.** We demand a 50% reduction of the University's Division of Public Safety's budget and a reallocation of the funds to community based justice initiatives. DPS must also cease the use of lethal weapons.
--Graduate Employees Union - University of Michigan, AFT 3550
5. **Reallocate Money from Police.** Los Angeles must shift the astronomical amount of money devoted to policing to other public needs such as housing and public health.
--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT
6. **Ban the Box.** We demand that the company remove any questions pertaining to a potential employee's criminal record from employment applications.
--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26
7. **End Unwarranted Searches.** We demand that the school district stop subjugating students to metal detector screenings and locker checks without cause.
--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT
8. **Diversity Training.** We demand that teacher orientation include components on diversity, and that all teachers be required to attend a diversity training during the school year.
--Wichita Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 725
9. **Invest in Community Jobs Pipelines.** We demand that the city work with the union to create apprenticeship and job training opportunities, partner with local educational institutions, and form hiring programs designed to bring low-income, minority, and disadvantaged community members into the workforce.
--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721
10. **Community Schools.** The school district and the union will work together to establish community schools, which will feature expanded services for the community and community input in school governing decisions.
--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

- 11. Restorative Practices.** We demand that the discipline plan include restorative practices with meaningful training and support as well as social-emotional training and equity support practices.
--Denver Classroom Teachers Association, DCTA/CEA/NEA
- 12. Pay for Work on Diversity.** We demand that that university hire unionized graduate students, with benefits, to work on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion initiatives, rather than do the work as a volunteer.
--University of Michigan Graduate Employees Organization, AFT Local 3550
- 13. Expand In-State Tuition Options.** We demand that the university grant in-state tuition of all graduates of state high schools, regardless of immigration status.
--Oregon State Employees Union, SEIU Local 503
- 14. No Militarized Police at Protests.** We demand that the university prohibit the use of riot police, SWAT, or excessive police forces during non-violent student and worker actions.
--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299
- 15. Implement Affirmative Action.** The school district will work with the union to develop plans to recruit, employ, and promote individuals who are inadequately represented among the school district's workforce.
--Oakland Education Association, NEA/CTA
- 16. Stem the School to Prison Pipeline.** We demand that the school system work with teachers to pilot disciplinary practices that serve as alternatives to strictly punitive measures, including restorative justice methods.
--Saint Paul Federation of Educators, AFT Local 28/NEA
- 17. Divest from Private Prisons and Detention.** We demand that employees be allowed to reduce their share of pension fund contributions until the university no longer invests in private prisons or detention centers.
--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299
- 18. Black Lives Matter.** We demand an end to zero-tolerance discipline measures that disproportionately affect minority children, implementation of restorative justice in schools, hire and support more black teachers, and mandate black history/ethnic studies in K-12.
--New Jersey Education Association, NJEA/NEA
- 19. Restorative Practices.** We demand that the District and the Association, with the involvement of community stakeholders, work together to develop and implement restorative practices. Participating school sites shall be provided all necessary supports, training, professional development, staffing, release time, materials, and all other resources necessary.
--San Diego Education Association, SDEA/CTA/NEA



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

20. Cut Law Enforcement Ties. We demand that UM cut all ties with police including the Ann Arbor Police Department and Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

--Graduate Employees Union - University of Michigan, AFT 3550

21. Reform Municipal Justice System. We demand that the county reform its criminal justice system to prioritize education, early intervention, treatment, and rehabilitation instead of strictly punitive measures.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU Local 221, Invest in San Diego Families

22. Remittances to Somalia. We demand that US Bank restart remittances to Somalia, allowing its many Somali immigrant workers to send money to their families.

--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26

23. Black Lives Matter. We demand that the Board endorse and encourage teachers and students to participate in the Black Lives Matter Week of Action in Schools. The thirteen guiding principles of the Black Lives Matter movement highlighted during this week are a means of challenging the insidious legacy of institutionalized racism and oppression that has plagued the United States since its founding.

--Prince George's County Educators' Association, PGCEA/MSEA/NEA

24. No ICE Collaboration. We demand that the university not collaborate with ICE, insist that ICE produce a valid warrant before entering university premises, not impose additional requirements for work authorization, and not participate with any federal worker registry.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

25. Provide Immigration Resources. We demand that the school district provide immigration-related trainings and other resources for students and staff, as well as establish a \$1 million immigration legal defense fund.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

26. Limited Police Intervention. We demand that the university limit the offenses which can lead to an arrest by campus police, and the circumstances that cause members of the U.C. system to be turned over to outside police.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

CLIMATE JUSTICE

1. **Green Spaces on Campus.** We demand that the District create a plan to provide adequate green space for student physical activity.
--United Teachers of Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT
2. **Green work environment.** We demand the company provide a safe and healthy workplace for employees and use materials that contribute to a healthy and sustainable ecological environment
--SEIU Local 26
3. **Free School Transportation.** We demand that the District provide free bus passes to low-income students.
--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1
4. **Environmental Impact.** We demand that the city issue a report on the impact a contract will have on the local economy and the environment prior to entering into the contract.
--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721
5. **End Fossil Fuel Subsidies.** We demand that the city and state stop providing subsidies to companies that rely on fossil fuels as a core component of their business model.
--Florida Public Services Union, SEIU Local 8
5. **Eco-Friendly Commuting.** We demand that the city increase the amount of available time off to employees who bike, carpool, or use public transit to get to work.
--Florida Public Services Union, SEIU Local 8
7. **Green Transit.** We demand that the Canada Post transition the fleet to 100% renewable energy and retrofit Canada Post buildings for energy efficiency.
--Canadian Postal Workers Union
8. **Incentivize Mass Transit.** We demand that the state make mass transit passes available for purchase at pre-tax rates for employees and residents.
--Oregon State Employees Union, SEIU Local 503
9. **Green Public Infrastructure.** Municipal unions could bargain for cities to green their infrastructure through renewable energy and higher efficiency standards.
--Saib Bhatti and Stephen Lerner, "Labor Must Take on Capital" in Jacobin
10. **Vacancies to Community Gardens.** We demand that the city transform vacant publicly owned land to community gardens.
--Florida Public Services Union, SEIU Local 8
11. **Tax Fossil Fuels.** We demand that the state institute a higher tax on oil production, gas production, and motor fuels to fund public education.
--Oklahoma Education Association, statewide initiative



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

EDUCATION

1. Community Schools. We demand that by June 30, 2018, the District, in collaboration with the Community Schools Implementation Team (CSIT) and school communities, shall designate 20 schools in high-need areas to engage a Community Schools transformation process. The District shall allocate \$10 million each year and any school that is designated as a Community School is to be protected from reconstitution, new charter co-location, or renewed charter co-location.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA /AFT

2. Immigration. We demand that CPS will be a Sanctuary School District and specifically what that means for how they will protect students who are vulnerable to discriminatory and punitive immigration policies

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

3. Living Wage for All. We demand that the University set a \$15/hour wage floor in our state's public universities for classified employees and employees of university contractors.

--Oregon University System, SEIU Local 503

4. Proper Training. We demand that the university properly train campus police on the university's sanctuary policies, reporting of incidents involving undocumented community members, de-escalation intervention techniques, and restorative justice.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

5. Healthy Food. We demand the creation of healthier lunch and breakfast options for Howard County students and equity in county-wide access to healthy food in schools.

--Howard County Education Association, HCEA/MSEA/NEA

6. A Better School Day. We demand art, music, world languages, and physical education for all students. We also propose increasing the number of counselors, librarians, nurses, social workers, playground instructors, restorative justice coordinators, and school psychologists.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

7. Tuition Equity. We demand that all in-state high school students, regardless of their citizenship status, be granted an exemption from non-resident tuition and fees.

--Oregon University System, SEIU Local 503

8. Divest from Private Prisons and Detention. We demand that employees be allowed to reduce their share of pension fund contributions until the university no longer invests in private prisons or detention centers.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

9. Shield Students from Foreclosures. We demand that the school district divest from banks that foreclose on students and their families during the school year.

--Saint Paul Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

EDUCATION

10. Educate the Whole Child. We demand a well-rounded pre-K through grade 12 curricula which includes physical activity, appreciating or creating art and music, learning new languages, learning how things work by creating science experiments, solving mathematics problems with multiple approaches, reading fiction and non-fiction books, and more.

--Manchester Education Association, MEA/NEANH/NEA

11. Universal Pre-Kindergarten. We demand that the district maintain and expand the Pre-K program for 4 year-olds by committing to spend at least \$6 million per school year to ensure that waiting lists for the program are reduced.

--Saint Paul Minnesota Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA

12. Child and Parent Safety. We demand that the district provide adequate crossing guard staffing for every elementary and middle school in the city.

--Fix LA Coalition in Los Angeles, California

13. Free School Transportation. We demand that the district provide free bus cards to low-income students.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

14. Smaller Class Sizes. We demand that the district allocate funding for smaller K-12 class sizes, with extra class-size reductions for high poverty schools and for K-3 in all schools.

--Washington Education Association, statewide initiative, NEA

15. Limit Standardized Testing. We demand that the district significantly reduce the number and duration of standardized tests and ban tests entirely for students prior to the 3rd grade.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

16. Linguistic and Cultural Competency. We demand that teachers may, as part of their professional development, attend community-based trainings based on the specific linguistic and cultural needs of the community.

--Lake County Federation of Teachers, AFL Local 504

17. No Militarized Police at Protests. We demand that the university prohibit the use of riot police, SWAT, or excessive police forces during non-violent student and worker actions.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

18. Equity. We demand equitable funding and a school budget that does not negatively impact our students or MTEA members and an end of the privatization of Milwaukee Public Schools.

--Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association, MTEA/WEAC/NEA

19. Racial Justice Equity Teams. We demand that educational assistants be given paid time to attend racial equity trainings and the opportunity to join their building's Equity Team.

--Saint Paul Minnesota Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

EDUCATION

- 20. Recess.** We demand that all K-5 students have at least 30 minutes of recess per day.
--Seattle Education Association, SEA/WEA/NEA
- 21. Diversity Training.** We demand that teacher orientation include components on diversity, and that all teachers be required to attend a diversity training during the school year.
--Wichita Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 725
- 22. Improve Police Oversight.** We demand that the university include more students and campus worker representatives on the campus police review board and broaden the board's investigatory scope.
--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299
- 23. Pay for Work on Diversity.** We demand that that university hire unionized graduate students, with benefits, to work on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion initiatives, rather than do the work as a volunteer.
--University of Michigan Graduate Employees Organization, AFT Local 3550
- 24. Privatization: Charter Schools.** We demand increased oversight, transparency, and accountability for charter schools in relation to fiscal, educational, and socio-emotional impacts on SFUSD students.
--United Educators of San Francisco, AFT/CFT #61, NEA/CTA
- 25. Stem the School to Prison Pipeline.** We demand that the school system work with teachers to pilot disciplinary practices that serve as alternatives to strictly punitive measures, including restorative justice methods.
--Saint Paul Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA
- 26. End Unwarranted Searches.** We demand that the school district stop subjugating students to metal detector screenings and locker checks without cause.
--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA /AFT
- 27. No ICE Collaboration.** We demand that the university not collaborate with ICE, insist that ICE produce a valid warrant before entering university premises, not impose additional requirements for work authorization, and not participate with any federal worker registry.
--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299
- 28. Include Community Input.** We demand that the district include parents in curriculum and testing decisions and incorporate bilingual education into all curriculums.
--Pasco Association of Educators, NEA/WEA
- 29. Provide Immigration Resources.** We demand that the school district provide immigration-related trainings and other resources for students and staff, as well as establish a \$1 million immigration legal defense fund.
--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA /AFT

CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

EDUCATION

30. Implement Affirmative Action. The school district will work with the union to develop plans to recruit, employ, and promote individuals who are inadequately represented among the school district's workforce.

--Oakland Education Association, NEA/CTA

31. Community Schools. The school district and the union will work together to establish community schools, which will feature expanded social services for the community and community input in school governing decisions.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

32. Ban the Box. We demand that the company remove any questions pertaining to a potential employee's criminal record from employment applications.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

33. Expand Green Spaces. We demand that the district expand green spaces on district campuses.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

34. Establish Targeted Hiring Programs. We demand that the university create a targeted hiring program designed to hire disadvantaged citizens and adopt fair chance hiring and background check policies.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

35. English Language Learners. Ensures that CPS will increase the staffing of English Learner Program Coordinators beginning next school year.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

36. In-Source University Employment. We demand that the university stop contracting out work that would otherwise be performed by the bargaining unit and begin in-sourcing all work that is currently contracted out.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

37. Divest from Koch Industries. We demand that the district no longer purchase products made by companies owned by Koch Industries.

--Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 59/EdMN/NEA

38. Hold Charter Schools Accountable. We demand that the district require more transparency and accountability from charter schools in the district and discuss with the union when determining a charter authorization, re-authorization, or school co-location.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

39. More time for Lunch and Recess. We demand that Elementary and Middle School students have an appropriate and healthy amount of time for lunch and recess.

--Seattle Education Association, NEA/WEA



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

FINANCE

1. **Hold Wall Street Accountable.** We demand that the state investigate banks that have engaged in fraudulent practices and boycott them until the money lost is paid back.
--Oregon State Employees Union, SEIU Local 503
2. **Shield Students from Foreclosures.** We demand that the school district divest from banks that foreclose on students and their families during the school year.
--Saint Paul Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA
3. **Ensure Property Maintenance.** We demand that the city enforce existing ordinances that ensure banks maintain the properties they foreclose on and penalize banks that do not.
--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721
4. **Divest from Private Prisons.** We demand lower pension fund contributions from workers until the employer fully divests from banks that fund private prisons or detention centers.
--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME 3299
5. **End Predatory Banking.** The Committee for Better Banks is organizing bank workers to demand fairer sales goals and end predatory practices.
--Committee for Better Banks, CWA Union
6. **Remittances to Somalia.** We demand that US Bank restart remittances to Somalia, allowing its many Somali immigrant workers to send money to their families.
--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26
7. **Disclose Wall Street Fees.** We demand that the city disclose the fees it pays Wall Street and use every tool at its disposal to negotiate better terms on its financial transactions.
--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721
8. **Establish Public Banks.** Public sector employees can push for the creation of public banks that perform the same functions that private banks perform at a lower cost.
--Saqib Bhatti and Stephen Lerner, "Labor Must Take on Capital" in Jacobin
9. **Local Micro-Currencies.** We demand that the municipality creates its own micro-currency, which can only be spent at local businesses. This currency would comprise a small portion of every public employee's paycheck.
--Florida Public Services Union, SEIU Local 8



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

IMMIGRATION

1. No ICE Collaboration. We demand that the university not collaborate with ICE, insist that ICE produce a valid warrant before entering university premises, not impose additional requirements for work authorization, and not participate with any federal worker registry.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

2. Immigration Resources. We demand that the district provide immigration-related trainings and resources for students and staff, and create a \$1 million legal defense fund.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

3. Job Retention. We demand that the hotel allow DACA and TPS employees to retain their jobs and seniority if they return within five years after being forced to leave their job.

--Las Vegas Culinary Employees, UNITE HERE Local 226

4. Remittances to Somalia. We demand that US Bank restart remittances to Somalia, allowing its many Somali immigrant workers to send money to their families.

--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26

5. Proper Training. We demand that the university properly train campus police on the university's sanctuary policies, reporting of incidents involving undocumented community members, de-escalation intervention techniques, and restorative justice.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

6. Expand In-State Tuition. We demand that the university grant in-state tuition for all graduates of state high schools, regardless of immigration status.

--Oregon State Employees Union, SEIU Local 503

7. Protect Immigrant Families. We demand that the county create an Office of Refugee and Immigrant Services, expand county medical services to immigrant families, and implement a legal protection fund for immigrants facing deportation.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

8. Divest from ICE Collaborators. We demand that the university system sever all ties with companies doing business with ICE.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

9. No ICE on Campus. We demand that the university disinvite ICE from campus career fairs.

--Rutgers United Students Against Sweatshops, Rutgers One Coalition

10. Education Resources. We demand that the employer will provide funding for English as a Second Language classes, and allow employees to attend classes during work hours.

--Georgetown University Cafeteria and Parking Lot Workers, Unite Here Local 23



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

PUBLIC SERVICES

1. Employee Input. We demand that the state establish pilot improvement teams for three selected public services. Employees critical to those services will be able to provide input on the design and implementation of any proposed improvements, and employees will receive a portion of any cost-savings that occur because of those improvements.

--California Service Employees, SEIU Local 1000

2. Professional Development. We demand that the city establish career academies that train civil service employees, so they may better serve their community and grow professionally.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

3. Boost Staffing. We demand that the state hire enough civil servants to meet the state's needs. All departments below 90% staffing levels will increase staff by 10% each year, and all departments will be at 95% staffing levels within two years of the contract's signing.

--Oregon Service Employees, SEIU Local 503

4. Restore Public Services. We demand that the city restore all public services to pre-recession levels within three years of the contract's signing.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

5. Expand Mental Health Services. We demand that the county expand mental health services and fully fund Psychiatric Emergency Response Teams.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

6. Improve Public Parks. We demand that the city double its spending on parks and form a committee with the union and its partners to address revenue solutions, including increased taxation and distribution flexibility on high-end developments.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

7. Ensure Enrollment in State Programs. We demand that the county provide resources to ensure that all qualifying county residents are enrolled in the state's CalFresh, CalWorks, and MediCal programs.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

8. Increase Hiring. We demand that the city restore at least 5,000 positions that have been lost because of post-recession austerity measures.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

9. Criminal Justice Reform. We demand that the county use existing state funding to support restorative justice and recidivism-reduction trainings for justice system employees, and job access programs for individuals with a criminal record.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

10. Stop Unauthorized Incarcerations. We demand that the county eliminate unauthorized incarcerations and releases that occur because of short-staffing in county jails.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

PUBLIC SERVICES

11. Invest in Community Jobs Pipelines. We demand that the city work with the union to create apprenticeship and job training opportunities, partner with local educational institutions, and form hiring programs designed to bring low-income, minority, and disadvantaged community members into the workforce.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

12. Expand Pre-Trial Services. We demand that the county expand pre-trial services so that every individual booked and jailed in San Diego county can have an evaluation and assessment within 24 hours of their booking.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

13. Reduce Traffic Injuries. We demand that the city provide adequate crossing guard staffing at elementary and middle schools to prevent injuries that could have been prevented by the presence of a crossing guard.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

14. Protect Immigrant Families. We demand that the county create an Office of Refugee and Immigrant Services, expand county medical services to immigrant families, and implement a legal protection fund for immigrants facing deportation.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU 221, Invest in San Diego Families

15. Reasonable Scheduling. We demand that the city withdraw its bargaining proposal for mandatory night shifts and arbitrary scheduling for service workers.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

16. Improve Child Development. We demand the state improve the lives of children by increasing funding for foster care, childcare, after-school programs, in-state tuition subsidies, and visitation centers. We demand the state reduce caseloads for childcare workers, allowing them to focus on the children that need the most attention.

--Massachusetts Human Service Workers and Educators, SEIU 509

17. Fund Child Safety. We demand that the city hire more child safety workers and give them more manageable caseloads, less paperwork, and more job flexibility.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

PRIVATE SECTOR

1. **Ban the Box.** We demand that the company remove any questions pertaining to a potential employee's criminal record from employment applications.
--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26
2. **End Predatory Banking.** The Committee for Better Banks is organizing bank workers to demand fairer sales goals and end predatory practices.
--Committee for Better Banks, CWA Union
3. **Stop Privatization.** We demand that the dialysis and pediatric units remain in our hospitals and are not outsourced to for-profit institutions.
--Christ Hospital and Bayonne Medical Center Employees, HPAE Locals 5186 & 5185
4. **No Metro for Supremacists.** We demand that WMATA withdraw its plans to provide private train cars for attendees of the "Unite the Right" rally in Washington, DC.
--Washington DC Area Transit Workers, ATU Local 689
5. **Safe Staffing Levels.** We demand that the hospital employ enough nurses to ensure patient safety, quality patient care, and manageable nurse caseloads.
--Hackensack Meridian Health Workers, HPAE Local 5030
6. **Immigration Protections.** We demand that the hotel deny ICE access to the building without a judicial warrant and allow DACA and TPS employees to retain their jobs and seniority if they return within five years.
--Las Vegas Culinary Employees, UNITE HERE Local 226
7. **Remittances to Somalia.** We demand that US Bank restart remittances to Somalia, allowing its many Somali immigrant workers to send money to their families.
--Minnesota Property Services Union, SEIU Local 26
8. **Blocking Medical Debt Collectors.** We demand that the hospital not sell any of its patients' medical debt to third-party debt-collection agencies.
--Health Professionals and Allied Employees
9. **Sexual Harassment Protections.** We demand that the hotel provide panic buttons to housekeepers and ban guests who have displayed abusive behavior from finishing their stay or returning to the hotel.
--Las Vegas Culinary Employees, UNITE HERE Local 226
10. **Prayer Time.** We demand that the employer allow Muslim employees to attend daily prayers during breaks without clocking out, and reinstate workers fired for this reason.
--Hertz Employees Union, Teamsters Local 117



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

PRIVATIZATION

1. Public Contractor Database. We demand that the city require contractors to make their records pertaining to city services publicly available, and that the city create an online database of all contracted services and their associated costs.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

2. In-Source University Employment. We demand that the university stop contracting out work that would otherwise be performed by the bargaining unit and begin in-sourcing all work that is currently contracted out.

--University of California Service Employees, AFSCME Local 3299

3. Environmental Impact. We demand that the city issue a report on the impact a contract will have on the local economy and the environment prior to entering into the contract.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

4. Reduce Childcare Cost. We demand that the university stop contracting out the university's childcare centers, reduce waiting lists at its childcare centers, and bring the costs of university childcare to no more than 10% of the state's median costs.

--Washington Education Employees, SEIU Local 925

5. No Employee Displacement. We demand that no employee be laid-off, demoted, or displaced because of contracting and that the union have the right to review all proposed contracts that affect bargaining unit work.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

6. Hold Charter Schools Accountable. We demand that the district require more transparency and accountability from charter schools in the district and discuss with the union when determining a charter authorization, re-authorization, or school co-location.

--United Teachers Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

7. Improve Oversight and Accountability. We demand that the city increase oversight of its contractors, ensuring that contractors are providing the full services agreed to, at the quality agreed to, at the price agreed to, and are not violating any applicable laws.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

8. Charter Neutrality. We demand that the district require all charter schools it authorizes to remain neutral if their employees attempt to unionize.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

9. Contracting Transparency. We demand that the state be more transparent when contracting out services, and never contract out any service that could be provided by state employees at equal or lesser cost.

--Oregon Service Employees, SEIU Local 503

10. Strong Labor Standards for Contractors. We demand that the county ensure that all contracted employees are paid a livable wage with access to essential benefits.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU Local 221, Invest in San Diego Families



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

HOUSING

1. **Homeless Students.** We demand that the UW to negotiate over a solution to the problem of homeless UW students, who are forced to rely on shelters, cars and other temporary shelter.

--U District Alliance, SEIU 925

2. **Support for Unhoused and Underhoused Students.** We demand that the district offer services for homeless and extremely rent burdened students and families, develop unused district land into affordable housing, and lobby for better housing legislation.

--United Teachers of Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

3. **No Foreclosures During School Year.** We demand that the District cease all business with banks that foreclose on families with school-aged children during the school year.

--Saint Paul Minnesota Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 28/NEA

4. **Homelessness Services.** We demand the city invest in residential beds, affordable housing, and resources to prevent homelessness and provide dignity to the homeless population.

--San Diego County Employees, SEIU Local 221, Invest in San Diego Families

5. **Affordable Housing.** We demand that the city will restore its affordable housing budget to pre-recession levels, require Ellis Act evictors to pay their tenants the difference in affordable housing rates and market rates for two years, and put a windfall tax for properties that are bought and quickly flipped on the ballot.

--Southern California Public Service Workers, SEIU Local 721

6. **Funding Housing.** We demand the Board ensure that the city use TIF funds and revenue from real estate transfer taxes, a corporate head tax, and a millionaire's tax to fund affordable family housing units within the enrollment boundary of the Sustainable Community Schools and to fully fund section 8 voucher programs and expand Air-BnB housing rehabilitation to properly house 15,000 homeless students by 2020.

--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1

7. **Affordable Housing.** A requirement that developer payments for affordable housing in the U District Upzone be prioritized for building affordable housing in the same neighborhood.

--U District Alliance, SEIU 925



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

COVID-19

1. **Paid Time Off.** The state must implement additional paid sick days for all workers in Boston and throughout Massachusetts, including those not covered by existing FMLA laws.
--**Boston Teachers Union, AFT**
2. **No-cost testing.** We demand testing protocols that place no economic burden on individuals and families in need.
--**Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1**
3. **No Evictions or Foreclosures.** The state must enact a moratorium on evictions and foreclosures during the COVID-19 emergency.
--**Boston Teachers Union, AFT**
4. **Economic relief.** We demand debt forgiveness, suspended rent and mortgage payments, suspended eviction court and utility shut-offs.
--**United Teachers of Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT**
5. **Emergency Housing.** We demand that Hennepin County provide immediate day shelter for people who are experiencing homelessness and rely on public libraries.
--**Hennepin County Clerical and Related, AFSCME 2822**
6. **Internet.** Comcast must make the Internet Essentials program free for families until 60 days after students can return to school, increase download and upload speeds so families can work and learn from home simultaneously, and open residential hotspots to the public
--**Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 3; Baltimore Teachers Union**
7. **Child Care Support.** We demand the city provide a weekly disaster stipend for the city's working parents to stay home with their children without losing pay.
--**United Teachers of Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT**
8. **Public Services.** Expedite all new applications for public assistance. Emphasize that applications must be done by phone or online. Waive all face-to-face interviews or do them by phone.
--**Hennepin County Clerical and Related, AFSCME 2822**



Common Good Strategy Readiness Assessment

To determine readiness for using a Common Good Strategy, locals should assess and reflect on four categories: general readiness and landscape, community/parent relationships, internal organizing capacity, and bargaining status. There are several more crucial components to a successful BCG campaign, including strategic research and communications. 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 Common Good 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?
- ☐ 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?

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



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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).