

Building Power in the Heart of Texas: The Dallas AFL-CIO



By Camilo Viveiros, Jason Kozlowksi, and David Reynolds

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Dallas, Texas conjures up far more images of corporate dominance than it does models for progressive movement-building. However, historic change in the United States has often grown out of precisely those areas of the country that because they are centers of corporate investment and energy prove key to the nation's future while boasting seemingly impenetrable elite dominance. We should remember that Detroit and Michigan, ground zero for the great sit-down strike wave of 1936-37, had been home to a union-free auto industry and arguably the largest chapter of the Klu Klux Klan in the nation.

Today, the Dallas AFL-CIO has placed itself at the center of a nascent movement for progressive change in the huge Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan region. The city has a labor-endorsed majority on the city council which has passed several pieces of progressive legislation. This report explores how this momentum came about and draws lessons for labor and community leaders looking to expand progressive activism in the American South and throughout the country.¹

Executive Summary

The Dallas-Fort Worth Region's Potential

Since the failure of Operation Dixie in the 1950s the American labor movement has historically not put great time and energy into organizing in the South. Yet, the South's central role in the current restructuring of the U.S. economy makes it crucial for the future of organized labor. Three key developments illustrated by the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area point towards new opportunities:

1. Economic and population growth: A 7.2 million population the Dallas-Fort Worth Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is one of the fastest growing urban area in the country, ranking fourth in overall population size.
2. The Dallas-Fort Worth MSA has gone from majority white historically to majority people of color. Overall in Texas, Latinos are 40% of the population -- almost as numerous as whites at 42%. Eight of the ten U.S. Congressional Districts in the Dallas-Fort Worth region are represented by Republicans. While half of these eight are majority white, three are majority people of color with another is close to being so. As many interviewees argued, "Texas is not so much a conservative state as a non-voting state." If Latinos alone

¹ Research for this report included eleven interviews with labor leaders and three with community partners. We spoke to a range of a different affiliates, some of which were new affiliates, others were long time labor council members. We also conducted a focus group with over 20 labor council delegates. We would like to thank all of the leaders and activists for taking time out of their busy schedules to share their time, ideas and enthusiasm.

voted at the same rate as whites and blacks the region, and Texas as a whole, would be political transformed.

3. Growing inequality: The region's economic growth has brought prosperity for the few, but low-wage, low-quality jobs for the many, especially for people of color. The Dallas-Fort Worth region has a substantial and diverse working class whose future is only going to improve through collective action.

The Evolution of the Dallas AFL-CIO

The region has two labor councils: one in Dallas, the other in Fort Worth. This report focuses on changes at the Dallas AFL-CIO since the 2013 election of Mark York as Financial-Secretary Treasurer, the council's one full-time officer. Since then, the council has transformed its culture to emphasize inclusion, participation, and communication among all unions and community allies. The council actively develops new leaders and activists. With the help of the national AFL-CIO, the Dallas labor council developed a visionary plan focusing on expanded progressive political action and deeper alliances with community allies. The Dallas AFL-CIO enjoys several key community allies, especially the Texas Organizing Project (TOP), the Workers Defense Project, and Texas New Era/Jobs with Justice. The labor council also receives great support from the Texas AFL-CIO that has evolved to promoting a grass-roots mobilization-based politics driven by an economic-justice "Fair Shot" agenda. Local unions, such as the American Federation of Teachers, which have made a significant commitment to organizing in Texas have proven important partners in implementing the Dallas AFL-CIO's visionary plan.

A bold plan is useful only to the extent that adequate resources become available to pursue it. The national AFL-CIO went into the May 2014 strategic planning having already committed significant new resources through a Solidarity Grant. At the same time, the council has been able to ask for and received increased per capita payments and membership figures from unions already engaged with it as well as increasing the number of union affiliates to 51, almost doubling affiliation. These increased resources have allowed the Dallas AFL-CIO to add two additional full-time staff – a mobilization coordinator and a community engagement coordinator. This added capacity showed results right away as a July 2014 protest action against a meeting of the right-wing American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) turned out over 500 people – the largest labor and community protest in Dallas in recent memory.

Key Elements of the Regional Program

Aggressive Electoral Action:

The Dallas AFL-CIO has expanded its electoral program to encompass more races, including all fourteen city council districts. By 2015, it had formed Communities United for a Greater Dallas (CUGD) with the Texas Organizing Project, Workers Defense Project, Faith in Texas, Planned Parenthood of Texas, and Alliance/American Federation of Teachers. The coalition partners have worked together on both electoral and issue campaigns. CUGD provided a table to develop candidate education forums in which candidates in targeted races must come before the coalition

to learn about the partners' issues and make commitments to supporting working families in the region.

The more aggressive electoral program enjoyed immediate success in the 2015 city council races. Ten of the fourteen labor-backed candidates won election or reelection. The victories changed the balance of power on the council. In early 2015 the council had failed to pass a rest break ordinance developed by the Workers Defense Project and supported by the Dallas AFL-CIO and allies. Following the election, the Dallas City Council passed the rest break ordinance 10 to 5. It also enacted 14 to 1 a living wage ordinance requiring at least \$10.37 an hour for workers on city contracts. In 2017, all but three of labor's fourteen endorsed city council candidates won.

For the November 2016 election, the Dallas AFL-CIO took on the then largest coordinated political campaign to date, targeting 3 state house districts and working in coordination with the Tarrant County AFL-CIO. In a controversial move the Dallas AFL-CIO did not endorse Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson for reelection in the U.S. House 30th district because of her support for the Trans Pacific Partnership trade deal. Hillary Clinton won Dallas County with 61% of the vote, three points more than Obama in 2012. While Trump won all of the region's other counties, he did so by margins significantly lower than Romney's 2012 vote in the other three most populous counties. Labor and its allies were able to celebrate a decisive victory over and incumbent legislature in state house district 105 and mourned a single digit vote loss in district 108.

Campaigns to Deliver Change:

To exercise real political power organized labor cannot simply elect endorsed candidates, but deliver concrete policy changes and move issues on the ground. Two recent campaigns illustrate the new agenda and alliances pursued by the Dallas AFL-CIO.

Rest Break Campaign: In 2010, the Workers Defense Project won a rest break ordinance in Austin which required that construction workers be granted a break of at least ten minutes every four hours worked. Thanks to labor's aggressive political action the Dallas City Council passed a similar ordinance covering an estimates 120,000 workers in 2015. The campaign included a labor-community thirst vigil outside of city hall following the tragic and preventable death of construction worker Roendy Granillo from heat exhaustion 40 miles outside Dallas.

Project Phoenix: Project Phoenix is a comprehensive "second-chance" program that helps young (18-30 year old), first-time, non-violent, felony probationers get good paying jobs in the construction trades via union apprenticeship training. Its creation involved a partnership between the Dallas AFL-CIO, Texas New Era (the local Jobs with Justice chapter), the building trades, the Dallas District Attorney and Work Force Solutions. It addresses community needs for jobs and reduced recidivism while also promoting union construction work.

The Dallas AFL-CIO has also pursued other issues including bringing a grocery store to "food dessert" areas of Dallas and immigration/immigrant rights work.

Lessons and Challenges

The Conditions Are Ripe for Organizing: While the on-the-ground gains are real what is most apparent are the heightened expectations expressed by the people we interviewed. Today the labor council, affiliate leaders, and allies debate and grapple with plans, opportunities, and challenges of a scope well beyond what would have been discussed even a few years ago. Thus, the biggest lesson to come out of this experience is that conditions are in place to do significant and meaningful organizing in Dallas, in Texas, and in cities in the American South.

Culture Matters: Change has clearly taken place in Dallas, but it has not involved significantly altering the labor council's structures. Instead interviewee after interviewee highlighted a change in culture. Today the Dallas AFL-CIO has become a dynamic body that welcomes and seeks the participation of affiliates and allies. It encourages creative thinking and leadership development. And it operates with heightened hopes about what is possible in greater Dallas and what affiliates and allies can expect of the council.

Planning and Resources: Cultural change cleared the way for meaningful strategic planning. The national AFL-CIO (with the support of the state AFL-CIO) played a key role in helping facilitate the planning process and raising new resources to support more ambitious plans with more ambitious staffing.

Deepening Relationships: Thanks to heightened expectations leaders today are not simply discussing how to bring in new partners, but also how to deepen relationships among themselves. Electorally, how do the partners foster greater coordination and joint effort? In terms of issue campaigns, to what extent does cooperation revolve around supporting campaigns driven by one or more key partners and to what extent do new campaigns develop out of the partnership? As an evolving experiment Communities United for a Greater Dallas has to further develop its balance of electoral and campaign work.

Building a Regional Movement: Ultimately, momentum developed in Dallas City and County needs to spread to other parts of the region for decisive change to happen in Texas. How can cooperation between the two areas labor councils further a change process in Tarrant County? Both labor councils in turn face the challenge of fostering a greater progressive presence in the suburbs north of the two cities where much of today's population and economic growth occurs.

More Resources: Fostering progressive momentum in a thirteen-county region of over seven million people will require ever growing resources. Resources can come from several directions including labor movement growth (especially organizing plans prioritized by national unions), foundation-funded allied non-profits, and public policy reforms that resource monitoring and constituent services work done in ways that organizes among working class communities.

Keeping Ahead of the Backlash: across the country the right-wing has attempted to use state level power to counter progressive momentum at the local level. Although Texas has been a conservative state, the rise of the tea party and alt-right currents has meant that in recent years the legislature has become much more aggressively anti-union. The lesson for national sources of

funding and resources is clear: better to jump in quicker and larger than tentative steps to gradually invest in Texas over time.

Conclusion: Transforming a Region, State, and Nation

“The CLC is the hub for all the locals and organizations.”

Young worker and ATU Member Nathaniel Ragland

Being “dangerous enough to try to outlaw” underlines the strength of the opportunities present in the greater Dallas area and Texas more generally. Indeed, all the above challenges are the kinds of “advanced” issues that represent the significant raising of possibilities and ambitions that have grown out of the power-building project embraced by the Dallas AFL-CIO. Today, the labor council and its projects provide tables around which labor and community leaders can seriously consider, debate, and plan for the future of their metropolitan region. This reality in and of itself represents a major achievement. While the tasks ahead are large the authors were greatly impressed by the sense of momentum and optimism expressed by interviewees. Labor and its allies are clearly moving forward in Dallas and in the state of Texas. History is likely being written now.

Full Report

Demographic Change and Economic Growth – Dallas-Fort Worth’s Progressive Potential

After the Second World War the Congress of Industrial Organizations attempted to organize the American South. Operation Dixie largely failed amid Jim Crow laws, racial division and terror, and the red-scare hysteria of the Cold War. Since then the labor movement has not historically invested greatly in the South with its Right-To-Work laws, hostile political environment, and anti-union culture. With low-union density but increased corporate investment the South has been a laboratory for the overall corporate restructuring of U.S. economy, society, and politics. Where once Michigan-based unionized General Motors was the nation’s largest employer and trendsetter, today this mantle goes to low-wage Wal-Mart headquartered in Arkansas. Texas has been a right to work state for decades and has tied for Arkansas for the 46th lowest unionization rate at 4% in the country. For well over a century Dallas’ power structure has used racial division and striving for “whiteness” to maintain division and control.²

Today, union organizing in the American South is not only crucial for the future of the overall labor movement, but is also increasingly possible due to important changes that metropolitan Dallas illustrate. Opportunity comes from three key dimensions: the region’s overall economic and population growth, it’s changing demographics, and its core economic contradictions.

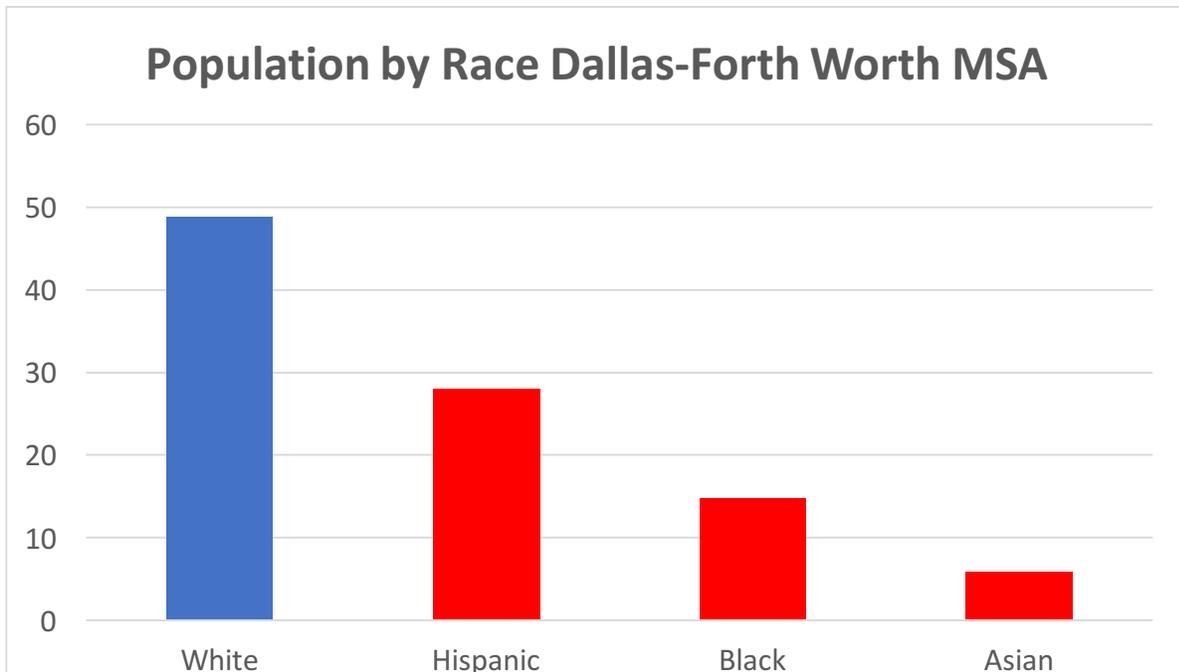
Adding over a million residents since 2000, the Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington Metropolitan Statistical Area is one of the fastest growing in the country – ahead of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago. Between July 2015 and 2016 alone the area gained 143,435 in population, the highest growth rate in the country. While the City of Dallas boasts a population of 1.3 million, the overall thirteen county metropolitan region is the fourth largest in the nation at 7.2 million. It is projected to grow to over 10.6 million by 2040. The region has one of the highest concentrations of corporate headquarters in the country. Professional and business services account for 17% of employment – the second largest category behind trade, transportation, and utilities at 21%. The three other top five economic sectors are education and health (12%), government (11%), and leisure and hospitality (11%). Thanks in part to efforts to promote the region as a low tax, low labor cost, business-friendly regulatory environment the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA has experienced steady investment and job growth – jobs figures grew 3.1% between July 2016 and 2017.³

Population growth has also meant demographic change. Between 1990 and 2000 Dallas County gained 598,398 Hispanic and 152,652 African-American residents while it lost 330,403 whites. Today the county is 42% Latino, 29% white, and 25% African-American. The broader Dallas-

² See Michael Phillips *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001* University of Texas Press 2006.

³ “Dallas-Fort Worth's booming population growth blows past the rest of the country” by John Egan, *Culture Map Dallas* 3/29/17. U.S. census data

Fort Worth metropolitan region is also turning into a “majority minority region” as show on the chart below. Today, over one out of six residents are foreign born and nearly half the population is under 35.⁴



Tefere Gebre was familiar with the political implications of such demographic changes. In 2008, he took over as Executive Director of a largely moribund Orange County AFL-CIO in a county that was the home of California conservatism. Yet, Orange County had been changing. Between 1990 and 2010 the white population fell by 15 percent while the Hispanic population grew by 80 percent and the Asian population by 120 percent.⁵ According to U.S. Census estimates the population in 2015 was 41% white, 34% Hispanic and 20% Asian. By mobilizing the growing communities of color organized labor and its allies turned staunchly Republican Orange County into contested terrain in ways that greatly contributed to the Republican Party’s generally declining fortunes in California.

The political possibilities in the Dallas-Fort Worth region appear similarly promising. Whites are only 48% of the population, Hispanics 28%, blacks, 15%, Asians 6% and mixed 2%.⁶ The trend is toward an increasing “minority majority” region. Politically gerrymandering is clear from the shape of the ten main Congressional Districts in and around the area. The two districts represented by Democrats are overwhelmingly communities of color – with whites as low as 1% of the population. The Republican-represented districts have interesting demographics,

⁴ From data compiled by the Dallas Chamber of Commerce

⁵ By [Doug Irving](#), [Peggy Lowe](#) and [Ronald Campbell](#) “O.C. lost whites, gained Hispanics and Asians, census shows” *Orange County Register* March 10, 2011.

⁶ Figures are from Data USA for Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSA.

however.⁷ While half of the eight are majority white, three are majority people of color and another is close to being so as well. Given the preference of African-Americans and Latinos for the Democrats the election results seem out of sync with demographics. In the northern suburban 24th district Republican incumbent Kenny Marchant beat the Democratic challenger Jan McDowell 56% to 39% in 2016. Incumbent Republican Pete Sessions did not have a Democratic challenger that year, having won with 61% in 2014. Home to Phil Gram, Joe Barton has been elected from the 6th District by healthy margins since he first ran in 1984.

2015 Population by Race in Republican Represented Congressional Districts

	3rd	4th	5th	6th	12th	24th	26th	32nd
White	55	67	47	43	59	41	61	43
Hispanic	15	14	28	22	22	25	18	26
Black	9	11	16	21	8	10	8	14
Asian	15	1	2	5	4	13	7	8
Hispanic, Black, Asian Combined	39	25	45	48	34	48	32	48

The discrepancy seems linked to low voter turnout. Over the past several Presidential election cycles Texas has ranked near the bottom among states in voter turnout. With a voting rate of 51.6% in 2016 Texas was third lowest. However, Texas voting splits between relatively high white and African-American voting and low Latino and Asian turnout. For example, in 2012, 63% of blacks and 61% of eligible whites voted but only 42% of Asians and 39% of Hispanics. Nationwide 48% of Hispanics voted. Indeed, Texas consistently experiences particularly low Latino voting.⁸ Yet, Texas Latinos have become increasingly Democratic. Challenging early reported exit polls, the polling firm Latino Decisions determined that 80% of Texas Latino voters chose Hillary Clinton.⁹ This data confirms the argument frequently mentioned by the leaders interviewed for this study that Texas is not so much a conservative state as it is a non-voting state.

In addition to the favorable demographic shifts, the economic contradictions of metro Dallas' growth point towards a potentially increasing constituency for a change agenda. On the surface, with a median wage of \$61,644 in 2015, the Dallas-Fort Worth region is more prosperous than either Texas or the U.S. as a whole. High profile investment projects and the growth of Dallas' Uptown area, however, masks growing inequality in both the city of Dallas and the region. Over the last decade the portion of Dallas city residents living in poverty grew from 18 to 24%. The U.S. average for peer cities is 16%¹⁰ The region stands out for its inequality. In 2015, the Urban

⁷ The figures do not add up to 100% due to multi-race and other categories. Figures come from the 2015 U.S. Census estimates.

⁸ Michael Li "A Look at Texas Voter Turnout by Ethnicity" May 9, 2013 *Burnt Orange Report*; Corrie MacLaggan "Report: Texas Lags in Hispanic Voter Turnout" Feb. 26, 2014 *The Texas Tribune*; George Pillsbury with Julian Johannesen *AMERICA GOES TO THE POLLS 2016: A Report on Voter Turnout in the 2016 Election* a report for Nonprofit Vote and U.S. Elections Project; Justin Gross "Latino Electorate On Track For Historic Turnout In 2016" Latino Decisions 11/3/2016.

⁹ Latino Decisions 2016 LATINO ELECTION ANALYSIS November 30, 2016

¹⁰ David Tarrant "The Gap Behind the Gleam – Future Dallas: A Special Report", *The Dallas Morning News* 2014.

Institute examined the difference between neighborhoods in the nation’s 570 major “commuting zones.” The 3.7 million resident Dallas-Fort Worth zone had the highest Neighborhood Inequality Index in the country.¹¹ The report’s neighborhood income data also had striking findings. The income gains of top ten percent fit with the national experience. However, while the bottom ten percent gained a mere 1% nationally, in Dallas-Fort Worth incomes actually fell by over 8.5%.

Average Household Income by Neighborhoods

Dallas-Fort Worth Commuting Zone

	Bottom 10% of Neighborhoods	Top 10% of Neighborhoods
Income 2010	\$34,155	\$195,201
Change since 1990	-\$3,149	+\$31,769

Values are in 2012 dollars.

No discussion of labor activism in Texas can be complete without acknowledging the state’s Right-To-Work environment. The state also has no public sector collective bargaining. Together this legal context decreases union density. However, it also compels unions to become skilled at engaging workers. As Kenneth Day, President of ATU Local 1338 describes:

We cater to our members, we have to be more attentive to them, whereas a closed [or union] shop may make decisions different from we do. Annually, we do social events, give them union member gifts, and have parties for holidays. We keep members involved. We also got the company to give us time during member orientation. We also have member incentives, so members who sign up new members get \$25. We paid airfare for the national convention for anyone who signed up 10 members, and we had six members who did that. We have to talk with folks every day about being in the union.”

Indeed, the above opportunities can only lead to real change if leaders and activists can come together to foster a more unified and increasingly aggressive regional progressive movement. Organized labor must be at the center of such a movement.

¹¹ Rolf Pendall with Carl Hedman *Worlds Apart: Inequality between America’s Most and Least Affluent Neighborhoods*, Urban Institute, June 2015. The researchers created a neighborhood advantage score using average household income, portions of college degrees and home ownership, and median housing value to compare ratios between the top ten and bottom ten percent of neighborhoods in each zone.

The Evolution of the Dallas AFL-CIO

Labor in the metropolitan area is organized into two labor councils. The main affiliates of the Fort Worth AFL-CIO are private sector unions. By contrast, the Dallas AFL-CIO has witnessed a sharp decline among the membership of its private sector unions. At the same time, public sector unions – which have the most direct interest in an aggressive regional political program -- have grown in importance. The large Alliance/AFT – the main teachers union in Dallas – is a particularly important affiliate. Five years ago, the national American Federation of Teachers increased its long-standing commitment to organizing in Texas by funding a long-term multi-million-dollar effort. The Alliance/AFT has been quite active in city and regional school board and other races and was looking to expand labor's political operations.

With limited capacity of only one full-time staff person, the Dallas AFL-CIO operated within the bounds of a traditional labor council. In elections, the council participated in selected races, but did not have the ability to pursue a long-term plan to reshape the electoral balance of power in the region. In 2009, for example, the council endorsed six candidates among fourteen city council races.

In the fall of 2013 Mark York became Financial-Secretary Treasurer, the full-time head of the Dallas AFL-CIO. York came out of the Transportation Workers Union. He had first been involved with the council when he offered to assist with improving social media. Playing a constructive and pragmatic role York gained the trust of the existing leadership. He and others tried to increase involvement under the former leadership and came to increasingly see the council as a place to bring their issues and get solidarity. York ran of office with the support of the previous Secretary Treasurer who had decided to step down.

Under York's transformational leadership the council has undergone a cultural shift that emphasizes six elements:

Inclusion: the Dallas AFL-CIO has become a broad welcoming tent. York reached out to backers of the alternative candidate and built with them a common vision for the council. The council has opened its activities to non-active affiliates, non-affiliates, and to key community allies. Interviewees frequently pointed to increased dialogue as a central change.

Participation: the council has opened up decision-making, including political endorsements, to bring in more voices and to deepen people's level of engagement. To increase a sense of camaraderie and ownership the council has also made efforts to host social events after meetings and integrate social activities into some political and mobilization work. As one interviewee described, "this room [where the labor council meets] used to be sparsely populated but now it's close to being backed. People feel like there is lots to take back to their union -- like knowledge to use for action and also the support among all the unions and groups for each other. That is the thing that you really feel. We feel a sort of bond connection, a sort of responsibility. We want to see the people here be successful." Greater inclusion and participation has meant more debate as affiliates have space to "fight things out" rather than letting disagreements fester outside of discussion.

Communication: Broadening the way people get information about the council has been key to expanding inclusion and participation. As one long-term council participant described it used to be that “if you attended the Labor Council meeting you would hear an update and you kind of knew what was going on and if you didn’t you didn’t know, so there was a huge disconnect. But there is has been a difference in communication, in sending out email blasts, Facebook messages and text, those communications weren’t prioritized in the past. Now I am always getting communications and invitations to events and meetings. It is all about communication. And during meetings we talk about how we turn out our membership, how do we get people to come to our meetings.”

Cultivating Leadership: York has actively fostered a team of leaders, which expands the capacity of the council beyond the one full-time elected leader. To paraphrase one commenter: rather than just doing it himself, Mark asks people to be involved. As one affiliate leader observed” “he surrounded himself with really good people that know how to organize, that is how you do it, when you are a great leader, you surround yourself with others who have specific skill sets, and he backs them up 100%.”

Vision: As detailed above economic and demographic changes present new possibilities for building a progressive movement to significantly change the politics of the region. Council delegates elected York to expand progressive political action and forge deeper alliances with the community. The new leadership has been able to effectively communicate and jointly develop this shared vision among the labor community and its allies.

Planning: Vision must be translated into action. By November 2013, the CLC held a strategic planning session that prioritized politics, community engagement, affiliation and communications. In May 2014, several affiliates and community partners participated in the AFL-CIO sponsored Community Labor Leadership Institute in Texas. This convening and future conversations lead to creation of Communities United for a Greater Dallas—a permanent alliance between Dallas unions and power building community organizations. In June, the Dallas AFL-CIO hosted a planning meeting with AFL-CIO Executive Vice President Tefere Gebre. Affiliates subsequently ratified their strategic blueprint for 2014-15.

Resources: The national AFL-CIO went into the May 2014 strategic planning having already committed significant new resources through a Solidarity Grant. At the same time, having included affiliate leaders in an inclusive and participatory process that produced a bold vision for itself, the council has been able to ask for and received increased per capita payments and membership figures from unions already engaged with it as well as increasing the number of union affiliates to 51, almost doubling affiliation. These increased resources have allowed the council to add two more full-time staff – a mobilization coordinator and a community engagement coordinator. This added capacity showed results right away as a July 2014 protest action against a meeting of the right-wing American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) turned out over 500 people -- largest labor and community protest in Dallas in recent memory.

Kenneth Day, President of ATU Local 1338, sited the reasons why his union increased their per capita donations to the Dallas labor council: “We’re active, we’re growing, more engaged with outside organizations. I have more access with Mark and with others. We did a lot on our own as

a union. I didn't go to the labor council before for much. The council had deteriorated a bit and there wasn't much going on. Mark is a good leader and has that energy that makes a difference.” Day’s Local also pays lost wages for a young worker from their union to be involved in organizing other young workers through the Dallas-Fort Worth chapter of Young Active Labor Leaders (YALL) as well as providing rides to conferences, protests and the polls.

Key Allies

Part of the new leadership’s mandate was to deepen relationships to with community groups. From the start relationships with three key allies have grown and deepened. The first is the Texas Organizing Project (TOP). With 24 staff statewide, TOP is the organizational successor to Texas ACORN with active programs in Houston, Dallas-Fort Worth, and San Antonio. Its membership is mostly African-American and Latino. Founded in 2002 the Workers Defense Project (WDP) is a membership-based worker center that organizes among low-income workers to achieve fair employment through education, direct services, organizing and strategic partnerships. It is based in Austin and Dallas with a new office in Houston. Texas New Era is a 501(c)3 Jobs with Justice Chapter in Dallas. Mark York helped found it as a non-profit and serves as the Treasurer. The organization has an executive director and Project Phoenix staff person. As we will see these allies have figured prominently in the council’s work.

The Dallas AFL-CIO has also benefited, especially in its electoral program, from support it receives from the Texas AFL-CIO. With low union density and an increasingly aggressive conservative movement in Texas, the state federation has always had to try to over perform and evolve. While it historically has had at times a rocky relationship with the national AFL-CIO, good communication between leaders on both sides has led to a shared vision and mutual support. The state federation has reevaluated what it will take to transform Texas politically. While the demographic changes we explored above create a potential, alone they do not create more voters. Polling and focus groups done by the AFL-CIO revealed widespread sentiment among non-voters that politicians do not speak to their core issues, which are economic justice concerns. Non-voters need to see candidates campaigning on a real agenda of change. They need direct contact with volunteers and they need to see real policy changes after elections. To revamp the way labor politics is done in the state the Texas AFL-CIO and several key affiliates have formed a Fair Shot Texas coalition of labor and community groups that also allows individuals to sign up for actions. Its Texas Fair Shot Agenda speaks directly to non-voters’ [and many voters] economic justice concerns:

- Fully Fund Neighborhood Public Schools
- Raise the Minimum Wage
- Protect Workers’ Economic Freedom & Worker Safety
- Make College More Affordable
- Pass Equal Pay for Equal Work
- Crack Down on Businesses That Ship Jobs Overseas
- Protect Our Retirement Security

Using the Fair Shot Agenda, the Texas AFL-CIO has evolved its electoral action to focus more on door-knocking and less candidate campaign contributions. The federation has used strategic

research to better coordinate and target labor’s electoral work. It has also prioritized building coalitions with community groups. In particular, the federation has joined the fight against the anti-immigrant wave –seeing immigrant communities as a core part of what organized labor is about in Texas and a key to its future. With help from the national AFL-CIO, the state federation has expanded its staff capacity to include a new field organizer, a digital strategist, and a campaign director Jeff Rotkoff.

In 2017 Secretary-Treasurer Richard Levy become President of the Texas AFL-CIO. The choice of Montserrat Garibay as the new Secretary-Treasurer says a great deal about the transformation of organized labor in Texas. Garibay served as Vice President for Certified Employees with Education Austin. An activist on education and immigration issues, Garibay came to the U.S. from Mexico City as an undocumented immigrant and became a citizen 20 years later. She has been instrumental in promoting opportunities for all students, including those from immigrant families. She promoted passage of the Texas version of the DREAM Act and comprehensive immigration reform.

Building Power in Dallas

Aggressive Electoral Action

Changes with the Dallas AFL-CIO reflect a larger transition for labor’s political action inside the state. As Richard Levy, President of the Texas AFL-CIO, described:

We argue that Texas is not a conservative state but a non-voting one. We have done a lot of polling focus groups etc. to tease out that work. The unsurprising but right answer is that people don’t feel that politics are responsive to them, that voting is a mechanism to change. Our task is to change and change our politics to alter that. The number of non-voters is staggering. Of about 19 million eligible voters, about half don’t vote, many are people of color. Our ability to win is connected to connecting with them and bringing them into the process. It is hard and not sexy work, but essential to our winning. Once we’re able to build and engage a progressive electorate core, build on direct organizing, it is much easier to transition that into progressive advocacy. Our politics now are around articulating a vision of what our candidates need to stand for. We use a message called Fair Shot for Texas encompassing among other things family leave, sick leave, access to voting rights, quality health care and education, that message of a progressive economic agenda must drive our politics. We polled on that and presented that to our allies, we redefined what people think of the Democratic Party. The Democratic caucus is using our frame of a Fair Shot. It isn’t about choice but economic justice and how that engine can drive the overall change in politics.

The Dallas County AFL-CIO changed its electoral operations in several ways. First, it expanded the scale and scope of involvement. The council has taken on endorsements and campaigning in far more races. It focuses less on donating to candidates and more on supporting a ground game. Several affiliates have run independent expenditure campaigns. The labor council relies on direct interviews to decide its endorsements, rather than using Democratic Party’s recommendations in

some cases. The council also ensures that its endorsement process invites and welcomes the participation of affiliates. Endorsed candidates sign onto a statement, written on flip chart paper posted on a wall, which reads as follows:

I affirmatively seek the endorsement of the Dallas AFL-CIO. In seeking this endorsement, I pledge to support the rights of workers to join a union and negotiate about working conditions. I understand as a community leader I may be called upon to defend rights of workers.

The 2018 Texas AFL-CIO questionnaire for state legislative races required candidates to make specific commitments to support or oppose twenty-two specific pieces of legislation or public policy actions.

By 2015, the council had gone even further by forming, with such allies as TOP and Workers Defense, a united labor-community tent for progressive political action called Communities United for a Greater Dallas (CUGD). The coalition aims for greater coordination among partners who engage in electoral work as well as providing a shared table to support issue campaigns.

In February 2015, CUGD hosted its first candidate education forum (or “boot camp”) around Dallas city and school board races. The forum went beyond the traditional process of providing candidates questionnaires, listening to responses, and making endorsements. Instead labor and its allies approach candidates with a united front and require them to learn about and stand for the issues facing working people. At the first forum CUGD announced the opportunity to partner in campaigns to create good jobs and opportunities for residents in the poorest part of South Dallas and to protect and promote public schools. CUGD coordinated around endorsements and plans for city races in May and June.

Current Members
Communities United for a Greater Dallas

Texas New Era Center/Jobs With Justice
Texas Organizing Project
Worker's Defense Project
Faith In Texas
Planned Parenthood of Texas
Alliance/AFT
Dallas AFL-CIO

One community ally described Communities United for a Greater Dallas by saying that:

It was a huge success in our work to engage with communities in a coalition, building coalitions with faith-based groups including the Texas Organizing Project. I am so glad we can all work together. The first big meeting of Communities United for a Greater Dallas, was two or three years ago around candidates for school board and city council, and every single candidate for school board and city council came to listen to us, to hear, this is what we want, this is the Dallas we see, and this what we want in the Dallas if you want our endorsement.

One participant described the evolution of CUGD as follows:

For the first one, the table had its one questionnaire, but it was extremely long, three questions for each organization. Then the candidates got another questionnaire from each organization. So, we learned not to do the joint one, but to choose the top three issues from the questionnaires, and take them to the table meetings. Before the forum, during preparation, we said elections are in May, we met in January or February, we willed this together in 2-3 weeks. [Everyone has] realized that if we don't tackle elections together, we're not giving the unified front. Then in elections, we don't think and act collective at the end of the day.

Building progressive electoral and legislative unity is an evolution that takes time. CUGD provides a table and shared process through participant organizations can over time forge greater shared endorsements and coordinate their political action to reduce duplication and magnify their collective impact. The candidate forums are now a standard part of the process.

The revamped electoral program has delivered clear success. Dallas has a city council of fourteen councilors elected by individual district plus a voting mayor. The city has the strong city manager, weak mayor model common to many U.S. municipalities. Prior electoral work had put allies in office, but not a critical mass. In early 2015, for example, the Dallas City council failed to enact a rest break ordinance (covered below) supported by the Dallas AFL-CIO and its allies. Some council members slammed the proposed measure as overreach. Following the CUGD candidate forum process the labor council endorsed fifteen candidates for city council and school board in 2015. Through a Labor Action Network the council mobilized union members to talk to other members in order to get them to vote in an election which had an overall turnout of only seven percent. After the general and runoff elections ten of the labor-backed candidates had won. In the fall of that year the Dallas City Council passed the rest break ordinance 10 to 5. It also enacted 14 to 1 a living wage ordinance requiring at least \$10.37 an hour for workers on city contracts.

For the fall of 2016 the Dallas AFL-CIO took on the largest coordinated political campaign to date, targeting 3 state house districts and working in coordination with Tarrant County AFL-CIO. The carefully targeting represented a new level of coordination for labor's electoral work. Then Texas AFL-CIO President John Patrick explained the significance of labor's Get Out The Vote efforts in Houston, San Antonio and Dallas that year as:

This election marks a new era in coordinated campaigning for labor in Texas. The Dallas and Tarrant County Central Labor Councils worked together on block-walks of mutual interest. ... The entire labor movement arrived at priorities in cooperative fashion. The conversations we had with union members were not merely about candidates. From the minimum wage to paid sick leave, from improving public education to equal pay for men and women, issues that affect our workers' everyday lives took precedence. The candidates we endorsed were on board with our agenda to provide a fair shot for every working family won tough races in 2016."

We should also note the import role that the the Texas Alliance for Retired Americans plays in getting out the retiree union member vote with active chapters in all of the state's major urban centers. The organization offices with the Dallas AFL-CIO and consults regularly.

In a controversial move the Dallas AFL-CIO did not endorse Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson for reelection in the U.S. House 30th district because of her support for the Trans Pacific Partnership trade deal. As an incumbent in a safe Democratic seat Johnson would easily win reelection. The lack of endorsement put labor on record that it was prioritizing candidates who would aggressively fight for working people. By contrast the Dallas AFL-CIO continues to support Congressman Marc Veasey in the 33rd district. In addition to meeting regularly with labor, Veasey does a “Marc Means Business” in which he works a regular job at different area businesses once a month as a way of directly connecting with the reality of his largely Latino and African American working class district.

The coordinated campaign scored a big victory in state house district 105 defeating an established and quite conservative Republican incumbent by a large margin. It lost in district 115. In a heartbreaker, the partnership with Tarrant County lost by literally only a few votes in state house district 108.

The 2016 Presidential vote returns demonstrated both the progress labor has made as well as the challenges ahead. Hillary Clinton won Dallas County with 61% of the vote, three points more than Obama in 2012. At close to three quarters of a million votes in 2016, Dallas County had the largest returns. While Trump won all of the region’s other counties, he did so by margins lower than Romney’s 2012 vote in the other three most populous counties, as shown in the table below. Tarrant County saw close to 650,000 voters while Denton and Collin Counties ran on either side of 300,000.

	Romney	Obama	Romney Margin	Trump	Clinton	Trump Margin
Tarrant County	57%	41%	+16	52%	44%	+8
Collin County	65%	34%	+36	56%	39%	+27
Denton County	65%	33%	+32	58%	38%	+20

For the May 2017 city council election, the Dallas AFL-CIO endorsed thirteen candidates in Dallas and one for Mesquite City Council following a vigorous candidate education process through CUGD. Two of these candidates did not receive the 50.01% needed to avoid a June runoff. The council then added a 14th endorsement by supporting Omar Navaez in a third runoff. Overall, all but three of labor’s endorsed candidates won. The council had backed ten incumbents, all but one of whom were reelected, and four challengers, two of whom won.

When we met with the Workers Defense Project and Texas Organizing Project they made it clear that some of the political transformation that has happened in Dallas wouldn’t have taken place without that transformation that occurred at the Dallas Labor Council. And additionally, groups who had been struggling trying to win on issues on their own were now able to take on long standing issues in a new more powerful combined way.

Vigorous coalition electoral action has also allowed Alliance/AFT and the Dallas AFL-CIO to beat back some of the worst right-wing plans for the Dallas area schools by supporting specific

supportive candidates. Texas has an aggressive conservative school reform movement that seeks to privatize the Dallas public schools. The Alliance/AFT has achieved robust consultation policy with the Dallas public schools and stave off aggressive privatization.

While we have explored in detail the higher profile regional races the Dallas AFL-CIO and CUGD have also applied a similar rigorous endorsement and coordinated campaign approach to judges and other municipal races. In seeking to challenge conservative incumbent power labor and its allies need a stronger “bench” of good progressive candidates. Among other benefits these lower-profile positions allow the partners to test out the progressive credentials of these new officeholders to see if they would make good candidates for higher level office.

Campaigns to Deliver Change

To exercise real political power organized labor cannot simply elect endorsed candidates. Labor and its allies need to deliver concrete policy changes and move issues on the ground. One long-time labor activist described the raised expectations of labor-and allied-backed candidates in the following terms:

It has been important to follow-up and hold candidates and political officials accountable and keeping track of their votes, and are they supporting us. I don't think that we had been done before. I think holding their feet to the fire on issues that affect what labor folks care about it. That was a great victory and everyone could see, and they saw this and looked to us and saw what we did. They say what we did together and what we accomplished -- hey look, this is what we do.”

In addition to ramping up its political program the Dallas AFL-CIO leaders and affiliates identified greater partnerships with community groups as a top strategic priority. The goal was not simply to build relationships with new allies, but to also grow alliances into deeper collaborations – to move from cooperation and support on specific campaigns to more intimate coordination and joint agenda creation. We have seen how CUGD has provided a table for this evolution to happen in the electoral arena. Diana Ramirez of the Workers Defense Project gives an example of the gains:

This last fall, in district 107, that was a very good example of when unions and communities come together. We were able to take that district back. But in my opinion, neither of us could have done that without the others. They have definitely changed the relationship. I can always count on Lorraine Montemayor, the Dallas AFL-CIO Political Director. They taught us a lot about city council and the relationships they already had. We can ask Lorraine to ask questions during the screening process. She will ask us what we want to ask, what the deal breakers are, they include that in their answers but also push back on politicians on these issues.

Two recent campaigns illustrate the new alliances pursued by the Dallas AFL-CIO.

Rest Break Campaign

In 2010, the Workers Defense Project won a rest break ordinance in Austin which required that construction workers be granted a break of at least ten minutes every four hours worked. The campaign had grown out of conversations with construction workers. According to a 2013 study by the Workers Defense Project 39% of construction workers received only a lunch break, 59% did not receive drinking water from their employer, and 15% had experienced coworkers fainting on the job due to heat exhaustion.

In June 2014, Workers Defense introduced a similar measure in Dallas without success. The debate had witnessed not just unsympathetic, but outright racist comments from some members of the city council. Yet the construction industry was booming in metro Dallas. A large part of the non-union workforce is Latino. A reinvigorated campaign promised to build further alliances with Latino communities and bring more Latino workers into the contact with unionized trades. The Dallas AFL-CIO, the building trades unions and community allies joined with the Workers Defense Project to push for the rest break ordinance after the 2015 elections had shifted power relations on the city council.

The campaign reached a turning point in July following the tragic death of Roendy Granillo as he was installing floors in Melissa, Texas, 40 miles outside Dallas. Amid triple degree temperatures Granillo had told his employer that he was not feeling well, but had been ordered back to work. The Dallas AFL-CIO, building trades, teachers, faith leaders, TOP and others joined Workers Defense in a thirst strike vigil in memory of Granillo that drew media attention. On December 9, 2015, the city council voted 10-5 to pass the rest break ordinance. The new law was estimated to effect 120,000 construction workers.

Project Phoenix

Project Phoenix is a comprehensive "second-chance" program that helps young (18-30 year old), first-time, non-violent, felony probationers get good paying jobs in the construction trades via union apprenticeship training. Prior to placement, potential candidates are closely evaluated for program compatibility. Those interested in participating undergo further analysis and testing conducted by Work Force Solutions Greater Dallas (WFSGD). Running concurrent to their probation term, qualified candidates can commit to a multi-year training program in a skilled trade that provides a positive work history, may lead to a reduction of probation requirements, and possible sealing of criminal record.

The founding of Project Phoenix involved a partnership between the Dallas AFL-CIO, Texas New Era (the local Jobs with Justice chapter), the building trades, the Dallas District Attorney and Work Force Solutions. Mark York and the labor council got the Project off the ground and then conducted direct fundraisers and used Solidarity Grants to bring on a staff person. They have subsequently used Texas New Era's 501(c)3 status to bring in foundation funding and to tie into United Way union member donations.

While involving issues that can prove controversial inside labor councils, Project Phoenix provides a positive way to creatively tackle several needs. It addresses some of the multifaceted factors contributing to poverty including a lack of job opportunities and mass incarceration. The Dallas Independent School District has the 14th highest suspension rate in the country. Overall, 1 in 10 young male high school dropouts, and 1 in 4 young black male dropouts, is either in jail or juvenile detention at any point in time. The City of Dallas reported 90,108 non-violent crimes in 2015. The solution also involves promoting union jobs. At the same time the program's ability to keep ex-offenders from returning to jail saves tax payers potentially hundreds of thousands if not millions of dollars. Jim Castleberry of Decorators Local #756 described the significance of Project Phoenix:

We appreciate the vetting that takes place through this process. And I'll hang around Project Phoenix. It's really illustrative of the creativity. They are really thinking forward—dealing with social problems in a way that actually strengthens union jobs in the city. And now we're hearing this project potentially being replicated...there's a lot of national interest for how labor councils can both challenge mass incarceration and bring more people of color and people facing past experiences in the prison system into the labor movement.

Most important Project Phoenix gets labor-affiliated people out into working class communities building awareness that the labor movement fights for all working people. The Dallas AFL-CIO has pursued links between labor and working communities in other ways. Working with Texas New Era, Workers Defense, the UFCW, and others the council explored a Good Food/Good Jobs campaign to bring a union grocery store to “food desert” neighborhoods with little access to healthy food or decent jobs. While the partners succeeded in incentivizing tax policy from the Dallas City Council the campaign ultimately is dependent upon the willingness of private investors to commit to communities, which they have traditionally avoided.

In January 2015, the council co-hosted a 3-day training at UFCW Local 540 for 40 members who learned how to teach people to complete DACA, DAPA and citizenship paperwork utilizing the Adelante - We Rise! toolkit. In June that same year the council helped to launch a community-labor campaign to limit the collaboration of local law enforcement with ICE and initiated a dialog with the Sheriff to work through immigration issues with labor.

Using a solidarity grant from the national AFL-CIO, the Texas AFL-CIO brought on a young field organizer Kara Sheehan who helped establish Young Active Labor Leaders (YALL) in 2014. A nascent YALL Dallas-Fort Worth group works closely with the council. Texas New Era has established a Labor/Community Academy to create a cohort of the next generation of labor/community organizers in Dallas County. Through dynamic education the Academy trains young workers to understand every component of the movement and to develop the tools necessary to organize labor, community, political, legislative, and communications campaigns.

Lessons and Challenges

The Conditions Are Ripe for Organizing

This research has examined change in Dallas that is only a few years into the making. Yet the sense of momentum expressed by interviewees confirms the tremendous potential raised earlier in this report. In this short period of time the labor council, affiliates, and allies have established a credible and growing political program and fostered relationships that have begun to pull the Dallas progressive community together. While the on-the-ground gains have been real what is most apparent are the heightened expectations expressed by the people we interviewed. Today the labor council, affiliate leaders, and allies debate and grapple with plans, opportunities, and challenges of a scope well beyond what would have been discussed even a few years ago.

Thus, the biggest lesson to come out of this experience is that the conditions are in place to do significant and meaningful organizing in Dallas, in Texas, and in cities in the American South. Although the ultimate levels of success cannot be predicted in advance, clearly time and resources invested in metro Dallas, and southern cities with similar conditions, will translate into real building the blocks of a genuine movement for progressive change.

Culture Matters

Labor revitalization in the greater Houston area involved wholesale organizational change with the formation of the Texas Gulf-Coast Area Labor Federation out of five traditional labor councils. Change has clearly taken place in Dallas, but has not involved such wholesale altering of structures. Instead interviewee after interviewee highlighted a change in culture. Today the Dallas AFL-CIO has become a dynamic body that welcomes and seeks the participation of affiliates and allies. It encourages creative thinking and leadership development. And it operates with heightened hopes about what is possible in greater Dallas and what affiliates and allies can expect of the council.

Planning and Resources

Cultural change cleared the way for meaningful strategic planning. The national AFL-CIO (with the support of the state AFL-CIO) made key up-front commitments to resource change within the Dallas AFL-CIO. The national AFL-CIO provided direct help to facilitate and staff the formal strategic planning process. However, even before the formal planning began the national AFL-CIO committed Solidarity Funds to Dallas and was working with local leaders to raise the resource level available to the labor council. Thus, strategic planning happened in a context in which more ambitious plans could have more ambitious staffing support.

The new culture that welcomes participation also promises to over time expand the resource base as more participants are encouraged to see themselves as leaders and to take on responsibilities for moving the shared agenda forward.

Deepening Relationships

Thanks to heightened expectations leaders today are not simply discussing how to bring in new partners, but also how to deepen relationships among themselves. Electoral success has raised questions about how to foster greater coordination and joint effort. What are the shared priority races? What are the make-or-break common issues that partners put before candidates? Who has the capacity to do what and where to avoid duplication? These are the type of questions that the partners are grappling with now that they have enjoyed a certain level of success. The legal format of a shared independent expenditure campaign may offer a potential future avenue for growth and deeper cooperation. It would allow labor, and its allies, to raise funds and collectively organize a ground game for targeted neighborhoods that would not be restricted to knocking on union household doors.

As an evolving experiment Communities United for a Greater Dallas has to further develop its balance of electoral and campaign work. In terms of issue campaigns, to what extent does cooperation revolve around supporting campaigns driven by one or more key partners and to what extent do new campaigns develop out of the partnership? These are the kinds of questions that grow out of the successful alliances that the Dallas AFL-CIO pursued.

Building a Regional Movement

The City of Dallas has provided relatively favorable terrain to begin to build a more unified and aggressive progressive movement. Ultimately, momentum developed here needs to spread to other parts of the region for decisive change to happen in Texas. The Fort-Worth labor council operates in more difficult terrain. How can cooperation between the two AFL-CIO bodies further a change process in Tarrant County? Both labor councils in turn face the challenge of fostering a greater progressive presence in the suburbs north of the two cities where much of today's population and economic growth occurs. Fostering change in these areas must involve a combination of mobilizing communities of color while also engaging white working-class populations alienated from the political system.

More Resources

Fostering progressive momentum in a thirteen-county region of over seven million people will require ever growing resources. Resources can come from several directions. Existing non-profit allies, such as Texas New Era, and the “think and act tank” model developed in California and elsewhere can provide ways of drawing private foundation funds to support staff for power-building research, coalition-building, and organizing.¹² Public policy reforms can include resources for monitoring and constituent service work done in ways that organizes among working class communities. The issue of greater resources also underlines the importance of more international unions committing to major organizing plans in Texas. Several have made such commitments. Union organizing success grows the affiliate and volunteer base allowing for more ambitious labor-community plans.

¹² For more in the power-building think and act tank model see Amy Dean and David Reynolds *A New New Deal: How Regional Activism Will Transform the American Labor Movement* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2009).

Keeping Ahead of the Backlash

In the spring of 2017, labor was fighting several bills in the state legislature including so-called paycheck protection which would have banned union dues from being deducted from workers' paycheck in the public sector, SB 4 making sanctuary cities illegal, the outsourcing of child protective services, a ban on state-funded Project Labor Agreements, and a bill that would require parental permission for minors to join a union (UFCW Local 1000 had, for example, 1,500-2,000 such member baggers and clerks). When labor and its allies attempted a minimum wage referendum in Houston in 1999, the legislature banned municipalities from enacting minimum wage laws the following year. In 2015, newly elected Governor Abbott pointed to the threat that local regulations pose to Texas' business-friendly development model. "Large cities that represent about 75 percent of the population in this state are doing this to us. Unchecked overregulation by cities will turn the Texas miracle into the California nightmare," said Abbott.¹³

Power building efforts in Dallas-Fort Worth along with the peer project in greater Houston are in a sort race. Progressive organizing within urban areas can create a base to contest for power at the state and even national level. Yet across the country in conservative states the right-wing has attempted to use state power to counter progressive momentum at the local level. States have blocked the ability of local governments to set a minimum wage, require paid sick leave, and more generally regulate the worker-employer relationship. While there are limits to what a state legislature can do, a hostile state government does put pressure on local efforts to translate regional success into state electoral results. Although Texas has been a conservative state, the rise of the tea party and alt-right currents has meant that in recent years the legislature has become much more aggressively anti-union. The lesson for national sources of funding and resources is clear: better to jump in quicker and larger than tentative steps to more gradually invest in Texas over time.

Conclusion: Transforming a Region, State, and Nation

"The CLC is the hub for all the locals and organizations."
Young worker and ATU Member Nathaniel Ragland

Being "dangerous enough to try to outlaw" underlines the strength of the opportunities present in the greater Dallas area and Texas more generally. Indeed, all the above challenges are the kinds of "advanced" issues that represent the significant raising of possibilities and ambitions that have grown out of the power-building project embraced by the Dallas AFL-CIO. Today, the labor council and its projects provide tables around which labor and community leaders can seriously consider, debate, and plan for the future of their metropolitan region. This reality in and of itself

¹³ Shaila Dewan Feb "States Are Blocking Local Regulations, Often at Industry's Behest" *New York Times* Feb. 23, 2015.

represents a major achievement. While the tasks ahead are large the authors were greatly impressed by the sense of momentum and optimism expressed by interviewees. Labor and its allies are clearly moving forward in Dallas and in the state of Texas. History is likely being written now.

Appendix 1 -- Interviewee and Focus Group List

Elaine Adkinson, Project Phoenix Staff

Alison Brim, Texas Organizing Project

Judy Bryant, Alliance for Retired Americans

Jim Castleberry, Board, President Decorators Local 756

Kenneth Day, President, ATU Local 1338

Lewis Fulbright, Trustee & Board, APWU Retiree, Alliance for Retired Americans, President Texas New Era

William Gonzales, State President UNITE-HERE Local 23

Kym Grant- Doctors Guild, Local 233, vice president OPEIU Local 4

Rena Honea, Board, President Alliance/AFT # 2260

Gene Lantz, Board, Trustee, Retiree UAW Local 848, Communications Director Dallas AFL-CIO

Richard Levy, President Texas AFL-CIO

Bonnie Mathias, Board, Retired CWA 6215- Founder of TOP

Lorraine Montemayor, Political Director Dallas AFL-CIO

John Patrick, retired President Texas AFL-CIO

Nathaniel Ragland, ATU Local 1338, Dallas-Fort Worth Young Active Labor Leaders

Diana Ramirez, Workers Defense Project

George Rangel, Board Executive Vice President Alliance/AFT # 2260

Nirav Sanghani, Executive Director Texas New Era

Ron Smitherman, Board, Business Agent Ironworkers Local 263

Mark York, Financial-Secretary Treasurer Dallas AFL-CIO

Jessica Wolf - Texas Unity Table/Texas AFL-CIO

Howard—secretary for local 13-38, Project Phoenix, Community United for a Greater Dallas,

Appendix 2 -- Affiliated Unions

As listed on Dallas AFL-CIO website October 2017

AFGE Local #2139	UAW International
AFSCME Local #3806	UAW Local #119
Alliance/AFT # 2260	UAW Local #2320
Amalgamated Transit Local #1338	UAW Local #2360
APWU #732	UAW Local #848
Asbestos Workers #21	UAW Local #870
ATU Local 1700	UFCW Local #1000
California Nurses Assoc.	UFCW Local #540
CWA Local #6150	UTU Local #965
CWA Local #6151	
CWA Local #6215	
CWA Local #6290	
Dallas Bldg. & Const. Trades Council	
Dallas Stage Employees Local #127	
Decorators Local #756	
Elevator Local #21	
Fire Fighters-Carrollton Local #2182	
Fire Fighters-Dallas #58	
Fire Fighters-Garland Local #1293	
Fire Fighters-Mesquite Local #1518	
Glaziers Local 1778	
IBEW Local #20	
IBEW Local #69	
Iron Workers Local #263	
IUE/CWA Local #787	
IUE/CWA Local #788	
Laborers Local #154	
NALC Local #132	
NTAPE/USWA #9479	
NTAPE/USWA #9487	
OPEIU Local #277	
OPEIU Local #4	
Paint Makers Local #848	
Painters Local #53	
PCW/IUPAT Local 2348	
Plumbers & Steamfitters Local #100	
Sheet Metal Local #68	
Teamsters Local #745	
Theatrical Local #803	
TWU Local #513	
TWU Local #555	
TWU Local #556	