4-30-2013

Resist Newsletter, Mar-Apr 2013

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Democratic Education in Action

Students in Providence are shutting up and sitting down no longer

By Aaron Rugenberg

Passers-by in downtown Providence jumped, startled as a ghastly-looking crowd of youth turned the corner of Kennedy Plaza. Their skin was pale and green, their eyes were sunken, and their blood-spattered clothes were torn as they shuffled forward, groaning and growling and dragging themselves along towards Westminster Street, where they stopped their ghoulish march and gathered together in front of the entrance to the Rhode Island Department of Education.

Instead of battering down the door and devouring the poor humans inside, the zombies parted as one demonstrator with bullhorn in hand stepped forward. "We are here to protest the use of high-stakes standardized testing, and the zombifying effects it is having on our state's young people. We are here to demonstrate how Rhode Island's new testing graduation requirement is unfairly putting thousands of students in danger of not graduating. To base our whole education, our whole future on a single test score is to take away our life-to make us undead. That's why we're here today, in front of the Rhode Island Department of Education, dressed as the zombies that this policy will turn so many of us into. We're here to say: No education, no life!"

Fortunately for onlookers, this was not the zombie apocalypse. It was a protest organized by members of the Providence Student Union (PSU), a youth-led organization that has recently turned its focus towards fighting the use of punitive, high-stakes testing policies, such as a regulation Rhode Island is currently implementing that requires students to earn a certain score on the New England Common Assessment Program in order to graduate (a policy that is putting 65% of Providence juniors at risk of not receiving a diploma next year).

The issue of high-stakes testing has hit a major nerve among PSU's youth members, in large part because it seems to encompass so much of what is fundamentally wrong with students' school experiences. The state's new testing-based diploma system intensifies the inequities in Rhode Island's education system, punishing low-income students and students of color who fare disproportionately poorly on these standardized tests without offering the resources and support to help students succeed.

Even worse, these policies hack at the very root of what it means to get a good education. They narrow the curriculum, forcing districts to cut non-tested subjects like social studies and the arts. They lead schools and teachers to push out creativity and individualized learning in favor of test prep, and they reduce the motivation of school community members, driving good teachers out of teaching.

continued on page two
Democratic Education in Action
continued from page one

and turning students off from learning.
That is why the Providence Student Union has continued to organize creative actions to highlight these issues. Most recently, students organized a “Take the Test” event, inviting 50 successful Rhode Island professionals—lawyers, professors, even a number of elected officials—to take a shortened version of the standardized test in question. Students wanted to turn the tables on all the adults who kept saying, “these kids should just shut up and do their work and pass the test,” and turn the tables they did—proctoring the test just as state regulations required, even taking away a former Providence City Councilman’s cell phone when they caught him texting. And in the end, the experiment proved eye-opening when 60 percent of the participating professionals failed to score at a high enough level on the test to graduate under the new diploma system. This action cut to the core of the argument that a single standardized test can, in fact, offer a good measure of a person’s academic and professional abilities and potentials, and the coverage it has received has managed to catapult this issue into the front-burner of Rhode Island politics. Even more importantly, PSU youth members have learned once more that the claims of “important officials” can, in fact, be challenged; that young people can call BS on a system, can offer their own analysis, and can go about changing hearts and minds through their actions.

In the end, the state’s new testing regime hits home because it is emblematic of a larger school system in which students—who are the people most directly affected by the education reforms instigated by adult policy-makers—have almost no say in the decisions shaping their futures.

The Providence Student Union was formed by a group of high school students who were fed up with this state of affairs. They knew that young people—unlike the politicians and consultants and “experts” and billionaires who usually design education policy—actually go to school. Every day of their lives is spent doing “field research”—observing what practices are more or less effective inside classrooms, what gaps or problems are keeping students from engaging in their schoolwork, what schools should be doing to better support their students, and what kinds of services are necessary outside of school to ensure that youth are able to access education despite the constraints of poverty. To try to reform education without utilizing the input of those with the most intimate knowledge of school and district failings and the fullest understanding of student needs is like trying to do surgery with a blindfold on.

But there is another issue at stake here, in the Providence Student Union’s view. Creating a place at the education reform table for students is not only necessary to achieve the optimal policy outcomes; it is also a vital component of the civic educ...
An Invitation to Equality

**OUR Vanderbilt is organizing for the rights of workers on their campus**

By Benjamin Eagles

“We are inviting you into our lives with the hope that a personal connection will allow us to work together to end poverty in Vanderbilt Dining,” read the dinner invitation to Vanderbilt University Chancellor Nicholas Zeppos.

Published in the school’s newspaper, this invitation was from five union stewards and worker leaders of the “Justice for Dining Workers” campaign at Vanderbilt who wanted to invite the Chancellor to dinner at one of their homes during the summer layoff period - a period in which workers in Vanderbilt dining halls are laid off without pay.

The Chancellor declined their invitation.

Vanderbilt University sits on 330 acres in the heart of Nashville, Tennessee, boasts a $3.4 billion endowment, and is Tennessee’s second largest private employer with over 24,000 employees.

But fewer than 700 of Vanderbilt’s 24,000 employees are represented by a union. Meanwhile, Vanderbilt’s administration has ten employees who each made more than $1 million in recent years. This is why we formed Organized and United for Respect at Vanderbilt (OUR Vanderbilt).

**Fighting inequality on campus**

OUR Vanderbilt was formed in October, 2011, by a diverse group of workers, students, alumni, faculty, and community members and has roots in the 2006 “Vanderbilt Living Wage” campaign and the 2009 “No Cuts” campaign to prevent campus layoffs. We have grown into a strategic labor-community-faith partnership that is working for economic justice in the Vanderbilt community.

“For years I watched as employee rights were trampled on and our employer showed indifference to our needs,” says Jackie Lucas, a Vanderbilt dining worker and OUR Vanderbilt member. “We are constantly striving to make Vanderbilt a better employer for everyone. Until all Vanderbilt employees have a voice, we will have nothing.”

OUR Vanderbilt’s first initiative was a “Justice for Dining Workers” campaign aimed at eradicating poverty in Vanderbilt Campus Dining. A typical Vanderbilt Campus Dining worker makes about $16,500 a year. To put that in perspective, the federal poverty line for a family of four was $23,050 in 2012. Workers won a raise in November, 2012, but they still start at around $11.00 per hour and most dining workers are laid off without pay for the summer, winter and spring breaks (nearly four months a year). The university uses a state exemption for educational institutions to avoid paying unemployment benefits during the layoff periods, thus shirking responsibility for providing year-round income to Campus Dining workers. Every year more than 150 dining workers are laid off without pay.

**Disturbing the campus elite**

To pressure Vanderbilt to do right by its workers, OUR Vanderbilt regularly disturbs the elite of Vanderbilt through workers organizing themselves with community support. The most important component of the campaign so far was when workers and students came together to form a worker-student organizing committee that planned numerous direct actions, engaged in a petition drive, and recruited more workers and students to become activists on the campaign.

Over 2,500 people signed a petition calling on Vanderbilt’s administration to end poverty and help secure year-round employment for Vanderbilt’s dining workers.

It was in April of 2012, when the workers invited the Chancellor to dinner. After Chancellor Zeppos not only declined their invitation to meet, but he refuted their claims of widespread poverty in Vanderbilt Dining, and encouraged them to “take advantage of the job search support being offered.”

A 25 minute documentary called “Enough is Enough: Poverty at Vanderbilt” was produced by Vanderbilt student Sebastian Rogers during the summer of 2012 and has made its rounds on YouTube where it has been seen over 2,500 times. The film features dining workers explaining the summer layoff and making the case for change.

Workers and community pressure compelled Vanderbilt administration to form a committee with workers to ad-

continued on page five
PHENOMenal Organizing
Reflections on multigenerational solidarity

By Ferd Wulkan

Last March, 400 public college students jammed the Massachusetts State House demanding, among other things, pay raises for their teachers and staff. At the same time, 100 faculty and staff from those schools, joined by leaders of their union, the largest in the state, the Massachusetts Teachers Association, were lobbying for increases to student financial aid. It was a sight that warmed many hearts – dozens of multi-age groups of advocates, most of them led by students, circulating through the old capitol building spreading the message that education is a right, not a privilege.

This dramatic display of intergenerational solidarity was made possible by years of patient and steady organizing by the Public Higher Education Network of Massachusetts (PHENOM) and a commitment to building a multi-constituency organization.

PHENOM is unlike any group elsewhere in the country. We are explicitly uniting students, union members and other supporters in a single grassroots statewide organization. In just a few years, we have succeeded in building a broad coalition of advocates for public higher education.

Multigenerational Vision
Quite simply, our long-term vision is free higher education for everyone. To get there, we believe we have to both win incremental gains each year and also link those struggles to larger ones like how resources are distributed in our society. In both the short and long run, unity among the various constituencies (students, parents, staff, faculty, alumni) and among the different parts of the Massachusetts higher education system (community colleges, state universities, University of Massachusetts) is needed to advance the cause of affordable, accessible, and well-staffed public higher education.

In PHENOM’s early years, there were skeptics, including some leaders of both student groups and unions, who argued that students and workers have necessarily opposing interests. In a time of tight budgets, they argued, students’ demands for lower tuition and fees would run up against workers’ demands for job security and raises. But PHENOM was founded on the understanding that this was only superficially true and that all sectors could easily recognize their common interest in a well-funded and affordable system of public higher education. PHENOM said, “we’re all in this together!” and after five years of hard work, coalition building, and legislative successes, the skeptics have mostly been quieted.

What we can learn
There are tremendous benefits to a multigenerational organization. The experience, knowledge and connections of older people can complement the energy, political consciousness and fresh approaches of younger people. Each group can learn from each other, push each other, and enable an organization to have a broader reach, a more sophisticated analysis, and a more convincing presence than either group by themselves.

Young people have, on average, always been more militant, more creative, and more able to devote large amounts of time to social activism than older people. It is important to recognize that young people bring not only tremendous energy and numbers, but also important new understandings and exciting new ways of organizing our movements.

Interconnectedness of issues: Older folks sometimes see young people as being unfocused and scattered on the issues they are working on. But this is because they have a broader focus on the interconnections among issues, the multiplicity of oppressions, and the fact that people have multiple identities. Understanding that globalization, homophobia, racism, sexism and other “-isms” are barriers to our success, young people have adapted both theory and practice to acknowledge this. They are influencing other progressive organizations. Labor unions, for example, are today increasingly organizing in the community; they are organizing people as women or as Latinas; influenced by an influx of young people into the labor movement, unions are organizing working class people as complex identities, not just as workers.

Anti-oppression: Recently, students in PHENOM have brought important techniques from other youth movements into the organization. One is “step up...step back,” which encourages people who speak a lot to consciously take a “step back,” and encourages those who speak less to “step up.” Students convinced the organization to invest time and money in anti-oppression training. Drawing from experience in other youth-led organizations, they insisted that PHENOM needed to have better understandings of subtle and not-so-subtle oppression experienced by people of color, low-income people and others – both to be a model organization and to be successful in our organizing. Initial training has focused on understanding barriers to full participation and to develop better communication skills and internal process.

Technology: Another important way in which young people have brought new ideas and skills to many organizations is in their understanding of the power of technology. Older folks are quick to point out that there are problems when emails replace direct contact and when Facebook “likes” are counted as organizing. But the power of broad information sharing, collaborative writing and planning, and the use of video are just a few examples of the powerful tools that are often completely mysterious to older activists and critical to successful organizing today. In PHENOM it is the younger people who researched and selected our software, are training others how to use it, and are integrating our website, Facebook, and Twitter sites together for maximum exposure.

Identity: Much of the experience and perspectives young people have gained has been in organizations that are primarily made up of young people. The continued on page five
PHENOMenal Organizing
continued from page four

"Dreamers" who have been fighting for immigrant rights, many campus-based groups, some parts of the Occupy movement, and others have been venues where young people have developed skills, refined their politics, and developed meeting styles that are reflective of the dynamics of youth culture.

Challenges

There are enormous challenges when two generational cultures join together. PHENOM's bylaws guarantee that students have significant (usually majority) representation on our Board and PHENOM's President has always been a student. The public face of the organization has always included students, and students are generally prominent in meetings with public officials. Still, it has often been the case that initiative and effective decision-making has resided more with long-term older PHENOM activists, and students have not felt (or had) the same sort of power they might in a purely student organization.

In a fast-paced political environment, how do decisions get made in an inclusive way? Most students work at least one, and often several jobs, take care of family members, and barely have time for their studies. Students naturally want to participate as equals, but a short orientation or occasional trainings can't bridge decades-long differences in experience. Students in PHENOM have pushed the organization to slow down our process to allow broader participation. That has been a valuable suggestion but is not always possible.

Students cycle through the organization rapidly, much more so than staff or faculty. How do individuals get to be knowledgeable, confident leaders in that context? And how does a whole constituency increase its power without longevity in the organization? Terms of office for PHENOM Board members are just one year to make the positions more accessible to students, especially students at two-year colleges. There has occasionally been a student caucus that had regular conference calls to discuss issues, and that was somewhat helpful. Structural solutions like these are important, but can help only so much when high turnover is inevitable.

As a result of many such issues, there is a constant tension between “getting things done” and “empowering students” – two overly-simplistic mantras that have been heard a lot in PHENOM's less eloquent discussions. Frustrated PHENOM students have in recent months demanded specific remedies, such as quotas for various under-represented groups on PHENOM's Board, or complete control over the logistics of a major action. These have struck some older activists as unreasonable, out of the blue, or counter to the group's mission. Their defensive and insensitive reactions (mine among them), have in turn exacerbated students' perceptions of “not being heard.”

"In unity strength," a perennial slogan of the left, is very superficial if “-isms” are not addressed, and internal power dynamics are ignored. At the same time, how much good is unity if the work of the organization slows to a crawl and a valuable organization threatens to fade into irrelevance?

PHENOM's experience shows that taking on these challenges, while more difficult than the founders expected, is worthwhile and can help build a powerful movement.

Ferd Wulkan is the communications director at PHENOM, a RESIST grantee.
Disclaimer: This is just one (older) person's perspective and does not necessarily reflect a consensus within PHENOM.

Democratic Education in Action
continued from page two

We believe it is time again that young people taught everybody else a lesson — all the older people who had learned how to compromise, and take it easy, learned how to be polite and get along, and leave things as they were, the young people taught everybody else a lesson.” We believe it is time again that young people teach everybody else a lesson on the kind of education that every student deserves, and our hope is to continue to be a small part of that work as the Providence Student Union grows and strengthens in the coming years.

Aaron Regunberg lites in Providence, Rhode Island where he helps to coordinate the Providence Student Union, a RESIST grantee, and causes all sorts of mischief.

An Invitation to Equality
continued from page three

dress the need for job placement during the summer layoff period. The committee's work resulted in Vanderbilt hosting a summer job session for dining employees on March 4, 2013. There was a resume workshop and four temporary services came to campus to talk to workers looking for summer employment. Sixty dining workers attended the workshop. The workshop was a good start, but there is still much work to be done and we are pushing for a stronger commitment from Vanderbilt.

continued on page seven
La lucha Continua!

By Robin Carton

For the past eighteen years I have had the privilege of working for RESIST and supporting incredible social justice activists around the country. And with the steadfast support of our donors, after 45 years RESIST remains one of the touchstones for the social justice movement.

I first heard about RESIST in 1982, when my partner Meredith Smith became a staff member. Ten times a year RESIST gave grants of $300 to support groundbreaking, justice-based movements including groups like: ACT UP, 9to5, Black Workers for Justice, The Center for Constitutional Rights, The Center for Third World Organizing, Coalition for Prisoners Rights, Grassroots International, Leonard Peltier Support Group, Pledge of Resistance, United Farmworkers, and Veterans for Peace. It was an exciting time, and I remember thinking, "I wish I had your job!"

Well, fast forward to 1995, the year Carol Schachet and I became RESIST's new staff members. We worked together for a decade and she remains connected to RESIST as a Board member. I have also worked alongside staff members Becca Howes-Mischel, Christy Pardew, Malika McCray, Saif Rahman and Ravi Khanna. Yafreisy Mejia, who I have worked with for eleven years, keeps RESIST's fabulous grantmaking program on track, providing support to the incredible activists we fund.

Over these past 18 years RESIST has supported both established groups and new social justice movements that have emerged. During this time I was delighted that RESIST funded groups like: the Alliance for Justice, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Breast Cancer Action Network, CISPES, Civilian/Soldier Alliance, Critical Resistance, DREAM in Action, Environmental Justice Action Group, Fort Hood Support Network, Institute for Southern Studies, Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, Jobs with Justice.

As the Co-Director of Grantmaking and Finances, it was also rewarding to guide RESIST through changes. In 1995 the maximum grant award was $1,000; now it is $4,000. In 1995 RESIST gave out $112,000 and last year it was over $343,000. On the program side, we shifted our funding to general support grants -- the kind of support that allows organizations to determine what their financial needs are and act accordingly. And after listening to our grantees, we added two new grant programs: multi-year general support grants and technical assistance grants.

During this time I have read over 4,800 grant applications and participated in the award of 2,500 grants. This adds up to a whopping dollar total of almost $5 million! I have also seen RESIST successfully implement sophisticated accounting systems, managed 18 audits, opened countless donations and spoken to more people than I have met in person.

So, with our grantmaking and fiscal house in order, I have decided that it is time for me to explore new career opportunities. I will leave RESIST secure in the knowledge that it is a strong, stable partner in the struggle for justice.

I would like to thank all of RESIST's staff and Board members, past and present, for their dedication to the struggle for justice. Our donors, allies and funding colleagues round out a remarkable network with a broad vision of justice.

It has truly been an honor to be your partner during these years. La lucha continua!

Robin Carton has been a staff member at RESIST for the past 18 years.

Tribute to Robin Carton from a Loving Convert

By Marc S. Miller

Eighteen years pass in an instant when you work with someone who challenges you, teaches you, shares with you, inspires you. And that's what I get from Robin Carton. I've known and respected RESIST for forty-some years, but it was a mere eighteen years ago that I arrived here to serve as the non-board member on the hiring committee that selected Robin as staff member. Boy, that was a good decision!

I joined the board soon after, and since then, it has been a pleasure to be her colleague as we both have sought to make a difference in a sometimes very frightening world. On countless occasions—but especially as the board debated about grant proposals every two months for almost two decades—she managed a stupendous feat: she changed my mind. With carefully considered arguments (she is a lawyer, after all), supported by her command of the facts, her political intelligence, and her knowledge of what's going on out there, both for our grantees in the grassroots and in the bigger picture context of national and global events, she turned me around.

RESIST is certainly more than Robin Carton, but RESIST is also (and has done) more because of her. So besides being a teacher and mentor to us all, how has she made RESIST a stronger, more effective partner in movements for social change? Here are some thoughts on that, including a few suggested by Carol Schachet, who joined the RESIST staff with Robin (and
Tribute to Robin Carton
continued from page six

who now serves on the board, as Robin assures me she will
do after a well-earned rest):

1. Robin has logged in millions of frequent caller "miles,"
having reviewed an estimated 200+ grant applicants per year,
multiplied by 18 years, multiplied by at least 6 calls per group
to the applicants themselves and to committed activists all over
the country who she consulted as knowledgeable references.

2. Robin helped elevate RESIST's internal workings from
somewhere in the vicinity of index cards, Post Its with tele­
phone numbers, and assorted notebooks into a highly orga­
nized database, alphabetized and categorized files, and an
amazingly efficient grants program.

3. Can anyone else in New England (or even in the country)
list, by name and by impact and by heart, so many grassroots
upstart groups doing important, creative, and unheralded
organizing work for social justice? She is an encyclopedia of
radical advocacy and the trusted friend to thousands of activ­
ists and their organizations.

4. RESIST is a team effort, of course, but no other single
person in these past 18 years has been more important in why
we remain so strong and stable when so many other funders,
progressive and far from it, retracted severely in the recession
(or even disappeared). Hey, RESIST even increased its grant­
making this past year.

When Robin came on board the good ship RESIST, she wrote
to our supporters that she would bring us "my commitment
to social justice, my organizing background, and my political
experience with grassroots political movements." Yep, she
sure did.

We celebrate her contributions to RESIST and the larger
movement for social justice. And the best tribute we can make
is to navigate the good ship RESIST with the care and intelli­
gence Robin so consistently demonstrated over the last eighteen
years. That's a challenge the board will enjoy meeting. Watch
for the news!

Marc S. Miller is a board member of RESIST.

An Invitation to Equality
continued from page five

"A new level of awareness now exists
in our community," says worker leader
Anne Alukonis. "I remember the first
time we met with interested students
to discuss some of the issue faced by
dining workers; the looks of disbelief
and the unanimous statements of 'we
had no idea' resounded at the meeting
table. Even though we had daily contact,
students were overall unaware of the cur­
rent issues at hand. OUR Vanderbilt was
the platform that allowed this open and
honest communication to occur which
resulted in a new level of awareness. This
awareness in turn resulted in action. This
action has not only given hope to workers
but has inspired more workers to become
active. These collective actions have made
Vanderbilt administration more aware
and responsive to our needs."

Benjamin Eagles is member and organizer
of OUR Vanderbilt, a RESIST grantee.

Support grassroots social justice organizing today.
Your contribution to RESIST supports hundreds of progressive groups across the country. Please send what
you can, as often as you can. The groups we fund count on us, and we count on you.

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Meet RESIST

**Grant Recipients**

RESIST awards grants six times a year to the most critical and effective grassroots groups organizing for social, economic and environmental justice throughout the United States. Below is a list of a few of our recent grantees.

**For more information about RESIST and our grantees, please visit [www.resistinc.org](http://www.resistinc.org)**

### Justice Committee

**105 East 22nd Street #103, New York, NY 10010, [www.justicecommittee.org](http://www.justicecommittee.org)**

First established under the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights in the 1980s to address police brutality in New York City, the Justice Committee engaged the Latino/a community through education, direct action, and advocacy. Since those days the Committee has expanded its role in other poor and working class communities of color.

A RESIST grant of $4,000 will enable the Justice Committee to continue to work towards ending discriminatory and abusive police practices, such as NYPD's biased and unjust stop and frisk policy.

### Prisoner Hunger Strike Solidarity Coalition

1904 Franklin Street, #507, Oakland, CA 94612, [www.prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com](http://www.prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com)

In June of 2011, the Prisoner Hunger Strike Solidarity Coalition formed to support the people in Pelican Bay State Prison who were planning a massive hunger strike to draw attention to the injustice of being held in extreme isolation for decades.

A RESIST Hell Yes! Grant of $4,000 will enable the Coalition to amplify the voices of the hunger strikers, educate the public about solitary confinement, maintain communication between the Coalition and representatives inside prison, and organize within the community to change the practice of long term solitary confinement in California.

### Puente Human Rights Movement

1306 E Van Buren Street, Phoenix, AZ 85006, [www.puenteaz.org](http://www.puenteaz.org)

The Puente Human Rights Movement formed in 2007 in response to a vicious attack on day laborers outside of a local furniture store. Their leadership is composed of migrant people, undocumented and formerly undocumented people, people from mixed immigration status families and people of color who are threatened every day with racial profiling.

A $4,000 grant from RESIST will enable Puente to work for migrant justice and human rights by developing, educating and empowering migrant communities.

### Worker’s Dignity Project

3753 Nolensville Pike, Nashville, TN 37221, [www.workersdignity.org](http://www.workersdignity.org)

The Worker’s Dignity Project uses wage theft as an entry point for organizing low-wage immigrant workers as part of a broader movement for social justice.

A $3,000 grant from RESIST will support Worker’s Dignity Project in its “bite size industry campaign” and will also allow Worker’s Dignity Project to continue leadership development for workers.