UNFINISHED BUSINESS
WORKERS’ RIGHTS FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

UALE
CONFERENCE
NEW ORLEANS
MARCH 24-26, 2011
MARCH 23 Labor Tour
& Theater Workshop
http://uale.org

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About UALE
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Who We Are
The United Association for Labor Education is an organization of university and college-based, union-based, and community organization-based labor educators. Membership is by institutions and/or by individuals. Born of the 2000 merger between Workers’ Education Local 189 and the University and College Labor Education Association (UCLEA), UALE welcomes all labor educators into this national and international organization. Together we work to promote education as an essential tool in the process of union transformation, to develop new leadership, and to strengthen the field of labor education in order to meet the ever-changing needs of unions and workers.

Our Purpose
- To promote and encourage the development of labor and worker education, to make labor education accessible to all working people, and to promote collective bargaining and the right to organize;
- To bring labor educators together for mutual aid and benefit, to promote our professional development, and to advance our economic and social well-being;
- To advocate for the development and support of labor education programs in higher education and the labor movement;
- To promote professional standards for the field of labor education and labor studies;
- To promote and publish relevant research;
- To promote and facilitate cooperation among unions, union education departments, university and college-based labor centers and programs, and community-based labor education programs;
- To advance affirmative action for women and people of color and other under-represented groups within the field of labor education.

Activities of UALE
- Annual 3-day conference and pre-conference
- Women’s Summer Schools (Eastern, Southern, Midwest, Western)
- Labor Studies Journal
- MidYear Directors’ Meeting
- Research projects
- International delegations
- As-needed project meetings
- Listserve and curriculum sharing activities
- IFWEA membership (International Federation of Workers Education Associations)
The governing body of UALE is the Executive Board. Members are elected every two years and may serve for two terms. There is no election in 2011; the next election will be at the general membership meeting of the 2012 UALE Conference in Pittsburgh, PA. The current Executive Board is:

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Highlights of UALE 2011

New Orleans

The major highlight of the 2011 UALE conference is New Orleans. We voted to locate it here -- after Katrina but before the BP oil spill -- in the belief that New Orleans was the exemplar of “unfinished business” and how that business worked out would have significance for all of us. We therefore wanted to ground our conference in the city, both geographically and in terms of who spoke at the conference. Finding people in New Orleans to help us has been a labor of love. Here we have encountered examples of the worst and the best – the worst situations, the best, most creative and courageous organizing.

Look through the program and see how many people from different faces of the labor movement are coming and participating. We’ll start with the bus tour Wednesday morning, then the theater workshop on Wednesday afternoon that will include local political theater activists, followed the New Member Orientation and the first plenary on Thursday when, with the help of locally-based table captains, we will raise questions for well-known New Orleans speakers. Local activists will join us at the Thursday evening reception as well. We have invited them to join us informally throughout the conference; keep your eyes open for them and talk with them because they are there to tell their stories. Breakout sessions that follow this plenary and the Friday plenary will give participants a chance to hone in on specific issues.

The Working Groups

The Working Groups have been a center of activity this year. Over a third of the sessions, including the Wednesday evening Cananea Report, were developed by Working Groups. Working groups are self-organized; new Working Groups can be created as needed. The Popular Education Working Group oversees the teaching demonstration workshops which will run back-to-back in the St. Landry Room. These demos set us apart from professional conferences in both the social sciences and education fields. Read the descriptions of the goals of the other Working Groups in the next section.

Labor Education Sessions

There are many sessions that are about labor education itself. The work of labor education differs from the work of practitioners of its sister disciplines, like sociology, history, law, ethnic studies and even cultural work, in that its explicit purpose is to shift power relationships by preparing and assisting people to take control of their working lives. This means that labor education happens on contested ground. We see this struggle all around us: programs and individuals lose funding, get attacked, get eliminated, etc. They also recover, survive, and win victories. For labor educators, this is a career path full of pitfalls as well as opportunities. Sessions that take on how individuals, unions, and labor education programs deal with this culture of challenge include “Can Unions Change?”, “The Inner Activist,” “Survival Strategies,” “Labor Education and Organizational Development,” “Solidarity Skills: Confidence in Conflict,” and “Program Evaluation in Labor Education.”

Membership Meeting

The annual membership meeting on Friday March 25 from 4:15 to 6:00 has a packed agenda. Since August 2010, we have been engaged in a membership drive. This was one of the key proposals made by the UALE Task Force on the Future in 2009, approved by the membership in San Diego in 2010, along with raising dues, funding research, and regularizing the Working Groups. Our goal is to bring in more members from our core constituencies, union- and university-based labor educators, and expand our membership among community-based labor educators. There are also people who are doing worker education who do not see us as their professional organization, but whose participation we want and need. If the drive was successful, there were to be next steps. These include hiring full or part-time staff, starting an electronic newsletter, publicizing our research fund and so on. At the membership meeting we will hear what has happened with the membership drive and decide what next steps will be implemented, if any. This is in addition to the regular reports.

Unfinished Business:
Workers Rights for the Next Generation
Central Labor Council (CLC) and State Federation Working Group

Cathy Howell
Leadership Development
Field Department, AFL-CIO
202-257-5358 cell

The Central Labor Council (CLC) and State Federation Working Group brings together labor educators, researchers and unionists interested in promoting the work of central labor bodies. The working group develops research projects in consultation with the national AFL-CIO.

Currently the group is exploring possible research around AFL-CIO and individual union efforts to build youth leadership and active youth committees. Previous research has included case study of national union efforts to promote their locals’ involvement in labor councils and federations and two studies of statewide labor reorganization and planning in New York and California. Under the name of the Building Regional Power Research Project the working group has also worked with the AFL-CIO CLC/SF Advisory Committee and AFL-CIO Political Field Staff to document how local labor movements have developed systematic strategies for achieving regional power.

Visit the Building Regional Power Research Project website to access these materials: http://powerbuilding.wayne.edu.

To become involved with the group or for more information contact:

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On Line Education Working Group

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The On Line Education Working Group seeks to bring together labor educators at all levels to explore best practices in delivering quality education and training through the on-line form. As such we have worked this last year to share information on who is doing what in labor education through new media delivery channels of all kinds.

We are interested in how IT can best be used to deliver training to union members in real world situations, how IT can be utilized for academic tasks, and how it can best be deployed in organizing for social justice. As such, the OLEWG has sought to explore best practices, but also engage in serious and useful critique where appropriate in order to act as a safeguard against the abuses of on-line education that are current in for-profit colleges and universities.

The OLEWG recognizes that the use of computer and internet technologies opens up new opportunities to bring education and training to previously under-served populations, and expands our ability to communicate over time and space. Yet we further recognize, through our study of the history of industrial technology, that the introduction of new technological processes can lead to exploitation. We seek input from all who see this new situation as both full of potential and pitfalls. We ask: how do we serve our constituencies, in labor and academics, and avoid exploitation?
Worker-Writer Working Group

Timothy Sheard, Lenny Moss Mysteries
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The Worker-Writer Working Group has three goals. First, to encourage reading literature that depicts working class men and women in a sympathetic and honest light so as to provide a counterforce to the anti-working class messages contained in popular literary and dramatic arts. We celebrate the contributions of the working class and preserve our history through our literature.

Second, to build self-esteem among working class people by helping them write about their history, community and working lives and by encouraging them submit their works for publication. The encouragement comes through asking schools, unions and social organizations to provide workshops, classes, lectures and other hands-on programs in which published authors teach working class people about the art and business of writing. Published writers act as mentors and role models, helping aspiring writers find their writing voice and persevere in their writing until the work is completed.

Third, to promote the work of worker-writers so that they receive compensation for their art. We promote these works by encouraging teachers to use the books of worker-writers in their classroom; by writing reviews of working class literature in publications; by speaking at book fairs and academic and union conferences, and any social gathering where readers are found; and by supporting our brother and sister writers through writing groups, online discussions, and personal friendships.

Immigration & Globalization Working Group

Mary Bellman, Ph.D.
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The mission of the UALE Immigration and Globalization Working Group is to provide labor educators with the resources they require to build and strengthen the labor movement by incorporating immigrant workers into the ranks of organized labor and by deepening knowledge of and solidarity with the global labor movement. We do this by engaging in activities that assist in the collection, development, and distribution of educational materials to help shape a stronger, more unified labor movement firmly grounded on the foundation of social and economic justice; racial, gender, and LGBT equality; and civil and human rights.

Formerly the Immigration Task Force, this group was formed in 2006 in response to the series of massive rallies for immigrant rights that shook the country. Many of us were creating immigration training workshops for our membership and for union leaders to help them better understand the current immigration policy debate, and we decided to collaborate to share what we learned. We created and maintain a website that allows people who are doing labor education around immigration to share their work. We also promote understanding of immigration issues and educational resources at the UALE annual meetings by helping to shape the program content. In March 2010, we changed our name to the Immigration and Globalization Working Group to reflect the interrelated dynamics of worker migration and economic policies. We invite you to share your ideas and resources, experiment and create curriculum, and be part of this collective process that allows us to provide education about a key issue facing us today.

The working group actively promotes international solidarity among workers though its educational work and advocacy. In May of 2010, members of the working group led a fact finding mission to Cananea, Mexico to support the struggle of striking miners; the results of this trip are being shared with labor educators at this conference on Wednesday evening.
K-12 Labor Education Working Group

Anneta Argyres
Labor Resource Center,
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Across the country, labor educators and school teachers who believe in the importance of working peoples’ struggles are developing exciting and innovative ways of exposing students to labor history and union issues. As a newly formed working group of UALE, the K-12 Labor Education Working Group seeks to support and expand upon these educators’ efforts by building collaborations between teachers, unions, government and other allies in order to help students develop a better understanding of the historical and contemporary roles of the labor movement in American society and the world.

Join us in New Orleans at the UALE Conference for a lunch-time meeting – keep your eyes open for posters saying when and where. Come and share your resources and/or ideas to help us continue to develop strategies to promote “labor in the schools.” We’ll share updates on the progress made in the past years, both at the national and local levels. And we’ll try to tackle questions such as: What can we do in our own communities and states to establish official labor education programming in public schools? How can K-12 labor studies be linked to the struggle of teachers? How can unions help and encourage their members to do more education about unions with kids they know? What role can labor educators in unions and universities play in these efforts? And how can we best mobilize through UALE?

Come join the discussion. All are welcome!
We will put an announcement of the location of the lunch meeting on the registration table.

Popular Education Working Group

Tess Ewing
University of Massachusetts, Boston

Steve Schnapp,
United for a Fair Economy

Eric Muldoon,
CSEA

For many years a number of labor activists (among others) have put forward the notion of non-traditional, participatory education as a key element in revitalizing the labor movement, based on Paulo Freire’s vision of an educational methodology that is learner-centered and builds communities of learner/activists. It is structured to foster collective action to overturn oppressive conditions. Often called social change education, popular education seeks to transform the individual in the process of building a learning community committed to engaging and changing the systems of oppression.

A few years ago, several of us in the UALE encouraged the establishment of a track for “demonstration” workshops at the annual UALE conference which would serve as a standard venue for presenting and improving participatory presentations for workers. In 2008, a Popular Education Task Force was established to formalize this work.

Renamed the “Popular Education Working Group” in 2009, we work to ensure that the UALE serves the needs of members who work in unions and other non-academic settings or within the academy who are interested in using non-traditional teaching methods. We promote the use of Popular Education methodology in working with adult learners by soliciting proposals for workshops at the UALE conference that use Popular Education; by sharing techniques, activities, materials, and advice through our listserve; and by postings in the Popular Education Working Group section of the UALE web site.

The Popular Education Working Group meets face-to-face during the Conference and via teleconference at other times. We welcome all who are interested.

Note: The teaching demonstration workshops mentioned above are all scheduled for the St. Landry Room on the 9th Floor during the conference.
Schedule Overview

For details of session presentations and contact information for presenters, see Section Eight.

Meals provided with conference registration: continental breakfasts on Thursday, Friday, Saturday; dessert on Wednesday; dinner reception on Thursday; Awards Banquet on Saturday. Lunch on Thursday for Directors; Lunch on Friday for Women’s Caucus.

Teaching demonstrations are all in St. Landry Room, Ninth Floor.

Wednesday, March 23

9:00 – 12:00 am  **Labor Tour of Historic New Orleans**
Visit sites of organizing projects you will hear about in the Thursday plenary as well as distinctive and memorable New Orleans neighborhoods. Bus provided by ATU and the NO Central Labor Council. Seats limited. Meet in lobby of Loew’s Hotel, 300 Poydras. Tickets $25, reserve through Verlene at Verlenejazz@msn.com. Cash or checks only; checks payable to UALE.

1:00 – 5:00 pm  **Popular Theater, Race, and Justice:**
**Learning from New Orleans**
*LaFourche Room, Ninth Floor*
Elise Bryant, Darryl! Moch, Deborah Rosenstein, Bill Shields
Theater as an education and organizing tool.

5:00 – 6:30  **UALE Executive Board meeting**
*Pointe Coupee Room, Ninth Floor*
Dawn Addy, Convener

4:00 – 8:00  **Registration opens**
*Parish Hall, Tenth Floor*
Poster boards available to display papers, materials, artwork, information

7:00 – 8:00  **New Member Orientation; everyone welcome**
*LaFourche–Pointe Coupee Rooms, Ninth Floor*
Welcome, Robert “Tiger” Hammond, IBEW 130 and New Orleans CLC President.
Coffee, tea, desserts
Board presence: Elissa McBride, Kent Wong, Cate Poe

8:00 – 10:00  **Immigration/Globalization Cananea Report**
*LaFourche–Pointe Coupee Rooms, Ninth Floor*
Thursday, March 24

7:00  Registration open  
Parish Hall, Tenth Floor  
Continental breakfast for everyone

8:00 – 10:00  Plenary  What’s Going on in New Orleans?  
Louisiana Ballroom, Tenth Floor  
Conveners: Elise Bryant, Bob Bussel, Eric Muldoon  
Facilitators: Steven Pitts and Verlene Jones

This plenary is designed to maximize the participation of UALE members and local New Orleans social justice community. It will begin with panel presentations from Saket Soni (New Orleans Worker Center for Racial Justice; NOWCRJ), Norris Henderson (Voices of the Ex-Offender; VOTE-NOLA); Larry Carter (United Teachers of New Orleans; UTNO) and Claudia Munoz (Restaurant Opportunities Center-New Orleans; ROC-NOLA). It continues with small group discussions facilitated by local activists who will talk about their campaigns and projects as they lead the conversations. The plenary concludes with the panelists responding questions from the small groups.

10:15 – 12:15  Five Concurrent Breakout Sessions  
All breakout rooms on Ninth Floor

Research papers, film industry  
Beauregard Room
- “A Retrospective on the 2007 Writers Guild Strike.” Hurd.
- “Below the Line: The Disorganization and Dispersal of Work in the American Film Industry.” Rhomberg, Gautney

Panel  
LaFourche Room
“What is Happening with the New Orleans Public School System and Why – Workers Rights and Opportunities in New Orleans Schools, the United Teachers of New Orleans Perspective.” Teare, Carter, Randels, Smith

Panel: Immigration/Globalization Working Group  
Point Coupee Room
“What Does Global Solidarity Look Like?”  
Needleman, Beaty, de la Cueva, Ancel, Lee, Esquer, Zweig

Demonstration Workshop  
St. Landry Room
“Leaders in Training: 1199SEIU Massachusetts’ popular education approach to rank-and-file leadership development”; Dean, Argyres
Panel: Can Unions Change?
*St. Tammany Room*
An exploration of how unions are and are not adapting to a rapidly changing environment.
Alvarez, Porter, Berthoud, Eaton, Fine, Schurman.

12:15 – 2:00
**Lunch for Union, CBO and University/College Directors**
*Louisiana Ballroom 1*
Bob Bussel and Cheryl Teare, co-conveners

1:15 – 2:00
**Special session**
*Point Coupee Room*
Afghanistan and Labor’s Agenda, Zweig

2:00 – 4:00
**Presentation and Discussion on Food and Politics**
*Beauregard Room*
“Who Loses and Who Gains from XL?” Nicholas, Chang

Panel and Presentations
*LaFourche Room*
Larry Savage, Convener:
- “Political Perspectives on Canadian labor.”
- “Loss for words: Ontario public sector unions respond to austerity measures,” Butovsky;
- “Strange Bedfellows: strategic voting and the Canadian labor movement,” Savage;
- “Labor, the Courts and the Canadian State: Putting the “Labor Rights” Debate in Historical Context,” Smith;
- “Uneasy Alliances: Canadian Labor and the Quest for Environmental Justice,” Soron;
- “Union Democracy and Labor Rights: Lessons from Canada’s Hospital Employees Union,” Walchuk

Immigration/Globalization Working Group
*Pointe Coupee Room*
“The Alphabet Soup of Guest Worker Programs: Protecting Workers Rights in the Age of Circular Migration,”
Avendano, Soni, Micah-Jones

Teaching demonstration workshop
*St Landry Room*
“Art for Mobilization: Cartooning/Collage techniques.” Konopacki

Presentation and Workshop
*St. Tammany Room*
“The Inner Activist Program, considering alternatives to a union activist’s unsustainable life.” Curtin, Laurendeau
4:15 – 6:15

Concurrent Sessions

Presentation
Beauregard Room
“Labor and the Movement to Reform American Healthcare.”
Nack, Mericle, Childers

Presentations
LaFourche Room
- “Survival Strategies for Labor Education Programs and Labor Education Professionals.” Simmons, convener.
- “Survival Strategies for Small Programs,” Russo.
- “Making labour education a career: the challenges,” Frederick;
- “Building political consciousness among students using service learning projects,” Price;
- “Non-traditional sources of union staff hires,” Simmons.

Two presentations on Women in the Trades
Pointe Coupee Room
- “Seeking Social Change in the Line Industry through Tradeswomen Advocacy and Social Media.” Ashbrook;

Teaching demonstration workshop
St. Landry Room
“Solidarity Skills: Confidence in Conflict.” Martin, Carter, Lai

Presentations
St. Tammany Room
Labor Studies Journal Conference Issue papers, first session.
Monica Bielski Boris, guest editor.
- “Debunking the Myth of the Overcompensated Public Employee: The Evidence,” Keefe;
- “Shakedown in the Shaky Isles: Union Bashing in New Zealand,” McAndrew and Risak;
- “From University to Union Classrooms: Students’ Perceptions of Globalization, Unionization, and Education,” Wills.
- “Decline or survival: Do European citizens perceive a need for trade unions in the workplace of the 21st century?” Turner, O’Sullivan and D’Art.

6:30 – 8:30

Reception
Parish Hall, Tenth Floor
Food and drink
Welcome, Elissa McBride and Helena Worthen
Friday March 25

7:00  Registration
Parish Hall
Continental breakfast

8:00 – 10:00  Plenary
Louisiana Ballroom 1, Tenth Floor
Building a New Labor Movement for the New Economy
Elise Bryant, Bob Bussel, conveners
Kent Wong, facilitator.
Panelists: Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis, Jon Hiatt, Chief of Staff, AFL-CIO; Rachel Micah Jones, Centro de los Derechos del Migrante; Ai-jen Poo, National Domestic Workers Alliance

10:15 - 12:15  Panel
Beauregard Room, Ninth Floor
“Labor’s Civil Wars: Lessons For Union Organizers, Educators, and Activists?” Early, Rathke, Gapasin, Poe, Ewing

Presentation
LaFourche Room
“United Steelworkers Institute for Career Development: Empowering Workers through Self-designed and Self-directed Education”. Wills, Evans, Wills

Immigration/Globalization Working Group
Point Coupee Room
“Winning the Fight to Change Our Immigration Laws: Reflections from the Past and a Vision for the Future”, Avendano, Ai-Jen Poo, DREAM Act student

Teaching Demonstration Workshop
St. Landry Room
“Organizing the Work to Grow the Unions: The power and potency of labor-community partnerships.” Grabelsky

Five Individual Paper Presentations
St Tammany Room
• “Reflecting the Struggles of Immigrant Workers through Art: the Depression Era Murals of Maxo Vanka,” Tambureno;
• “Wheel: What the left and right have in common,” Banerjee;
• “Challenging Labor Imperialism and Global Climate Change: The Link Between,” Scipes;
• “Responses to Climate Change by North American Labor,” Mann;
• “Connecting the Dots: Causes and Remedies for the Economic Crisis,” Adler.
12:30 – 1:45  Women’s Caucus Lunch  
*Louisiana Ballroom 1*  
Co-conveners: Bielski Boris, Dowsing-Buie

2:00 – 4:00  Worker-Writers Working Group  
*Beauregard Room*  
Sheard, DuLong, Moccio, Niemann, O’Farrell, LaTour

**Roundtable**  
*LaFourche Room*  
“Labor Education and Organization Development: Insights and Innovations,” DuCote

**Immigration/Globalization Working Group**  
*Pointe Coupee Room*  

**Teaching Demonstration Workshop**  
*St Landry Room*  
“Creating New Knowledge and Leaders for Movement Building: How Popular Education Works.”  
Ewing, Melcher, Needleman, Rosenstein, Schnapp

**Presentations**  
*St Tammany Room*  
Labor Studies Journal Conference Issue papers, second session.  
Monica Bielski Boris, guest editor:
- “Public perceptions of union efficacy: A twenty country study,” Givan, Hipp;  
- “Emotion and Perception of Labor Unions,” Chang;  
- “Poverty in the Valley of Plenty: Mexican Families and Migrant Work in California,” Ibarra Salazar

4:15 – 6:00  Membership Meeting, all members welcome  
*Louisiana Ballroom 1*  
Along with the usual reports and action items there will be a report on the membership drive. In 2009 a Task Force was created to assess the future of UALE. One of the recommendations of the Task Force was to conduct a membership drive, including hiring of a membership drive coordinator. At this meeting there will be an opportunity to discuss the drive’s outcomes and implications.

6:00 – 7:00  Labor Studies Journal editorial board meeting  
*Beauregard Room*

6:00 – Free evening
Saturday March 26

7:00  Registration and Continental Breakfast  
*Parish Hall, Tenth Floor*

8:00 – 10:00  Concurrent Sessions  
Bryant, Bussel, conveners.

**Two Presentations**  
*Beauregard Room*
- “The Family Friendly Workplace: How Unions Win It.” Joyner, Teare
- “Work-Life issues” Nolan, Sherer, Bornstein

**OnLine Learning Working Group: Two Presentations**  
*LaFourche Room*
- “Don’t Mourn, Digitize: Online Learning and the Future of Labor Education,” Peinovich;
- “E-Learning is Learning, Too.” Varga, Walker, Quiero-Tallali

**Research Report Presentations on Leadership**  
*Point Coupee Room*
- “Gender and Union Leadership: A Force Field Analysis,” Kaminski, Pauly.
- “Working Together as an Effective Team,” PJ Dowsing-Buie.

**Teaching Demonstration Workshop**  
*St. Landry Room*
“Building Support for the Public Sector: Reframing the Debate, a Workshops for Public Sector Workers and Allies.”
Ewing, Melcher, Wilson, Winning

**Presentations**  
*Tammany Room*
- “Using an Experiential Learning Scenario for Collective Bargaining,” Ondo, Stevenson;
- “Following the work: Case studies of a public sector union organizing in the private sector,” Hertenstein, Worthen;
- “Educating and Training the Next Generation: Assessing the Impact of SEIU Local 32BJ’s Youth Brigade,” Eimer;
- “Organizing in a Very Hostile Environment,” Berry;
- “They are crusaders in the new American Labor Movement: How Understanding Working-Class Housewives and Labor Union Auxiliaries Can Help to Build a Stronger Labor Movement,” LaBarbera Twarog.
10:15 – 12:15

**Concurrent Sessions**

**Union Strategy Presentations**

*Beauregard Room*

- “From Phone Call to Street Heat: Union Representation Reconsidered.” Bruno, Bielski Boris.

**Roundtable**

*LaFourche Room*

“Program Evaluation in Labor Education”.
Taylor, Barry, Chenven, Dunphy, Eimer, Harrison, Hertenstein, Restrepo, Teare, Weinstein, Kaminski.

**Presentation**

*Point Coupee Room*

“Driving Justice in the 1970s: Boston Public School Bus Drivers Confront Racism and Forge a Progressive Trade Union.”
Casey, Bruskin, Mendes, Ewing

**Teaching Demonstration Workshop**

*St. Landry Room*

“Solidarity or Exclusion: Exploring the legacy of labor’s response to racism.” Luse, Winning, Dean, Argyres, Schnapp

**Paper Presentations, Student Scholarship Winners:**

*St Tammany Room*

Joan Hill, convener

- “Fighting for a Fair Economy? A Case Study of Two Unions’ Political Response to the Economic Crisis of 2008.”
  Leymon, University of Oregon,
- “Second Career Teachers and Students with Disabilities: Important Cultural and Vocational Viewpoints Regarding Student Transitions into the Adult Workforce.”
  Pell, University of Delaware:
- “From University to Union Classrooms: Perceptions of Globalization, Unionization and Education.”
  Wills, Illinois State University,
- “I am a Worker, I am a Student: Young people, labor and the crafting of political identity” Pickar, Indiana University,
- “Lessons from a Champion of Labor: Harry Van Arsdale Jr. and the Great Recession.” Van Haaren, Cornell University,
- “Purple Politics: SEIU 1199 Florida Organizing in Economic, Demographic and Electoral Dynamism.”
  Moscoso, Cornell University,
12:30 - 2:30
Awards Lunch
Louisiana Ballroom 1
Mike Wisnewski, Coordinator
Presenters: Elise Bryant, Verlene Jones, Joan Hill, Lynn Feeken, Bob Bruno and Michelle Kaminski, Kent Wong

- Outstanding Contribution
- Outstanding Contribution honorable mention
- Student awards
- Best Book
- Best Labor Studies Journal article
- Lifetime Achievement Award

Previous Lifetime Achievement Award winners:
- 2008 Charlie Richardson
- 2009 Charlie Micalef
- 2010 Sue Schurman

3:00 – 5:00
E-Board meeting
Beauregard Room
**WEDNESDAY MARCH 23**

**1:00 – 5:00**
LaFourche Room

**WORKSHOP**

“Popular Theater, Race and Justice: Learning from New Orleans”

Elise Bryant, Deborah Rosenstein, Bill Shields, Darryl! Moch

After our tour of New Orleans organizing projects, we’ll return to the conference hotel for a further investigation of the social justice movement in the Crescent City. Rooted in the working class theater traditions of Bertolt Brecht, Augusto Boal, John O’Neal of the Free Southern Theater and Luis Valdez of El Teatro Campesino, we’ll examine the role of theater and story-telling in the civil rights movement and in worker organizing today. We’ll focus on the fight for racial and economic justice in post-Katrina New Orleans through workers’ theater presentations by Junebug Productions, the New Orleans Workers’ Center for Racial Justice and other innovative artists/activists. The workshop will combine discussion, demonstration and participation. We’ll have an opportunity to reflect upon our own experiences using theater with workers and leave with a greater understanding of the power that comes from integrating the arts with labor education.

**Bill Shields**
Chair, Labor and Community Studies
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**7:00 pm**
LaFourche-Pointe Coupee Rooms

**NEW MEMBER ORIENTATION**
Welcome, Tiger Hammond, CLC President.

**8:00**
LaFourche-Pointe Coupee Rooms, Ninth Floor

“Cananea Report”
Immigration/Globalization Working Group

At the 2010 UALE conference we heard from Mexican copper miners and the union women’s committee from Cananea, Sonora, about their historic strike which began in 2007. Cananea is just 30 miles from the U.S. border. UALE passed a resolution of support and put out a call for members interested in forming an observer/research team to go to Cananea and report back on findings. The delegation spent close to a week in May 2010. Shortly after their return, Mexican Federal police occupied the mine, town and union hall, and brought contract scabs into the mine. It is clear that Grupo Mexico, one of the world’s largest mining conglomerates, and the Mexican government are engaged in a concerted attempt to break the Miner’s Union. Indeed the government of Felipe Calderon, with no protest from the Obama administration, has launched a broader reign of terror against independent and democratic unions and appears to want to wipe out the right to strike. The delegation’s report on the May 2010 trip and subsequent events will include a discussion of what’s at stake for North American workers in this struggle and on what UALE’s role should be in observing, educating, and providing support to global labor struggles.
THURSDAY, MARCH 24

8:00 – 10:00
Louisiana Ballroom, Tenth Floor

Plenary: “What’s Going on in New Orleans?”

The aftermath of Hurricane Katrina changed New Orleans forever. Many people say that a Black city was destroyed when the levees broke. The city has fewer Black residents, electoral political power has shifted to New Orleans’s white populace, and this power shift has resulted in a privatization of the public schools and a weakening of the Black-led teachers union. Historically, its economy rested on the three pillars of petroleum, maritime, and tourism; after the storm, tourism has seized the economic commanding heights and the industry’s low-wage labor practices dominate the region. One result of the rebuilding of New Orleans and the growth of the tourist industry has been the rapid influx of immigrants.

Consequently, as working class residents and communities of color act to shape the new New Orleans, they fight in the midst of new realities: a new racial realities, a new political realities, and new economic realities. But the fight does occur. The first plenary should help UALE members understand these social and economic battles.

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10:15 – 12:15
Five concurrent sessions, Ninth Floor

10:15 – 12:15
Beauregard Room

Two research papers on the film industry:
“A Retrospective on the 2007 Writers Guild Strike”

This presentation is based on research regarding the Writers Guild strike in 2007-08. It investigates how the Writers Guild West used mobilization and strategic bargaining to reassert union power in the context of Hollywood pattern bargaining. It looks at how the union developed an internal organizing and strike preparation initiative, united the members around bargaining priorities, reached out to other unions, and accomplished the union’s key objectives by an effective strike that re-established union influence in Hollywood pattern bargaining. The author has been working closely with WGAW as it looks to building on the accomplishments of 2007-08 in preparation for bargaining in 2011.

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The American film industry is often cited as an early and paradigmatic case of “flexible specialization” in the organization of the workplace in industrial economies. Recent evidence, however, suggests that radical changes may be emerging in the social and geographic processes underlying this debate. This paper presents preliminary findings from a research project on the current re-structuring and spatial dispersal of the labor process in the U.S. film business. We begin by reviewing the terms of the debate and recent indicators of change, including the rapid growth of tax incentives and infrastructure development in states like Louisiana and New Mexico and the relative decline of traditional production complexes in Hollywood and New York. We then report some initial data from field research, with particular attention to state regulation and investment in new production, effects on the organization and culture of film work, and the implications for unions in the industry and in the labor movement generally.

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Dr. Chris Rhomberg
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
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Bronx, NY 10458 USA

10:15–12:15
LaFourche Room, ninth floor
PANEL
“What is Happening with the New Orleans Public School System and Why? Workers Rights and Opportunities in New Orleans Schools - the United Teachers of New Orleans Perspective”

Post Katrina, New Orleans ended up with multiple public school systems including, the Recovery School District (RSD) and the New Orleans Public System (NOPS) as well as 50 charter schools. The fractured education system has significantly impacted this community. Neighborhood schools no longer exist, education for the students has not improved and the teachers union suffers from a devastating loss of members. Linking arms with the community, adjusting strategies to fit the conditions on the ground, the union and our members are building a new future. Conducting Racial Healing Workshops, Organizing Charters, giving scholarships for college and partnering with alumni and community organizations, the United Teachers of New Orleans is serving as a beacon of hope in rebuilding this great city while improving the lives of students and the education professionals who work with these students every single day. Learn more about this great effort and learn how you can support this positive force for change.

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10:15 – 12:15
Point Coupee Room, ninth floor

PANEL

Immigration/Globalization Working Group
“What Does Global Solidarity Look Like?”

The increasing concentration of wealth and power in financial and corporate hands requires that unions focus increasingly more attention on building global solidarity including global coordinated actions. There are many global campaigns to support struggles of workers around the world. But how much of this work is being done by unions and how extensive is the support for this work among union members? How effective have the online campaigns been? What forms of resistance exist among union members for their unions’ global commitments? Workers in other countries who work the outsourced jobs and immigrants in this country who work insufferable jobs at very low wages are still being blamed for what they do to survive.

Global solidarity has to be built not only from the top down but also from the bottom up. Where are the best practices? What have been the main barriers and how have they been addressed? How have unions used education to shift the blame away from workers and onto transnational corporations? As U.S. workers face a constant deterioration in wages and working conditions, how insistent are they that union funds be spent “locally”? 

Judy Ancel, Cross Border Network: “The Role of NGOs”
Tim Beaty, Director, Global Strategic Campaigns, Teamsters
Hector de la Cueva, Center for Research and Labor Consulting (CILAS) Mexico City
Carlos Esquer, Los Mineros, Cananea Mexico
Eric Lee, LabourStart: “Online Campaigns & their Effectiveness”
Ruth Needleman, Calumet College of Saint Joseph: “The Role of the USW & Grass Roots Education Networks in Latin America”
Michael Zweig, USLAW, “Building support for Iraqi trade unions and workers”

10:15 – 12:15
St. Landry Room

DEMONSTRATION WORKSHOP.

Leaders in Training: 1199SEIU
Massachusetts’ popular education approach to rank-and-file leadership development

Active, engaged, knowledgeable rank-and-file leaders – it’s what every union dreams of and strives for. The “Leaders in Training” educational program run by Tim Dean, 1199SEIU’s Education Coordinator in Massachusetts, has been developing such leaders over the past 17 years. In this workshop, we will model a sample module from the program, as well as review the program’s curricular components and logistics, and impacts. A key component of the LIT program is the central role of popular education in the program’s design and implementation. This fundamental commitment to popular education has lead to the program’s success, but also poses some challenges. We will explore the impacts of popular education on this program and on the union, through a facilitated discussion with the workshop participants.

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10:15 – 12:15
St. Tammany Room, Ninth Floor

PANEL

“Can Unions Change? An exploration of how unions are and are not adapting to a rapidly changing environment”

Unions are both a town hall and an army; a membership organization and a social movement; a defender of the status quo and a force for change. Understanding these dynamics is essential to successfully partnering with unions in a change process. Unions are changing in many ways: they are engaging thousands of members in powerful conversations
about the future; joining with employers to change the
dynamics of the shop floor; and intentionally changing their
own culture, structures and practices to become more
effective organizations; but is it enough? Explore what it will
take for unions to thrive as dynamic organizations of working
people.

Panelists will present research in the following areas:
Organizational Change at SEIU: 1996-2007, by Adrienne
Can Unions Change? A multi-union exploration of
organizational change and unions by Joe Alvarez and Allison
The AFSCME Major Affiliate Leadership Academy: An

Heather Berthoud, Berthoud Consulting
Adrienne Eaton, Rutgers
Janice Fine, Rutgers
Sue Schurman, Rutgers
Joe Alvarez, Alvarez Porter Group
Allison Porter, Alvarez Porter Group,
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1:15 – 2:00
Point Coupee Room, Ninth Floor
SPECIAL SESSION
“Afghanistan and Labor’s Agenda,”
Michael Zweig,

Why is the Afghanistan war a labor issue? Doesn’t taking
up the war mainly divide our ranks and divert us from
the core issues we are facing in contract bargaining and
new organizing? Wouldn’t a withdrawal from Afghanistan
open the country to once again becoming a terrorist base
for attacks on the US, and renewing conditions for the
suppression of basic rights and freedoms there? How much
does the Afghanistan war cost? And what other purposes
could those funds have served if redirected to domestic
needs? Does or doesn’t a large military budget create a lot of
jobs? How do we talk about the war and military spending
with union members? What educational resources are there?

Michael Zweig
Director, Center for Study of Working Class Life, SUNY Stony
Brook, representative of United University Professions (UUP-
SUNY, AFT 2190) to the national steering committee of US
Labor Against the War, and author and director of the DVD
“Why Are We in Afghanistan?“

2:00 – 4:00
Beauregard Room
Presentation and discussion on talking
with union members about food & politics.
“Who Loses and Who Gains from XL?”

In 2008, IBEW Local 3 approached the Van Arsdale Center
to develop and deliver a workshop called “Healthy Lives,
Healthy Societies: Who Gains and Who Loses When We
Go ‘Large.” Building trades unions that administer health
insurance for their members recognize that health care
costs have become unsustainable, in part due to illnesses
associated with obesity, which is an epidemic in American
society. Among adults, obesity prevalence increased from
13% to 32% between the 1960s and 2004. Currently,
66% of adults are overweight or obese; 16% of children
and adolescents are overweight and 34% are at risk of
overweight. Minority and low-socioeconomic-status groups
are disproportionately affected at all ages. In the meantime,
healthcare costs have skyrocketed.

“Healthy Lives, Healthy Societies: Who Gains and Who Loses
When We ‘Go Large’” focuses on the growing epidemic
of so-called “lifestyle illnesses,” which are spreading at
an alarming rate in the US and threaten to reduce the life
expectancy of a generation of Americans for the first time.
“Lifestyle illnesses” include diabetes, high blood pressure,
obesity, and various stress-related disorders, such as
sleeplessness. These illnesses have both personal and social
causes. After reviewing the dimensions of the epidemic,
the risks it poses to an individual’s health, and its possible
effects on the well-being of society as a whole, the group
explored the personal and social sources of the epidemic.
The goal of the workshop was to provide an opportunity for
Local 3 members to become familiar with the dimensions of
the epidemic and to learn more about both what we each can
do personally and what we all can do together to encourage
a more healthy lifestyle.

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Darini Nicholas, M.A.
Goddard College
Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the New School for Social Research
longtime instructor at the Harry Van Arsdale Center for Labor
Studies, and faculty at Pratt Institute teaching World History
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“Political Perspectives on Canadian labor”

Convener, Larry Savage,

Larry Savage
Associate Professor
Labour Studies/Political Science
Brock University
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“Loss for words: Ontario public sector unions respond to austerity measures”

In the summer of 2010, the Ontario Government produced a policy document pressuring unionized workers in the broader public sector to accept a two-year wage freeze. The government used moral suasion to encourage these workers to “do their part” to reduce the provincial deficit. Public sector unions responded in a number of different ways: some were defensive, others defiant, and still others conciliatory. This paper will examine the range of public sector union responses to the government’s request through a textual analysis of union press releases, supplemented by a textual analysis of union messaging in major Ontario daily newspapers. The study is being undertaken with a view to assessing the effectiveness of the rhetorical strategies of public sector unions to resist state-imposed austerity measures and to determine whether such strategies are linked to specific political or ideological modes of action.

Jonah Butovsky
Brock University

“Strange Bedfellows: strategic voting and the Canadian labor movement”

The increasing popularity of strategic voting among labor unions in Canada represents a clear threat to the longstanding political alliance between the labor movement and the New Democratic Party (NDP). This paper situates weakened NDP-union relations and growing union support for strategic voting within the broader context of neoliberal restructuring (and the corresponding crisis of social democracy) in order to explain why a specific segment of the labor movement has gravitated towards strategic voting, while other unions have remained loyal to the NDP. Furthermore, the paper measures the relative influence of union strategic voting campaigns and argues that strategic voting should be considered a failure, not only because it has failed to prevent the election of Conservative governments, but because it has compromised labor’s ability to articulate an independent political vision.

Larry Savage
Brock University

“Labor, the Courts and the Canadian State: Putting the “Labor Rights” Debate in Historical Context”

It is now common for Canadian trade union researchers to see trade union rights as essential “human rights” requiring Charter protection. Although opinions vary, the supporters of constitutional protection for trade unions see the courts as providing a counterbalance to the now four decade assault on the rights to organize, bargain collectively and strike. For those opposed to the “labor rights” school, there has been agreement that trade unions need to concentrate on building the democratic capacity of working class institutions rather than grasping for legal victories that generally re-affirm the status quo. Yet, to date there has been relatively little analysis explaining how workers and trade unions have historically approached judicial interpretation of the law within a capitalist society. In fact, when we examine the historical record, workers and trade unions have consistently opposed judicial intervention in labor relations because the courts were seen as hostile to the democratic potential of collective bargaining. In many ways, this hostility arose out of a general critique of the courts, which workers saw as promoting private property rights over workers’ rights. Today, this critique has evaporated. This paper, then, will ask why labor’s understanding of the courts has changed. In examining Canadian labor’s new optimism with judicial intervention, the paper will argue that courts are incapable, and indeed hostile to, fundamental economic transformation within capitalist societies. Once these limitations are understood, it will be up to labor activists to determine what tangible victories can be squeezed from Charter interpretation and what struggles are better left to traditional trade union activism.

Charles Smith
University of Saskatchewan

“Uneasy Alliances: Canadian Labor and the Quest for Environmental Justice”

The conflicted and uneasy relationship between labor and environmental groups has become a focus of much academic and popular debate in recent decades. Many union activists and labor studies scholars have decried ‘middle-class’
environmentalism’s seeming disregard for the livelihoods of workers in ecologically sensitive economic sectors. Conversely, environmentalists have opposed the ‘productivist’ orientation of labor organizations whose efforts to defend the material interests of workers often leads them into anti-environmental alliance with employers. Drawing upon a range of contemporary Canadian cases, this paper assesses the forms of ‘blue-green’ alliance that have emerged to date, and explores future ways in which the labor movement can constructively participate in the quest for a more sustainable economic system.

Dennis Soron
Brock University

“Union Democracy and Labor Rights: Lessons from Canada’s Hospital Employees Union”

In recent years, trade unions in Canada have become increasingly reliant on constructing workers’ rights as part of the broader rubric of human rights. An important element of constructing labor rights as human rights is its impact on union democracy and rank-and-file mobilization, though this has yet to be fully explored. Utilizing the case study of the Canadian-based Hospital Employees’ Union (HEU) struggle against Bill 29, this paper suggests that a reliance on the construction of labor rights as human rights and the corresponding judicial strategy prevents the development of a more radical, grassroots social movement unionism and instead facilitates the proliferation of hierarchical, elite dominated forms trade unionism. It concludes by suggesting that unions in both Canada and abroad must be cautious of the potential downfalls of quelling militant grassroots activism in lieu of a rights-based challenge.

Bradley Walchuk
York University

2:00 – 4:00
Point Coupee Room

Immigration/Globalization Working Group

“The Alphabet Soup of Guest Worker Programs: Protecting Workers Rights in the Age of Circular Migration”

While worker advocates worldwide agree that temporary work programs operate to the detriment of workers, policymakers across the globe continue to push so-called “circular migration” as a development strategy and the solution to undocumented immigration in the global economy. At the same time, workers and their networks are organizing, developing innovative methods of combating the abuses inherent in these programs and partnering with the labor movement.

This session will provide an overview of several current “nonimmigrant” work visa categories, including the H-1B, H-2A, H-2B, J, and L visa programs, and their effects on workers rights. Participants will be briefed on the common arguments for and against guest worker programs, and what the labor movement is doing on the national and global scale to protect the rights of both guest workers and native workers in industries where guest workers are prevalent. Participants will also learn about innovative organizing campaigns in to combat guestworker abuses, both before workers leave their home countries and once workers arrive in the United States.

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2:00 – 4:00
St. Landry Room, Ninth Floor

Teaching demonstration workshop

“Art for Mobilization: Cartooning/Collage techniques: Give Your Boss an Art Attack!”

A Collage Workshop with labor cartoonist Mike Konopacki

Do you want to learn how to create labor art without having to be a cartoonist or graphic designer? In this 2-hour hands-on workshop, attendees can work alone or in groups to brainstorm ideas and then create their own posters by cutting pictures and type from magazines and pasting them onto poster board.

Labor cartoonist Mike Konopacki will facilitate a fun group activity. Attendees will be provided with magazines, poster board, scissors, glue sticks and markers. In two hours Mike guarantees that you will produce one or more of your own protest posters. Afterward you will display your posters and be the hit of the conference!

Mike Konopacki is a labor cartoonist from Madison, Wisconsin. In 1983 he and his co-worker Gary Huck, created Huck/Konopacki Labor Cartoons. In 2010 Mike earned his MFA from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Mike is an adjunct professor at the UW Extension School for Workers and teaches an online labor studies class with the University of Illinois.

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2:00 – 4:00
St. Tammany Room, ninth floor

“The Inner Activist Program: Considering alternatives to a union activist’s unsustainable life”

The Inner Activist is a program designed to respond to the needs of social activists on the front line of social change. We believe that leading effective social change requires congruence between one’s inner experience and one’s actions for change in the external world. We focus on creating a learning space for social change agents that promotes the personal transformation necessary to lead this shift in global consciousness. Interviews with twenty one prominent activists outlined those themes: a tendency to mimic existing (corporate) images of power; a constant sense of intense urgency; a scarcity mentality; no effective way to resolve conflicting values; and burnout. The curriculum was developed from six different personal development organizations that include: Learning as Leadership, The Haven Institute, Non Violent Communication, The Process Institute, Joanna Macy’s the Work That Reconnects and Anima Leadership.

Our program consists of five core modules that include:
- Personal Mastery
- Building Strong and respectful Relationships
- Building Conscious use of Power
- Building Common Ground& Capacity for Social Change
- Building Sustainability

Our learning model uses experiential and cognitive learning techniques combined with facilitated group coaching, peer support, and real world application. These new skills, through coaching and mentoring, are then applied to developing important and meaningful alliances and building sustainable social change practices.

For more information please go to www.inneractivist.com/programs or visit our blog at www.inneractivist.com/blog

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This session is comprised of two components. The first part will examine the exceptional effort made before the election of 2008 by Wisconsin organized labor to bring about substantive health insurance and health care reform on the state level. Unlike what took place in other states, Wisconsin labor created its own unique proposal for a modified, employment based single payer system. The story of how this plan was created, with the help of the national AFL-CIO has been previously published (“Taking It to the States: The Wisconsin Labor Initiative on Health Care,” David Nack, Labor Studies Journal, Volume 31, No. 1, Spring 2006). However the climactic outcome in Wisconsin politics in 2007, and the length political deadlock over the State’s budget has not been told previously. The Wisconsin experience raises a number of key questions such as why did not labor do nationally in 2009-2010 what was done previously in Wisconsin, and design and promote its own health insurance plan? Looking forward, can this approach be useful and productive for organized labor and American society in the future?

The second and larger component of this session deals with the recent federal legislation known as the Affordable Care Act. The historic passage of this Act has created a significant appetite for information and analysis on the details of this piece of legislation. Unionists in particular want to know what the provisions of this law are, and how collective bargaining may be affected. They have not been satisfied by reporting in the mass media which has often been cursory, confusing and downright misleading. School for Workers and other labor education programs around the country have responded to this need by producing new educational materials and classes. We will review and discuss these materials and classes, and look at the overall history and the problems inherent in American health care, how the law addresses or fails to address these problems, the debate within organized labor about this legislation, and where we need to go from here. The educational techniques that were utilized, and how class participants responded will be discussed with a view to receiving input, suggestions and criticism from our UALE colleagues, an important objective in itself. It is hoped that labor educators elsewhere who have worked on this will be part of this presentation and discussion.

One perspective that will emerge from the two components of this proposal is that as in so many other aspects of serious efforts to create meaningful positive social change in contemporary American society, the task is incomplete. We will argue that we must do more, and that not only is the fight incomplete, it is still ongoing.

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In order for labor education and labor educators to survive, we need to consider the challenges of small programs, new methods of educating students about labor in order to spark interest in labor careers, and the ways in which labor educators can cultivate support and maintain programs. What kinds of outreach, organizational partnerships and other strategies keep labor education programs alive? In this session we will focus on these questions by considering the following examples:

John Russo, from Youngstown State University, will present on what “small” labor education programs are doing to survive; Vivian Price, filmmaker, will present on providing labor education to undergrads at a CA state college that raises political consciousness; Lesmore Frederick of Cipriani College in Trinidad-Tobago will present on Labor Education as a profession and career, and Louise Simmons of University of Connecticut on how to recruit students into labor activism and careers from non-traditional sources (social work, planning and other social science disciplines).
Two presentations on Women in the Building Trades

“Seeking Social Change in the Line Industry through Tradeswomen Advocacy and Social Media”

- www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rHPtSFYKi4
- www.facebook.com/pages/Oregon-Tradeswomen-Inc/181298199188

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“Unfinished Business:
Women’s Access to High Paying Jobs in the Construction Industry”

Thirty-three years ago, the Carter administration amended existing Equal Employment Opportunity protections and set a target of 6.9% of hours by women construction workers on federally funded construction. In 1985, Boston set a target of 10% on all public projects and large private projects within the city. This was one of many “Jobs Ordinances” around the country that set targets for people that had been excluded from construction employment. In the case of women, these policies have been complete failures. The percent of women in the construction industry in the Boston area and across the US has never exceeded 3%. The failure has maintained occupational segregation and kept women, especially low wage, out of high paying jobs with good benefits.

The Policy Group on Tradeswomen’s Issues (PGTI) is a participatory action research project convened by the Labor Resource Center at UMass Boston. The PGTI includes researchers, tradeswomen and government officials charged with enforcing federal and municipal standards.

Our purpose is to organize, to kick doors down and to see women reach 40% of the construction workforce within our lifetimes. Given the deep recession in the construction industry, there are almost no women entering construction—and no men. We are plotting and strategizing towards the following goals:

- When the doors open at the apprentice programs, all qualified women will be accepted.
- Current journey level women will not be displaced by lower wage apprentices.
- Women will no longer be used to fulfill “women’s hours” but will be assigned work that is long-term and builds skill.
- Unions will actively support the establishment of Women’s Committees within locals.
- Legal standards will be enforced by the government agencies charged with enforcement, including the provisions to “end discrimination and harassment.”
- Violations of standards will result in escalating penalties.
- Repeat and egregious violators will be debarred from bidding on new work and debarment will be recorded publically on the regulating agencies website.

This presentation will summarize the history of exclusion of women from construction, the development and strategies of PGTI and progress towards goals. We hope to connect with other women, and men, who are organizing and educating on this issue around the country.

Susan Moir, ScD
Director
Labor Resource Center
University of Massachusetts Boston
100 Morrissey Blvd
Boston MA 02125

Jane LaTour
author of “Sisters in the Brotherhood”

4:15 – 6:15
St. Landry Room, Ninth Floor

Teaching demonstration workshop:
“Solidarity Skills: Confidence in Conflict.”

This work draws on experience within three unions in Canada and one in the United States. It responds to the increasing tensions within unions, generated by the employer assault on workers’ rights. These tensions are consciously engineered as part of the neo-liberal employer project. Addressing them is a responsibility for radical labor education, but requires critical analysis and a willingness to take personal and professional risks as a facilitator.

Focus: A participatory session that aims to build internal capacity to address toxic internal conflicts. Discussion will focus on non-violent communication. The frame for critical assessment will be Cultural Historical Activity Theory.
Monica Bielski-Boris, Guest editor.

“Debunking the Myth of the Overcompensated Public Employee: The Evidence”

A myth has been vigorously promoted by some media outlets and Republican politicians that the current fiscal crisis in the states is the result of overcompensated public employees. Manipulating public’s perceptions of public employees enables these interests to attack public sector unions as the villains behind tax increases, underfunded pensions, and massive budgets deficits and to advance a privatization agenda. The research in this paper investigates whether state and local public employees are overpaid at the expense of taxpayers. This research is timely. Thirty-seven states are struggling with substantial budget deficits. Several governors have identified excessive public employee compensation as a major cause of their states’ fiscal duress. The remedies they propose include public employee pay freezes, benefits reductions, privatization, major revisions to the rules of collective bargaining, and constitutional amendments to limit pay increases, each as a necessary antidote to the supposed public employee overpayment malady. The data analysis in this paper, however, indicate that public employees, both state and local government, are not overpaid. Comparisons controlling for education, experience, hours of work, organizational size, gender, race, ethnicity and disability, reveal no significant overpayment but a slight undercompensation of public employees when compared to private employee compensation costs on a per hour basis. A re-estimated total compensation equation controlling for work hours of full-time employees demonstrates that there is still a significant public-sector penalty of 3.7% in total compensation between full-time state and local employees and private-sector employees. At closer examination, the penalty disappears for local government employees, but remains for state workers who in 2009 had a 7.5% compensation penalty.

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“Shakedown in the Shaky Isles: Union Bashing in New Zealand”

In October 2010, the New Zealand Government passed a law overnight offering film industry employers an option to effectively vaccinate the industry against both union activity and labor market regulation. The change that stripped film industry workers of collective bargaining and union membership rights enjoyed by other workers was not inconsistent with the conservative government’s agenda. However, it came as an acquiescent response to the demands of Warner Brothers and its partners for both government money and freedom from unions, demands managed through a brutally efficient negotiation strategy underscored by a threat to pull the making of “The Hobbit” movies out of New Zealand and to undermine the country’s film production industry. The story gripped the nation for a month. It had money, power, boycotts, jet-setting executives, fawning politicians, famous movie producers, not-so-famous actors, and lots and lots of union bashing. Fundamental to the success of the strategy was exploitation of the public perception of unions and the willingness to see the rights of a group of vulnerable workers, in a modern democratic society, not as fundamental human rights, but as assets to be sacrificed in exchange for foreign investment or job creation, or simply to appease powerful foreign interests.

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“From University to Union Classrooms: Students’ Perceptions of Globalization, Unionization, and Education”

This presentation discusses two ethnographic case studies conducted while teaching courses on globalization, unionization, and education in union and university settings in order to suggest how each group perceives unions and, in turn, propose pedagogical practices which might enrich university students’ understanding of the function of organized labor in a global economy. Union participants expected that university students would have little knowledge about labor issues and hold negative impressions of unions. They believed that university students needed to be taught how local and transnational unionization can help all workers by raising local and global labor standards. Similar to union members’ expectations, the majority of university student participants stated that they had little knowledge of union issues. However, contrary to union members’ expectations, most university students explained that they had neutral opinions of unions and expressed a desire to learn more about labor issues. Therefore, to aide university students in developing informed perspectives on organized labor, our general education course discussed labor history; explored contemporary labor issues; and participated in a dialogue between union members and university students. These approaches to educating university students about labor issues and unionization resulted in university students subsequently expressing more informed, positive perceptions of unions.

“Decline or survival: Do European citizens perceive a need for trade unions in the workplace of the 21st century?”

Against the background of declining trade union density in many developed industrial societies this presentation examines the argument that this trend reflects a decline in the demand for union representation. An explicit aspect of the ‘decline in demand’ thesis is that the functions unions provide are no longer necessary in a modern economy. Industrial and labour market trends such as the shift from manufacturing to service employment are argued to have eroded the relevancy of unions. A growing proportion of employment shifted to workers who were supposedly less inclined to organize and a changed political and economic climate facilitated employer opposition to trade unions. In this paper, using a European-wide survey, we examine the extent to which European citizens perceive a need for trade unions in the contemporary workplace in the original 15 European Union member countries. Given the cumulative effects of the socio-economic and political changes it might be expected that attitudes towards trade unions are likely to be relatively negative or neutral across the countries in the European Union. A secondary focus is the extent to which attitudes to unions are influenced by factors, such as industrial sector, occupational level and the employee’s individual characteristics.
Globalization has brought profound changes to the world of work. Outsourcing, automation, union busting, and outdated labor and migration laws have fueled the creation of a low wage labor market that routinely strips workers of fundamental rights. Around the world, as well as in our back yard, workers are routinely denied the right to organize, wage theft is rampant, and health and safety is an illusion. To stop and reverse this race to the bottom, we must have a broad, inclusive and agile labor movement. While the Employee Free Choice Act and Comprehensive Immigration Reform are key, we need to look beyond legislative solutions and adopt an approach that bridges multiple issues, approaches, constituencies, and national boundaries.

This plenary session, entitled “Building a New Labor Movement for the New Economy,” will introduce participants to the labor movement’s commitment to grow a broader, more inclusive labor movement and will focus on existing and emerging strategic partnerships that are building that movement. These partnerships include: union-worker center collaborations, transnational models, and other innovative organizing models that are in their nascent stages. Speakers will highlight and assess the ongoing work to move beyond traditional labor boundaries and structures and explore opportunities to foster this work in the future.

Convener
Elise Bryant, Bob Bussel

Facilitator:
Kent Wong, Director, UCLA Labor Center

Participants:
Hilda Solis, Secretary of Labor
Jon Hiatt, Chief of Staff, AFL-CIO
Rachel Micah Jones, Centro de los Derechos del Migrante
Ai-jen Poo, National Domestic Workers Alliance

The panel will also discuss the experience of labor educators and academics who were asked to take sides on controversial issues related to organizational rivalries and internal dissent. Panelists and audience will assess the policy disagreements about union structure, membership rights, organizing strategy, and contract standards that triggered labor’s recent civil wars. The session will also consider ways to replace union competition with cooperative efforts to assist employees at big non-union firms like Wal-Mart, home-based workers who are publicly funded (and now under attack), and other wage earners who need collective bargaining or alternative forms of workplace organization and advocacy, like workers’ centers.

Steve Early
Former CWA Organizer and International Representative
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Our panel explores the United Steelworkers / Institute for Career Development’s mission of empowering workers through self-designed and self-directed education. ICD programs are jointly worker and company funded and part of the USW master contract. Viewing worker education as more than just job training, ICD’s worker-centered approach provides union members with numerous learning opportunities, including: 1) personal development courses, such as art or athletic classes; 2) technical skills classes, such as small-engine mechanics or computer programming; and 3) basic skills courses, such as money management or writing skills. Class offerings are based on workers’ interests, and courses are customized to participants’ skill levels and learning goals. Tuition assistance is also available for workers enrolled at accredited institutions. Presenters in our panel are engaged with the ICD in various capacities as directors, coordinators, educators, and facilitators at local to national levels. Jerry Evans will share how the idea of developing union members beyond their work responsibilities was created, grew, and is now governed in his presentation, Institute for Career Development From Concept to Classroom: An Historical Perspective. Rick Wills will present Where the Rubber Hits the Classroom: Local ICD Implementation, a coordinator’s observation on establishing and implementing a local ICD program at a small tire plant. Ericka Wills will be presenting the results of comparative ethnographic studies conducted with union members in ICD classrooms and Illinois State University students in undergraduate courses. Her work, From University to Union Classrooms: Perceptions of Globalization, Unionization, and Education, explores how each group’s perceptions of these concepts shapes the implementation of classroom pedagogies that are sensitive to the knowledge, needs, and expectations of each demographic.
10:15 – 12:15
Point Coupee Room

Immigration/Globalization Working Group
“Winning the Fight to Change Our Immigration Laws: Reflections from the Past and a Vision for the Future”

The labor movement, together with the progressive community and grassroots activists, has been fighting to change our immigration laws for over a decade. During that time we have seen various legislative strategies which, in a few instances, have divided the progressive community and hurt our overall efforts. Since President Obama took office, immigrant rights advocates--including the labor movement--have worked hard to remain united and have for the most part succeeded. The labor movement continues to support the joint unity framework and our allies have accepted our frame. Nonetheless, differing strategies and competing priorities (CIR, DREAM Act, Ag-Jobs, the fight against deportations and enforcement) have created fractures within the immigrant rights movement, weakening its ability to effectively push an immigrant rights agenda on a national scale.

With the 2010 midterm elections eliminating any chance of comprehensive immigration reform passing in Obama’s first term, advocates now have an opportunity to rethink long-term strategy. This session will provide a forum in which to reflect upon the challenging task of collectively defining a long term vision of immigrant justice and devising a strategic plan to achieve the movement’s diverse though complementary goals in a way that is mutually supportive rather than competitive. Presenters representing various constituencies within the movement will reflect upon the tensions that have arisen in the past and challenge participants to think strategically about how we strategize and win together moving forward.

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Ai Jen Poo
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DREAM Student Activist, UCLA
NEA or AFT representative that has been active on DREAM (?)

10:15 – 12:15
St. Landry Room, Ninth Floor

Teaching Demonstration Workshop
“Organizing the Work to Grow the Unions: The power and potency of labor-community partnerships.”

This session will describe and demonstrate a workshop that has been designed for and delivered to building and construction trades leaders to provide them with a compelling reason, the necessary knowledge and the requisite skills to engage in labor-community coalitions. The workshop was developed as part of the Construction Career Initiative (CCI), a joint project of the Building and Construction Trades Department (AFL-CIO), Partnership for Working Families, and Cornell University. The CCI is organizing labor-community partnerships in targeted cities across the U.S. to ensure that when public subsidies or support are invested in construction projects, unionized contractors will secure the work, union members will be employed, and underrepresented communities of color will gain equitable access to lifetime careers in the building trades. The demonstration workshop will include a case simulation, small group exercise and role play. The actual workshop leads building trades unionists through a series a steps by which they recognize the value of intervening in the construction development process to influence consequential decisions, the need to build labor-community partnerships to enhance the impact of such interventions, and how the CCI strategies can address the legitimate and intersecting interests of the building trades unions and community organizations.

Jeff Grabelsky
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This presentation will discuss the social significance and educational potential of the labor oriented artwork of Croatian born Maxo Vanka (1889-1963) focusing on his Depression era murals in a Croatian church in the city of Millvale, just outside Pittsburgh, PA. The tradition of labor art and culture in the US at one time played a significant role in education and agitation, especially for the labor left and included the IWW’s use of art, music, and culture to inspire and educate immigrant workers, the influence of Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco on US labor artists, and the explosion of labor friendly murals in the US during the 1930’s.

The Pittsburgh of the pre-WW2 era was characterized by intense class struggles. Steel and mineworkers faced sweatshop conditions. Deep seated poverty, systemic state and employer sponsored violence against organizing drives, discrimination and oppression of immigrant communities, systemic racism against Afro-Americans, repression of the left, and deeply entrenched work place discrimination against women were severe. With this social and historic backdrop, Vanka’s work will be introduced into the discussion. Migrating from Croatia to New York, he created works which spoke to the themes of poverty, growing inequality, homelessness, labor, social isolation, worker solidarity, fascism, and war. Interestingly, many of these works were not made public until a recent showing in Pittsburgh, which holds the potential to bring this work to a new audience.

Vanko was commissioned to paint a number of murals covering the walls and ceiling of the interior of the Croatian St. Nicholas church in Millvale. Granted nearly complete artistic freedom in design and theme, the murals are striking, not only for their aesthetic qualities, but for their secular, socially critical depictions, which provide a contrast to the celebratory, hegemonic portrayals of the regions industrial past. Some key themes of the murals to be discussed in the presentation are injustice against immigrants; the oppression of workers in the coal mines and steel mills; the dignity of working class families; the strength of immigrant women; a scathing criticism of industrialists and the system they profited from; and most striking, strong criticisms of war and militarism.

While the presentation is grounded in labor history, its aim is to provoke discussion amongst participants in the context of labor renewal and linking labor to the struggles of various social movements. How can art work such as this be used for educational purposes today? Are representations such as these (immigrant rights struggles, anti-war messages, social injustice), and the conflicts and aspirations they capture anachronistic, or can they still hold currency and inspire today’s activists? What strategies can labor activists employ to better use art as a means to educate? How can we revive and update labor past strategies to employ art and culture in rebuilding movements? Can labor art of the 1930’s build bridges between immigrant and labor struggles of the past and present?

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“Wheel: What the left and right have in common”

Working people who consider themselves moderate “left” or “right” have more overlaps than differences. They feel similarly about the following: (1) economic disparity and lack of social mobility: unemployment, unpredictable workplace and wages, loss of health care, unaffordable education costs, loss of home and savings, ever-increasing debts, and consequent depression; (2) feeling of being left out by the people in power: not being included in democratic processes; (3) discontent on lack of peace, right, justice and human dignity; (4) helplessness on destruction of the earth and environment; (5) fast-worsening security situation: fear of terrorism and violence is ever-present. Can the working man and woman strengthen themselves to a position of power? Can we empower the middle majority Second Circle – driven by coalition building across the working class in a non-violent way? What are the obstacles? I propose a simple “spin wheel” model to create solidarity across the moderate left and right working-class spectrum, eventually empowering the middle majority, and through the process, disempowering the iron-walled elite center and separatist, dogmatic and violent far right and far left forces. I believe that with evolving action plans (including but not limited to elections), moderate working people will win and assume power, and bring about systemic changes.

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“Some Responses to the Challenge of Climate Change by North American Labour”

Climate change represents a challenge of epic proportions not only to all of society but also to labour movements around the world to do their part. This paper discusses responses to the challenge by my provincial union, my national union, other public sector unions and the national federation of unions in Canada as well as some responses by the labour movement in the United States and that of the International Trade Union Confederation at the international level.

Thomas Mann
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“Challenging Labor Imperialism and Global Climate Change: The Link Between”

The immobilization of rank and file union members across North America, and especially labor activists/organizers, can be seen both regarding the labor imperialism of the AFL-CIO’s foreign policy project (see Kim Scipes, AFL-CIO’s Secret War against Developing Country Workers: Solidarity or Sabotage? Lexington Books, 2010), and in confronting the very real challenge of global climate change. While differing in cause—one a conscious strategy, and one due to the lack of understanding—these issues are similar in that the lives of multitudes of people are at impending risk. This paper argues that labor educators have a key role to play in activating labor activists and other union members to both challenge labor imperialism and global climate change, ultimately addressing popular democratic understandings of what it means for worker self-activity in the US labor movement.

Kim Scipes
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“Connecting the Dots: Causes and Remedies of the Current Crisis”

The current crisis is being treated as if it were cancer: Horrible, but apparently with no cure. The government’s policies have failed, but nobody is held responsible for the failures, nor are other policies discussed, let alone implemented. What is the theory behind Summers’ and Bernanke’s policies? What are alternative theories? What does the empirical evidence show?

Moshe Adler
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2:00 pm – 4:00 pm
Beauregard Room, ninth floor

PANEL DISCUSSION
Worker-Writers Working Group

“Telling Labor’s Story: The Rebirth of Working Class Literature”

Facilitator:
Tim Sheard
Author of the Lenny Moss crime novels.
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American arts and literature too often neglect the world of work. Or they depict working class men and women on the job as buffoons, alcoholics or losers. In the fight for dignity, good wages and safe work places, workers need to assert their worth and integrity. With the onset of digital printing, electronic publishing and social media, workers are finding new avenues to publication in small presses, major publishing houses, academic presses, and self-publishing efforts. Learn how these worker-writers developed the skills to tell stories about work, found ways to publish their stories, and promoted their work across the country.
Jessica DuLong
Author & journalist  www.jessicadulong.com

Jessica DuLong is the author of My River Chronicles: Rediscovering the Work that Built America, winner of the 2010 ASJA Outstanding Book Award for memoir. Published by Free Press in 2009, the book was lauded as “elegantly written” by Gay Talese, a founder of the “New Journalism” movement, who noted that it “carries forward the craft of literary non-fiction with grace and energy.” A U.S. Coast Guard-licensed merchant marine officer, DuLong is also one of the world’s only female fireboat engineers, and runs the five 600-hp diesels aboard NYC fireboat John J. Harvey along the Hudson River. Through her writing and speaking engagements, DuLong champions rekindling respect for hands-on work. She has appeared on/in: the TODAY Show, CBS Sunday Morning, The History Channel, The New Yorker, USA Today, The New York Times, WNYC’s “The Leonard Lopate Show,” and Martha Stewart Living Radio.

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Linda Niemann
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Ms. Niemann teaches creative nonfiction and literature of the American West. She is the author of three books: Boomer: Railroad Memoirs, Railroad Voices, and Railroad Noir. She is a member of the National Writers Union (UAW affiliated). She worked for the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads for twenty years as a trainman.

Brigid O’Farrell
http://www.bofarrell.net

Brigid O’Farrell is an independent scholar in the Bay Area whose work explores labor history in order to better understand the issues confronting today’s workers, with a

“Restoring Workplace Democracy: Eleanor Roosevelt and Labor Law Reform,” in the Journal of Workplace Rights. She is currently teaching at Mills College and is a member of the National Writers Union, UAW Local 1981.

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2:00 pm – 4:00 pm
LaFourche Room

ROUNDTABLE

“Labor Education and Organization Development: Insights and Innovations”

The current environment in which organized labor currently exists is hostile and dynamic. In 2010 labor lost a huge chunk of its political power to move a labor friendly agenda in the mid-term elections. Attacks on public sector workers are frequent, vicious and embraced by many. Public and private employers are looking for ways to reduce or take away our pensions and the number of organized workers is growing at a snail’s pace. As labor educators it is our job to help union leaders and members learn how to build power and be more effective in this hostile environment. How are we integrating organization development (OD) theories and practice into our labor education to help leverage the power and capacity of the unions in which we serve? Come and explore our dreams for our unions and how OD can advance our ability as labor educators to be agents for positive change. Examine questions like how can we use OD to open the space to explore covert issues that are holding our unions back and how action research can be used to solve our problems and create innovations. We have the unique opportunity to push boundaries and enable change that has lasting, sustainable impact on our unions. Bring your passion, experience, curiosity and ideas to this roundtable as we tackle how to use OD in our very complex social systems called unions. Let’s begin to build a body of knowledge that can be used to inform both labor educators and OD scholar-practitioners.

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**2:00 – 4:00**
Point Coupee Room

**Immigration/Globalization Working Group**
“Can Union Members Become Immigration Advocates? Yes, They Can!!!”

This workshop will present a series of exercises that labor educators can adopt to create effective transformational dialogues on immigration. It will address the labor movement’s role in advocating for comprehensive immigration reform as well as its ongoing efforts to include and defend the rights immigrant workers. We will share strategies that address immigration from the vantage point of working people – one that persuasively demonstrates how corporate forces exploit the immigration system to undermine all workers, while directly facing the xenophobia and racism this issue generates. In this session, labor educators will

- Identify the challenges of closing the gap between labor’s official pro-immigration policy and the reality of members’ resistance to that position
- Participate in proven exercises that have transformed ambivalent union members to immigration advocates
- Reflect on how to adapt these exercises to their training contexts
- Obtain a curriculum with a set of exercises
- Join a network of allies who share their goals for ongoing exchange

We will share material developed by the AFL-CIO. The tools provided in this workshop are designed to compellingly demonstrate to workers the need to reform our broken immigration system in a way that is just, worker-friendly, and provides ample opportunity to build a stronger, more solidified labor movement to advance the interests of all working people.

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**2:00 – 4:00**
St. Landry Room, ninth floor

**Teaching Demonstration Workshop**

As educators we understand that learning from our collective experiences is central for developing new strategies and leaders. But how can education best serve to promote the analysis, reflection and action that move us towards these objectives? This workshop will use popular education to demonstrate how popular education (also known as education for transformation) works and at the same time open a broad discussion on this pedagogical approach. Popular education is not just a set of techniques nor just a participatory form of education. It emerged as an integral part of social movements for change in order to help people think differently about their role in society and to strengthen their own ability to make changes. We will consider how to use this approach in our work and what the possibilities are for true education for transformation within the confines of our institutions and the movements within which we work. Newcomers as well as seasoned educators will contribute and learn through our extended conversation.

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In their recent study, Martinez and Fiorito (Martinez and Fiorito 2009) find that more general “feelings” toward unions and employers are primary forces that influence people’s intent for voting for union representation. Reviewing the union voting literature, they find that about two-thirds of nonunion employees believe that unions are instrumental in improving workers’ wages, hours, benefits, and working conditions. However, less than half of the employees would vote for union representation. Martinez and Fiorito (2009) argue that general “feelings’ account for the discrepancy between this perception of instrumentality and voting intention. If employees have positive “feelings” toward the employer and “negative” feelings toward the union, they would intend to vote against union representation even though they perceive unions are instrumental in promoting the welfare of workers in their workplace.

Our study will build on the Martinez and Fiorito’s work by introducing the emotional component (Scheff 1983; Berezin 2009) into the perception of labor unions and union representation literature. Emotion is a primary force for human action (Scheff 1983). Studies have examine the role of emotion in economic action and interaction (Bandelj 2009). Kemper (1987) integrates the biological and social processes of emotion formation and proposes four primary emotions: fear, anger, depression, and satisfaction. Kemper further argues that the secondary emotions are socially constructed and socialized by their linkage to the primary emotions. For example, shame is attached to the emotion of anger, guilt is associated with fear, and pride is linked to satisfaction. The study will review the literature of emotion, identify types of emotions people associate with labor unions, investigate how these emotions are formed, and examine the impact of these emotions on their support for labor unions. The research methodology will involve interviews, focus group, and survey. The goal of the study is to provide a new understanding of the forces affecting people’s support for labor unions.

Tracy Chang
Director, LEARN
Rutgers University

“Public perceptions of union efficacy: A twenty country study,“

This paper seeks to answer two questions. Firstly, how do all workers feel about unions, and secondly how do non-union members feel about unions. While we know intuitively that unions are perceived differently by different people, our data allow us to measure this difference through the use of uniform survey questions from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). We utilize survey questions that ask respondents about their perceptions of the efficacy of
unions in improving both working conditions and job security for employees. We test contrasting hypotheses based both on relative deprivation theory and the notion of cognitive dissonance, in order to understand whether members or non-members feel more positive about the efficacy of unions. We used a fixed effects model to make within country comparisons of unionized and non-union workers in 20 countries. In general, our findings show that union members are more positive than non-union members about the efficacy of unions, but that people who have never been members of unions have a more positive view than sometime members who are not currently unionized. We further break down the analysis of non-union members and find that workers who are male, and low skilled are more likely to believe that unions can improve job security. Our findings regarding people who had never been members of unions confirm the relative deprivation hypothesis. The results also suggest which workers might be most likely candidates for union organizing drives, specifically that low-skilled, male workers have the most positive views towards unions.

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“Reviving the Strike: How Working People Can Regain Power and Transform America”

For generations of trade unionists and labor analysts, the strike was considered essential to collective bargaining and, as declared by economist Albert Rees in 1962, “by far the most important source of union power.” Yet in the early 1990s, trade unionists abandoned the strike as the central component of working class power.

Instead, trade union theorists advocate raising union density, social unionism, and corporate campaigns. However these very pragmatic strategies fail to deal with the central issue to union revival: how to wrest sufficient improvements from employers to improve workers lives.

Reviving the strike will not be easy. It means rejecting today’s “free market” perversion of the strike and rediscovering some very traditional union tactics, economics and philosophy. It requires confronting the system of labor control, reviving labor’s long-lost tools of solidarity, and in all likelihood, creating new forms of worker organization. But as Rich Trumka noted in the early 1990s, unions need “their only true weapon—the right to strike. Without that weapon, organized labor in America will soon cease to exist.”

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Author of Reviving the Strike: How Working People Can Regain Power and Transform America (IG Publishing, May 2011.)

“Poverty in the Valley of Plenty: Mexican Families and Migrant Work in California”

Mexican migrant farm workers in California, and across the nation, toil long hours, often without overtime pay, live in often squalid conditions, and earn low wages that have remained virtually unchanged for decades. Moreover, farm workers are isolated from the larger society, which often views them with suspicion as unwanted “illegal aliens.” This presentation is based on my dissertation research. I will offer an account of the lives and work of farm workers in California drawn from two years of fieldwork in the state’s farm worker labor camps, where I met workers, managers, and government supervisors. I will demonstrate how migrant farm workers face a unique context of reception that stimulates labor migration and hinders incorporation in the U.S.

Armando Ibarra Salazar Ph.D.
University of California, Irvine
University of Wisconsin, School for Workers
SATURDAY MARCH 26

8:00 – 10:00
Beauregard Room

Two presentations about Work Life issues

Elise Bryant, Bob Bussel, conveners

“The Family Friendly Workplace: How Unions Win It.”

In these challenging economic times, work family balance is more crucial than ever. Today’s workers need minimum labor standards and workplace supports that allow them to have a job and a life. The Labor Project helps unions fight for the family-friendly workplace through organizing, bargaining and making changes in public policy. This workshop features: Organizing: Steps to building unity around a work family agenda. Framing the issue: Overview of current work family laws; Bargaining: Sample contract language and techniques; Public Policy: Advocating for work family legislation. This interactive workshop will provide resources and concrete strategies to help unions create family friendly workplaces.

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“Strategies and Tools for Organizing and Bargaining about Work-Family Issues”

We’ll talk about bargaining for best practices for low-wage and hourly workers. We’ll discuss evidence from arbitrations that workers are getting fired due to work-family conflicts, particularly when “no-fault” attendance policies are used. What do arbitrators look for when deciding whether to reinstate a worker who’s been fired because of a work-family conflict? How should we train officers and stewards to proactively handle these issues to protect workers from getting fired? We’ll also cover specific legal topics such as the Shared Work program, available in 17 states, that provides an alternative to layoffs through cutting hours instead and pro-rating unemployment benefits for the lost hours, and the 2007 EEOC guidance on discrimination against workers with caregiving responsibilities, which addresses the intersection of race and gender with discrimination against caregivers.

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Reshaping the Work Family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter

Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It

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LaFourche Room

TWO PRESENTATIONS
OnLine Learning Working Group

“Don’t Mourn, Digitize: Online Learning and the Future of Labor Education,“

This workshop will explore the advantages and limitations of fully online education in the future of labor education. Panelists will critically examine the trend toward online education in university based certificate and degree programs, the utility of online learning in union training programs and related issues of interest to members of the audience. This workshop will consist of two-three brief presentations and plenty of moderated discussion and audience participation.

Paula Peinovich
President
National Labor College

“E-Learning is Learning, Too.”

This workshop explores the assessment of student learning in one learning module in one Labor Studies class in one Midwestern university using alternative assessment which integrates teaching and learning activities with assessment through writing activities, the prominent means of communication in an online environment.

The purpose of this study, grounded in the most positive and powerful aspects of cognitive learning theory, social learning theory, and adult learning theory, is to assess student learning at the higher order thinking of the cognitive domain based on a pedagogy of learning-teaching-assessment (Speck, 2002). The study’s population is students in two online sections of L100, Survey of Unions and Collective Bargaining in one large Midwestern university and focuses on one learning module. Speck (2002) suggests alternative assessment, which measures student abilities to use higher level thinking skills such as synthesis, analysis, and evaluation and includes team activities, peer evaluation, self-evaluations, and portfolios, provides instructors a more accurate measure of student learning. By providing students with alternative learning activities based on different learning styles and relating to subject content, the student shifts from passive to active engagement with the content, shifts from focusing on information to communication, and shifts from being an individual learner to a learner in a socially situated learning environment (Conole, 2010).

Following a brief description of the module, its purposes, learning objectives, and sequential links, participants will be directed to the course, LS100 Unions and Collective Bargaining in Oncourse via the “Big Screen.” The moderators will access the link “Interactive Notes” and provide a sampling of the alternative ways to access the subject content: video lecture, interactive lecture, written lecture. Each participant will then be encouraged to provide feedback about the alternative ways to engage students in the subject matter and how writing assignments associated with the subject matter are linked to the reflective writing assessment.

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8:00 am – 10:00 am
Point Coupee Room

Three presentations on leadership.

“Taking Leadership Succession Seriously: Best Practices Among Unions in Identifying, Recruiting and Training Tomorrow’s Leadership”

This paper will focus on the challenges unions face when thinking about who will be leading their unions in the future (political, resources, generational, etc.) It draws from ten years of experience running our Union Leadership Institute.
“Gender and Union Leadership: A Force Field Analysis”

Women continue to be underrepresented in formal leadership positions in labor unions. We employed a framework based on Lewin’s force field analysis to assess supportive and restraining forces at the non-work, individual, union work-group, organizational, and societal levels of analysis. Ten participants in the Harvard Trade Union Program were interviewed, describing a total of 28 different leadership experiences. We found that women faced noticeably more restraining forces than men at the non-work level. Women also tended to encounter slightly more restraining forces than men at the union work-group level. Women often experienced these restraining forces as personal attacks while men did not. Each of the men in this sample were encouraged by their leadership to apply or run for higher positions, while over half the women women were explicitly discouraged from it. Some of the women faced a complex mix of forces from their union leaders, akin to a double-bind, in which their leadership praised them in front of others while actively undermining their work behind the scenes. Men did not report this kind of experience. We provide suggestions for ways to open the path to leadership to all union members.

Michelle Kaminski
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8:00 – 10:00
St. Landry Room

Teaching Demonstration Workshop

“Building Support for the Public Sector: Reframing the Debate, a Workshop for Public Sector Workers and Allies.”

Public sector workers, and their unions, have increasingly been the focus of anger, ridicule and outrage. This right wing attack on the public sector deflects anger away from growing income inequality, scapegoating workers, and making an ideological attack on public good and the role of government. Sadly, the mainstream media too often jumps on the right’s bandwagon, blaming teachers, firefighters, and other public sector workers for many of society’s ills. While solutions to this issue involve addressing underlying issues, including the lack of a sustainable tax structure, building support for the public sector through the media is one part of the solution. In this context, it becomes crucially necessary for public sector unions, and all proponents of better public services, to work to change the terms of public debate on the issue. In this demonstration workshop, which was piloted at a conference of AFSCME human service workers in Mass., we will explore media coverage of the public sector and public sector workers, examine framing as a tool for countering negative attitudes in the context of building a movement, and discuss and practice crafting specific messages for targeted audiences.
Although most union members are unlikely to participate directly in bargaining a collective agreement, understanding the process and practice of negotiation can be an important component of their union education. Appreciating the give and take dynamic at the bargaining table can help workers understand the outcomes of negotiation and improve their own abilities to craft resolutions to workplace conflicts. This presentation reports on an experiential learning scenario, developed by the presenters, as the basis for developing an individual perspective on collective bargaining. The scenario was developed in response to a need for a short exercise in a time-limited collective bargaining workshop. Rather than use a traditional collective bargaining simulation, using specific contract language, we chose instead to use a more generalized framework. The purpose for being non-specific was to prevent students from becoming bogged down in discussion of specific contract language that differed from their own local agreements. By keeping their discussions more general, they are able to focus on the interests at hand and their own behaviors in the collective bargaining environment. Union members are still asked to negotiate for what they believe is in the best interest of the local union based on an assigned goal, so the concept of interested-based bargaining also is introduced. In small groups, participants are asked to develop a strategy and effective arguments – first among allies, in anticipation of alternative proposals, and then in the face of competing interests. As part of this presentation participants will be asked to follow the scenario directions, as if they were students, and provide their own reflective observations. The final section will seek their opinions and suggestions for improvement of the scenario.
difficult work. However, the challenges faced by the workers trying to gain recognition and a first contract followed very different paths. While Beverly Farm was eventually settled by the intervention of the NLRB and the federal courts, Heartland had little if any support from the government. The communities were very different although both were located on the line dividing the south and central areas of Illinois.

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“They are crusaders in the new American Labor Movement: How Understanding Working-Class Housewives and Labor Union Auxiliaries Can Help to Build a Stronger Labor Movement”

Union strength can often be measured by the amount of community involvement. This presentation offers an historical accounting of community involvement in building the labor movement and argues that the shop floor should not be limited to the workplace. In fact, the shop floor needs to expand past the factory doors, hotel lobby, hospital waiting room, or wherever your workplace may be to include the neighborhood and a broad set of coalition partners. This paper will use labor union auxiliaries to offer an historical interpretation of why organizing beyond the shop floor is critical to building a strong grassroots movement. By incorporating images and personal narratives, I hope to bring to life the work of auxiliary women. Between the late 1930s into the 1950s, many working-class housewives looked to labor union auxiliaries as a way to be involved in the neighborhood and to help them challenge social and economic injustices impacting women and African Americans. Ultimately, many CIO auxiliaries grew into organizations that brought the labor movement into the broader community. During this time, many CIO auxiliaries, in particular the UAW Women’s Auxiliaries, evolved into organizations that served not only the labor movement but the broader community. This transformation from ancillary organization to a quasi-independent body marked the UAW Women’s Auxiliary as a model for other CIO auxiliaries and also challenged the misperception that housewives as a class were in tension with the interests of the growing labor and women’s movements. I will then look to the present day to offer some examples of other labor struggles that have relied on family and community to build support. By placing coalition building in an historical context, this presentation will help us to see how essential it is for the labor movement to build lasting reciprocal relationships with organizations beyond the interests of the shop floor. In particular, this paper will demonstrate that in order for the labor movement to successfully organize women, immigrants, and communities of color, labor struggles need to include the entire community. This, I believe, is critical to organizing for workers’ rights into the next generation.

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“In this paper Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32BJ’s Youth Brigade is examined. The Youth Brigade is a summer program run by the 32BJ organizing department that has graduated more than 220 people over the last eight years. While the program was inspired by Union Summer, it differs from the AFL-CIO program in that participants are not student activists drawn from elite universities. The Youth Brigade primarily recruits the children of SEIU members, youth from allied community organizations, and young people from New York City’s neighborhoods. Most participants are people of color, many are immigrants, and most have little or no experience with social movement activism. Every week, these young people participate in four days of trainings, discussions and organizing activities, and one day of formal labor education, which is followed by a field trip. The goals of the program are to help young people develop a better understanding of the role and function of unions in society, cultivate a greater awareness of social justice issues, impart basic organizing skills, and to generate future organizers. To assess whether the program is effective, participants in the last four brigades have completed a survey at the start and conclusion of each summer and results were compared across time. This paper provides an overview of the Youth Brigade, explains its origins and structure, and then reviews data, which suggests that the program has a significant impact on participants.”
"Organizing in a Very Hostile Environment"

In the last decade, successful organizing among contingent faculty has spread throughout the Chicago metro area, raising labor standards at Roosevelt, the City Colleges, Columbia College and area community colleges. In 2010, a remaining unorganized institution, East-West University, responded to a notice that employees had filed for an NLRB election by firing the entire faculty and requiring them to re-apply for their jobs via a private interview with the Chancellor. East-West, a non-profit located on Michigan Avenue that employs a predominantly African-American and contingent workforce and enrolls a predominantly African-American student body, might have been expected to deter its employees by intimidation. Nevertheless, with the support of the IEA and a statement from all three national academic unions, the faculty at East West survived the firings, picketed, educated their membership, organized committees and a mass email campaign, and eventually won back pay and reinstatement at the NLRB. This presentation describes the challenges that faced these workers over the duration of their struggle. It also outlines some lessons for organizing among the growing sector of contingent workers, professional workers and workers in the educational and nonprofit service sectors.

Employee theft may encompass many activities including: faking on-the-job injuries for compensation, taking merchandise, stealing cash, forging or destroying receipts, shipping and billing scams, placing fictitious employees on payroll and falsifying expense records among others. Employee theft ranges from a simple isolated event by one individual to highly organized schemes to acquire substantial gain. The FBI has named employee theft “the fastest growing crime in America,” while the US Chamber of Commerce estimates that 75 percent of employees steal from the workplace, most repeatedly. The Boston Globe and Denver Post newspapers report that companies lose $400 billion per year due to “time theft” resulting in lost productivity. This paper is a study of labor arbitration decisions published by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1979-2008. Private sectors cases numbered 406 and public sector cases numbered 80.

Issues reviewed included the object of the alleged theft: cash, property, data, services, sleeping (time), other time, multiple objects, unknown or other objects. The study also reviews the discipline imposed by management, the arbitral outcome of imposed discipline by employment sector, discharge & non discharge cases, object of theft, outcomes based on prior disciplinary history and similar data slices. Analysis completed to date reveals that management in both the public and private sectors take a dim view of theft with 90 percent of private sector cases and 75 percent of public sector cases resulting in discharge. However, just 50 percent of private sector discharges and 45 percent of public sector discharges were upheld in the reviewed cases.

Additional analysis will review factors including victim’s identity (e.g., customer, peer, supervisor?), whether the workplace was occupied or unoccupied, whether the alleged thief worked alone or with others among other factors. Based on the findings the article will provide insight as to arbitral thinking regarding theft and discipline, and what preventive or other measures employers and unions may take to mitigate related risks.


OCSEA negotiated expedited arbitration procedures in the State of Ohio contract to reduce a very high volume of discipline grievances involving suspensions of 5 days or less. These non-traditional procedures limited the number of
witnesses and documents that could be presented, limited advocates to verbal openings and closings, and increased the role of the arbitrator in directly asking questions. The volume of low level suspension grievances was successfully reduced, and the procedures have subsequently been utilized over a decade to include higher level discipline grievances as well as issue cases. While these non-traditional procedures have decreased the cost of arbitration to the parties and the length of time for grievants to receive arbitration decisions, they have also posed challenges for advocates and arbitrators in ensuring full exploration of all aspects and nuances that are relevant to any instant case.

Pat Hammel
Education Representative
Ohio Civil Service Employees Association, AFSCME

“From Phone Call to Street Heat: Union Representation Reconsidered.”

Over three years ago SEIU Local 1 in Chicago introduced a “membership resource center” (MRC) as the leading edge of a whole-scale program to vastly improve how it represented workers in the workplace and within society. The MRC operates much in the same way that a “call center” would function. Contrary to conventional wisdom it was one important part of how the local leadership approached its commitment to social unionism. The MRC permitted a reorganization of staff responsibilities designed to re-deploy union resources to larger political and social struggles. This presentation reveals the initial demographic and outcome results of a large study of MRC calls and their impact on union voice. Analyzing an unprecedented database of over 20,000 discrete worker “disputes” we further discuss the implications of the MRC on the local’s capacity to represent workers within and outside of the workplace.

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10:15 – 12:15
LaFourche Room

ROUNDTABLE
“Program Evaluation in Labor Education”

How do we evaluate labor education? How is “success” defined? What are the obstacles to effective program evaluation? How does evaluation in labor education compare to traditional classroom education and to training and development practice in the business world? Can new metrics be developed to address questions related to the impact of joint training programs on members’ perception of the union, solidarity with other members, member occupational advancement (and associated wage increases). This session invites labor educators into a discussion about how we evaluate the work we do in order to improve our programs, demonstrate value to stakeholders, and analyze the impact we have on the organizations with which we interact. The panelists will discuss frameworks and strategies for evaluating participant reaction, learning, and organizational impact, and will offer examples of how we have done program evaluation at different levels within a variety of learning programs and organizations. We would also address the broader question of the relationship between workforce development training and labor education.

We hope that those attending this session will share and discuss their own experiences, and that this session will be the catalyst for ongoing substantive discussions of the topic after the conference.

Convener
Don Taylor
Assistant Professor
University of Wisconsin School for Workers

Bill Barry, Baltimore County Community College
Jim Dunphy, AFGE Veterans Affairs Council
Stuart Eimer, Dept. of Sociology, Widener University
Jennifer Harrison, National Labor College
Ed Hertenstein, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
Cheryl Teare, AFT Union Leadership Institute
Mark Weinstein, Florida International University
Laura Chenven, Director, Healthcare Career Advancement Program
Monica Restrepo, PhD Candidate, Florida International University
Michelle Kaminski, Michigan State University
“Driving Justice in the 1970s: Boston Public School Bus Drivers Confront Racism and Forge a Progressive Trade Union.”

The rich and heroic labor history of the Boston school bus drivers’ union during the public school desegregation movement of the 1970s will be discussed for the first time in a labor studies and/or academic setting as the first two Presidents of United Steelworkers of America (USW) Local 8751, Tess Ewing and Gene Bruskin, recount their experiences, share their memories and engage participants’ questions in this Interactive Workshop. These veteran labor organizers have continued to work within the labor movement since the 1970s. They will be joined on the panel by the current President of USW Local 8751, Frantz Mendes.

In September, 1974, Boston public school bus drivers began transporting students to their new school assignments, in accordance with Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity’s plan for quality, integrated education for the city of Boston. In the midst of a hysterical “anti-bussing” campaign, defined by massive school boycotts and rampant violence on the part of white citizens, bus drivers and their courageous, overwhelmingly African American student passengers, faced a gauntlet of ferocious physical assaults. Bus drivers were obligated to drive hunched down over their steering wheels as their bus windows were broken and bloodied on a daily basis. Gangs of anti-bussing whites massed at multiple intersections along the bus routes, throwing rocks and other missiles at the children and drivers trapped inside the buses.

The bus drivers resolutely supported their young passengers and embraced the decades-long movement for quality education and integrated schools for all Boston students. From the vortex of this intense struggle, the Boston public school bus drivers decided to form a progressive trade union, affiliating with the United Steelworkers of America (USW) -- and USW Local 8751 was born.

Today, more than thirty years later, Local 8751 continues to play a vibrant role in Boston’s labor movement. The Local also mobilizes a strong public presence within progressive labor-community coalitions against racism, unemployment, war, and injustice. Currently, the union is engaged in a fierce struggle to save bus drivers’ jobs and hard-won benefits and the union’s contemporary program will be discussed by USW Local 8751 current President, Frantz Mendes.

This workshop provides an opportunity for reflection, analysis and dialogue on the complex intersections of labor activism, community mobilization and anti-racist organizing in the 1970s, and the unfinished business of the drive towards justice.

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Gene Bruskin
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First President of USW Local 8751 Boston School Bus Drivers Union (1970s); Smithfield Campaign Director for the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), Smithfield Food meat processing plant; United Labor Against the War

Tess Ewing
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10:15 – 12:15
St. Landry Room

Teaching Demonstration Workshop

“Solidarity or Exclusion: Exploring the legacy of labor’s response to racism.”

The labor movement confronts significant solidarity barriers among union workers, the unorganized, and the communities in which they live. Labor today faces the consequences of decisions that union leaders and the labor movement made during its history. This interactive demonstration workshop examines two local historical events in Massachusetts – a strike at a shoe factory in North Adams, Massachusetts in 1870, and a strike at a meat packers shop in Boston in 1955 -- where labor was faced with a decision of how to deal with the employers’ use of race to “divide and conquer.” Using film clips, participants will analyze the employers’ tactics, the response of workers and union leaders, and the legacy of those decisions. Following the demonstration, we welcome feedback on the workshop, how it can be improved, and how it can be used and adapted in your practice.

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10:15 – 12:15
St. Tammany Room

Individual paper presentations, student scholarship winners

“Fighting for a Fair Economy? A Case Study of Two Unions’ Political Response to the Economic Crisis of 2008.”

This presentation will focus on labor union political activity during the economic crisis of 2008. Economic crisis arguably represents an opening of the political opportunity structure (Eisinger 1973, Tarrow 1998), as politicians scramble to satisfy citizen demands for solutions to their economic woes. This creates a chance for unions and other social movement organizations to promote their critique of the economy and alternative proposals. However, political opportunity theory does not predict precisely how organizations may respond. Some may not take action, and those that do take action may do so by increasing political activity either in institutional ways or radical ways. Through case studies on two U.S. labor unions chosen to represent the diversity of responses, I will qualitatively describe and analyze labor union response,
offering initial suggestions to amend political opportunity theory to predict organizational characteristics that influence response as well as recommendations for effective labor movement strategy.

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“Second Career Teachers and Students with Disabilities: Important Cultural and Vocational Viewpoints Regarding Student Transitions into the Adult Workforce.”

The National Longitudinal Transition Studies I and II provide evidence that adults who received special education services in school continue to experience postsecondary unemployment and underemployment at significantly higher rates than their peers who did not receive special education (Wagner, Blackorby, Cameto, Newman, 1993; Newman, Wagner, Cameto, & Knokey, 2009). Bureau of Labor (2010) statistics show that 69.9% of Americans without disabilities were employed in September of 2010 compared to only 21.6% of Americans with disabilities (this latter rate of participation actually reflects a decline from 2009). Differences in the postsecondary outcomes of students with disabilities (SWD) and their non-disabled peers such as these persist despite educational programs being made available to prepare secondary students with and without disabilities for postsecondary employment. These programs include Career and Technical Education (CTE), which is generally available to all secondary students, and Transition Services (TS), which are made available exclusively to SWD. Both programs receive federal funding and have legislative initiatives for improving the postsecondary employment outcomes for secondary students with disabilities in particular.

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“From University to Union Classrooms: Perceptions of Globalization, Unionization and Education.”

Moving between teaching in university and union classrooms can require modifications to course content and pedagogical techniques in order to address the particular expectations and experiences of each student body. However, while these classrooms may be dissimilar in numerous ways, issues of globalization, unionization, and education can be integrated into each of these learning settings as a method for facilitating students’ awareness of factors that influence their education, employment, and civic engagement. This paper presents two ethnographic case studies conducted while teaching courses on globalization, unionization, and education in union and university settings in order to suggest how each group perceives unions and, in turn, propose pedagogical practices which might enrich college students’ understanding of the function of organized labor in a global economy.

The first case study was conducted with United Steelworkers Local 787 members during a USW/Institute for Career Development class. This ethnographic study not only presents narrative data concerning union members’ own perceptions of organized labor but additionally provides information about attitudes that union members expect university students to have about unions. The second ethnographic case study was conducted with Illinois State University undergraduate students enrolled in a 100-level general education course. This study investigates how these students’ perceptions of unions compare to the attitudes that USW/ICD participants anticipated and contextualizes these findings within a discussion of scholarship on young peoples’ attitudes about organized labor. Finally, this paper contributes to the field of research on students’ perceptions of unions by suggesting pedagogical practices that might be used in the university to aide in raising awareness about the positive potential of organized labor.

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“I am a Worker, I am a Student: Young people, labor and the crafting of political identity”

Increasingly, students work while attending college. This means that students’ relationship to the labor movement can be seen in new ways. The relationship of students to the labor movement in the university setting has been discussed and practiced as an “alliance.” In this model, students join with (non-student) workers to support labor campaigns. The AFL-CIO 2009 Working America report, “Young Workers: A Lost Decade,” focuses on the challenges facing young workers, who are seen as different from students. This paper examines one particular site where working class university students are contesting this dichotomy and examining the development of labor consciousness in a university setting. The Student/Worker Association at Indiana University South Bend is an example of this new model. Approaching students as workers, the SWA contests the dichotomy between students and workers.

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Women’s and Gender Studies

“Lessons from a Champion of Labor: Harry Van Arsdale Jr. & the “Great Recession”

Funded by the Harry Van Arsdale Jr. Memorial Association, this paper attempts to determine what Harry Van Arsdale Jr. would have done if he had confronted the Great Recession. Archival material and personal interviews illustrate how, nearly 25 years after his death, Van Arsdale Jr. remains an iconic influence in the history of labor unions in New York and beyond. This paper examines how Van Arsdale maneuvered I.B.E.W. Local 3 through the Great Depression and later, the entire city of New York through its 1970s fiscal crisis in terms of 1) unemployment; 2) changes in labor law; 3) technological innovation; and 4) a fractured labor movement. By drawing comparisons between today’s reality and the past predicaments faced by this champion of labor, activists and labor organizations can develop strategies to take advantage of the economic frustration of the working class and revitalize the lagging movement.

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“Purple Politics: SEIU 1199 Florida Organizing in Economic, Demographic and Electoral Dynamism.”

This research project explores SEIU 1199 Florida’s recent organizing experiences in the health care industry and the commendable ways in which it has built a movement of many races, cultures, and political leanings. These gains have been most apparent in South Florida, the epicenter of the state’s frequent sea changes in politics and demography. Miami-Dade County is now home to more immigrants than native-born citizens, with its population hailing from throughout the Caribbean and Central and South America, and its overall racial and ethnic composition constantly in flux. Within these groups, differences in political ideologies defy the old notions that Cubans are staunchly conservative, that African-Americans are loyal Democrats, or that either group’s views on the labor movement are easily summarized. Accordingly, Florida’s notoriety as a “swing state” has been most deserved, both in partisan politics and on the issues. Few can forget the 2000 Presidential election, and since 1967, Florida has elected five Democrats and five Republicans to the governorship. In a recent union-led campaign for a living wage in Miami, economic justice advocates found the County Commission’s Black Democrats more difficult to win over than its Cuban Republicans (interview with Bruce Nissen). With the Hispanic population in Florida growing less Cuban and more Central and South American, the GOP’s grip on Hispanic voters in Florida has loosened considerably (Pew Hispanic Center). To be sure, this political dynamism creates a unique challenge for SEIU 1199 organizers who see their mission in the broader terms of civic engagement – with no one entrenched party or political institution as their champion, the union’s leaders have had to think and act creatively. I argue that this union has learned to leverage the state’s frequent political and social upheavals to invigorate historically marginalized groups, building a more durable social justice movement in an environment that has bitterly fought unionization.
I use the history of Florida’s economic development as a framing device for the many challenges to organizing, such as the complicity of politicians and the business community in ensuring steady demand for low-wage service sector labor and inserting a right-to-work provision in the state constitution in 1943. Regulators have also looked the other way as employers divide, weaken, and control the labor force. In the many nursing homes throughout Florida, employers have manipulated racial tensions in hiring and promotions to prevent workers from uniting. Additionally, nursing home owners have also pushed for the extension of H1B work visas for nurses from India, a group with little interest in organizing and easily exploited fears of deportation (Monica Russo interview).

In response to these challenges, SEIU 1199 Florida has approached unionizing health care workers with an emphasis on broader community development and civic engagement, always mindful of opportunities to build alliances or change the public’s perception of the union.

SEIU 1199 Florida has united with groups including the NAACP and Mi Familia Vota. It has also made tremendous strides in understanding the issues of importance to particular communities and addressing them, such as joining in rallies to pressure the United States to get involved in Cuba. SEIU 1199 Florida has nurtured organizers who can speak every language represented by the would-be bargaining unit, from Spanish to French to Haitian Kreyol. Moreover, the union has developed a robust political strategy to identify and support labor-friendly politicians, helping Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D – FL 20th) and Kendrick Meek (D – FL 17th). SEIU 1199 Florida also worked hard to promote three progressive changes to the state constitution by sending members out to collect signatures in their own communities. The union has also leveraged the fractious health care regulatory environment to push for improvements to patient care, such as increasing the minimum number of hours of certified nursing assistant care per day and exposing nursing home owners who cut corners; with these efforts, the union has been able to position itself as a public champion concerned with much more than the material comfort of its members, a goal that has eluded unions in other industries.

I conclude my analysis with an exploration of the upcoming challenges for health care unions, mostly in relation to the historic passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and how Florida businesses and politicians will use it against labor. I also consider what unions in other industries can learn from organizing in a politically dynamic environment; namely, the importance of seeing the workplace in its community context and developing a structure that can respond to and take advantage of unexpected social change.

Patricia G. Moscoso
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(240) 535-4309
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<td>Sheard, Tim</td>
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Photos are from the UALE Women’s Summer Schools; delegations to Viet Nam and Cananea, Mexico; and other UALE activities.
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