

Participant Handouts



Organizing for the Common Good

UniServ Directors support collective actions that help members and community allies achieve common demands. Organizing for the Common Good seeks to expand how we think about bargaining, partnerships and the wins we achieve. Participants expand the scope of traditional bargaining and organizing frameworks that have been used to limit worker power; design demands that represent shared interests between unions and community partners; and plan for collective direct actions as primary tactics in achieving wins. Participants will explore several cases where a “common good” approach is being applied at varying levels of development. UniServ Directors will learn how to help themselves and others:

- Assess affiliate readiness and capacity to use a “common good” strategy
- Develop a shared understanding of institutionalized and structural economic injustice
- Establish community coalitions as allies sharing common interests
- Build and practice the skills of racial and social justice demands, narrative development, communication and campaign planning.

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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.

Thinking About Systems of Injustice

Economic System

Who are the powerholders?

What are the unjust policies and systems being used?

Who is being oppressed?

What is the overall impact on society?

Housing System

Who are the powerholders?

What are the unjust policies and systems being used?

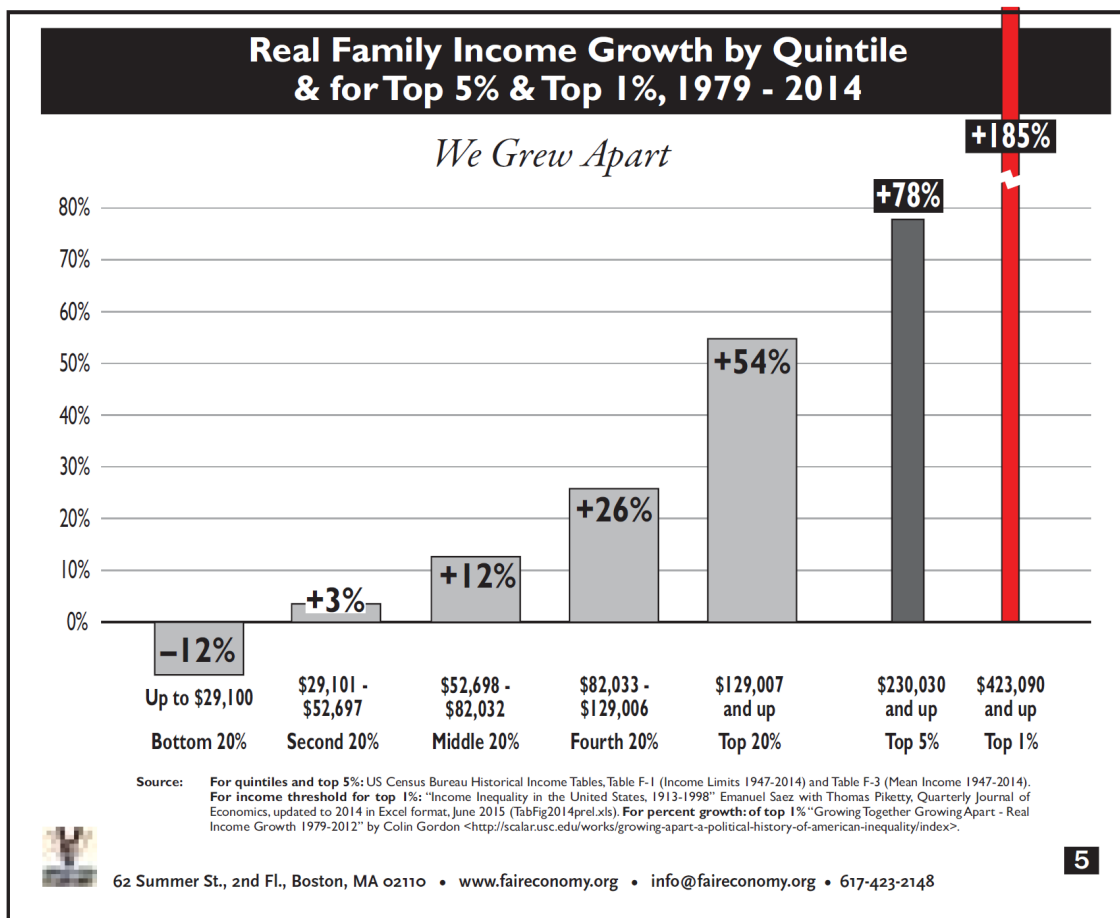
Who is being oppressed?

What is the overall impact on society?

How are these injustices linked to the work of your Union?

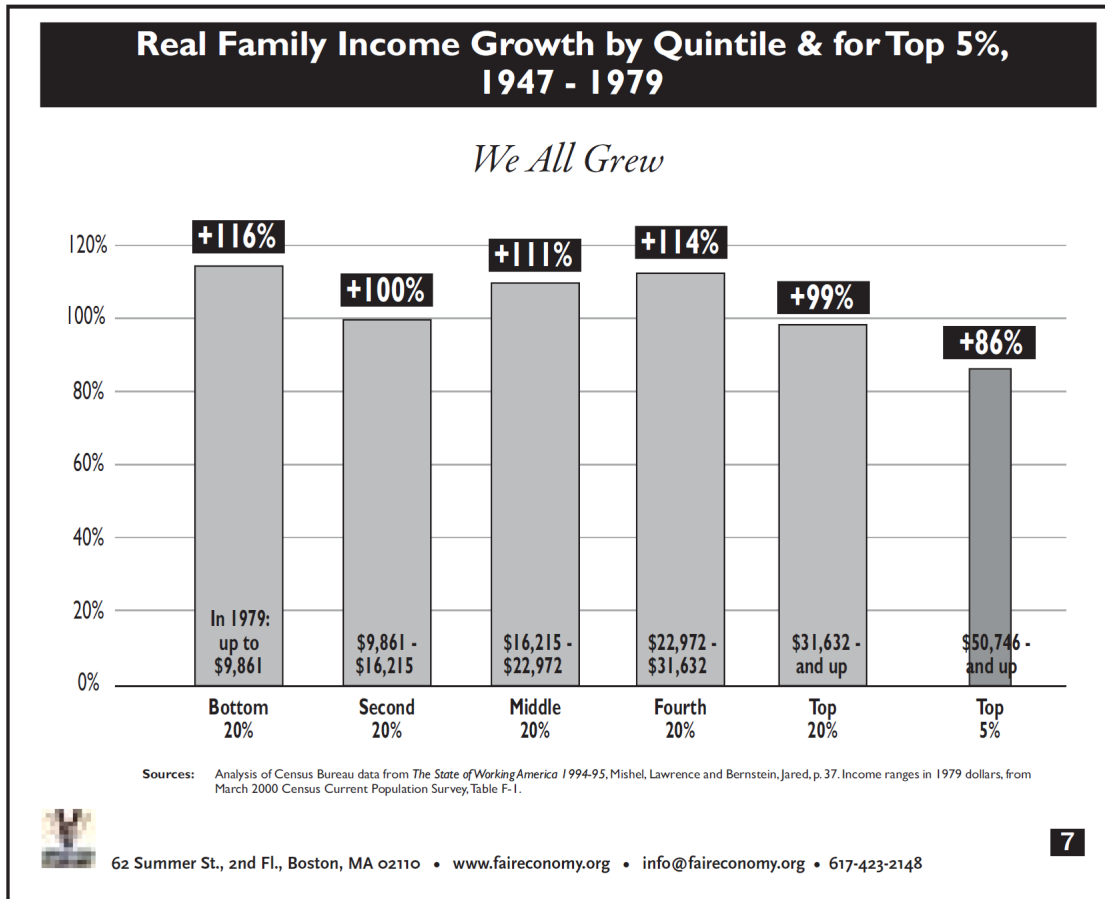
Economic System

Thinking about money...	
What is wealth?	What is income?
Are you in control over your income and your wealth? In other words, can you increase them?	



Questions for Reflection:

Which of the quintiles are my members in? What about my ESP members? Other thoughts....

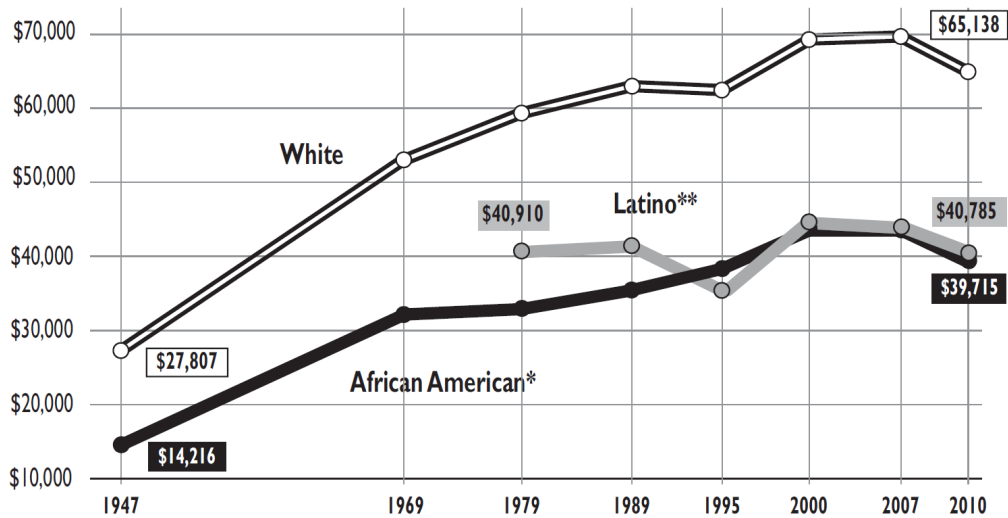


Questions for reflection:

What was the difference in politics and policies between the first time period and this one?

Median Family Income by Race, 1947-2010

Racial Income Inequality Persists



Source: Analysis of Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement *Historical Income Tables* (Table F-5) in *The State of Working America* <<http://stateofworkingamerica.org/chart/swa-income-table-2-5-median-family-income/>> Economic Policy Institute. All income in 2011 dollars.
 * Prior to 1967, data for African Americans included all "non-whites." **The Census Bureau uses the term "Hispanic." We prefer "Latino." Persons of "Latino" origin may be of any race.



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Reflections and Connections:

What are the expressions of racism apparent in the economic system?

March 2017

Fact Sheet: *The 35 Percent Corporate Tax Myth*

The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy has released the latest in a series of reports, spanning the last three decades, that examine Fortune 500 firms' corporate tax filings. The new report examines eight years of data from 2008 to 2015. For a variety of reasons, it is possible for a corporation to pay different effective tax rates from one year to the next, so this eight-year study provides a more helpful view of long-term trends in corporate taxes. Importantly, the report only includes corporations that were consistently profitable over the eight-year period. In other words, if a firm had a loss in even one year, it is excluded from this report. By leaving out corporations that had losses (which means they wouldn't owe any income tax), this report provides a clear picture of the average effective tax rates paid by our nation's biggest, and consistently profitable companies. This study includes 258 Fortune 500 firms that were profitable every year between 2008 and 2015. Below are key findings.

TAX RATES

Profitable Fortune 500 firms collectively pay far less than the statutory 35 percent federal corporate tax rate. 258 profitable Fortune 500 corporations paid an average effective tax rate of 21.2 percent on their U.S. profits over the eight years between 2008 and 2015.

Many profitable corporations are finding ways to zero out their corporate taxes.

Of the 258 profitable Fortune 500 companies in our sample:

- 18 paid ZERO in taxes over the full eight-year period.
- 100 paid zero—or less—in at least one profitable year during the eight-year period, 58 of those companies had multiple zero-tax years.
- 24 companies zeroed out their taxes in at least four of the eight years.
- 48 companies paid a rate between 0 and 10 percent over eight years.

Utility and oil, gas and pipeline companies pay low tax rates. Utilities (e.g. electricity providers) paid an eight-year tax rate averaging just 3 percent. Oil, gas and pipeline companies paid an average 11.2 percent rate. Telecommunications companies paid 11.5 percent, and Internet services companies paid an eight-year average of 15.6 percent.

Retail and health care companies are more likely to pay close to the statutory 35 percent rate. About a quarter of the companies in the study sample paid a tax rate averaging 30 percent or more. Almost 60 percent of these companies were in just two economic sectors: retail trade and health care.

Of the profitable companies in the retail and health care sectors, more than half paid eight-year tax rates exceeding 30 percent. Among all other economic sectors, just 15 percent—less than one out of six—paid an eight-year rate exceeding 30 percent.

TAX BREAKS

Collectively, the 258 corporations enjoyed \$526 billion in tax breaks over the last eight years. More than half of those tax breaks, \$286 billion, went to just 25 of the most profitable corporations. The five biggest beneficiaries of tax breaks during the eight-year period were AT&T (\$38 billion), Wells Fargo (\$31 billion), J.P. Morgan (\$22 billion), Verizon (\$21 billion), and IBM (\$17.8 billion).

Tax breaks for executive stock options continued to play an important role in reducing taxes, especially for the tech sector. Companies reduced their taxes by \$51.8 billion during the eight-year period using the “excess stock option” tax breaks. Ten percent of these tax breaks went to Facebook alone, and 25 companies collectively reaped more than half the tax savings from the stock option break.

TAXES AT HOME AND ABROAD

Many multinational companies face higher corporate tax rates abroad than in the United States. Of 107 companies in our report that engaged in substantial international activities (constituting more than 10 percent of their worldwide income), 62 paid higher foreign tax rates on their foreign income than the tax rate they paid to the U.S. treasury on their domestic income. For these 62 companies, the average foreign tax rate was 25.8 and the average federal tax rate was 18.3.

REPORT METHODOLOGY

ITEP’s new report builds on the findings of our last similar study, released in February 2014. The 2014 report examined corporate tax payments by U.S.-based Fortune 500 corporations that were consistently profitable, *in the United States*, over the five-year period between 2008 and 2012. The new report extends this time period to include three new years, 2013 through 2015. Now our sample consists of Fortune 500 corporations that were consistently profitable in the United States during the eight-year period between 2008 and 2015.

25 Companies with the Largest TOTAL Tax Subsidies, 2008-15 (\$ - millions)

Company	2008-15 Tax breaks
AT&T	38,068
Wells Fargo	31,428
J.P. Morgan Chase & Co.	22,213
Verizon Communications	21,130
International Business Machines	17,806
General Electric	15,389
Exxon Mobil	12,942
Boeing	11,863
PNC Financial Services Group	8,809
Procter & Gamble	8,515
NextEra Energy	7,844
Twenty-First Century Fox	7,630
Duke Energy	7,341
Devon Energy	7,224
Comcast	7,172
Time Warner	6,720
Southern	6,569
American Electric Power	6,473
Union Pacific	6,333
United Technologies	6,001
Qualcomm	5,934
Exelon	5,898
Time Warner Cable	5,692
Intel	5,521
Goldman Sachs Group	5,455
Total these 25 companies	\$ 285,969
Other 233 companies	240,791
All companies	\$ 526,760

Activity 11: What's Been Done in the Past?

- Trainer's Goals:*
- Elicit a few significant examples in U.S. history when workers, low-income people and others acted collectively to address the consequences and causes of economic inequality.
 - Foster a sense of empowerment in participants by showing that past social movements brought about changes in economic rules and policies that ultimately resulted in a more equitable distribution of wealth and income.

This activity demonstrates that we have a rich history of struggle in the face of growing inequality and all the negative consequences it brings to our society, communities, and families. The activity is a departure from the previous sections of the workshop that described conditions and offered an analysis. It aims to move participants out of moods of despair, hopelessness, and frustration by demonstrating that there are actions — some very successful — that folks took in response to extreme economic inequality. In fact, there are numerous examples that can inspire, educate, and challenge us to act. It is also important to point out that all the popular movements we cite were complex, with features that we can emulate and others that should be rejected.

- Instruction:*
- That ends the despair portion of our program. Let's see what we can learn from history. In pairs, name any examples of some of the organized responses of Americans when economic inequality became extreme — when those benefitting from the concentration of wealth and power “have gone too far” and masses of people rose up in struggle for a more equitable economy. We will hear a sample.

[See the Talking Points on the next page for some examples of economic justice movements as well as some of the criticisms of these movements.]

Question: What do the following have in common?

- the weekend
- the 8-hour work-day
- the 40-hour work-week
- the minimum wage
- laws prohibiting child labor
- laws extending the right to vote for women and minorities
- Social Security
- Medicare

Response: They are all the direct result of people organizing to establish rules and policies that address economic inequality and maintain fairness; and they are things we sometimes take for granted.

2. How would you describe some of the shortcomings of these movements? What do you suggest be done to avoid these errors.

Talking Points

- ◆ The struggle to abolish slavery was a long one and, at the time of the Civil War, resulted in tremendously significant rules changes — the 13th amendment to the Constitution ended legal slavery; the 14th Amendment established the right of African Americans in the South to vote, hold office, and own property; and freed slaves were granted 40 acres and a mule enabling them to “get on the asset train.” The period of reaction and terror that followed Reconstruction, however, put in place Jim Crow laws that disenfranchised African Americans and were not overthrown until the Black Freedom Movement in the 1950s and '60s.
- ◆ The Populists were unique in the ways in which they united rural farmers and urban workers. In the 1880s, the Populists began a campaign for the first income taxes. However, some Populists succumbed to racial and anti-Semitic views that contributed to their demise. But we do have a lot to learn about their commitment to creating real economic democracy.
- ◆ In the 1930s, the Share Our Wealth movement campaigned for a cap on excessive wealth & income, a 30-hour work week, and a universal retirement pension. New Deal legislation, and other laws and policies passed as a result of mass movements for economic justice, benefited working people across the board. Unfortunately, employers often found ways to circumvent the rules, discriminating against women and people of color, and driving wedges between natural allies.
- ◆ Although some unions and labor organizing efforts maintained overt racist and sexist practices, the more progressive unions fought for the inclusion of people of color and women in their ranks and fought for rule changes that would benefit all.

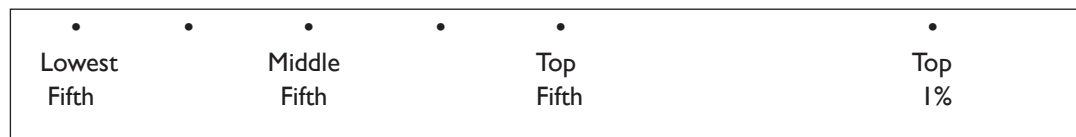


Activity 12: Changing the Rules

- Trainers' Goals:*
- Identify a wide range of policy ideas to close the income and wealth gap.
 - Explore the consequences for the various quintiles that the different policy ideas have on the income and wealth gap.

This activity is similar to the Income Quintiles activity (page 27). Six volunteers, representing income quintiles and the top one percent, will move closer to or further apart from each other as participants suggest policy remedies to close the income and wealth gap. After each suggested policy change, the trainer should check in with the group to make sure everyone understands the rule or policy suggestion. Treat this activity as a laboratory in which to test out ideas. Do not get too stuck on knowing exactly what the impact of each suggestion will be. Let the dialogue flow.

- Instructions:*
- In small groups, brainstorm policy and/or rule changes that would close the income and wealth gap. [To save time, this task can be done by the whole group.]
 - Let's have six volunteers — five representing population quintiles, and a sixth representing the top one percent — line up in the order that corresponds to the existing income spread. Let's hear ideas to close the income gap. What impact do you expect each suggestion will have on the quintiles? [For instance, a suggestion to "raise the minimum wage" would likely lift the lowest quintile — but also raise the living standards of the bottom three fifths.] Let's have the quintile volunteers move according to the impact of the suggested policy and rule changes.



Suggested Policy Remedies for Closing the Income and Wealth Gap

- Raising the minimum wage → bumps up the bottom three quintiles
- Promoting unionization → bumps up the bottom four quintiles
- Expanding college loans → lifts the second and third quintiles
- Progressive taxation → moves the top 1% closer to group
- Eliminating special tax loopholes → moves the top 1% down
- Raising the "no tax threshold" → raises the bottom two quintiles (if threshold raised to \$20,000)
- Wealth taxation → moves the top quintile down
- Reparations (for slavery) → benefits African-Americans the largest percentage of whom are in the bottom quintile
- Amnesty for immigrants → lifts the bottom quintile, maybe the second quintile as well
- Increased spending on education, health care, etc. → lifts the bottom three quintiles, maybe the fourth quintile as well
- Maximum wage: linking the top tax rate to ratio minimum wage → lifts the bottom three quintiles and reduces top quintile
- Expand the earned income tax credit → lifts bottom two quintiles

Actions and Policies that Worsen Inequality

- Welfare reform and reducing benefits - pulls down the bottom three quintiles
- Prison labor - pulls down the bottom three quintiles
- Cutting capital gains tax - pushes the top 1% up, the top quintile too
- Cutting corporate taxes - pushes the top 1% up

- Look at the policies and rule changes that we've proposed [see Talking Points, next page] that shrink the income and wealth gap. Group them according to the following framework:
 - Policies that lift the floor.
 - Policies that address the concentration of wealth and power.
 - Policies that level the playing field.
- What type of policies do you think might give the top 1% – 3% a self-interest in seeing the living standards of other Americans rise? What actions would you suggest can be taken to increase equality that don't require using government intervention?

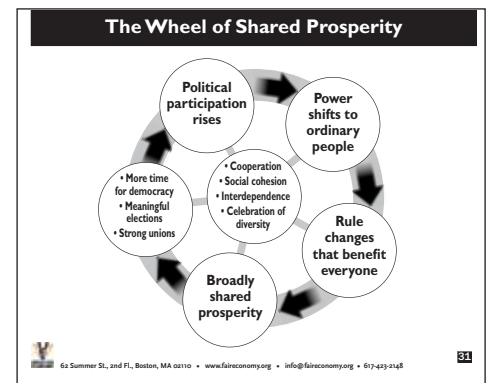
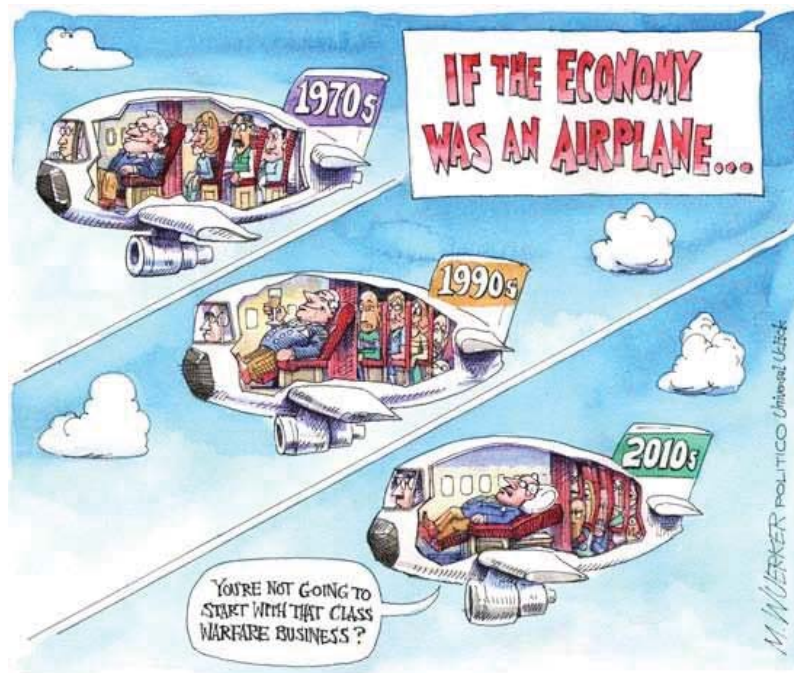


Chart #31: Wheel of Shared Prosperity

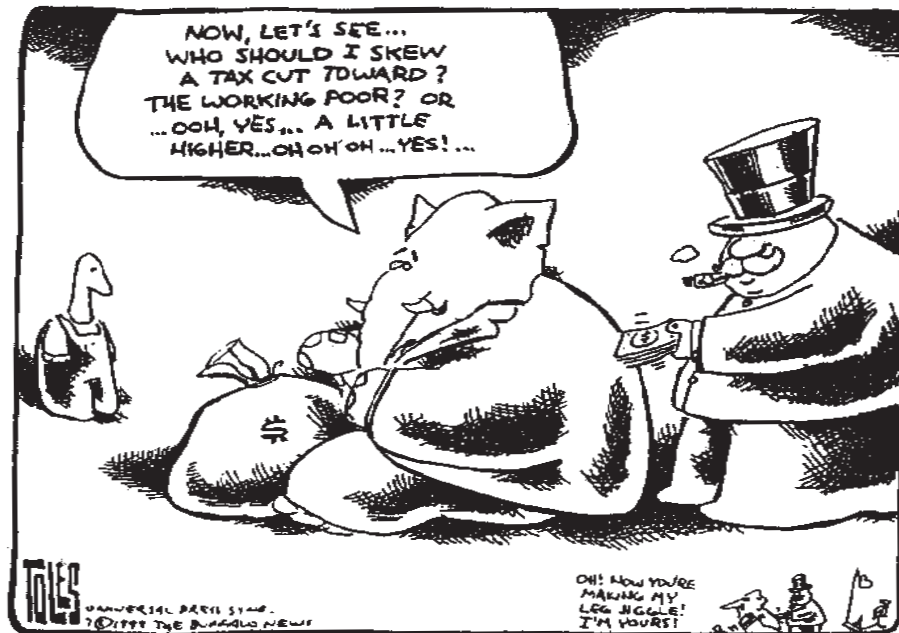


Talking Points

- ◆ **Lifting the floor:** These are strategies that seek to bring people at the bottom up to at least a level where they have the ability to make use of their talents and pursue their dreams.
 - *Increase the Minimum Wage to at least a Living Wage.* A living wage would keep families above the poverty threshold. The level that would bring a family of three above the poverty line is \$8.20 per hour. Many cities, including New York, Chicago, L.A., Minneapolis-St. Paul, Baltimore, and Boston, have approved living wage ordinances, and many local and statewide campaigns are underway. It's simply an embarrassment that we have a system where people who work 40 hours a week cannot live above the poverty line.
 - *Support Family Self-Sufficiency projects (FESS).* FESS is a measure of the real cost of living, working, raising a family and paying taxes. In contrast to the outmoded federal poverty guidelines, the FESS Standard presents an accurate picture of the real costs of living for families in today's marketplace. There are 8 states participating in the State Organizing Project for Family Economic Self-Sufficiency, a national and state-level collaboration organized by Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) and its national partner organizations.
 - *Help moderate and low-income families build assets.* The key to long term economic security for most families is assets, even more than income. Since 1976, we have seen a great concentration of assets in the hands of the top 1%. The government should be doing everything it can to help families purchase homes and build their savings, as was done with the Federal Home Mortgage Assistance Program following World War II.
 - *Shorter work week.* We have seen the advent of many labor-saving devices over the past few decades, yet we all seem to be working longer and longer. With a shorter work week people could spend more time with their families and communities. The Shorter Work Time Project, based in Somerville, MA has chapters around the country working on this issue.
 - *Institute National Health Care for All.* Plain and simple: health care should not be rationed out based on the ability to pay.
- ◆ **Addressing the concentration of wealth and power:** These are strategies that seek to level the playing field by bringing people from the top down. Some examples:
 - *Wealth tax.* Many European countries have a wealth tax. See *Top Heavy*, by Edward Wolff, for details.
 - *Progressive tax rates.* This would raise the top tax rate and lower taxes on low- moderate-income workers. Remember, the top tax rate applies only to the top one to two percent of the country.
 - *A maximum wage that is tied to the minimum wage* establishes some relationship between the two and insures that we as a nation grow together.
 - *Cut corporate subsidies, particularly when the recipients do not add jobs but pad their executives' compensation.*
 - *Increase taxes on inheritances.*
 - *Tax investments at the same level as earned income.*
- ◆ Cutting handouts to corporations and the rich will raise available revenue which could be used to:
 1. Reduce the national debt.
 2. Reduce taxes on everyone else putting buying and saving power into the pockets of ordinary people and fueling the economy.
 3. Invest in jobs and a more productive and sustainable economy.
 4. Invest in people through education, job training, and help for those in need.

Some Current Proposals Will Worsen Inequality

- ◆ You would think the “trickle down” policies of deregulation and tax cuts for the wealthy would be discredited by the bursting of the housing bubble and the onset of The Great Recession, but they persist. Advocates for the corporate power elite in Congress continue to press for rules that would further concentrate wealth and income at the top while lowering living standards for the middle class and low-income households:
 - maintaining income tax cuts for the top two percent
 - trimming capital gains taxes by half
 - permanently repealing the Estate Tax
 - privatizing Social Security
 - trimming the deficit by cutting spending on what remains of the social safety net
 - proposing a Flat Tax and a National Sales Tax.



The House We Live In Worksheet

Home Equity	
FHA - Federal Housing Authority	
Redlining	
Segregation	
Generational Wealth	
Suburbs	
Public Policy	

How Can a Common Good Campaign Help Your Affiliate?

Injustice Overview	Campaign Demands	How could joining this campaign help your affiliate?
Climate Change Power Holders -		
Housing Power Holders -		
Social Justice Power Holders -		
Name: Power Holders -		
Name: Power Holders -		



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

**RACIAL JUSTICE • CLIMATE JUSTICE
EDUCATION • FINANCE
IMMIGRATION • PUBLIC SERVICES
PRIVATE SECTOR • PRIVATIZATION**

RUTGERS

School of Management
and Labor Relations

Center for Innovation in Worker
Organization



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



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

INTRODUCTION

What is Bargaining for the Common Good?

The Bargaining for the Common Good Network is made up of unions, community groups, racial justice organizations and student organizations that work together as partners to win bigger and broader demands at the bargaining table and in our communities. Unions that have the right to bargain use contract fights as an opportunity to organize with community partners around a set of demands that benefit not just the bargaining unit, but also the wider community as a whole. In these campaigns, labor and community groups work with a broad group of stakeholders acting in their own interest to demand that corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share so that our communities have what they need to prosper.

Key Principles of BCG 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.

The following 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 |





CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Education

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

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

Racial Justice

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

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

Climate Justice

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

Finance

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

Immigration

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

Public Services

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

Private Sector

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



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

1. **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
2. **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
3. **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
4. **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
5. **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
6. **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
7. **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
8. **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
9. **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
10. **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



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

11. **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
12. **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
13. **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
14. **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
15. **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
16. **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
17. **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
18. **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
19. **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



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

RACIAL JUSTICE

20. **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

21. **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

22. **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

23. **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

CLIMATE JUSTICE

1. **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
2. **Free School Transportation.** We demand that the District provide free bus passes to low-income students.
--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1
3. **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
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. **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
6. **Vehicle Emission Standards.** United Auto Workers could bargain over the emission standards for the vehicles that they build.
--Saqib Bhatti and Stephen Lerner, "Labor Must Take on Capital" in Jacobin
7. **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
8. **Green Public Infrastructure.** Municipal unions could bargain for cities to green their infrastructure through renewable energy and higher efficiency standards.
--Saqib Bhatti and Stephen Lerner, "Labor Must Take on Capital" in Jacobin
9. **Vacancies to Community Gardens.** We demand that the city transform vacant publicly owned land to community gardens.
--Florida Public Services Union, SEIU Local 8
10. **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. **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

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



CONCRETE EXAMPLES OF BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

EDUCATION

9. **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
10. **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
11. **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
12. **Free School Transportation.** We demand that the district provide free bus cards to low-income students.
--Chicago Teachers Union, AFT Local 1
13. **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
14. **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
15. **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
16. **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
17. **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
18. **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

19. **Recess.** We demand that all K-5 students have at least 30 minutes of recess per day.
--Seattle Education Association, SEA/WEA/NEA
20. **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
21. **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
22. **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
23. **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
24. **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
25. **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
26. **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
27. **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
28. **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

29. **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

30. **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

31. **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

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

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

33. **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

34. **Fight District Homelessness.** 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 Los Angeles, NEA/CTA/AFT

35. **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

36. **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

37. **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

38. **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



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.
--Saib 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.** 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

<https://prospect.org/article/why-unions-must-bargain-affordable-housing-and-how>



Why Unions Must Bargain for Affordable Housing—and How

With housing costs gobbling up wage increases for union members and almost everyone else, labor must prioritize housing affordability.

Stephen Lerner & Christina Livingston February 19, 2019

For many millions of Americans, winning decent, safe, and affordable housing is an urgent necessity.

Housing costs are putting the squeeze on working families in urban and suburban settings alike, especially in communities of color that have long been targeted by predatory housing schemes. Since the financial crisis, housing affordability has grown even worse for workers, as gentrification, rising rents, and the corporatization of rental properties—both multifamily and single-family homes—displace communities of color and increase homelessness.

It's time for the American union movement to put the issue of affordable housing at the center of its quest to better the lives of American workers. In much of the country, the wage gains that its members may win in their contracts lag far behind the increasing costs they confront when they rent or try to purchase a home. By expanding the scope of the issues they bargain for, by making common cause with the many community organizations demanding more affordable housing, unions can play a crucial role in creating more such housing for their members and the broader public, in the process establishing new connections with a working class badly in need of unions.

IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING the 2008 recession, developers and private-equity landlords such as Blackstone and Cerberus seized the opportunity to buy up recently foreclosed homes in key markets heavily populated by working-class and poor people of color. Residents in these communities have seen landlords raise rents to unreasonable levels, while systematically neglecting building maintenance to force out working-class tenants and gentrify their neighborhoods. These problems are markedly worse in communities hammered by hurricanes, rising oceans, wildfires, and other climate change-induced weather. After each climate-related disaster, profiteers have moved in, looking for ways to build luxury properties to replace the affordable housing destroyed by storms. Communities in Puerto Rico, Houston, North Carolina, Florida, the New Jersey Shore, and New York's Rockaways have all witnessed this pattern.

Despite the acute shortage of affordable housing, national and local real-estate lobbies still advocate trickle-down housing solutions that mirror the failed theory of trickle-down economics. Finance and

real-estate companies, often in partnership with so-called “nonprofit housing champions,” have won bipartisan political support for the idea that we can “build our way out” by removing “red tape” and giving tax breaks and incentives for developers to create “market rate” housing (which most people can’t afford) and luxury housing with minimal affordable housing requirements.

These forces have also used their wealth and political power to beat back progressive efforts like California’s 2018 Proposition 10, a citizen-led initiative that would have allowed local governments to expand rent control to cover more tenants. Adding insult to injury, developers and private-equity firms have tapped the capital of public-employee pension funds and college endowments—using workers’ retirement savings to oppose progressive legislation, buy up housing, and price workers out of the cities where they work.

Unions have an undeniable interest in confronting the housing crisis.

Unions have an undeniable interest in confronting the housing crisis. Raises won through collective bargaining aren’t keeping up with ballooning housing costs. All too often workers whose wages have stagnated are forced out of their communities and into sometimes hours-long commutes to work, leading to increased transportation costs, declines in mental and physical health, worsened traffic congestion, deteriorating roads, and greater air pollution. Nor can unions help their members borrow their way into better housing: Many are already saddled with crushing student debt that leaves them little disposable income to apply to a mortgage.

Yet while racial justice, housing, and community groups have been leading the fight for affordable housing in recent years, unions have been slow to join the struggle. We argue that labor should prioritize housing justice, partner with groups that are fighting for it, and build a broader housing movement that addresses inequality and racial injustice. Not only will reducing the cost of housing prevent landlords, lenders, and developers from pocketing the lion’s share of collectively bargained raises from union members, but it will also weaken the political power of those groups—a necessity if unions hope to build meaningful power of their own.

IN RECENT YEARS, coalitions across the country have been using an innovative tool we can apply to the housing issue: Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG). Built around the idea that unions, in partnership with community allies, need to expand collective bargaining demands to include issues that go beyond wages and benefits to confront the structural forces that are driving inequality and worker disempowerment, BCG first emerged among public-sector unions in the aftermath of the financial crisis. BCG campaigns have seen unions bring community partners into the bargaining process to help define

the goals of bargaining and raise demands that confront structural inequalities and target the powerful financial interests that are invested in perpetuating them.



Recent months have witnessed an upsurge in strikes that include common-good demands, from the teacher walkouts of 2018, to AFSCME Local 3299's work stoppage at the University of California, and most recently, the teachers strike in Los Angeles.

Here, striking teachers rally in downtown LA. AP Photo/Damian Dovarganes

Recent months have witnessed an upsurge in strikes that include common-good demands, from the teacher walkouts of 2018, to AFSCME Local 3299's work stoppage at the University of California, and most recently, the teachers strike in Los Angeles. These and other struggles have helped shape BCG demands on issues from creating community centers and green spaces in inner cities, to ending the school-to-prison pipeline, to hiring from disadvantaged communities and ending predatory banking relationships. The BCG approach is now expanding into the private sector as the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the CWA-backed Committee for Better Banks organize around the idea that workers can play a central role in stopping banks from engaging in predatory lending practices.

Organizing and bargaining for common good on housing can build on and expand the work of developing broad labor-community alignments, and add a new dimension to the housing fight.

Why should community and tenant organizing groups and housing advocates include BCG campaigning in their housing justice fights?

- To win massive increases in affordable housing, they have to expand the base of housing advocates, and BCG campaigns bring in unions at a critical moment.
- BCG campaigns open up another arena in which to battle for affordable housing—the collective-bargaining table. Public-sector employers, universities, hospitals, and major corporations have not been confronted in contract negotiations or organizing campaigns with housing demands.
- The audacity of a well-run BCG fight, like the recent LA teachers strike, makes wins possible at a larger scale than we have been able to win through more-established housing campaign strategies.

Why should unions prioritize the housing issue? In addition to their obvious interest in preserving the value of the wage increases they win and ensuring their members can find affordable housing in the communities where they work, five reasons stand out:

- Fighting for affordable housing offers public-sector unions the opportunity to recruit and retain members in this post-*Janus* environment by addressing an issue vital to public workers' lives.
- The same entities with which unions negotiate collective-bargaining agreements play a role in making housing unaffordable. The private-equity giant Blackstone, for example, employs 500,000 workers and is also the nation's biggest landlord. Universities and hospitals where unions are either organized or organizing are often drivers of gentrification and destruction of affordable housing.
- Non-union corporations like Amazon and other "new economy" firms help drive rising rents and gentrification. By holding them accountable for their impact on housing, unions lay the groundwork for making them accountable for their labor policies as well.

Public pensions are currently investing workers' capital in companies that are destroying affordable housing.

Public pensions are currently investing workers' capital in companies that are destroying affordable housing. Redirecting that capital toward affordable housing will end this self-defeating practice.

- Focusing on housing will allow unions to partner with and support the work of racial and housing justice groups, recasting bargaining as not just for those covered by the contract but the entire community—strengthening the unions' ability to win economic and other gains at the bargaining table.

WHAT WOULD A NATIONAL Bargaining for Housing Justice fight look like and what themes should inform it? Right to the City frames housing as a "human right"; People's Action calls for "guaranteed housing"; the Partnership for Working Families asserts that housing is a necessity, not a commodity, and that everyone has a right to safe, affordable housing where they choose to live. These and other groups working on housing justice seek to lift up the idea that people's access to housing shouldn't be determined solely by "market forces." This must also be one of any campaign's central themes.

The campaign should include these six elements:

- **Expanding and connecting city, state, and national work.** In addition to robust statewide campaigns in New York and California for universal rent control, a growing consortium of groups is working on affordable housing all over the country. It is essential to ground labor's efforts by supporting and expanding the ongoing work in cities like Detroit, Minneapolis, and Chicago, and other places where housing is now a priority for organizers on the ground. In these cities, the crisis gives organizers an opportunity to expand their bases and to connect to other cities fighting similar fights. Linking work in

different geographies by focusing on common landlords, investors, developers, and banks that finance them offers the potential to magnify the work nationally and increase the power of local work.

- **Organizing tenant unions to negotiate directly with corporate landlords.** Private-equity landlords like Blackstone and Cerberus operate all over the country. Blackstone is the nation's largest single-family landlord and the largest owner of housing more generally, with investments in tens of thousands of single-family homes, apartments, manufactured home communities, and mortgages. A number of private-equity companies have been buying up manufactured housing parks and then jacking up the rent on the land and inflating other charges for people unable to move their homes to new locations. Unions know how to confront corporate giants like these. Both Hilton Hotel workers and office-building janitors have successfully faced off against Blackstone before. Tenants who live in homes owned by Blackstone and similar entities have also successfully confronted these behemoths. In recent years, a number of tenant unions have pulled off successful rent strikes. MHAction, an organization of mobile-home tenants in rural and exurban areas from California to Florida to New York, has won rent victories in Humboldt County, California, and is conducting an ongoing rent strike in Akron, New York. Tenant unions can and should negotiate over rent control, needed repairs, and a grievance procedure to address ongoing disputes. Labor unions and tenant unions could partner on national campaigns demanding that private-equity companies respect the rights of unionized and non-union workers alike, and agree to bargain with newly formed tenant unions. Together, tenant unions and labor unions could pressure endowments and public-employee pension funds that invest in private equity to divest from companies that won't respect the rights of their tenants and workers.



By holding large companies like Amazon accountable for their impact on housing, unions lay the groundwork for making them accountable for their labor policies as well. Here, members of the public voice support for a measure to tax large businesses like Amazon and Starbucks to fight homelessness during a Seattle City Council meeting. AP Photo/Elaine Thompson, File

- **Fighting for universal rent control and state and local rent control laws.** Rent control is critical to protecting the existing stock of affordable housing. There is growing support and political pressure to pass and expand rent control policies around the country. While California's rent control initiative—Proposition 10—was defeated in 2018, it received nearly five million votes despite the misinformation spread by the landlord lobby and the more than \$70 million raised by its corporate opponents. The Proposition 10 fight nonetheless lifted up the importance of rent control as a critical tool to save affordable housing. Other fights must follow. In New York, there is now a statewide effort to strengthen rent laws. Legislation for rent control is also being introduced in Illinois, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, and Orlando.

- **Targeting corporate landlords' reliance on tax breaks and public-pension-fund capital.** Corporate landlords benefit from huge local and federal tax breaks and get much of their capital from public-employee pension funds. Both the local and national campaigns should prioritize persuading pension funds to divest from corporate landlords, invest in affordable housing, and push to change laws that subsidize luxury development at the expense of working-class communities. This effort must demonstrate the long-term economic benefit of increasing affordable housing, even if initial returns are lower than investing in predatory corporate landlords. Continued investment in predatory housing schemes threatens the long-term stability of pension funds and undermines the interests of the workers whose retirement incomes they invest.
- **Experimenting with innovative community-centered solutions.** Community organizations and policy partners over the past years have developed many strategies to reverse the housing crisis. A major part of the campaign will be expanding these efforts nationally. This includes but is not limited to strengthening the Community Reinvestment Act, developing stable community land trusts and housing trust funds, and funding and expanding public housing. In 2018, the California-based community organization Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (ACCE) was able to organize against a local predatory landlord and, working with the Oakland Community Land Trust, acquire that landlord's properties for the trust—thereby making the housing permanently affordable and avoiding yet another Bay Area eviction for profit. Such efforts need to be duplicated in other settings.
- **Working for federal housing legislation.** Introducing a federal housing bill that addresses rent control and massively expands funding for public housing will help nationalize the issue, setting the stage for housing justice as a central theme in the 2020 elections. Such legislation will also help highlight the role corporations are playing in driving up rents and challenge the idea that the solution to the crisis in public housing is to privatize it or dismantle it altogether. Making housing a key issue in 2020 will be critical to building momentum and support for increased affordable housing. We do not claim to offer a silver bullet by presenting these strategies, nor suggest that one initiative alone can address the overall housing crisis. Yet knitting together the elements of local and national housing fights, and illuminating how they interconnect, is crucial to figuring out where traditional housing groups and labor can work together to build the power necessary to address this issue.

Historically, unions have played a role in the development of affordable housing in cities with significant union membership.

THIS WOULD NOT BE the first time that unions have grappled with the housing issue. Historically, unions have played a role in the development of affordable housing in cities with significant union membership. In addition, unions are involved in a variety of ongoing efforts to fund and support affordable housing.

- The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union developed cooperative housing units for their members in New York in the late 1920s. Subsequent to this, IBEW Local 3 built upon their model in the late 1940s and 1950s, developing 38 buildings with roughly 2,500 units. In 1951, 19 unions worked alongside community organizations to create the United Housing Foundation, building tens of thousands of cooperative housing units over the ensuing two decades.
- The AFL-CIO's Housing Investment Trust (HIT) fund has put Taft-Hartley pension funds to work in developing affordable housing and elderly housing, using an exclusively union workforce. Building upon the work of its predecessor, the Mortgage Investment Trust, the HIT has focused on Boston, Chicago, New York, Minneapolis-St. Paul, St. Louis, and the Bay Area, investing in more than 70,000 affordable units—some for designated groups of workers, such as teachers, others for that sector of the public priced out of much market-rate housing.
- In Seattle, locals of AFSCME, the Laborers, the Teamsters, SEIU, UAW, and UNITE HERE have worked together with community allies (including the Low Income Housing Institute, Transit Riders Union, Sierra Club, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, and the Coalition of Immigrants, Refugees and Communities of Color) as members of the U District Alliance for Equity and Livability, a coalition focused on ensuring that existing communities stand to benefit from the substantial growth and expansion of the University of Washington. The U District Alliance has won Seattle City Council support for a UW expansion plan that includes free transit passes for over 10,000 UW workers and 450 units of affordable workforce housing.
- The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) has proposed in its upcoming contractual bargaining that the city's Board of Education support rent control efforts and ensure the city enacts a real-estate transfer tax, a corporate head tax and a millionaire's tax to fund more affordable housing.

CENTRAL TO ANY LABOR EFFORT to advance housing justice must be the development of bargaining campaigns that expose the role key employers may play in making housing unaffordable and identify ways they can contribute to creating affordable housing. In order to do this, unions must ascertain whether the employer's expansion is eliminating affordable housing, whether its pension plan or endowment is invested in institutions (banks, private-equity firms) that are driving housing unaffordability, and whether the employer's board members are involved in business activities that lead to displacement and higher rent.

Unions must also prepare their members for this kind of innovative, community-centered campaign so members are engaged and committed. Tacking on community demands that members haven't invested

in doesn't work. If these demands are to be more than mere window dressing jettisoned when bargaining gets tough, the union must go deep with members long before negotiations begin to make clear how such demands could benefit them as both union members and members of the community.

Specific bargaining demands can then be tailored to employers of different kinds. Consider these possibilities:

- Universities and hospitals often eliminate affordable housing through expansion into surrounding neighborhoods. Unions could develop bargaining demands and bargaining campaigns that call on these institutions to finance and rebuild any affordable housing lost to expansion, develop workforce housing that allows workers to live closer to their jobs, and end support for or membership in business associations (such as the Chamber of Commerce or ALEC) that oppose rent control and affordable housing initiatives.
- Public-sector unions can expand their ongoing battle against privatization to fight the selling off of public property to private developers—often with additional tax subsidies that undermine government's revenue streams. These unions could demand that public property be preserved for community land trusts and affordable housing, insist that governments secure workforce housing that allows their workers to live in the communities they serve, and use their pension funds to advance affordable housing.
- Amazon's announcement that it is canceling its HQ2 in New York in the face of community and labor protests over the \$3 billion in subsidies the company demanded shows how a community-labor alliance can flip the script. Future Amazon-targeted campaigns can link demands for better working conditions with demands that Amazon invest in affordable housing and other community benefits. This is already happening in Minneapolis and St. Paul. There, the Atwood Center has demanded that Amazon contribute millions of dollars to local initiatives determined by community groups in the Twins Cities' East African community, which provides the majority of Amazon's warehouse workers in the region.
- Banks have long played a major role in undermining affordable housing through foreclosures, redlining, and other forms of discrimination. As part of a campaign to organize bank workers, CWA and the Committee for Better Banks are exposing practices that force bank workers into selling products that aren't in their customers' best interest. Bank workers could demand the right to refrain from peddling predatory mortgages.
- As part of bargaining, unions can demand that employers stop investing in and partnering with private equity firms that destroy jobs and affordable housing.

Some might argue that it is foolhardy for unions to challenge corporations on multiple fronts beyond wages and benefits. To the contrary, we believe that an unambitious strategy condemns unions to a continued slide toward irrelevance, and that it was precisely the boldness of the teachers', hotel workers', and other campaigns over the past year that led to their successes. Only by engaging in campaigns that confront the unjust structures that increasingly dominate every part of workers' lives can unions hope to rebuild power and transform the country. Organizing and bargaining for housing justice will be central to that task.

Science of Story Building: Master and Counter Narratives



[Matt Sheehan](#) Follow

May 10, 2018

By Matt Sheehan and Annie Neimand

Narratives clearly have the power to persuade and impact the attitudes, beliefs, and actions of audiences.¹ However, narratives as tools aren't neutral. They can be used to persuade people for positive aims such as justice, equality, and sustainability, but they can also be used to build support for terrorism, authoritarianism, and violence.²

Like the types of plots within narratives, many narratives can be placed into groups as well. Researchers call recurring narrative arcs “master narratives” and they play a large role in the how we perceive the world around us. Scholar Michael Dahlstrom writes: “Cultivation theory describes this influence of [narratives in entertainment] on public perceptions about the world. For example, although less than one percent of Americans are victims of violent crime, ~70 percent of broadcast network television shows characters engaged as either a victim or perpetrator of such violence.”³ As a result, audiences may believe the world is more violent than it actually is.

Popular stories and narratives play a large role in how we see the world. Using the example above, it's easy to recognize why many Americans may be concerned about violent crime despite the fact that the data shows the threats to themselves personally may not be as grave as they perceive. Chimamanda Adichie's TED talk on story.

Novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie shares two experiences from her life in a popular TED talk that demonstrate the danger of a master narrative, or what she refers to as “a single story.”⁴ She shares that as a child growing up in Nigeria she used to read a lot of English and American children's literature. When she started writing her own stories at age 7, she wrote characters who were white, blue eyed, played in the snow, ate apples and talked about how lovely it was that the sun had come out. All of those experiences were foreign to her in Nigeria, but because they were in the books that she read she believed that was the way things were supposed to be. Later, when she went to college in America, she shared how disappointed her roommate was when she asked Adichie to share her “tribal music” and they listened to a tape of Mariah Carey — breaking from her roommate's single story of life in Nigeria.

These single stories, or master narratives, can have a damaging effect on the veracity of narratives among certain populations, or could have a negative sociological effect by reinforcing stereotypes that could stigmatize certain populations. We have certainly seen this in news stories about refugees who are often portrayed as a threat or burden to society or in popular films where the villains are often played by men

of color. These stories create a single story in the mind of the audience about that population, absent of complexity, diversity and nuance, and as a result, reinforce stereotypes and biases.

Narratives that don't conform to these master narratives are called counter narratives and are an emerging tool to increase the power of our storytelling. Social movement activists and organizations often work to create and amplify counternarratives about a particular issue or population to challenge cultural stereotypes and create new ways of seeing the world. Undocumented students in Chicago tell personal stories to build connections with other undocumented kids and to change how the world sees them.⁵ Black Twitter regularly shares personal stories to combat stereotypical news coverage of police violence toward the black community through campaigns like #iftheygunnedmedown and #sayhername. As Nick Wing describes #iftheygunnedmedown on Huffington Post, "users posted side-by-side photos, demonstrating the power that news outlets wield in portraying victims based on images they select."⁶ Doing so called out the master narrative on black victims of police violence and while also replacing that narrative with a narrative that breaks stereotypes and biases.

We can also see counternarratives in popular media. Television shows like FX's *Atlanta*, HBO's *Insecure*, and Academy Award-winning films like *Get Out* and *Moonlight* are providing counter narratives of what it is like to be a young black adult in America. The popular Netflix show *Orange is the New Black* was groundbreaking in changing the dominant narrative on the lives and issues affecting incarcerated women. And documentaries like *Fast Food Nation* and *Food, Inc.*, that tell stories about the food industry and how what we eat impacts our bodies and the environment, are changing how people think about health and consumption.

The study of counternarratives in communications is relatively new. However, the term counternarrative is already in use in other fields like critical race theory,⁷ feminist and gender studies⁸ and education⁹. There, scholars use counternarrative to describe how oppressed people use stories to establish their own understandings of themselves and their history in a way that runs counter to the traditional historical narrative, as well as how narratives can oppress marginalized populations.

Recently, scholars have begun to turn their attention to the development of counternarratives that work to counteract harmful narratives. They do this by tapping into the same attitudes and beliefs that make harmful narratives persuasive for some groups of people, such as those being recruited for terrorism.¹⁰ They then supplant the harmful narrative with a new narrative featuring beneficial outcomes.

To build support for women's right to vote, suffragists often played into dominant conceptions of womanhood in order to resonate with and not threaten societal norms, while at the same time told stories that pushed society to see new possibilities for women as political actors. For example, suffragists often held parades in public settings. During these parades, they would act out Joan of Arc narratives to show that women could embody political strength while adhering to feminine ideals. These parades were designed to articulate their goals, demonstrate their capacity to participate in civic life, attract the attention of the press, and build support among the public and government officials. While they played into a master narrative on women's role in society, they leveraged it to introduce a new narrative that helped others imagine women as political actors.¹¹ Their chosen color of white also reinforced their purity, a master narrative they used to their advantage as they argued that their moral authority made their voices critical to the electoral process.

As Adichie closed in her TED talk: “Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity.”

It’s important to recognize that master narratives are fluid, and that by trying to break one, we can create a new one that may also be harmful. The organizations in the humanitarian sector working to protect and serve refugees, for example, seeks to break away from the master narrative in the news media that refugees as a threat or burden by telling stories that show refugees are just like you and me, but need help to have a better life. They tell stories of refugees seeking to better themselves through education and giving back to their host communities. However, we suspect that many of these stories situate refugees as helpless beneficiaries of donors. As a result, a new master narrative of refugees as helpless and destitute has emerged.

A great example of a refugee counter narrative comes from Fusion. [Watch this story of a Syrian dancer](#). How does his story break away from stereotypes and overused plot structures? What are the deceptive cadences and the unexpected emotions? How do the filmmakers leave space for us in his story, while also creating full spaces to replace our assumptions and potential biases?

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GUIDELINES FOR SHIFTING THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE

DO

- **UNMASK**
 - Name the dominant narrative when you see it at work.
 - Point out that what you just saw on the news or heard from a friend, or the law that was just passed, was based on particular values and beliefs.
 - *“The way you are talking about the recent contract settlement sounds like you think teachers are pretty greedy and we’re only looking out for ourselves.”*
- **ELEVATE**
 - Name the values and beliefs from our new narrative that you want to see lived out in the world.
 - Connect it to places where your audience may see that happening already.
 - *“I really like it when parents come in and express their appreciation – especially when they acknowledge they don’t now how we do it – it helps me feel valued and respected”*
- **CONTRAST**
 - Lay out what might be different if your values/convictions were the ones shaping what happens in the world.
 - Be specific about how we have the choice to approach situations through a different belief system.
 - Invite a rethinking of the situation.
 - *“I guess we have to decide if we want to scapegoat teachers for the many challenges we face or accept teachers as willing and able partners in educating all kids.”*
- **DRAW ON YOUR OWN JOURNEY**
 - While it’s important to personalize this, it’s also important to do it in a way that anyone can see themselves in it. Describing your own realizations and shifts will help others find their own way in the conversation.
 - *“I can understand your reaction, there are times when I realize that I’ve been reacting to what others say and not putting forth my own beliefs – it gets discouraging – but I realize now I’ve only been making it worse.”*
- **SUSTAIN YOUR EFFORTS AND CONNECT WITH OTHERS**
 - Shifting a dominant narrative does not happen quickly – it takes sustained effort, over time, with many people working at it.
- **DEMONSTRATE YOUR WORLDVIEW, DON’T JUST WRITE AND TALK ABOUT IT.**
 - Our actions say as much or more about our values and beliefs as our words.

DON'T

- **FOCUS ON CHALLENGING FACTS OR INTERPRETATIONS OF INFORMATION**
 - This will not shift the narrative. Your arguments, as convincing as they may be, will ultimately lose out to the dominant narrative.
- **ATTACK PEOPLE FOR THEIR WORLDVIEW**
 - Many people operate out of the dominant narrative, even if unconsciously. Shifting public narratives will take personal conversion and transformation. You cannot move people if you attack them.
- **NAME THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE AS “WRONG”**
 - Our assumption is that competing values & beliefs live within people. We want to provide people a chance to choose the ones they want to live out of and/or balance those competing narratives (e.g. accountability of and respect for teachers).
- **TRY TO CONVERT OR CONVINCE PEOPLE**
 - We are trying to bring out the best of what is already in people, help them find the resonance for themselves. This is, in part, an emotional journey and our usual approaches to argument and logic don't work so well in this arena.

#1

Consider the following scenario:

You are at a family reunion and a rather outspoken relative says, "I can't believe these teachers! They get all of this paid time off and are still complaining about not making enough money. Why can't they get this contract settled? With this economy, they should just be glad they have a job!"

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?
- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?
- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?
- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

#2

Consider the following scenario:

While at a political fundraiser, your local representative, who you respect greatly, says, “I’m a strong labor supporter, but teachers unions are a different breed. They are getting in the way of real educational reform in this country. If we are ever going to close the achievement gap, the union is going to have to stop being such obstructionists.”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

#3

Consider the following scenario:

You are sitting at a local tavern with some other teachers. Some brave individual who over hears you talking, comes over and says, “Must be rough to summers have off. I’d love to be able to sit back all summer and relax.”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?
- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?
- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?
- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

#4

Consider the following scenario:

At a community meeting, a neighbor whose is discouraged about the student performance at your neighborhood school says, “They should just fire the teachers...the teachers and the principal...or make it a charter school and start over.”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?
- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?
- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?
- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

A NEW NARRATIVE FOR TEACHERS, EDUCATORS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

We are committed to building a just and equitable society.

American public schools are vital in preparing students to become active and informed participants in democracy. As educators, our responsibility is to help each student learn to understand each other, to work together, to take personal responsibility for their world and to become world citizens. Schools should be places where our students can debate ideas, challenge established thought and construct new meaning for themselves as they better understand the world around them. As educators we must support this learning with a strong grounding in established knowledge and an open mind toward new solutions, recognizing that we are preparing students for a world we do not yet know.

We believe in honoring the value of and cultivating each student.

As educators we recognize that a quality education does not look the same for every one. Students from every background – race, sexual orientation, gender, and abilities – come to us with unique qualities and needs. We work to honor and nurture their similarities and differences. Everyone should have the opportunity to fully develop their potential and be recognized as multi-faceted individuals whose worth cannot be determined by one measure alone.

The true purpose of public education is to shape the future of our society by building educated citizens who are caring, healthy, and productive, and who are fully prepared for the world ahead of them. Fulfilling this purpose means ensuring students become life-long learners through the creation of equitable educational experiences.

We believe working with community is essential to student success.

A strong public school exists in a context of, and collaborates with, its community. Community engagement in schools works to support all students, in order to address the societal injustices of transience, poverty, and discrimination. By working together, community, family, and schools will lead the relationship building to ensure that all students are provided with real opportunities to apply their learning and develop a just and equitable society.

We believe educating students is a craft that requires talented and committed professionals.

Education is one of the most complex tasks in our society. Students must be served by a diverse and talented workforce. We are skilled professionals who combine experience in the classroom, extensive knowledge of content, and an understanding of how students learn to create engaging lessons for our students every day. Because learners are different, educators become innovators and develop variety and depth in their techniques and approaches. We match these skills with deep concern for students' progress and well-being. The relationships we develop with students help them build and reach their own potential and passions.

The most important work in public education occurs in the classroom between educator and student. This vital relationship must be valued and nurtured by everyone. Effective decision-making in education must arise from the classroom through a partnership between the educator, the students, and the families.

We are committed to working collectively as a powerful force for justice, change, and democracy.

Because we believe a high quality education is at the heart of a just and equitable society, Saint Paul Federation of Teachers has a long tradition of initiating policies and developing values that have improved public education. We have actively created structures critical to recruiting, supporting, and retaining diverse, high quality professionals. We advocate for students tirelessly and work diligently to end racial disparities and ensure a climate where real learning takes place so that all students are provided an excellent education. We believe all students can be successful in school and in life.

CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

Phases of a Campaign

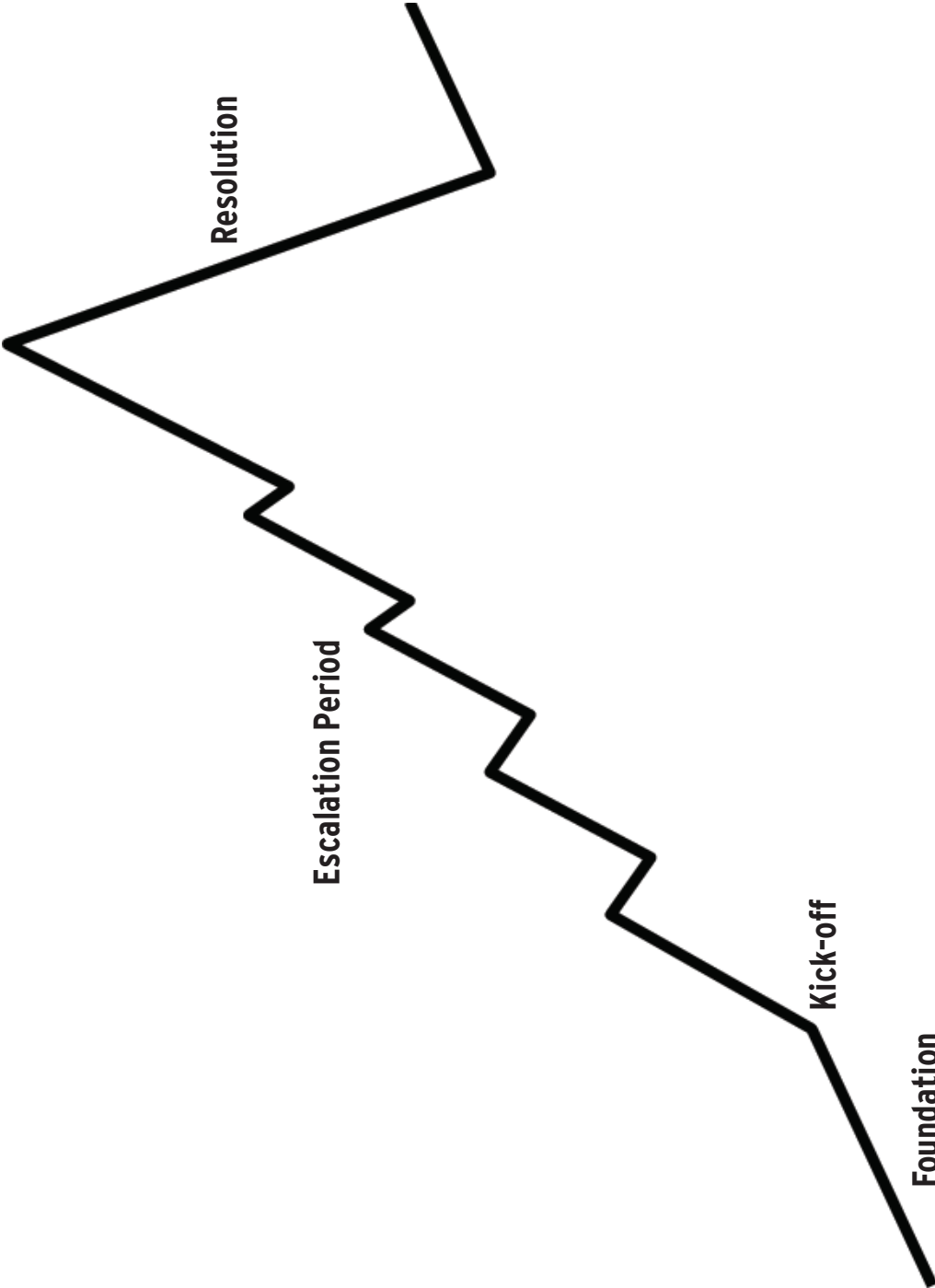
The Peak of Our Strength

Resolution

Escalation Period

Kick-off

Foundation



5 Steps for Launching Your Community Outreach and Engagement Program



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

Follow these five steps to build partnerships with the community:

☐ 1. LINK ENGAGEMENT GOALS TO AFFILIATE GOALS.

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

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

☐ 2. GET MEMBERS INVOLVED.

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

☐ 3. MAP YOUR COMMUNITY.

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

☐ 4. KNOW YOUR REPUTATION.

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

☐ 5. REACH OUT. ENGAGE. CONNECT.

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

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

Overview of Coalitions

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

Coalitions may form in response to:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Online Resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Checklist for Starting a Coalition

What is a coalition?

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

Why start a coalition?

___ To address an urgent situation.

___ To actually obtain or provide services.

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

___ To pool resources.

___ To increase communication among groups and break down stereotypes.

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

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

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

___ To create long-term, permanent social change.

When should you start a coalition?

___ You respond to dramatic or disturbing community events

___ You react to new information

___ You respond to changes in circumstances or regulations

___ You take advantage of new funding

___ You address an outside threat

___ You try to create significant change in the community

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

___ You recognize the barriers to starting a coalition.

Who should be part of a coalition?

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

___ You include opinion leaders.

___ You include policy makers.

___ You include members of the community at large

How do you start a community coalition?

___ You form a core group.

___ You identify necessary coalition members.

___ You recruit coalition members, using appropriate means:

Personal contact

Phone

E-mail

Letter

Advertising

Posters and flyers.

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

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

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

___ Defining the issue and drafting vision and mission statements

___ Developing an action plan

___ Working out an acceptable coalition structure

___ Deciding on the need for professional staff

___ Obtaining resources.

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

___ Free, open, and multi-directional communication

___ Inclusiveness and participation

___ Networking

___ Setting reachable goals

___ Holding creative meetings

___ Being realistic about what the coalition can do

___ Acknowledging and using diversity

___ Rewarding accomplishment and celebrating success

Checklist for Maintaining a Coalition

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

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

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

The basic governance and operating rules of the coalition

The coalition leadership

The coalition membership

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

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

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

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

The coalition's visibility in the larger community

The coalition's public support

The spirit of the coalition

___ You have designed a maintenance plan, deciding:

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

how comprehensive the plan should be

how formal the plan should be

who should carry out the plan

how frequently maintenance should take place

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

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

Growing

Spinning off

Changing focus

Cutting back

Ending

Staying the way you are

Contributor

Coalition Mapping Exercise

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

Step 1

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

Step 2

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

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

Step 3

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

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

Step 4

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

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

Step 5

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



CHECKLIST: CHOOSE TACTICS THAT FIT

- Does the action relate to your issue?
- Will it increase the pressure on the decision-maker?
- Is it simple?
- Is it visible?
- Is it timed for effect?
- Is it new and different—or tried and true?
- Are enough people ready to do it?
- How will others react?
- Will it unify people?
- How will management react?
- Could it backfire?
- Does it violate the law or the contract?
- If so, are you prepared for the consequences?
- Will it be fun?



Escalation of Tactics

Working with your team, align the following tactics from lowest risk and least amount of engagement to highest on the Escalation Thermometer Page

Strike vote

Parent Signature of Support Petition for Bargaining Demands Drive

Lawn Signs in Support of Teachers and Public Schools

Neighborhood Canvassing to Share Demands Seek Support

Videos of Common Demands on Social Media

Kick-off Event with Partners Describing Vision for Campaign

All Member Face to Face update Meeting on Bargaining Progress

Wear Red on Wednesdays in Support of Public Schools

Public Rally Targeting School Board and District

School Choice Event - Information Picket and Distribution of Charter

School Info

City-Wide School Walk Ins

Open Bargaining

Strike



TURN UP THE HEAT: ACTION THERMOMETER



Calendar of Events

Your reflections and thoughts

Political

School Breaks

Ultimate Organizing Tactic

Organizing Tactics

Bargaining

Communications

April 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

Wear SPPT red

Wear SPPT red

Contract Campaign
Rick - off

First Contract Update

May 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Wear red on Thursday
Open Bargaining

Teacher Bargaining
Exchange of Proposals

Wear red on Thursday
Open Bargaining

(SCSP) School and Community Service Prof. Bargaining

Contract Update

Wear SPPT red

Wear red on Thursday
Open Bargaining

Teacher Bargaining
Early childhood, Lesson Plans, Carts & Portables

No School

Wear red on Thursday
Open Bargaining

Educational Assistant (EA) Bargaining

June 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
2	3 Contract Update	4	5	6 Wear SPPT Red	7	1/8
9	10 Last Day of School	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

July 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29 Bargaining Team Prep Meeting	30 Contract Action Team (CAT) House Party Training - Petition Release	31			

August 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21 EA Bargaining Open Session	22	23	24
25 Teachers Opening Week - SPPT Steward Kick-off Meeting Monday	26 Release Petition of Support to Members	27 Wear Red Open Bargaining	28 Teacher Bargaining District A-comp, SPPT Respect Award, Licensed Medical Specialist	29	30	31

September 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1	2	3 First Day of School	4	5 Wear SPPT red	6	7
8	9 Contract Update	10	11 Wear red on Thursday Open Bargaining	12 SCSP Bargaining	13	14
15	16	17	18 Wear red on Thursday Open Bargaining	19 Teacher Bargaining staffing	20 District ← walked out! We had to switch to Plan B!	21
22	23 Contract Update	24	25 Wear red on Thursday Open Bargaining	26 EA Bargaining	27	28
29	30					

October 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1	2	3 Wear red! City-wide Door Knock		5 Work with MN2020 to film footage for videos
6	7 Contract Update	8	9 Wear red on Thursday Open Bargaining	10 SCSP Bargaining		
13	14	15	16	17 Wear red	18	19
20	21	22	23 Wear red	24 Teacher Mediation-Mediators Agenda	25 Release YouTube Video - Class Size	26
27	28 Contract Update	29	30 Wear red	31 Trick-or-Treat at School board members' homes		

November 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2
3	4 Release Video-Testing Proposal	5	6 Wear red on Thursday	7 Teacher Mediation	8	9
10	11 Release Video-Licensed Media Specialists Contract Update	12 Deliver Petition of support to School board	13	14 Wear red	15	16
17	18 Release Video-Special Education Proposal	19	20 Wear red on Thursday	21 Teacher Mediation	22	23
24	25 Release Video-Family Engagement Contract Update	26	27	28 Thanksgiving Break	29	30

December 2013

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 Release of Video - Pre-K Funding	2	3	4 Wear red	5	6
7	8 Lawn Sign Delivery Starts	9	10	11 Teacher Mediation	12 Wear red All member meeting re negotiations	13
14	15 Release of Video - Educating the White child Contract Update	16	17	18 Wear red	19	20
21	22 Start of Winter Break	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

January 2014

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1	2	3	4
5	6 First Day Back from Winter Break	7 Teacher Mediation	8 EA Mediation	9 Wear red		10 School Choice Fair - Flyer Parents
11	12	13	14	15 Wear red	16	17
18	19 Contract Update	20 Teacher Mediation	21	22 Wear red All member meeting re negotiations	23 EA Mediation	24 March with Signs in Winter Carnival Parade
25	26	27	28 Walk-ins	29 Release Walk-in Video Media Outreach	30	31

February 2014

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1	2	3	4	5 Wear Red on Thursdays ↓	6	7
8	9 Executive Meeting - Call for Strike Vote Release Strike Petition	10 Contract Update	11	12 Teacher Mediation	13	14
15	16 EA Mediation	17 School Board Rally and Parent Public Comment	18	19 Teacher Mediation	20 After 24 hours of mediation - this is the date we settled.	21 Strike Information Meetings
22	23 Strike Vote	24	25	26	27	28
29						

March 2014

Sunday 2	Monday 3	Tuesday 4	Wednesday 5	Thursday 6	Friday 7	Saturday 1/8
9	10 STRIKE! (didn't happen)	11	12	13	14 EA Mediation - Settlement Date!	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

198 METHODS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION

albert einstein institution



The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

Formal Statements

1. Public speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

The Methods of Social Noncooperation

Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation:

Economic Boycotts

Actions by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and Management

81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed Strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

116. Generalized strike
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

The Methods of Political Noncooperation

Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sit-down
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

Psychological Intervention

158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
 - a. Fast of moral pressure
 - b. Hunger strike
 - c. Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention

181. Reverse Strike
182. Stay-in Strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of Blockades
185. Politically Motivated Counterfeiting
186. Preclusive Purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Far too often people struggling for democratic rights and justice are not aware of the full range of methods of nonviolent action. Wise strategy, attention to the dynamics of nonviolent struggle, and careful selection of methods can increase a group's chances of success.

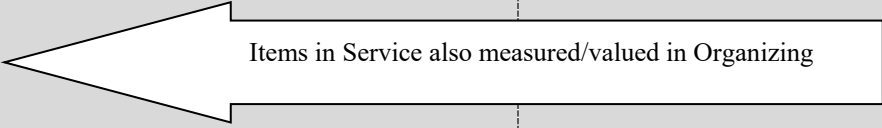
Gene Sharp's researched and catalogued these 198 methods and provided a rich selection of historical examples in his seminal work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.

Reflections and Considerations for Foundation Planning

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

Organizing and Service Working Together

NOTE: When considering the issue of “creating a culture of organizing,” it is vital to realize that it is not the issue of organizing vs. service. Service to members is important. The point of consideration is how does a pure “service culture” which is episodic build the capacity of the organization? An organizing culture which is continual and sustainable provides the context for the servicing of members and builds the capacity of the organization. Organizing supports the delivery of services, it is not an either/or proposition. The organization has placed value on those things that we can count and quantify. The following illustrates how an organizing culture provides the context for the service culture.

Organizing (Continual/sustainable)	Service (Episodic)
	
Clearly stated vision developed collaboratively that engages members, leaders, staff	Number of members maintained
Number of programs and resource allocation that reflect association mission/vision/core values	Number of grievances filed and processed and employment issues solved
Ratio of members involved in programs that welcomes member participation	Number of arbitrations
Number of new members recruited/ retained	Number of contracts negotiated/unresolved
Number of new leaders identified and trained	Percent of salary increase negotiated
Number of new minority leaders identified/trained	Number of unfair labor practices filed
Number of members engaged in association decision-making and broaden power sharing in the organization	Number of successful election campaigns
Number of political and community coalitions	Amount of PAC fund raised
Number of grassroots political action organizers	Number of successful legislative initiatives
Purpose of the organization known in community via known “brand” of the organization	
On-going assessment of organizational effectiveness	

Constructing “Progressive Unionism” Out of Three Frames

MITUL Draft 5.0—Work in Progress March 2018

Industrial Unionism	Professional Unionism	Social Justice Unionism
<i>“Collective power to meet bread and butter needs and ensure fairness from management”</i>	<i>“Control of the profession to ensure quality”</i>	<i>“Equity for our students through active engagement in the community”</i>
ORIENTATION •Emphasizes separation of management and union roles in defining teacher work. “Boards make policy, administrators lead, teachers teach.” •The role of the union is to limit what teachers can be asked to do and to increase the pay they get for doing it.	ORIENTATION •Emphasizes collective aspects of education work and building professional learning communities. Building the profession. •Blurs lines between teacher and leader (lead teachers, teams, joint committees) “All of us are smarter than any of us.” Teachers as instructional leaders from the classroom.	ORIENTATION •Emphasizes alliances with parents and the community to organize for social justice to help all children succeed – schools and the conditions around schools must both change to improve educational outcomes. •Race and class challenges and socio-economic segregation must be addressed.
VIEW OF MANAGEMENT •Assumes labor-management relations are hostile and adversarial. Defends teacher rights & responds to grievances. •Fights for teacher priorities and standard of living in the budget. Organize teachers as an independent force.	VIEW OF MANAGEMENT •Values labor-management collaboration and partnership to improve and preserve public education and the profession. •Emphasizes programs and priorities to improve school quality and student achievement in the public interest	VIEW OF MANAGEMENT •Management and labor are partners in engaging families, community and ethnic groups to build support for public education. •Advocate together for levy referenda, grants, foundation support, and to resist inequitable solutions based on race & class.
ROLE OF PARENTS •Parent outreach when we’re in bargaining crisis or labor/mgmt. conflict. •Limit parent intrusions into the classroom.	ROLE OF PARENTS •Works with parents to improve individual parent support for their child’s learning, but believes professionals have unique expertise.	ROLE OF PARENTS •Reaches out to community allies in strategic alliances to improve the quality of teaching and teacher cultural competency. •Seeks parent role in school governance and effectiveness.
BARGAINING •Win/lose bargaining; •Limit scope of bargaining to bread and butter issues of salary, hours, and “working conditions.” •Views the teacher contract as way to institutionalize all changes.	BARGAINING •Broad scope and interest-based bargaining are a way to address teaching quality and support issues. •Agreements outside contract. •Contracts are a way to codify change once the bugs have been worked out.	BARGAINING •Infuse bargaining with concerns that address race, class, democracy, empowerment and equity issues. •Change can only be institutionalized and sustained by organizing the rank and file and the community.
DECISION MAKING Management prerogatives respected on a school and district level. Teachers grieve management decisions through their union.	DECISION MAKING Expands teacher decision-making and instructional leadership at school and district level. Joint decision making expands teacher and union ownership.	DECISION MAKING Democratic input by all stakeholders creates processes for institutionalized teacher, parent, and student empowerment.

The “Three Frames” document was developed by the Mooney Institute for Teacher and Union Leadership July, 2005, for use in leadership training. A teaching tool and a work-in-progress, it may be used freely with attribution. Questions: Phone 240-603-6450.

Industrial Unionism	Professional Unionism	Social Justice Unionism
TEACHING AND THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP - Teachers have limited ability to control conditions that cause the gap. If students come to school unable or unwilling to learn, or if school conditions aren't adequate, teachers must not be blamed. - Efforts to close the achievement gap must not be based on unreasonable expectations and the union's role is to ensure that training and accountability measures don't contribute to an un-sustainable working and learning environment.	TEACHING AND THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP - Quality teaching is critical to closing the achievement gap. It is possible to define and measure quality teaching. The union's role is to make sure good methods are used, and that tools like "value-added-modeling" are used judiciously and carefully. - Union takes a leadership role in improving the quality of teaching/learning and professional development.	TEACHING AND THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP - Belief in "effort-based intelligence"--all students can learn if adequate resources are equitably distributed and available. - Cultural competency/proficiency for teachers to reach all students. - School district funding, equitable distribution of accomplished teachers and school resources are priorities.
TEACHING WORKING CONDITONS - The union works to improve conditions of teaching (Class size, adequate text books and supplies, hours, etc.) - Union emphasizes protection of teachers' rights – files grievances to resolve conflicts. - Seniority provisions are the best protection against employer favoritism.	TEACHING WORKING CONDITONS - The union is willing to take control of the improvement of teaching, support for teacher effectiveness, and quality control in the profession. - Alternatives to seniority-based transfer, assignment and layoff procedures are developed by the union to balance needs of younger and older teachers and the program needs of the educational enterprise.	TEACHING WORKING CONDITONS - Assignment of teachers to schools ensures high-quality, experienced teachers in hard-to-staff schools. - The union supports preferential teaching and learning conditions (e.g. lower class sizes) for high poverty schools. - Seniority-based reductions in force will be modified by the union so as not to disproportionately impact high-poverty, high-turnover schools.
CURRICULUM, INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT LEARNING - Primary role of union is to improve wages, benefits, retirement, and equal treatment for all members. - Curriculum, professional development, assessment and grading policy are the responsibility of the district. - Teachers are responsible for teaching and students are responsible for learning. - Teachers must not be evaluated primarily based on student test scores because they unfairly and inaccurately credit teachers for low performance that has other causes.	CURRICULUM, INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT LEARNING - Union promotes additional responsibility and pay for teacher instructional leaders. - Union brings the teachers' voice to the design, implementation and evaluation of curriculum, assessment and instruction. - The role of student test scores and other factors in teacher evaluation is negotiated and monitored by the union. - Union accepts necessary role of student achievement/learning in teacher and school accountability, because that is how public schools are judged.	CURRICULUM, INSTRUCTION AND ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT LEARNING - Union safeguards teachers' role in promoting critical thinking, critical pedagogy, and a broad curriculum, not aimed primarily at standardized tests. - Teachers encouraged to make curriculum relevant to students' lives and to incorporate student's lives into learning – cultural competence. - Union advocates for a "Broader Bolder Approach" to building a movement to improve the social context for schooling – health care, jobs, housing, etc.

The "Three Frames" document was developed by the Mooney Institute for Teacher and Union Leadership July, 2005, for use in leadership training. A teaching tool and a work-in-progress, it may be used freely with attribution. Questions: Phone 240-603-6450.

Reflecting on Levels of Organizing

This is a draft framework designed to help you think about your role as UniServ with your affiliate. This is in no way complete and is only designed to be used as a starting point for assessing your next steps with affiliates. Each level from Survival to Advanced is dependent on the previous level.

Levels (Staff Focus)	Membership	Structure Development	Identification and Protection of Rights	Agenda Setting	Visibility and Credibility
Advanced Organizing (Member-led with Staff Advisory and Coaching)	Leaders are driving membership recruitment and engagement. Coaching leaders who are committed to the contact and engagement work. One on ones are limited to those who are identified as emerging leaders by other leaders. Exploration of options to expand “belonging” beyond traditional dues paying members.	There are well-defined, member-led, leadership and communication structures in which there is competition for positions. Structures are formed around various issues, are led by members, and come and go. Participation in these structures are for members to collectively use their agency for change. Structures extend beyond the affiliate and work with other organizations around common values, issues and goal.	Members lead on all aspects of the identification and protection of worker rights. Staff expertise is reserved for legal services and consultation. Members are the visible and credible source for workplace rights attainment and protection. Identification and protection of rights expands beyond membership and affiliate.	Leaders work with all levels of the organization (rank and file, issue structures, leaders, staff) to set agenda. Leaders work with other organizations on shared agendas in which resources, risks, and decisions are shared. Organizational data and issue research are used to drive and evaluate the agendas. There are multiple agendas that are focused both internally and externally.	The affiliate is recognized as long term partner with multiple organizations. It shares values, interests, risks, and resources beyond its own membership. Members view their union as the primary way that they participate in creating the society they want to live in. The reputation of the union is known broadly throughout the community as a good one. Members have confidence enough to participate in risky, visible actions.

Levels (Staff Focus)	Membership	Structure Development	Identification and Protection of Rights	Agenda Setting	Visibility and Credibility
Basic Organizing (Member - Staff Partners w /Staff Growth - Coaching)	Staff and Leaders are building capacity to grow, maintain, and engage membership. Focus is on member recruitment AND retention. Engagement of members in actions that encourage ownership and build leadership. Staff and leaders are focused on Identifying potential leaders, ensuring worksite structures, and connecting leaders. One on ones focus on values based relationship and leadership ID.	Staff are working to ensure building rep structures exist and local affiliate structures are functioning in ways that support and sustain the affiliate. Structures are coached to move closer and closer to ownership of collective decisions and actions. Coaching the structure to consider leadership pipeline. Participation in these structures is beginning to result in planning and action.	At the worksite level there are leaders and structures for addressing worker rights. There are affiliate level structures and leaders who work alongside staff to support worksites and are beginning to lead on district level issues. Members are part of the problem solving process. There are well established worker rights and processes that the union successfully enforces.	Staff and Leaders work to gather information about issues workers report from their worksites. Staff and Leaders determine short term and long term goals for both growth and strength. Focus is mostly on organizing to achieve worker wins and build internal capacity. Data is used to help support and evaluate agenda.	The affiliate is recognized as a credible and respected organization capable of achieving wins on issues important to members. The reputation of the affiliate is best known within the school district and its worksites. Members have a positive view of their union and are willing to participate in some public actions.
Survival Organizing (Staff-led with a Focus on Identification and Growth)	Signing up members, maintaining lists, ensuring dues collection, providing information about the benefits of belonging. One on Ones focused on recruiting and education of union member value. Staff are engaging members in very transactional or social actions and looking for potential leaders.	Ensuring basic structures required for affiliation with state and national are in good order. Focus on finding local leaders and on building a building rep system with at least one person per worksite. Leading effective meetings and modeling collective decision making and planning. Participation in structures is more about socializing.	Reliance on union staff and staff relationships with employer. Member is not engaged in the problem solving process. Staff drive and lead bargaining, work place policy, and grievance processes. Rights and processes are not widely understood by the workers or clearly established with the employer.	Staff help newly identified leaders understand how a union uses a values driven mission to achieve change. Staff develop a plan typically focused on membership growth and basic affiliate functions. Focus is on effective service delivery. Data is used to track members, non-members, and leaders.	The affiliate is not yet widely recognized. Members and non-members may be equally confused about their membership status. The effectiveness of the union in regards to worker issues may not yet be positive. Members are not likely to participate in public actions beyond social activities.

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 descriptor 1-4.

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 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?*

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

2. Community/parent relationships:

- ☐ Is the affiliate part of a coalition?
- ☐ 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?

3. Internal organizing capacity:

- ☐ How many members and potential members?
- ☐ What are membership trends since the Janus decision?
- ☐ Who are the decision-makers in the affiliate? State leadership, board, local leadership, UD's, bargaining team?
- ☐ What distributive leadership structures does the affiliate currently use? Building reps, building action teams, community liaisons, bargaining team, social justice teams, etc.
- ☐ 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?

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?

Common Good Campaign Scenario

Organizing for the Common Good Scenario Activities

Scenario Activity 1 – Getting to know the players and their power relationships

Scenario Activity 2 – Identify the Injustices and the Power Holders

Scenario Activity 3 – Identify Partnerships and Coalitions – What are the benefits and resources they would bring- what would the challenges be?

Scenario Activity 4 - Identify the demands and the common target and shared issues that the coalition will use in its campaign

Scenario Activity 5- Identify a Unifying Counter Narrative

Scenario Activity 6- Identify the tactics you would employ across an 12 month time frame to engage your partners in a common good campaign that is tied to bargaining.

People's Public School System

School Board – 8 Members – 2 from each Feeder Pattern in the System

- East -
 - Eliot Elderman (Also Board Member of Wealthy Farthing Bank)
 - Mary Ellen Waltham (Also Board Member of Wealthy Farthing Bank)
- South -
 - Juantia House (Also Executive Director of Homes for All)
 - Penelope Penetent (Also Board Member of Wealthy Farthing Bank)
- North-
 - Aesha Bennett (Also Executive Director of Wage Warriors)
 - Charles Child 2nd (Also Board Member of Wealthy Farthing Bank)
- West-
 - Vernon Squire (Also Board Member of Wealthy Farthing Bank)
 - Aaron Justice (Also Leader in local Black Lives Matter)

Superintendent – Dr. Jarrow Is a new to the district Native American woman. In her previous district she was recognized as a true reformer. She opened three Public School Charters and two Magnet Schools each of which were reported to serve a diverse population and had impressive state test data. She stated during her hiring that she was committed to interrupting the systems that have kept this district from closing achievement gaps caused by economic and racial inequality.

There are 4 feeder patterns across the district. 5 large high schools, 12 Middle Schools, 36 Elementary schools.

East Feeder pattern does not include a pre-k program or an innovation program. Parents in this community typically provide a private pre-k opportunity for their children and about 20% are taking advantage of Charter School Opportunities in their area. Many families drive their children to school and can volunteer at high rates. The high school is very proud of its high graduation rate and the number of students accepted at four year colleges.

South Feeder Pattern does not include a pre-k program. The community would like one as there are limited spots in the Head Start program and affordable daycare is almost non-existent. Schools in this pattern struggle with receiving completed, family income forms and family data is often incomplete. There are a high number of non-English speaking children and limited supports for teachers working with them. Many families in this pattern avoid social programs and are afraid of contact with police. There is a high dropout rate and many young adults are not employed or attending any sort of career development program. Many are in constant contact with police as a result of being out on the streets and gathering in groups. A large number of families come and go in this feeder pattern. The high school has an evening alternative program that is under attended. This is also where both prison and detention center school programs are located.

North Feeder Pattern - There are no pre-k programs here but a fair number of high quality, state-certified day care centers exist. In addition, there are both a YWCA and a YMCA that have Boys and Girls Club programs and day care programs that lightly partner with the area schools. There are two high schools here – one is a traditional High School and the second is a Technology and Career Center Magnet that is designed to draw students from across the district. Parents must provide transportation to this high school if they do not live within the neighborhood transportation area. This feeder pattern is quite congested in the morning and the evening during commuting hours making school bus transportation difficult. This traffic situation also impacts parents' abilities to participate in school events or attend meetings. A fair number of families from this feeder pattern move into the South or West pattern due to foreclosures during the school year.

West Feeder Pattern - There is both a pre-k program and before and after school care provided at each of the 4 elementary schools in this feeder pattern. Two of the largest affordable housing providers in this pattern also include onsite community health programs with strong partnerships to the schools. There are good public transportation options in this neighborhood. There is a strong but positive police presence in the community that has focused on developing relationships with the youth. The neighborhoods and storefronts are slowly going through a renewal following the last recession. Investment from the area banks has been heavy in these businesses and outside developers who are building more upscale housing options. There is also a large state of the art prison being built that promises 500 new jobs. This is good with the following exception – the businesses and developers have been provided with a five to ten year property tax incentive -which means no additional funding for public schools and services.

Dominant Narrative - Our schools are great for all kids whose parents support their learning and care about our schools. The schools in “distressed” neighborhoods are struggling and unable to produce students who ready for college. The schools would be better if they could make more innovative changes and efficiencies.

Your Local Research

People's Public School (PPS) system has been facing budget deficits for the past five fiscal years. Funding from the state and local property taxes has all decreased. Six years ago, the largest developer in the City, Incarceration Nation, Inc. bought some prime property to build a high-tech prison. Prior to this purchase, the property had generated \$300,000 in local property taxes for the school district each year. Incarceration Nation's Inc.'s new prison building project was given a Tax Incentive by the city and they are no longer paying property taxes. Property taxes on the new development would be \$700,000 for PPS each school year if paid.

The budget deficit for PPS has meant teacher and staff layoffs and larger class sizes among other changes. Educators and parents are frustrated, and some have started to leave for a local charter school chain. Interestingly, the local charter school chain, Bridge Charters has also been given a property Tax Incentive by the city which is a double blow to the

school district. They are losing \$300,000 in funding as well as a loss state funding in the amount of \$5000 per child that attends a Bridge Charter school.

Your Teacher and ESP contracts are open for negotiations this year. Members are determined to put a cap on class sizes and bring back staff to make it happen. To reduce class sizes to a more reasonable number, the district could eliminate some non-classroom instructional coach positions and hire 10 teachers. The average teacher is costed at \$70,000. Some members would be okay with additional classroom support. Your ESP members would like to bring back classroom assistants that have been eliminated. The number of positions eliminated in the last few years is 20. The average cost for an ESP is \$50,000. You negotiate with the school board who has the power to settle your contract. In general, your school board is not friendly to the union, and feels that they are the fiscal and quality control authority for Peoples Public School System.

Educators Union – Represents Public School Employees

1. Member Benefits (Life, Casualty and Retirement Savings) through Wealthy Farthing Bank
2. Student Loans Defaults are High
3. High Rates of Turnover – about 35% of members have 0-6 Years Experience
4. Many can not afford to rent or own housing within a reasonable commute to their schools
5. Engagement with the Union has been on the Rise
6. New Leaders who want to make a difference
7. Primary supporters of the city becoming a Sanctuary City
8. Will be bargaining a new contract in 18 months

Constituents: The members in the 10 years and less years of seniority are mostly white, come from lower middle class families and a large number are first-in-the-family college graduates with a high amount of student debt. The members with 10 years plus experience typically own homes on the outskirts of the district or in the solidly middle class neighborhoods. They have considerable equity in their homes. Nearly all members entered this work to make a difference for kids. It is a struggle to live in the city and ridiculous commutes coupled with the stress of long hours and overcrowded, underfunded schools means that turnover is high. The longer term members see value in their union for the protections and professional development it has provided in the past. Many of the newer members don't see how their union dues are currently helping them – but a significant number had parents who were union members either at the now closed Auto Plant or in other public sector jobs. There are a total of 3600 current members (ESP and Certified Combined) – which is 75% of the total possible bargaining unit.

Leadership and Structures: There has been a recent group that have come to power who believe that years of acting like professionals have earned them little respect and lost them a lot of power. The ESP and Certified units are in a wall to wall situation and the district nearly won a bid to privatize bussing and custodial services. There are 60 worksites in this local which include 5 Transportation centers, a Central Office (housing School Psychologists, curriculum specialists and a few other 12 month members), 2 prison/detention center school programs, and four pre-k facilities co-located within two elementary schools that serve large low cost housing facilities. The union has identified and engaged building leaders in all 60 worksites. They have a contract action team that supports worker rights organizing efforts in 40 of their worksites. The sites without a contract action team representation are all in central office, transportation, pre-k and detention center programs. The union has not yet established any strong external partnerships. They have not yet been active in any school board campaigns They have two state affiliate staff assigned to their local. They have received some research about school funding from their state affiliate that highlights the dramatic loss of school funding as a result of Property Tax Breaks given to developers and new businesses.

Current Agendas: Mostly the focus has been on building the internal Union brand. There is a desire to become more connected with local politics and more visibly active in community organizing efforts. Leadership wants to stabilize school funding and work on affordable housing for all who live in the city.

Current Worker Issues: Wages have stagnated especially since the tax base has eroded and more public funds are being diverted to for profit charter schools. Kitchen services are a contract service provided by a subsidiary of Mary Ellen Waltham's family business. On campus policing is provided via a partnership with the city. There are only 25 full time nurses and 12 School Counselors across the district. There is no class size cap and the average class size has steadily risen in 10 years from 20 students to 35 students with some high school classrooms at 45 and over. Housing and transportation costs are not sustainable on current wages in this city. Many financial member benefits are provided via Wealthy Farthing Bank. Very agitated about the over-policing of families who are seeking asylum and the disruption to student learning.

Dominant Narrative for the School Union: Educators are noble and upstanding people and they have an undoable job, but it is the union that is terrible. Unions have only destroyed businesses in this city by wanting more and more money. Unions don't really have a place in schools and they will surely frighten off potential new businesses and job creators.

Homes for All – NGO Seeking Pathways for Housing Security

1. Food Desert
2. Health Care Desert
3. Affordable, Safe Housing
4. Sanctuary Housing for Asylum Seekers

Executive Director: Juanita Housse - Born and raised in the South Feeder Pattern she watched her parents provide a strong middle class environment. Both parents held solid union jobs -one with the city and one as a teacher. What is troubling is that she is seeing more and more people in her generation and her children's generation unable to maintain the economic gains that her parents did. The loss of affordable housing options and the property tax formulas are a concern for her.

Constituents: The availability of elderly, section 8 and affordable housing for everyone has gone down. The city policy makers are focused on creating conditions that will attract big businesses that have high paying, high skilled jobs. The current workforce in the communities would not be able to meet any immediate needs so there is a push to engineer the type of neighborhoods that "those" workers would be drawn to. Current residents struggle with evictions, ability to save first and last month, the high cost of healthcare and food insecurity. As wages have stagnated and as the rate of incarcerations have risen for minor crimes, the rates of foreclosures have risen as well. Small, first time, single family homes are increasingly becoming a thing of the past. As Elderly people are not able to pay their taxes or suffer an under insured health crisis, their fixed incomes have caused many of them to seek 2nd mortgages that they are now defaulting on.

Dominant Narrative: If people just worked hard, they would be able to afford housing. There are options out there, people are just not willing to work hard enough to have them. If someone does not have stable housing it was their own poor economic or behavioral decisions that landed them in their situation. How can we build newer and better neighborhoods if we are bankrupting the individuals that are doing the work by seeking high wages?

Wage Warriors – A non-union NGO cooperative of low wage workers

1. Family owned grocers replaced by big box and boutique grocers
2. Many of the support service jobs held by women at the hospital went away when it was sold.
3. Foreclosures and Credit Card Debt

4. Many have students in the schools

Executive Director: Aesha Bennett is a mother of three who was a graduate of the high school in the North Feeder pattern. Her husband, a veteran, is currently attending a for-profit online college to secure his Nursing Certificate. His GI bill benefits don't cover all tuition and fees so he has taken out a private student loan. They purchased a house three years ago in a North Neighborhood with the support of her parents – retired union workers from the now closed auto plant. Aesha has a degree in School Counseling, but has been unable to get a job in the district – commuting and child care costs keep her from taking a job out side the community. They are barely making their mortgage payments to Wealthy Farthing Bank and their student loan debt is only increasing. Her work with Wage Warrior is a non-paid position.

Constituents: Just trying to provide a house, food, healthcare. Many are adult children of former autoworkers. Not able to secure housing, set up savings. Some public school employees, many parents of students. They are focused on the wages at the Waltham chain of grocers – glad for jobs – but wages that really don't allow much dignity or security.

Dominant Narrative: Socialists gone awry! The expect to make more working as a cashier or burger flipping than our hard working police officers and medical personnel. It is unfair that they expect to be paid so much – they should just be grateful for the opportunity to work and they should simply work harder. If they lived within their means, they would not need to be causing trouble for job providers.

Dignity for Veterans – An NGO

1. Cost of Housing due to new Developments – Requires Mortgages
2. Distance to VA Hospital – old one sold and developed as high cost condominiums backed by Wealthy Farthing Bank
3. Lack of Public Transit

Constituents: They don't have easy access to basic services for mental health and health care. Their VA benefits are only accepted at the new hospital built on the far edge of the suburbs. Several shelters and day centers have been closed as new developments were built. Many of them have children and grandchildren in the schools.

Dominant Narrative: Drug abuse is a choice and they should get sober and get a job. After all, veterans have a ton of benefits provided to them that we all pay for – they just need to use them. Sure, we are grateful for their service, but they have got to stop using the excuse that they are depressed – life is hard and they need to just get over it. What new resident to the city wants to see so many veterans out on the streets? It just sends the wrong message.

Black Lives Matter – A Community Group Focused on Reducing Over-Policing

1. Charter Schools
2. Privatization of State Prison – Leading to Over Sentencing – Loss of wage earners
3. Over policing
4. District Expulsion Policy

Local Leader: Aaron Justice is a graduate of a high school in the South Feeder pattern. His father has been incarcerated for a marijuana trafficking conviction since Aaron was 14. Aaron's mom provided a loving and supportive home for Aaron and his sister. His mother made sure he was prepared for school and had consistent meetings with school personnel discussing Aaron's progress. Aaron was charged with loitering when he was 17 for being with a group of young people walking across the park outside the library. Had his mother and grandmother not been able to raise his bail – he would have had to go to juvenile hall awaiting his hearing and would likely not have completed school on time.

Constituents: They want their children to not be targets of the police. They want schools where their children are understood. They are worried that as more and more of their neighborhood public schools are closed due to the

increases in For Profit Charter Schools, their children will be more likely to be pushed out of school. Neighborhoods have lost positive identities.

Dominant Narrative: Black parents need to be present in their children's lives. They expect all of us to raise their children and then look away when they become criminals. Schools are just supposed to keep them in their classrooms no matter how disruptive the kids are. What about the good kids? Don't they deserve a good school free of distraction? They cry injustice and poverty - maybe they should try hard work and being proper role models. It is completely unfair to think that black lives are more important than other lives – all lives matter. We will never attract good employers or good citizens to our city if there are all these public protests.

Police Officers Union – Supporting the Concerns of City Police

1. Benefits through Wealthy Farthing Bank
2. Not many of the members live in the community
3. Struggle to be seen as a positive influence in neighborhoods and schools
4. Want to be supportive of the city's efforts to be seen as a sanctuary
5. Current employees are mostly white males

Constituents: Concerned that the effects of high poverty, food and housing insecurity and lack of healthcare in the community is what underlies the growing opioid problem. There are many times that they are trying to save people who have over-dosed. There are a growing number of muggings and break ins in which the perpetrators often have guns. There is pressure from the police commissioner – an appointee of the Mayor, to keep crime down at all costs. There are a number of asylum seekers who do get picked up for prospective businesses and new professionals to the city are looking for safe, crime free communities.

Dominant Narrative: For the most part, Police officers are unsung heroes. They don't make enough money and they do a very stressful job that is nearly impossible. There are some bad apples here and there but it is their union that keeps them employed and that is what makes the police profession so hard to change and drives up the cost of employing more police officers – which we need if we are going to turn this city around. Unions don't belong in the police station and keep us from having the kind of police force we need to attract new community members and businesses.

Wealthy Farthing Bank – A Branch of a National Banking Institution

Wealthy Farthing Bank has long been a pillar of the community. It has given annual scholarships for community members graduating going on to at least a two year college. They are known for helping underwrite important businesses and are the number one housing lender in the city. They are also the major underwriter for a number of wealth management products found in a number of the public employees portfolios including – student loan refinance, first time home owners loans, vanity credit cards, 2nd mortgages and retirement funds. A large number of influential community members are shareholders and board members. When Wealthy Farthing was looking for a place to build its regional headquarters, the city offered a ten year, no property or income tax incentive so that hundreds of new jobs could be provided for the community. Because of this partnership, Wealthy Farthing works with the city and clients who are seeking to redevelop areas or build new businesses to broker the same sort of tax incentives. They believe that this approach is ultimately a good one for the bank and the city, allowing job creators to view the area as a positive place to invest.

Meet a Few Wealthy Farthing Board Members:

Vernon Squire is a real estate developer focused on turning undesirable buildings and areas of the city into hubs for young professionals and entrepreneurs. Recognizing that it is important to attract well-educated workers and higher paying workers, Vernon has acquired several old buildings including the 100 year old St. of Mercy Hospital, the closed

auto factory, 2 High Schools that were closed due to waning student attendance and 5 high rise housing units. He has secured investors and financing to build a technology campus complete with condominiums and the right kind of service businesses to attract more businesses and highly skilled people. He has also secured a county contract with federal funding to building a state of the art prison for low risk and young adult offenders and to serve as a detention facility for asylum seekers.

Mary Ellen Waltham is the daughter of John B Waltham who owns a large, national chain of warehouse grocers. She lives in the oldest and most exclusive part of the city and she is proud that her foundation supports charities for the arts and provides small classroom grants of up to \$250 for supplies purchased at her family's stores. Three of her family's stores have been built on the outskirts of the city. When they opened, they were clean and convenient for the suburban workforce that travels into the city each day. Known for low prices and convenience, many of these workers found it easier to do their shopping once they had already left the city. The smaller grocers and neighborhood bodegas have all but closed. With the installation of sleek new automated cashiers and fulfillment services, the stores have been able to cut their workforce by one fourth so far. There is always a long list of people waiting to work part time in these stores.

Penelope Penetent is the wife of Justice Penetent. He and she also serve on the board of Incarceration Nation Inc. – a private prison group. Five years ago they purchased the defunct auto manufacturing plant with a business development loan from Wealthy Farthing and built a high tech prison facility. Because they believed it was wrong for inmates to be sent so far from family when serving their time, they wanted to provide an option close to home. Justice Penetent now does not feel so bad when he has to law down the law on the minor drug violators, chronic traffic violators, and various other troublesome crimes. Both Penelope and the Justice feel like they are truly improving the community. They also have recently begun to take detained Asylum Seekers who have been picked up in the city and are awaiting processing for deportation.

Charles Child the 2nd has begun a chain of charter schools that he calls Bridge Charters. Their model is to locate them at the edges of neighborhoods that have already been redeveloped and also touch older neighborhoods. They want their schools to be the places where student learn what is needed for the new tech focused, entrepreneurial businesses that the community is working to attract. They want to be the solution that public schools have not been for many families – a safe environment that is well-funded and free of the health and behavioral distractions that are prevalent in the neighborhood schools. Parents are looking for schools that can be singularly focused on building scholars, and Bridge Charter Schools can provide that – drawing families who already attend public schools to them and attracting new families into the newly developed zones. Bridge Charter schools have been granted property tax incentives from the city as part of their economic development and job creating strategy.

Elliot Elderman is the father of the city's Mayor Elissa. Their family is an old one with deep ties to the city's manufacturing history. Elliot remembers that hard work and persistence allowed his family to buy homes, build businesses and get good educations. They pulled themselves up by their bootstraps without a lot of handouts to make them soft. Their family built some of the original factories that provided parts for the now closed auto plant. The family was fortunate – it sold its holdings and liquidated its company stock just before the first economic downturn to hit the city. They have since reinvested in a number of concerns - housing development and Wealthy Farthing Banks mostly. Elissa, like her father, believes that unions along with social service policies were what are the root of the city's problems. Public programs and institutions are far better managed when business owners run them, can keep costs down and generate income for job creators. She is fully committed to creating a city that will be attractive to high paying, high skill employers.

Scenario Activity 1 - Power Analysis Directions

Why do a Power Analysis?

Power is a pretty vague thing, right? We can't touch it, or measure it in ounces. But we need to know how to measure it. Why is this important?

- ◆ To know what initiatives are **achievable** and what's beyond our reach
- ◆ To **evaluate** whether we've achieved our goals
- ◆ To measure our **growth in power** – to see if what we are doing is working
- ◆ To **communicate** our power – for recruitment, for opponents, for potential allies

The Power Grid

- ◆ **Vertical axis – Amount of power**
This is the relative amount of power that a person or group has determining which of these agendas will win. The more power a group has, the higher we place them on the grid.
- ◆ **Horizontal axis– Amount of commitment to and focus on the agendas**
The right left axis represents the positions, beliefs for actions of a group or individual are with respect to the two competing agendas.
- ◆ **Our agenda in the upper left, the status quo or opposing agenda in the upper right**
What we and they are trying to accomplish
- ◆ **Colors and Geometric Shapes** – represent the different types of groups and individuals that are part of the power struggle including decision makers, allies, opponents and unorganized constituents.

Assumptions of Power Analysis

- Power relationships are unequal right now and this is a key source of the problems and conditions we face.
- There is an agenda at work causing these problems and power is being exercised behind it. We have to develop strategies that address these realities.
- A systemic way of understanding power and how it is exercised is necessary for achieving long-term progressive social change.

Goals of Power Analysis

1. Produce a roughly accurate **picture of current power relations** for a given community and a given struggle.
2. Develop a **shared understanding and language** of what power is, the nature of our power and that of the opposing forces, and how our work can influence decision makers and change power relations.
3. Identify the **most promising constituencies and partners** on which to focus our limited resources for direct engagement and relationship- building.
4. To develop effective strategies for **permanently altering relations of power** through initiatives that **both build power and win social change**.
5. Use **collaborative, popular education methods** to demonstrate that together we have the experience and smarts to do an accurate assessment.

Step by Step Power Analysis (Use Chart Paper)



Step 1. Define the conditions, struggle or issue impacting your constituency. – 2 mins

This can be a community, a campaign or a constituency.

Our Vision/Agenda

Step 2. Define Our Agenda and the Opposing Agenda/Status Quo – 5 mins

What are some of the key points of our organizational or coalitions agenda, with respect to the problem we just identified? What are some of the key points of the opposing agenda?

For example, Our agenda on health care is **quality, affordable, accessible health care for all** (*paste it in the upper left corner*) and that the opposition's agenda is **keep things the same (status quo) OR freedom for companies to earn as much as they want from health care**

PSE Changes

Step 3: Plot the major Policy, System, or Cultural Changes Required to Achieve our Agenda

What are the component elements of change that we want implemented? This should include any policy, system or environmental changes we want to see in government or organizations or specific initiatives we want to launch.

Step 4. Plot Major decision-makers – 15 mins

Decision makers

Who are the individuals or entities that have the power to make decisions about our issue? These are the decision makers.

For example: The people who can make the decisions that determine the success of implementing our vision for addressing substance abuse might include state, county and local officials who can direct funding toward or away from appropriate services as well as the executives and board members of health systems, social service agencies and law enforcement agencies who could modify their operating procedures in order to move the overall community closer to our vision.

(Notes – Decision making bodies can be plotted as a whole or by individual. It is important not to confuse Decision makers with Opponents. The city council is a decision making body. A small business council that heavily influences the city council is an opponent.)

Now let's place them – first how much power does each have? And then how much are they with us?
Make sure people get it and that more and more voice their opinions as the exercise continues
Allow some back and forth – but precision is not the goal – it's easy to arrive at an “average” position if 2 people don't agree.

**Allies or
Supporting
Groups**

Step 5. Plot Allies and Supporters– 15 mins

Who are the organized groups, who are actively working on our agenda or could be working on our agenda?

Discuss together where to plot groups. Urge realism. We often overestimate our own power and this can lead to flawed strategies.

Additional questions you can ask to flesh out where to place the group include: Is this an organization that has the capacity to achieve their goals?

**Groups
Resistant to
Our Agenda**

Step 6. Plot Organizations That May Resist Our Agenda – 10 mins

Who are the organized groups out there actively working in support of the status quo and/or using their power against our Agenda? These groups might, through their normal way of operating, perpetuate the current situation or make change toward our agenda harder. These are not individuals, not unorganized – these are groups with names. Is this a group that affects the decision-makers in a way that is substantive and relevant to us?

For example: Health systems who are invested in the status quo, social service agencies that aren't responding appropriately to our issue, etc.

**Unorganized
Constituencies**

Step 7. Plot unorganized constituencies – 10-15 mins

What kinds of people are most impacted by this issue who are not yet organized into groups? *Examples: uninsured people; low-income people; families with children; small businesses* Caution – people will tend to place them further to the left than they are.

Many individuals in these

groups may lean toward us, but without an organized voice, there is no way for them to exert any power on the issue or communicate a position on the issue. By definition, they must remain in the neutral center of the grid at zero power – unless we build them into organized allies over time.

Step 8. Analysis and Application

Now that we've placed most of the pieces, and we see how much power people and groups have in relation to each other, do we want to make any changes in where we placed?

There are usually a few insights – “x is really not as powerful as we thought, now that we have the rest up there”

This isn't a campaign plan – it's a lay of the land that informs initiative planning. Like a brainstorm.

What observations do people have about our power map? What are the strengths and challenges of the current position of our organization and allies?

Open-ended question. Lots of possible answers.

Allies

We are weak and divided

Opponents

They are strong and united

Decision-makers

Need more on our side

What does it tell us about where we need to put the most energy? What opportunities for organizing (recruiting, developing leadership and expanding our power) does this picture show us?

Choosing carefully among allies and working closely and more intentionally with fewer

Choosing carefully among unorganized constituencies and focusing a lot of energy to recruit them or make them into organized groups

Which decision-makers should we focus on weakening?

Which allies are essential partners? Should we ever do anything to weaken them?

Examples of things not to do – don't publicly trash people on our side – talk to them privately, learn why they aren't as solid as we want them to be, help create conditions for them to take more risks

Which unorganized constituencies should we focus on to develop into allies? How?

What happens to this picture when we implement an effective initiative?

Everyone who is involved in the effort shifts – up and to the left. Those who aren't involved stay the same or go down and to the right. Show examples.

How do these findings impact our plan?

Who needs to be involved? How will those decisions be made?

Power Analysis Grid (Use Chart Paper)

Our Agenda									Opposing Agenda			
10 <i>Decisive decision making power or influence</i>										10 <i>Decisive decision making power or influence</i>		
8 <i>Active Participant in Decision Making</i>										8 <i>Active Participant in Decision Making</i>		
6 <i>Power to have major influence on decision making</i>										6 <i>Power to have major influence on decision making</i>		
4 <i>Taken into account</i>										4 <i>Taken into account</i>		
2 <i>Can get attention</i>										2 <i>Can get attention</i>		
0 <i>Not on Radar Screen</i>										0 <i>Not on Radar Screen</i>		
	Die Hard	Active Support	Inclined towards			Inclined towards	Active Support	Die Hard				

Scenario Activity 2 - Injustices and Power Holders

[illegible]

Scenario Activity 3 - Identify Partnerships and Coalitions

Pick and Injustice that your team wants to work on. Based on that selection, what is a coalition or set of partnerships you would put together to improve that Injustice.

Who are the partners in your coalition?

What are the strengths that they bring ?

What are potential weaknesses that they bring?

What would be common interests in across this coalition – why would they want to participate in changing this injustice?

Scenario Activity 4 - Issues to Demands and Targets

Three Key Issues: What are the widely felt “pains” or injustices felt across your coalition

Three Demands: Craft clear demands that you can make at the bargaining/policy table. Your demands can be directed at the school board or can be directed at the corporations or powerholders who have caused the problems. Whatever demands you make, will likely take organizing to win. So, be bold!

Target: A target is an identifiable person or set of people who have the power to grant your demand

Check the boxes that you think apply to this issue and Demand

The solution to this issue should:	Issue 1	Issue 2	Issue 3
Result in worthwhile Improvement: - Will this solution help alleviate the problem? - Will people see a difference? - Will people feel good that they are fighting for something that merits the effort?			
Be widely Felt: - How common is the problem? - How many people benefit from this solution? What are the different ways folks benefit?			
Be deeply Felt: - Is this an issue that people feel strongly enough about to do something about it? - Is this issue a symptom to another deeply felt problem and will help you move toward a resolution to that problem?			
Be winnable: - Does the solution to this issue seem achievable? - Do you know other groups that have won similar solutions and how? (Success fosters enthusiasm) - For larger issues—what are winnable steps that you can achieve and build upon over time?			
Build the Union and Build Community: - How will this organizing effort build members’ capacity for future fights? - How will this solution lay the groundwork for future improvements? - Will the effort strengthen the solidarity, empowerment, and involvement among members? - Will this effort strengthen our community relationships?			

Scenario Activity 5 – Counter Narrative

What is the dominant narrative for each of your coalition partners?

What is the counter narrative that you will use to support your campaign? Work to make it align with your demands and that it reflects the collective interests and values of your coalition.

Scenario Activity 6 – Escalation of Tactics and Timeline

Timeline	Tactic Description	Measurable Outcomes for Each Tactic
Target Date for Win	Demands:	How will you measure success?