

Turning Teachers into Allies:
How the Chicago Teachers Union communicates coalition with communities of color

By

Jeff Garnett Tischauser

Doctor of Philosophy

(Mass Communications)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2020

Date of final oral examination: 5/2/2019

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Sue Robinson, Professor, Journalism and Mass Communication

Hemant Shah, Professor, Journalism and Mass Communication

Lynet Uttal, Professor, Counseling Psychology

Michael Thornton, Professor, Department of Afro-American Studies

Chris Wells, Associate Professor, Emerging Media, Boston University

Dedication

To my parents, who taught me to never stop questioning authority. To my wife, Cailin, for supporting and joining me during my most difficult times. To my brother, Michael, for showing me how to be a hopeful pessimist. Thank you.

Table of Contents

DEDICATION	I
ABSTRACT	V
CHAPTER 1.....	1
THE COMMUNICATIVE CONDITIONING OF ALLYSHIP	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	7
THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION	9
ORGANIZING AND MOBILIZING ALLIES IN THE DIGITAL AGE	18
PRACTICES OF OUTSOURCING AND REFLEXIVITY IN SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMUNICATION	21
RACIALIZING ALLYSHIP AND THE PRACTICES OF MEDITATION AND TRANSLATION.....	24
DISSERTATION CHAPTERS	28
CONCLUSION	29
CHAPTER 2.....	35
BETWEEN SCHOLARSHIP AND ACTIVISM: A METHODOLOGICAL TOOLKIT FOR RACIAL OUTSIDERS.....	35
HOW ALLIES KNOW AND SEE RACE	36
RELATIONAL DYNAMICS OF BEING AN ALLY	40
THE BLIND SPOTS OF ALLIES	47
OUTSIDER KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERTISE	49
HUMANIZING RESEARCH ON CROSS-RACIAL ALLYSHIP	55
DE-CENTERING WHITENESS IN THE RESEARCH PROCESS.....	58
CASE STUDY, INSTRUMENTS, AND METHODS.....	60
CHAPTER 3.....	65
"MOTIVATE THEM TO OVERCOME THEIR FEARS AND FIGHT:" UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES OF ALLYSHIP IN THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION.....	65
BETWEEN ALLYSHIP AND COALITION	68
THE MOVEMENT AND MOMENTS IN COALITION	72
HOW THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION WORKS AS AN ALLY	77
USING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM TO SUPPORT ALLIES.....	79
USING THE LEGAL SYSTEM TO SUPPORT ALLIES	83
THE JOHN FEWKES TOWER: HOW TO TURN A REAL ESTATE HOLDING INTO SPACES OF INTERACTION	84
USING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOPS TO SUPPORT ALLIES.....	87
HOW THE CTU USES RESEARCH TO SUPPORT ALLIES	88
ORGANIZING AN ORGANIZING DEPARTMENT TO SUPPORT ALLIES	93
HOW THE CTU USES SOCIAL EVENTS TO SUPPORT ALLIES	96
HOW THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION TALKS ABOUT ALLIES.....	102
ALLY TALK: SOCIAL JUSTICE C&I	104
ALLY TALK: ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE	107

ALLY TALK: SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIONS	113
CONCLUSION	117

CHAPTER 4.....122

POWER-EVASIVE AND PROCEDURAL ALLYSHIP, AND THE COMMUNICATIVE BLIND-SPOTS THAT CONSTRAIN ALLYSHIP IN THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION	122
RISK IN COALITION	124
REARTICULATION AND RACIAL IDEOLOGY.....	126
COLORBLINDNESS IN THE NEOLIBERAL ERA AND PROCEDURAL ALLYSHIP	128
DEFICIT THINKING, RACIAL MEANING, AND COMMUNICATION	134
EVALUATING THE POWER-EVASIVE STRUCTURAL CRITIQUES OF THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION	137
CONCLUSION: TOWARD A NEOLIBERAL APPROACH TO ALLYSHIP	148

CHAPTER 5.....152

“IT DOESN’T FIT:” DEFINING THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIA PRODUCED BY THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION.....	152
UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF MEDIA FORM AND CONTENT ON SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVISM	155
EVALUATING THE COUNTERPUBLICITY OF THE CTU	161
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CTU IN CHICAGO NEWSPAPERS	163
REPRESENTING AND LEGITIMIZING SOCIAL JUSTICE UNIONISM.....	168
HOW MEDIA PRACTICES IMPACT CONTENT IN CTU PUBLICATIONS	174
CONCLUSION	185

CHAPTER 6.....188

SYNCHRONIZING ALLYSHIP IN AFFILIATIVE NETWORKS: THE ROLE OF STORYTELLING AND LISTENING IN SOCIAL MEDIA CURATED BY THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION	188
FINDING ALLIES IN A DIMINISHING CIVIL SOCIETY	191
NETWORK STRUCTURES THAT ORGANIZE ALLIES.....	196
THE POTENTIAL OF SOCIAL MEDIA AS SITES OF CRITICAL LISTENING AND STORYTELLING.....	200
HOW LEADERS AND ALLIES CONSIDER THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA.....	200
STORYTELLING A SOCIAL JUSTICE UNION INTO ACTION.....	202
RE-CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE CTU	212
CURATING AN INFORMATIONAL STREAM ON TWITTER	218
CONCLUSION	220

CHAPTER 7.....223

EVALUATING THE COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF ALLYSHIP, COALITION, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE UNIONISM WITHIN THE CHICAGO TEACHERS UNION	223
BEFORE AND AFTER ‘WOKE-NESS’ IS COMMUNICATION.....	224
CHALLENGING ALLIES TO COMMUNICATE MORE EFFECTIVELY	228
FINAL THOUGHTS FOR ALLIES AND ALLY ORGANIZATIONS	232

APPENDIX A.....236

A METHODOLOGICAL TOOLKIT FOR RACIAL OUTSIDERS.....236
NOTES FROM THE FIELD AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS 239

BIBLIOGRAPHY243

Abstract

Drawing on over a year of field research among union leaders, community organizers, rank-and-file union members, and journalists, I consider how leaders in a coalition organized by the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) use media production practices to advocate for social change on- and offline. Building on the concept of allyship, which centers attention on differences of power and privilege among activists, I extend current theorizing on social justice organizing by putting political communication scholarship into conversation with critical race theory, alternative media theory, and digital media theory. I use these theories to identify and unpack how the CTU supports the social justice efforts of its coalition partners.

I find that the CTU and its coalition partners use four communicative practices to articulate an anti-racist project of *intersectional racial allyship*: attention, translation, mediation, and reflexivity. While *the practice of outsourcing* guides strategy on how to support the work of coalition partners, the *practice of translation* involves de- and recoding dominant representations of race, class, and gender. *Mediation* is a practice that is used to identify and evaluate power differences between communities, as well as how structural power in social relations are involved in issues and campaigns. *Reflexivity*—which is defined as the hyperawareness of one’s role as a communicative agent for their organization, profession, and for the communities they need to support their efforts—is the most vital practice. Indeed, without communication reflexivity the other communicative practices cannot effectively redistribute privilege and socialize status between activists from different power-laden backgrounds. In short, the four practices articulate an anti-racist project of intersectional racial allyship that is used to re-imagine and critically evaluate the intersecting nature of racial privilege. In doing so I find that intersectional racial allies effectively recognize, rearticulate, and reduce lines between insiders and outsiders in coalition.

After identifying how leaders of the coalition use the four communication practices of intersectional racial allyship to create material spaces of coalition, I then analyze how these practices are becoming routinized in digital media production. These production routines include meme and infographic design, when to publish original investigations, what social media accounts to follow, what information to aggregate and share on official social media accounts, how to use crowdsourcing, what digital platforms and hashtags to use, as well as editorial decisions including what issues to cover and how to collect, frame, and contextualize issues on the coalition’s agenda. In total, I find that these production routines set the condition for constructing the anti-racist project of intersectional racial allyship by helping to minimize contention, build a common vocabulary on injustice, and create mutual understanding across racial difference.

Chapter 1

The Communicative conditioning of allyship

When Chicago Mayor Rahm Emmanuel proposed closing over 100 schools in 2013, in mostly Black and Latino communities, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and its allies mounted an aggressive campaign to stop it. This campaign included organizing rallies outside targeted schools, marches to City Hall, meetings with lawmakers and community members, as well as workshops with union delegates, parents, and allied groups to train individuals on Illinois state law, the legacies of racial and class segregation in Chicago, as well as how to respond effectively to political opponents. Included in these workshops were lessons from the 2012 teachers' strike on who to trust for information: Not media, not Rahm, not the Chicago Public Schools (CPS). Instead, organizers asked workshop participants to have trust in each other's personal experience with Chicago schools, the mayor's office, and other city institutions. Organizers also asked workshop participants to have trust in the union's research department, and in independent media outlets, which recorded the disproportionate impact previous school closures had on teachers of color and students of color. Workshop participants were then given training on how to speak to media and how to use digital and social media to 'stay on message.'

How CTU members and allies stayed on message, and how they rallied together with community members, put pressure on the district to reduce the final number of school closings to 49. Though it was still the largest number of schools closed in a single year by a major metropolitan school district, it was not 54, or 80, or 105, which were other numbers being tossed around by city officials (Kunichoff, 2014). While few CTU officials, members, or allies would view this campaign as successful, their activity surrounding this campaign, particularly

how they viewed their relationship to media, and each other, is symptomatic of a larger push by CTU to become a stronger ally to communities of color even as neoliberal politics ramp up the attacks on public education. While there is scholarship on the structural and ideological challenges faced by organizations that attempt to conduct this work of allyship (Cole and Luna; 2010; Frost, 2001; Moody and Robbins, 2013; Wiley, 2003), there is little research on the communicative practices used to overcome these challenges at the organizational-level. I aim to fill this gap by developing a theoretical argument on the communicative and racial features of social justice coalition, and then by providing empirical evidence on how the CTU communicates social justice to build a labor-community coalition.

To support social justice coalition, I find that the CTU and its coalition partners use four communicative practices that articulate an anti-racist project of *intersectional racial allyship*: outsourcing, translation, mediation, and reflexivity. While these practices are defined later, what's important to know now is that these practices help members of organizations redistribute status, socialize status, as well as build a common language and frame of understanding. Indeed, labor-community coalitions are complicated by the constructed nature of racial meaning and the limited maneuverability provided to racial outsiders in communal settings (Carrillo Rowe, 2008; Chavez, 2013; Patel, 2011). Intersectional racial allyship is a form of anti-racist politics that confronts these challenges by using communication practices to reduce lines between insiders and outsiders in coalition.

Intersectional racial allyship necessitates a need for carefully orchestrated communication practice because everyone in labor-community coalition are potential liminal subjects. Particularly in large urban areas like Chicago, everyone is a racial outsider at one point

or another. While allies generally work to destroy social hierarchies and systems of power that legitimize their own status and privilege (Bishop, 2002; Broido, 2000; Goodman, 2000), theorizing racial allyship from an intersectional perspective focuses attention on the overlapping nature of privilege that activists from all backgrounds cross depending on the situation and context, including class, race, gender, sexual orientation, and ability (Patel, 2011). In this sense, labor-community coalition crosses many lines between insiders and outsiders across a range of differences.

What it means to be a white ally animates my scholarship and activism. As a member of a union for adjunct instructors of community colleges in Chicago and as a white man, I saw first-hand the disconnect between white social justice activists and their partners in communities of color. I helped to reinforce this disconnect through my arrogance and ignorance about how to be an ally. Moreover, I saw how multi-racial social justice organizations, some of which were led by people of color, can come to institutionalize exclusionary and colorblind policies. In this sense, my dissertation project is as much of a personal desire for understanding the most effective ways toward allyship given structural problematics as it is a contribution to communication scholarship.

For me, intersectional racial allyship are acts, practices, attitudes, and ways of seeing and thinking that redistributes privilege, balances status, and amplifies voices of partners in a way that doesn't minimize their agency or values. I spend the remaining chapters dissecting this definition, pulling from scholarship and informed by my data. Far too often the culturally-specific voices and agency of movements are reduced, made a sideshow (Hughey, 2010), or disconnected from place-based communities (Mantler, 2013). In many ways the work of

allyship seems like an impossible undertaking, constrained by racial dynamics, structures of civil society, and types of publicity. In the upcoming chapters I explicate each constraint in turn to understand situational roles for allies. Nonetheless my overall goal here is to point a way forward for entities like the Chicago Teachers Union to navigate the noise and become a true partner in the goal of racial equity. Allyship is possible. Getting white folks to redistribute their privilege, balance status, and meaningfully amplify voices and agency of others is possible. No matter how advanced one's supposed 'wokeness,' allies never stop being reflexive about their roles. Key to practices of allyship are a commitment and exercising of individuals' intersectional identities.

In the context of the neoliberal attack on public education, the CTU and its coalition use intersectional racial allyship to recommitment and double down on the value of public resources. Neoliberalism can be thought of as a set of policies that cut funding for public resources (Harvey, 2007); but in my view, it's best to think of neoliberalism as a discourse that upends notions of the common good (Asen, 2017). Moreover, whether it's defined as a policy or discourse, the outcomes of neoliberalism reinforce racial, gender, and class inequality. In Chicago, neoliberalism is a way to rationalize the takeover of public space by private interests in a way that discredits, minimizes, and subverts public power, accountability, and oversight. Evidence of this takeover are seen in the policies of elected Democrats and Republicans in Illinois.

For Mayor Emmanuel, a Democrat, who ran Chicago from 2011 to 2019, this meant policies that privatize city services. Sold to the public as needed austerity measure to avert disaster, Emmanuel's policies led to thousands of layoffs for city employees and million-dollar

contracts for corporations, such as Aramark and Goldman Sachs. For instance, Aramark—hired to clean the city’s schools—has employed 20% fewer custodians once it took over; yet the company provides workers with lower wages and less benefits (Perlstein, 2015). The result has been unclean classrooms and disgusting learning conditions. These conditions have been used as a coalition-building tool and are discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Likewise policies of the Governor Bruce Rauner, who served in office from 2015 to 2019, led to privatizing state services and set the conditions for workers to organize (Geiger, 2016). What’s more Rauner and Emmanuel have had a long-running business relationship, which started in the late 1990s. Each has helped the other earn millions of dollars. Before Rauner became Governor of Illinois, Emmanuel appointed him to oversee Choose Chicago, a tourism and business promotion board (Burns, 2014; Ruthhart et al, 2016). Fraser (2019) argues that their personal connections and policies are part of something larger; the social totality of neoliberalism. Her point is that neoliberalism is not just about politics. Instead, public power, Fraser suggests, is being eviscerated by private power in all spheres of society.

The CTU and its coalition partners are constructing an anti-racist project of Intersectional racial allyship to encourage individuals to double-down on the value of public goods, such as education. To do so, these organization help their constituents think through how their crisscrossing identities construct lines between public and private. By unpacking multiple sites of power that run through assigned and ascribed identities, intersectional racial allyship better locates how, when, where, and why certain voices are silenced or amplified on education. Having this talk helps allies redistribute their privilege and status to support issues of common concern, particularly in a coalition seeking more public accountability on education.

But the work does not stop there. The radical force of values imbedded into communities and identities must be left untouched or reinforced by allies. In other words, intersectional racial allyship are communicative practices that help identify the sociocultural and sociohistorical conditions that created the need for movements and allies in the first place (Collins, 2015).

For example, in the work of CTU and its coalition partners, white individuals are rightly treated as racial outsiders to the anti-racist moment. However, white individuals are insiders to movements for economic justice, and other radical movements through which they radicalize an oppositional identity (Morris & Braine, 2001). Central to how white individuals engage these movements, emergent oppositional identities shape how they problematize issues of common concern as insiders, block perceived and real threats from outsiders, and bring outsiders into these movements. Intersectional theory adds a vocabulary, as well as the analytical framework necessary, to connect similar but unique oppressive conditions. White individuals can use intersectional theory to understand how economic lines of power are connected to race and gender. This talk draws out how communities and movements build unique responses to multiple sites of oppression and how these responses condition the insiders and outsider dynamic in movements. Thus, as seen by the CTU and its coalition, white individuals cannot just bring awareness, or empathy to the values of movements. White individuals, and others, are encouraged to think intersectionally to make better decisions about how, when, and where to communicate strategies and goals of campaigns. In short, to protect the public goods of all communities, white allies need to learn when to listen and how to talk about the values of their partners.

The aim of my dissertation is to explore how leaders of a social justice-oriented union and their coalition partners lead by example and encourage their constituents to act as an ally and build coalition to destroy neoliberal rationality. It's a coalition and union that crosses many lines, but for the sake of this project I focus on the intersection between race, class and community. I define community both as a physical location where people come to experience the world together, but also as a set of shared interests separate from the material existence (Dewey, 1927/1954). In both types of communities, we find histories, institutions, identities, and values that shape who is considered an insider and who is considered an outsider. Because of the history of Chicago these concrete and imagined lines often reflect class and racial segregation and antagonisms (Moore, 2019). Yet, as we see in Chapter Two, racial meanings and identities are in constant flux—meaning how lines between insiders and outsiders are defined, as well as the strength and length of these lines, often change. Most of the time this change constrains coalition. Indeed, the work of coalitional partners—particularly allies from powerful racial groups, class positions, or communities—is to reimagine these lines collaboratively. To do so, allies need to understand what practices establish the conditions needed to productively reimagine lines between race, class, and community.

Research Questions

Guided by my understanding of intersectionality and racial meaning within the context of neoliberalism, the primary question that undergirds this study is: How can an institutional entity, like the CTU, use communication practices to become a better ally and coalition builder? Are some forms of communication more helpful than others? How can the CTU use

communication practices to overcome institutional, cultural, racial, class, and logistical constraints to be an effective coalitional partner? To understand these grand research questions, I will ask the following:

1. How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider, expose each other to, and disrupt discourse on neoliberalism and structural racial discrimination in education? What are the starting assumptions and blind spots of this discourse? How does this public discourse reflect the evolving conceptualization of allyship and its relationship to racial identity?
2. How do local newspapers represent the role of Chicago Teachers Union in issues related to education? How does the Chicago Teachers Union represent social justice unionism and its role in subverting neoliberal education policies in media it produces? How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies operationalize the relationship between allyship and racial identity in search of building a social justice-oriented organization through media?
3. How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider the role of social media in their work as union and community activists? How do these actors share, disrupt, and support the organization's effort to build a social justice-oriented union using social media?

These questions divide my project into three main areas: 1) An examination on the relationship between racial meaning and allyship; 2) An examination on the relationship between organization, information, and allyship; and 3) An examination on the relationship between digital/social media and allyship. To examine these relationships, I utilize a case study approach involving a triangulated technique of participant-observation of 10 events and 16 meetings; 35 semi-structured interviews with leaders, members, and allies of the union; and a textual analysis of more than 1,000 texts published by local newspapers and CTU media. Next, I finish this chapter by introducing my case study in more depth, after which I outline the conceptual framework of my project, provide a chapter preview, and end with an overview of my findings.

The Recent History of the Chicago Teachers Union

The CTU is an ideal case to examine how social justice organizations communicate coalition with communities of color. In 2010, an activist caucus in the CTU, the Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators (CORE), won leadership positions within the union. Since these elections, the CTU has attempted to build more meaningful relationships with community-based organizations that reduce racial disparities in Chicago. As an institution, the CTU continues to agitate on bread-and-butter issues for its members such as pay, benefits, and working conditions; but the CTU now also agitates around social equity issues. CORE is using communicative vehicles to fundamentally change how the CTU relates to communities, particularly communities of color, by framing teacher working conditions around community health and well-being, as well as explicitly mobilizing and organizing around anti-racism.

CORE arose in 2007 as a joint effort between teachers, parents, and community organizers to fight back against school closings that were going unchallenged by the union. Driving school closings at the time was Renaissance 2010, a school reform effort drafted, in 2004, by then-CPS Chief Executive Officer, Arne Duncan. Lipman (2011) points to Chicago, and its Ren2010 plan, as the archetype for school reformers that was then applied to New Orleans, Newark, and other districts struggling to finance public education. In Chicago, Ren2010 followed the gutting of democracy at CPS, known as the 1995 Chicago School Reform Act. The act, rationalized by lawmakers as a way to repair the district's finances, provided the mayor with the power to appoint all members of the board of education of Chicago. In a nod to the business-friendly features of the act, the position of Superintendent was replaced with Chief Executive Officer, and CPS became the only district in the state that imposed limits to collective

bargaining for its unionized employees. Teachers and staff in Chicago could no longer negotiate over class size and lack of resources. After 1995, the heads of CPS would no longer come from schools of education, instead as the title implies, CEOs of CPS were pulled from elite business and political networks (Lipman, 2011).

Organizers of CORE argue that the 1995 reform act spurred a seismic shift in priorities for CPS away from open-enrollment neighborhood schools, to more magnet and specialized schools primarily located in the wealthier and whiter parts of the city (Johnson, 2014; Lipman, 2011). The shift in priorities also included opening-up the district to charter schools. Since 1995, many types of charter schools have been established in Chicago, including military academies, STEM academies, college preps, and vocational schools. Charters are given autonomy from the district. Most notably this autonomy includes the ability to create curriculum and methods of discipline, as well the ability to bypass the CTU and hire non-unionized faculty and staff. While proponents say charter schools provide more choice to parents, opponents of charters see them as a threat to public oversight over education. Over the last decade, charter schools have become an important symbol of neoliberal policies that gut unions and communities of color.

CORE has come to recognize the threats posed by charter schools as three interrelated issues. First, there's an existential threat to unionism posed by charters, which makes organizers of CORE cringe. To resist, CORE became heavily involved in the push to unionize charter schools (Uetricht, 2014); their major argument being that a unionized workforce provides better educational outcomes (Gwynne and Moore, 2017). Second, charter schools weaken the profession by relying on mostly young white inexperienced teachers who fail to grasp the complexities involved in teaching in communities of color. According to Chicago

Public Schools (2018), of its nearly 375,000 students, 90% are students of color, of which about half are eligible for free or reduced price lunches at school. While charters create an influx of underqualified teachers in the district, there is a simultaneous removal of experienced teachers, many of whom are teachers of color (Kelleher, 2015; Vevea, 2015).

CORE argues that because of the fiercely segregated racial and class make-up of Chicago, as well as the history of overlooking the needs of communities of color by city officials, schools in communities of color have been under-resourced and under-utilized for decades, and have now become the primary targets of school reformers eager to turn schools over to charter operators. The outcome of these policies is seen in the changing racial composition of teachers in Chicago. Since 1990, the CTU has seen its 25,000 membership change from being about 48% Black, 44% White, and 6% Latino members (Figure 1.1), to one that is approximately 21% Black, 50% white, 20% Latino (Figure 1.2), with the remaining percentage composed of South Asians, American Indians, and Asian-Americans (Chicago Public Schools, 2018; Kelleher, 2015).

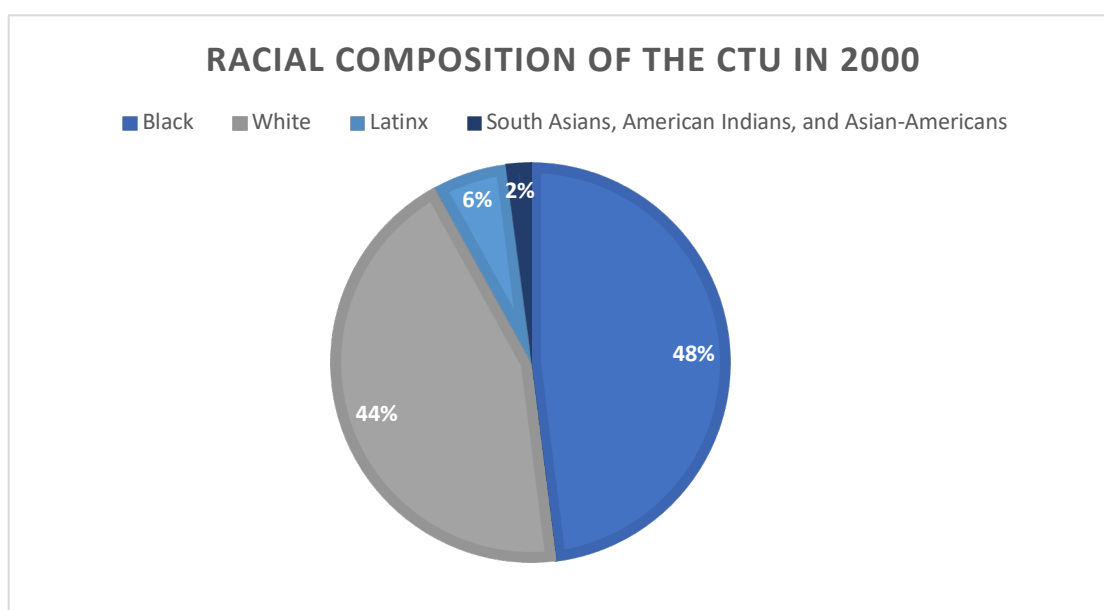


Figure 1.1

Organizers of CORE argue there is a direct correlation between school closures, charter schools, and the loss of teachers of color across the district. To fight back against these policies, CORE organizes parents and community organizations around the importance of qualified teachers and staff, as well as the lack of professional development resources provided to teachers and staff of non-unionized charters.

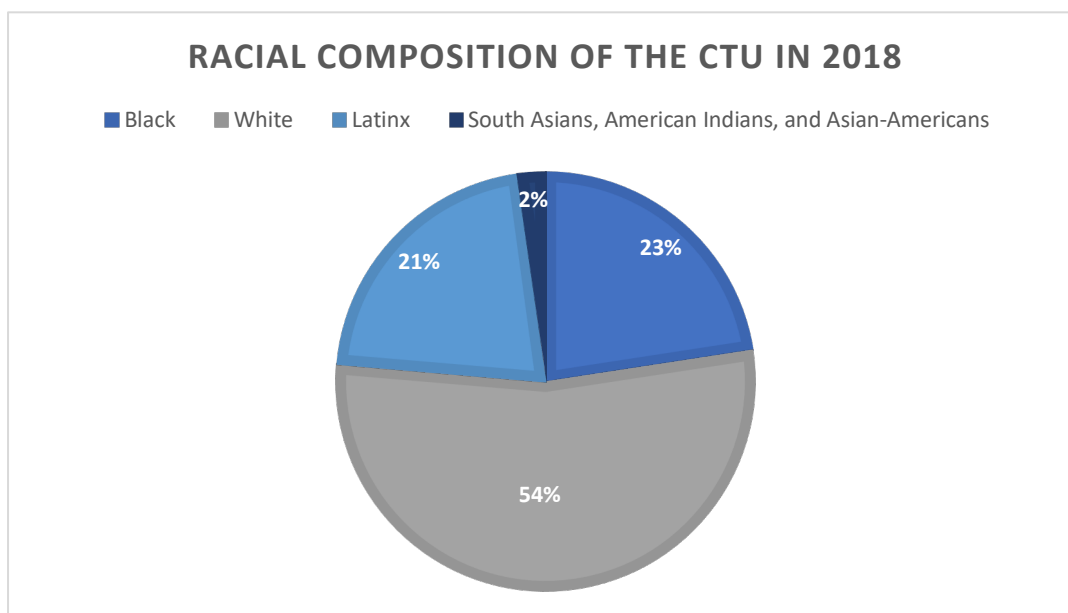


Figure 1.2

Above all, organizers of CORE argue that charter schools threaten the well-being of communities. Charters provide school reformers a solution to financial woes faced by CPS and the State of Illinois. Instead of making structural changes that can adequately fund schools and provide a public resource for communities, CPS officials, the mayor's office, and state lawmakers have relied on borrowing at high interest rates (FitzPatrick and Spielman, 2017), furlough days (Ali and Cherone, 2017), reducing teacher compensation (Cherone, 2017), cutting staff positions at schools (Masterson, 2016), switching to contractors for janitorial and maintenance work (Vassilatros, 2017), and closing schools (Kunichoff, 2014).

At the same time, CORE points out that CPS has paid millions of dollars over the years to consultants (FitzPatrick, 2017), professional development companies with connections to board members (Perez Jr., 2017), and a mixture of software and testing companies. For example, CPS spends tens of millions of dollars each year to administer three types of tests in all grade levels. Depending on the grade, a student can expect 27 to 41 hours of testing time across five to eight tests per year (Chicago Public Schools, n.d.).

Organizers of CORE view the amount of standardized testing as evidence of the misplaced priorities of policymakers, and part of what reifies the structural problems in funding education in Chicago. Another structure that adds burden to the CPS budgets is known as Tax Incremental Financing (TIF).

TIF districts drain resources from public education by diverting a portion of property taxes away from schools. The money from TIFs is pooled into a fund for development projects in designated areas; however, critics contend that TIFs become a slush fund for Chicago mayors (Black, 2016). Though Mayor Emmanuel when in a pinch has used TIF revenue in the past to pay for budget shortfalls at CPS, CORE maintains that there will be little incentive to make substantive changes that can fully-fund education when charter operators can move into schools and keep the status quo in place. The status quo results in underfunded schools that diminish the capacity of communities to solve social problems and invest in their future. To fight back against these policies, CORE formed a caucus in the CTU, ran for, then won seats on a pension board, and then ran for, then won officer positions in the union. After winning office, organizers of CORE then turned their attention to harnessing the institutional might of the CTU to fight back.

The 2010 union elections were held right before contract negotiations were set to begin. CORE ran a multi-racial slate of candidates, all of whom were rank-and-file teachers at the time, including, Karen Lewis for President, a Black woman; Jesse Sharkey for Vice-President, a white man; Michael Brunson for Recording Secretary, a Black man; and Kristine Mayle for Financial Secretary, a Latina. CORE won the election, in part, for its commitment to remain transparent and accountable to members at the bargaining table. To make good on its promise, the newly elected officers created a big bargaining team of 40 members to represent the union's diverse viewpoints on contract related issues. President Lewis describes the big bargaining team as a group that CTU officers and lawyers can turn to during negotiations for an immediate reaction on how certain policies, or language can affect members (Moberg, 2012).

During its first contract negotiations, organizers of CORE, some of whom were now staffers in the CTU, began to reach out to CTU rank-and-file on the threats to their union, profession, and communities. Aiding this effort was the newly created organizing department. Through this department, CTU staffers began to train union delegates and parents on how to organize their schools to fight back against school closings, unsafe learning conditions, bully principals, corrupt CPS officials, embarrassing budgets, and the institutional racism and class warfare involved in it all (Gutstein and Lipman, 2013). The impact of this organizing is seen in the support CTU members received for their strike in 2012. During, and after the strike, polls showed the majority of Chicagoans supporting CTU members, including a poll that showed 65% of Black and Latinx individuals siding with the CTU (Moser, 2012). CTU's seven-day work action has become a subject of progressive legend, and viewed as the revitalization of the labor movement in Chicago and beyond (Gutstein and Lipman, 2013; Uetrict, 2014). However, the

festive mood on the ground was cut short by the school closings to come in 2013. This is where the recent history of the CTU gets murky, and less talked about by organizers of CORE.

In search of their next big victory, the CTU made a push into electoral politics, in 2015, by running three candidates against Emmanuel loyalists in the city council. Sue Garza was the sole victor. Garza, who continues to work as a school counselor had little involvement in CORE, prior to 2012, but played a major role in organizing teachers as an Area Vice President in the CTU. She became the Alder for Ward 10 on the far southeast side of Chicago by 20 votes (Resnikoff, 2015). This push into politics beyond the traditional endorsement of candidates caused a minor split within CORE and engaged members of the CTU, and their coalition partners. Some wondered whether it was worth putting resources into political campaigns instead of continuing to organize at the school and community level.

Then came the murder of former-CPS student Laquan McDonald, a young Black boy, who was shot 16 times in the back by a white Chicago police officer. McDonald's murder was followed by the cover-up of the video showing McDonald walking away from officers, which contradicted statements made by officers who claimed he was rushing toward them (Black, 2015). The video, eventually released after Mayor Emmanuel won re-election in November 2015, became a rallying symbol for community organizers demanding the creation of a Civilian Police Accountably Council (CPAC), and the removal of police officers from CPS schools. Organizers in CORE, and CTU, who had worked with these community organizations for years, joined in the effort, and helped to mobilize union members to join rallies in support of CPAC and McDonald's family. At the same time as this was happening, the CTU without a contract since June 2015, was negotiating with the district.

After political maneuvering by both sides (Cox, 2016) in the winter of 2015, the CTU announced a one-day strike set for April 1, 2016. The strike, technically over compensation issues, was framed by the CTU and its allies as a day of action to demand funding for education, healthcare, and other social services.¹ How CTU, and CORE, publicized the day of action under different monikers caused confusion, which turned to frustration when the strike vote was marshalled through the union's House of Delegates (HoD) without answering everyone's concerns. These missteps became another example of union leadership being out-of-touch with the needs of rank-and-file.

While the vast majority of the HoD voted in favor of the one-day strike, and only a handful of members crossed the picket line, the frustration among many members fed into a narrative that the CTU and its most ardent activists (i.e. CORE) were pushing social justice issues too far, too fast (Schmidt, 2017). The awkward rollout of this day of action resulted in missed opportunities by the CTU to act on its commitments to communities of color, and will be discussed in more detail in my analysis. It is this space of communicating commitments to allies, while balancing contract negotiations and other union work, that becomes my main focus in later chapters.

What this recent history shows is that organizers of CORE have done a lot to problematize CPS and Mayor Emanuel's treatment of unions, teachers, and communities, particularly around the issues of school closings. As briefly described here, and to be analyzed in-depth later, the work CORE is doing in the CTU and in communities of color have hit

¹ At the time, the State of Illinois had been without a budget for about a year, which was causing a great deal of suffering by individuals who rely on social services (Olmstead, 2017).

roadblocks. Most recently these roadblocks include what many members perceive as a botched contract negotiation, which ended in an agreement late on a Sunday night, in October 2016, minutes before teachers were set to go on strike. Next, calls for a second one-day strike to join in another day of action with allies on May 1, 2017 fizzled out in the HoD. In September 2017, a new coalition formed within the union of mostly white members, calling itself Member's First, and became an official caucus in December of that year. Driving its creation was the perception that social justice efforts are becoming a distraction to the real needs of union members (Zupan, 2017).

At the same time as Members First began meeting, the CTU succeeded in organizing support for sweeping changes to its constitution, including the addition of “social, racial, and economic justice” to its preamble. Supporters argued these changes would make the union more inclusive and responsive. Roughly 80% of rank-and-file voted in favor of these changes in January 2018. Perhaps a greater accomplishment in this vote was the next question asked on the ballot, whether or not to accept the Chicago Alliance of Charter Teachers and Staff (ChiACTS) into the CTU. Around 80% of rank-and-file voters said yes to this question as well, ending the work that began nearly a decade earlier before the days of CORE. These successes, coinciding with set-backs and missed opportunities, emphasizes the complex environment organizers of CORE and CTU navigate as allies in social justice work. The fluid environment of framing and meaning making, sped-up by digital technologies, amplified by numerous ‘horizontal’ gatekeepers (Robinson, 2017), challenges the ability of organizers to respond to the seemingly divergent interests of members and communities. As stated above, the CTU has seen its membership become whiter and younger. Moreover, it's most active members that are part

of CORE are overwhelmingly white. While leaders of CORE did not divulge exact demographic numbers, from what I observed, as well as what I was told, the organization is composed of roughly 70% white individuals with people of color making up the rest.

Even though the CTU has people of color in leadership positions, its institutional culture and social justice orientation is actively constructed. All in all, this makes for an excellent case study because of the recent history of the CTU, as well as its relatively strong communicative infrastructure that circulates its anti-racist values and commitments across platforms. Thus, there is a rich amount of material to analyze how the CTU communicates across difference to build coalition. Without communicative practices that create spaces of allyship and coalition-building, even organizations that are considered anti-racist, can reinforce white supremacy and reactionary white racial ideologies. To better understand what can be learned from this history and structure, particularly how CORE has used the CTU to build commitments with communities of color, I explicate several key concepts used throughout my project: allyship, organizing, social justice, and racialization.

Organizing and Mobilizing Allies in the Digital Age

Allyship is an organizing and mobilizing force. It's a way to see and think about social relations, which are marked by racial structures, such as white supremacy. Before discussing how communication and racial meaning shapes the work of allies, which is the subject of Chapter Two, it's useful to unpack organizing work in relation to its general outcomes: solidarity and action.

I build on the concept of allyship, which centers attention on differences of power and privilege among activists, and I use the CTU as a case study to evaluate how communication conditions allyship between individuals from different power-laden identities. How is allyship communicated? What communication frames and channels are most useful for allyship? Much has been written on the ways in which today's digital and social media landscape has repositioned the power of traditional gatekeepers of news and information, as well as how the sheer increase in informational content and channels has caused a crisis in civil society. Scholars point to political polarization (Mishra, 2017; Wood, 2017), lack of trust in civic institutions (Zukerman, 2014; Robinson, 2017), and a weakening of civic culture (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999; Skocpol, 2003), as indicators of a diminished civil society being thrown upside down by organizations and institutions that struggle to gain voice in the new attention economy. In this context, what forms of allyship are possible? As a practice, allyship requires trust, respect, commitment, and organization between people that don't often interact outside of their activism. In our informationally-rich civic culture, what is the ally to do, the person or organization that believes a more just society is possible, and wants to build coalition with others?

Social justice unions, like the CTU, confront a strategic issue when communicating to their members and coalition partners, how to use communication to mobilize and organize members and partners. Like most political activism, the work of allyship fits in between mobilization and organization, particularly in the digital age. To be an organizational ally one must be mobilized to take actions that challenge the institutions that grant their social group greater power in society. This work is different than mobilization per se because of the focus of

the action is outward, *and* inward. In this sense, mobilizing allies requires mobilizing reflexive thinking, the hyper-awareness on how one's conditions intersect with one's cross-cutting identities. For example, using social media to mobilize white CTU members to attend a rally for Laquan McDonald—a black former-CPS student murdered by a white Chicago police officer—and then sign a petition that removes police from their school, is more complicated than just getting them to show up at an event or sign their name to a document. Indeed, the mobilizing effort for allies is fundamentally intertwined with increasing their awareness and knowledge on institutions of racial oppression, and their own role in these institutions. This work is and should be uncomfortable for privileged individuals to undertake. Mobilizing allies means mobilizing a certain way to see and think about society that contradicts much of the unspoken norms on racial meaning and structure.

Allies need to have a vocabulary to identify and problematize these norms in a way that doesn't worsen conditions for the individuals and groups that they seek to ally with, which because of the segregated spaces of Chicago makes this 'do no harm' mantra more difficult (Broido, 2000). Allies work through organizations, or on their own, to mobilize and organize words and experience so they can work together more effectively. Learning, then mobilizing the words and experience to use and not use about racial oppression is part of a larger emotional and psychological scaffolding that allies organize to provide support for each other (Bishop, 2002). Therefore, the communicative practices of intersectional racial allyship set the conditions necessary for effective mobilizing and organizing work.

Practices of Outsourcing and Reflexivity in Social Justice Communication

Allyship is defined for this dissertation as the work that the relatively powerful do that counteracts their racial and class privileges and entitlements. In other words, using allyship puts structure at the center of an analysis on how to build cross-racial alliances (Patel, 2011). The campaigns of the CTU provide scholars with examples on how a large labor organization with links to community organizations can think through challenges related to the informational environment and the legacy of institutional racism and communicate anti-racism. Specifically, I'm interested in how the leaders and members of CTU consider the use of various media products to their work as allies to overcome these challenges. The communicative challenges of allyship is fundamentally based on a lack of interaction between allies and partners due to the history of segregation, as well as class and racial antagonisms that are sometimes made worse by scholars and activists. Media can facilitate productive interactions literally in comments section on social media pages. Media can also facilitate these interactions by giving activists who don't normally talk a repertoire of shared meaning on power, communities, and identities. Thus, how media are organized by social justice-oriented unions serve a critical social role at overcoming barriers of discovery in coalition.

Previous communication scholarship offers guidance on how organizations such as the CTU can help *activists from high status groups*, hereafter referred to as white allies, in CORE and community organizations become better coalition partners. Of course, the urgency of now requires action and not learning moments. Most groups that white allies work with do not have the luxury of time. Thus, it's incumbent for white allies to 'organize their own' on how to pay attention more effectively in coalition.

Social justice communication research helps scholars understand how outsourcing as a communication practice can be used by the CTU to organize their own around anti-racism. Speaking about his own role as a scholar-activist, Hartnett (2010) examines the line between engagement and complicity. Aren't white allies always complicit? "Our fleeting moments of grace are but a drop of water in the ocean of institutionalized racism, state-sanctioned violence, and public apathy" (Hartnett, 2010, p. 80). Thus, for Hartnett, white allies should outsource leadership and decision-making. Here, unpacking the practice of outsourcing is also useful to understand how the presence of white allies may weaken the goals of coalition, which is observed in previous studies (Frankenburg, 1993; Goodman, 2000; Hughey, 2010). What's missing in this literature is what role, if any, a multi-racial organization such as labor union, can play at encouraging its members to de-center themselves from coalition work.

When Conquergood (1995) asks his colleagues to "stand alongside" marginalized and oppressed peoples, "but not outside, above, or beyond it," he offers white allies in social justice organizations a useful exercise on how to de-center their presence using reflexivity (p. 92). Conquergood is not positioning allies inside communities but in-between communities and what lays beyond, which is best understood as a liminal space occupied by outsider-insiders. Reflexivity for white allies thus focuses on demarcating this liminal space, as well as choreographing movements through it with other allies and coalition partners. In this sense, reflexivity is used to map moments of interaction between allies and partners. Yet, during interaction communication for white allies, and social justice advocates generally, means more than using critical-rational discourse to "constitute sociality through the binding and bonding effect that raising and redeeming validity claims accomplishes" (Morris, 2009, p. 151). While

the motivation that binds individuals in coalition may be a rational force, validity claims of white allies cannot be 'warranted' through reasons alone. Because of their dismal historical record working across racial difference (Barber, 2006; Hughey, 2010), communication by white allies is subjected to increased scrutiny that only action can alleviate.

Johnson (2017) uses 'communication-centered approach to social justice' to underpin the importance of using reflexivity to strengthen interpersonal relationships between allies and their partners. Allies in the CTU can't just talk or stay silent. They need to act in a way that redistributes their privilege and socializes their status in institutions. To redistribute privilege, allies need to promote voices of color inside institutions instead of their own. To socialize their status, allies need to 'show up' for their coalition partners. This phrase means many things to many people, but generally speaking, 'showing up' can mean literally showing up to collective actions and meetings when asked. Showing up also means that white allies need to act to support the mental and physical wellbeing of their coalition partners. Part of this work is making institutional spaces safer for people of color (Robinson, 2017), but it also means not becoming defensive when coalitional partners bring up race and racism. It also means understanding on a deep level why the outsider status of white allies matters and how it was created through white supremacy and white privilege (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2015). CTU's coalition partners need their own space. Leaders in the union encourage reflexive thinking that encourage members to step into and out of spaces based on the needs of their partners. Understanding when, why, and how to step aside is based on interaction and interpersonal communication. What's missing in this conceptualization of interaction is how to overcome

different ontologies and epistemologies individuals bring to coalition, which is the focus of this study.

As seen in this section, carefully using the practice of outsourcing and reflexivity strengthens coalition by providing the tools needed to demarcate space and socialize status between insiders and outsiders in coalition. Next, I examine how the racial dynamics involved with being an ally influence communication practice.

Racializing Allyship and the Practices of Meditation and Translation

Communication in labor-community coalition is complicated by the nature of racial meaning (Bishop, 2002; Hughey, 2010). Coming from communities that differ not just in material conditions, economic opportunities, and access to information (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2015), but also in structural positions which place communities of color outside of civic and political institutions (Goldberg, 2009), white allies and their partners often form opposing interpretations about experience which can derail even the most well-intentioned interaction (Bishop, 2002).

Whereas ethnicity is commonly linked to a shared culture, history, and kinship that is core to an ethnic group's identity, race is an outcome of the economic and cultural forces that produced modernity, namely capitalism, science, and nation states (Goldberg, 2009). Since the early modern period, racial meaning has circulated through society via the process of racialization, which Omi & Winant (2015) define as a force that gives racial meaning to previously non-racial social phenomena. Examining the links among race, representation, and structure, Omi and Winant (2015) connect racialization to ideologies that "organize and

distribute resources along racial lines” (p. 125). According to their Racial Formation Theory, racial projects are the ideological forces that order these lines along a hierarchy that places whiteness at the top.

A ‘vast-web of racial projects’ signify racial meaning overtly and covertly and mediate the relationship between racial signification and racial structure to form racial identity. “Racial formation [is] therefore...a synthesis, a constantly reiterated outcome, of the interaction of racial projects on a society-wide level” (p. 127). In this sense, Racial Formation Theory explains how dominant racial ideologies are constructed and how they become flexible and fluid. Dominant racial ideologies can be rearticulated by racialized groups into forces that promote collective action, belonging, and trust (Cole, 2008). What remains constant, however, is the dominance of white supremacy in social relations, which is due to the power of white racial ideologies to co-opt and expropriate newly articulated racial meanings (Omi and Winant, 2015). Racial Formation Theory thus explains how race can be constructed and adaptable, but also tied to structure and material conditions.

Collins (2015) suggests that intersectionality can push Racial Formation Theory “beyond a mono-categorical focus” to build a framework that centers attention on how multiple sources of oppression are organized “via a similar logic” (p. 5). As a theory, intersectionality is used to understand how race and other social identities intersects with other lines of difference and power. “Individuals and groups differently placed within intersecting systems of power have different points of view on their own and others’ experiences with complex social inequalities, typically advancing knowledge projects that reflect their social locations within power relations” (Collins, 2015, p. 14). However, intersectionality lacks the conceptual tools to

evaluate how meaning shapes, and is shaped by, institutional structures and power relations. By synthesizing racial formation theory and intersectionality theory, Collins (2015) helps to identify how white racial ideologies are informed by other types of privilege, such as class and gender. By thinking intersectionally, allies can more effectively destroy and rearticulate white racial projects to create something new.

Thinking intersectionally as an ally focuses attention on identifying and evaluating power differences and possible shared interests that emerge between and within racial groups. In short, intersectionality suggests that allies must *mediate* power differences with their partners. A key to mediating intersecting lines of status is to view *every* group, even the powerful ones, as inherently intersectional. White individuals often do not get included in intersectional analysis, which reinforces a whiteness that is “part of a cognizable social category” but is left unmarked or “unarticulated as an intersectional subject position” (Carbado, 2013, p. 817). But, as Carbado suggests “what we do, and how we perceive of what we do, is mediated by who—in terms of our intersectional identities we are perceived to be” (p. 818). These perceptions do not stop when the activist is white, male, or heterosexual, thus scholarship should tease out the nuanced ways that these intersectional privileges create multiple sites of blindness, power, and privilege for white allies and their partners to mediate. In other words, by *racializing allyship* from an intersectional perspective, white allies de- and re-construct (i.e. mediate) how intersecting lines of privilege create racial meaning in coalition. Doing so alongside their coalitional partners, can elevate how white allies redistribute their privilege and socialize their status inside coalition.

Racializing allyship from an intersectional perspective also uncovers how to use translation to bridge knowledge gaps that emerge between allies and coalition partners. Intersectional thinking suggests that white allies possess insider status within institutions that reinforce white supremacy, but come to possess *outsider-insider status* in labor-community coalition organized around common interests in social justice (e.g. they are white (outsider), but they are also working-class (insider) and female (insider)). In this rendition of labor-community coalition, insider status is granted to individuals because they are a part of a dominated group in most situations. As an insider in social justice coalition, individuals experience a degree of oppression and come to see themselves as part of a collectively oppressed group (Morris & Braine, 2001). Viewing allyship as a continuum refracted by our intersectional identities offers a capacity for everyone in coalition to hold both insider and outsider status. Leaders in organizations might not be able to share what racial oppression looks like, but they can translate how to survive and resist forms of oppression they do experience, such as class and gender.

Racializing allyship using intersectionality pushes social justice organizations in coalition to help individuals translate what they know and don't know about intersecting forms of oppression, including how structural racism and white supremacy negatively affect *everyone*, including white individuals. (Bishop, 2002; Reason, 2005). By unpacking these concerns using an intersectional approach, organizations help white allies and their partners translate meaning about oppressive experience in ways that de-centers status and bridges knowledge gaps.

Members of CORE are attempting to avoid breakdowns in interaction by using the CTU's communicative infrastructure to mediate power differences and translate a diverse range of

experience on- and offline. Racializing allyship intersectionally thus relies on mediation and translation to help coalition members identify common threats, build common experiences, and a shared vocabulary. As seen shortly, mediation and translation enable allies and partners to transfer meaning about who wields structural and institutional power, how to capture, destroy, and redistribute this power, as well as when and where to begin.

Dissertation Chapters

My project unfolds in a series of theoretical arguments, bolstered by empirical observations culled from participant-observations, semi-structured interviews, and textual analysis of CTU in-house and outside media. First, I explore the weaknesses of theorizing allyship as a character trait. Instead, as I've observed in my data, allyship is more productively viewed as a relational variable that changes in meaning based on context. In Chapter Two, I further develop a critical race approach to allyship studies that centers analysis on how racial and class meaning intersect to create opportunities and situationally-specific roles for allies that organization can bolster. Specifically, I draw from racial formation theory and intersectionality theory to define how identity, agency, and structure can constrain or enable allyship for the CTU and its coalition partners.

I then, in Chapter Three, explicate the concept of social movement coalition to understand the material and discursive spaces constructed by the CTU and its partners. To do so, I use empirical observations on how the CTU, its members, and allies consider, expose each other to, and disrupt neoliberal discourse on structural racial discrimination in education and society. In Chapter Four, I use my framework to evaluate the starting assumptions and blind

spots of this discourse. What's assumed or left out of this discourse will highlight the evolving conceptualization of allyship and its intersectional qualities (Patel, 2011).

Next, I examine the relationship between digital media practice and allyship in the CTU and its coalition. In Chapter Five, I breakdown how the CTU and coalition partners attempt to use media to build a social justice-oriented organization that fights for unions, professions, and communities. Here I evaluate the use of media in my sample of texts collected around four key dates in recent CTU history: 1) CORE's electoral victory in June 2010; 2) CTU's strike in September 2012; 3) CTU's one day of action in April 2016; and, 4) CTU's failed day of action in May 2017. The goal of this chapter is to consider the ways in which these media legitimize or de-legitimize a social justice-oriented organization as it mobilizes and organizes members and allies for collective action.

In Chapter Six, I investigate role of social media to the work of the CTU and its coalition, particularly how it expands deliberative space. What the allyship literature suggests is that it's important for members of dominant groups to subordinate their status *online and offline* to decrease the social distance between themselves and others. However, social media presents unique challenges that are conceptual and material. After I explore how these challenges are problematized, I conclude with a summary of key observations on how to practice allyship in the digital age.

Conclusion

My project provides leaders of organizations, activists, journalists, and scholars with practical tips, as well as a theoretical framework useful for building coalition across racial

difference. How the CTU builds coalition with communities of color rests on three theoretical propositions. First, allyship, social justice efforts, and labor-community coalition are fundamentally intertwined concepts. To be an ally is to effectively build coalition and support social justice. Moreover, practices of allyship, the material and discursive work allies conduct to build coalition and support social justice are fundamentally relational. Current literature on allyship does not account for its dynamic nature. As a relational concept, being an ally relates to one's intersectional identities, institutional role, and form of communication used. Indeed, allies who produce media have different, but similar roles as allies who meet face-to-face with their partners. Thus, I explore the relationality of allyship as it pertains to the CTU and different communicative practices that emerge in real life (Chapters Three and Four), as well as in digital and social media (Chapters Five and Six). By layering my data into a robust conceptual framework, scholars can more clearly evaluate the communicative practices of allyship in coalition.

Second, the CTU builds coalition, in part, by rearticulating neoliberal governmentality (Brown, 2015; Asen, 2017). Neoliberalism, in this sense, is a way to see and think that organizes state resources to destroy public goods and resources. In this context, leaders of social justice organizations need to double-down on supporting public goods, which includes building community, promoting democracy, affirming justice, and producing spaces of belonging. Moreover, the CTU shows how to double-down on public goods by reinforcing an individual's intersectional identities. Intersectionality is an ideal framework to use for coalition in this context because it uncovers similarities in difference (Collins, 2015). As neoliberal governmentality separates us from issues of common concern, intersectionality pushes us back

together by attending to how power crisscrosses all of our identities. Thus, for example, an activist might not put much thought into their racial identity, but they might for their gender or class identities. And, this is where leaders of social organizations start to communicate coalition—with gender or class—and then work back to racial identity. Thinking intersectionally provides activists an opportunity to unpack the relationship between identities, institutions, and power. In doing so, activists who ascribe to, or are assigned, a range of identities can more productively identify and deliberate on issues of common concern.

Third, how the CTU builds coalition communicatively focuses attention on insider-outsider dynamics, specifically lines between race, class, and community. Intersectional theory enables activists to unpack where and how they fit inside or outside of sometimes competing, often overlapping, and layered communities. As observed in Chapter Three intersectionality is an important component of two practices of allyship I observed in the field: attention and translation. Attention—which is a practice I define as choosing what, when, and how to talk about social justice work with audiences helps coalition partners create their own coalitional spaces on- and offline. Translation is a practice that reduces uncertainty and misunderstanding. Indeed, by translating the seemingly contradictory voices of partners to their supporters and online networks, allies help to productively amplify their culturally-specific values. By centering attention on the sociocultural and sociohistorical conditions that create and sustain communities, intersectionality helps to unpack how activists use communication to guide their attention and translate the various meanings activists bring to coalitional politics. Understanding intersectionality helps the CTU navigate the act of ‘speaking for,’ which is an awkward communicative moment for allies. However, with an intersectional understanding of

identity, as well as careful reflection on how to pay attention to and translate social justice action, the CTU, as a labor ally, can ‘speak for’ communities of color.

My three theoretical arguments, which are supported by a rich collection of data, lead to three main practical findings that advances our understanding on how to use communication to build coalition across intersecting lines of difference. First, I find that digital media are useful at reducing lines between insiders and outsiders in coalition. Digital media help to amplify marginal voices in dominant civil society. Many of these voices are captured in what I identify, in Chapter Three, as ‘teacher-ally discourse.’ The themes embedded into this discourse, which are found in digital media produced by the CTU, as well as in interviewees, archival records, Listservs, social events, and public meetings produce a shared set of meaning and vocabulary on structural inequalities, institutional racism, and the role of social justice-oriented organizations. In doing so, the CTU helps to prepare leaders, members, and allies for the often delicate moments of coalition building.

Second, I find that digital media provide crucial resources to help members of social justice organizations walk back from moments of non-belonging. While it might seem counter-intuitive, moments of non-belonging that challenge an activist’s place in coalition often stem from difficult conversations on intersectional identities activists assign to and ascribe. Leaders of social justice organizations cannot avoid difficult conversations, or moments of non-belonging that come with this talk. Instead, leaders need to embrace these conversations and moments of non-belonging. Digital media, particularly how we use them to build online storytelling and listening networks, help build an awareness about the ‘other’ for activists that

can reduce moments of nonbelonging. However, leaders are needed on- and offline to help identify and facilitate spaces of belonging.

For its part, the CTU teeters between building spaces of belonging and destroying them, which is understandable due to the complexity of its communicative context that I describe in this dissertation. Yet, a fundamental tension exists within the CTU between an activist core seeking greater access and a leadership that limits it. From what I heard in interviews, and observed in archives and on its digital media, leaders of the CTU are caught between their institution's responsibility to protect its members, negotiate contracts, and build coalition. Sometimes top-down decision-making is needed because of time constraints. Sometimes transparency isn't an option because politics is complicated. And, sometimes supporting certain movements and communities comes at too great of a political cost. What emerges from time to time; however, is how leaders of the CTU view their role in a labor-community coalition: We lead. You follow. These attitudes lead the CTU to effectively privatize social justice efforts and produces a neoliberal form of allyship that constrains how spaces of non-belonging are facilitated on- and offline. Indeed, as outlined in Chapter Four, neoliberal forms of allyship are private decisions made by leaders who choose how to define social justice and coalitional work on their own terms. Ultimately, making these decisions without input from their partners and activist core reify lines between insiders and outsiders in coalition.

My third finding relates to the tension between media content and practice. While the CTU uses digital media to reinforce social justice themes that push back against neoliberalism and build intersectional sensibilities, its production practices often fall flat. In the chapters that follow, we see a social justice-oriented union caught between its activist core and its

institutional role as a major player in education and labor politics of Chicago. Thus, while there are hundreds of texts published by the CTU that help reduce lines between insider-outsider in coalition, it produces media that often relies on one-sided information gathering routines, as well as authoritarian editorial policies. These production practices lead to power-evasive content which limits representations on how power works. In short, leaders of the CTU need to work on interrogating their own role in power to better amplify the values of their coalitional partners, and often their own rank-and-file. Next, to understand how best to evaluate these efforts, I break down my methodology and instruments.

Chapter 2

Between scholarship and activism: A methodological toolkit for racial outsiders

Anti-racist work is, and should be, a delicate process for white academics and activists. Without deep reflection, training in race theory, and a clear understanding of the implicit racial assumptions imbedded into every step of the research process, it's irresponsible and a sign of privilege for academics, particularly white academics, to make interpretations on data collected on communities of color. To engage in anti-racist coalitional work is not much different. White activists need to become critically aware about the antagonisms that emerge by their presence in coalition.

Far from essentializing identity, analyzing the way the white body and mind 'others,' focuses on the sociohistorical and sociocultural conditions that rationalize social inequality between racial groups. The many articulations of whiteness these conditions manifest are dynamic and relational forces, which are capable of being appropriate and rearticulated by non-white groups (Bonilla-Silva & Zuberi, 2008; Smith, 2012). Thus, even organizations led by people of color, such as the Chicago Teachers Union, can come to articulate and institutionalize a white space (Ferguson, 1998; Gray, 1995; Moore, 2007; Squires, 2014). In this chapter I chart how to identify white space, as well as its dynamics, borders, and outcomes to better understand how to evaluate social justice and allyship efforts of organizations.

In building this methodology, I explore the relationship between allyship and racial meaning, and the relational dynamics involved with being a white person working in communities of color whether as an activist or scholar. I define these relational dynamics to unpack two key blind spots that many white folks bring into communities of color that constrain

trust. I do so not just to deconstruct how racial meaning surrounding allyship and scholarship plays out in the field, but to find appropriate sites to re-articulate white racial meanings and identities. This analysis lays the groundwork for how I entered and navigated the field, which I synthesized into a toolkit for racial outsiders (Appendix A). After introducing my methodology on how to humanize the research process, I discuss my site, instruments, and methods.

How allies know and see race

In Tischauser (2019), I propose that it is more productive to view allyship as a relational variable that changes in meaning based on context. I build a communicative framework of allyship that centers on its relational qualities. My framework borrows heavily from Patel (2011) who suggests that an activist's crisscrossing social identities creates unique roles for allies. In this section, I explore Patel's understanding of allyship, and use racial formation theory and intersectionality theory to strengthen it.

What's best about Patel's intersectional framework to allyship is that it pushes back against a colorblind framework used by scholars to define allyship as a character trait. Patel's critique suggests that being an ally is more than a property or an attitude that someone does or does not possess, which shows how allyship can be inclusive to all people. "A color-blind approach is when interracial relations of subordinated racial groups are not considered and incorporated into discussion of allyship for fear that discussing race will lead to further problems, and instead race, or color, is ignored in place of discussing the impact of race" (Patel, 2011, p. 79). In other words, activists need to work together to identify and problematize how

racial meaning is seen and voiced by allies; meaning, allyship fundamentally relates to how it's communicated.

Building on Freire's stages of consciousness, Patel provides helpful insights on the importance of locating opportunities that provide appropriate moments to practice allyship. What's missing is a more robust understanding on how racial meaning informs the constitutive elements of these opportunities. Whereas ethnicity is commonly linked to a shared culture, history, and kinship that is core to an ethnic group's identity, race is an outcome of the economic and cultural forces that produced modernity, namely capitalism, science, and nation states (Goldberg, 2009; 2015). Since the early modern period, racial meaning has circulated through society via the process of racialization, which Cornell and Hartman (2007) define as the "process by which groups of persons come to be classified as races" (p. 34). Similarly, Omi and Winant (2015) define racialization as a productive force that gives racial meaning to previously non-racial social phenomena. In both of these views, racialization is the primary vehicle that transfers racial meaning throughout society. However, even though Cornell and Hartman place race squarely in the sphere of power relations, they leave unclear how this power becomes reinforced and challenged. Omi and Winant's research fill in gaps to Cornell and Hartman's constructionist approach to racial meaning by more concretely unpacking the power imbedded into racial assignation and ascription.

Omi and Winant focus on exploring the link between race representation and structure. The ideological work of race, how race becomes imbedded into structure, is accomplished through racial projects. Underlying their logic is the assumption that one cannot speak about race without simultaneously situating it into structure. Omi and Winant observe that race is

fundamentally “an effort to organize and distribute resources along racial lines” (p. 125). And, it's the work of racial projects that order these lines. A ‘vast-web of racial projects’ signify racial meaning overtly and covertly and mediate the relationship between racial signification and racial structure to form racial identity. “Racial formation [is] therefore...a synthesis, a constantly reiterated outcome, of the interaction of racial projects on a society-wide level” (p. 127). While this definition of racial projects helps scholars highlight how white supremacy and white privilege work inside institutions, it's less helpful at understanding the work of allies. What's missing in Omi and Winant's work is how other identity structures, such as class and gender, shape how individuals see and voice racial meaning. Collins (2015) suggests that intersectionality can push racial formation theory “beyond a mono-categorical focus” on racial oppression to build a framework that centers attention on how multiple sources of oppression are organized “via a similar logic” (p. 5).

Collins helps us understand the relationship between meanings embedded into oppressive social categories and the work allies must do in her synthesis of intersectionality and racial formation theory. As a theory, intersectionality is used to understand how race intersects with other lines of difference. “Individuals and groups differently placed within intersecting systems of power have different points of view on their own and others' experiences with complex social inequalities, typically advancing knowledge projects that reflect their social locations within power relations” (Collins, 2015, p. 14). However, intersectionality lacks the conceptual tools to evaluate how meaning shapes, and is shaped by, institutional structures and power relations. By synthesizing racial formation theory and intersectionality theory, we observe how the opportunities in which allies act require allies to identify and destroy

competing racial ideologies, some of which give allies power. But the work doesn't stop at destruction. White allies also need to create something new.

The intersectional nature of how individuals and collectives ascribe to and assign racial meaning to themselves and others presents opportunities for allies. Using an intersectional lens to racial projects can better identify and contextualize the cultural practices of groups, what feedback loops may or may not exist between and within groups, and what channels and styles are most productive for allies to use to build and circulate their authority on racial matters. An intersectional approach to racial projects helps allies think through how to implement recommendations found in literature on allyship. Listening, being open to new ideas and experience, and learning about the system of racial injustice are basic recommendations that are most productively implemented through discussing how lines of difference intersect to create oppressive structures. Some recommendations take more reflexivity, such as understanding what it means to be white, understanding one's role in oppression, understanding how ending white supremacy benefits oneself. In other words, white activists need to grapple with what they don't know about oppression, including how structural racism and white supremacy makes their own lives worse. Unpacking these larger structural issues using an intersectional approach to racial projects provides a more robust understanding on the nature of whiteness and helps to locate the areas within whiteness that must be rearticulated and destroyed.

Whiteness as a racial project can be made counter-hegemonic (Tischauer, 2019). Gray (2013) is suggesting as much when he states, "what is needed is a new cultural politics that place at its core the multiplicity of identities among racially-defined collectives" (p. 790). Race

and media scholars can help dig up historical or contemporary examples of coalition between white allies and people of color in which organizations help white allies racially-defined themselves. Key to this research agenda is the extent to which media are used to promote and engage in productive race talk. White allies need to recognize their whiteness in a way that centers on how its power and privilege structures their outsider perspective to communities of color. To do so, white activists need to subordinate their white status in a way that doesn't make them guilt ridden, anxious, passive, quiet, or the center of attention. By being reflexive about the many intersections to racial meaning, white activists are in a better position to become productive allies and find sites to share their knowledge and expertise with activists of color. Being reflective on their intersectional identities will help white activists think about the lines of power they cross, which will help them navigate the racial dynamics of being an ally. Next, I discuss these racial dynamics to provide more context to understand when, where, and how allies can share their knowledge and expertise.

Relational dynamics of being an ally

Privileged participants grapple with three main relational dynamics when trying to work as an ally: 1) the privileged participant's unmarked status; 2) the discursive norms that the privilege participants utilize; and 3) the privileged participant's marked status. All of these relational dynamics give privileged individuals power in social interactions. Moreover, these relational dynamics highlight the outsider status of white academics and activists to communities of color. To work effectively as an ally, white activists need to be reflexive to how these racial dynamics play out in the field.

Unmarked Status

The first relational dynamic that give power to white activists is their unmarked status. Since the pioneering work of Frankenberg (1993), who untangles the implicit and subtle ways white women articulate colorblind and power-evasive discourses that constrain their relationship with women of color, whiteness studies have mostly focused on uncovering the normative dimensions of the unmarked status of whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1988). The unmarked status of whiteness disconnects white individuals from racialized experience that people of color resist and survive everyday (Frankenberg, 1993). The disconnection from white racial identity and its power leads to the emergence of distinct white cultural practices that reflect their unmarked status. McIntosh (1988) suggests that this unmarked status acts as a 'knapsack of privilege,' which includes an assortment of entitlements for white individuals, such as social, economic, and cultural mobility, as well as assumed respect and deference for their character, or as McIntosh puts it, "I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race" (p. 11).

White individuals do not see themselves as marked by the racial past. Many rationalize that they were not part of the racist legacy because 'they did not own slaves,' or because 'they or their parents helped to fight for civil rights' (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Feagin, 2014). These attitudes negate the ways in which housing policy, banking policy, and education policy favored whites throughout U.S. history and helped white folks gain and sustain their status (Feagin, 2014). A lot of race scholarship traces how white supremacy is sustained by these erasures (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Hill, 2009; Moore 2007; Rodriguez, 2010; Sontag, 2003), while other

literature explores how unmarked whiteness becomes a type of property and currency (Roediger, 1991; Ferguson, 2014).

The unmarked status of whiteness leads to cultural practices that overtly and covertly reinforce white supremacy and lead activists of color to question the sincerity, commitment, and value of white individuals. First, practices can be patronizing and narcissistic, such as controlling the speaking floor, talking over others, and being taken aback by being labeled the oppressor (Hill, 2009; Moore, 2007;). Moore (2007) observes that white law school faculty consistently put students of color on the spot when questions of racial inequality come up for discussion. When students of color respond, white students routinely dismiss racist experiences as unintentional, or not-racially motivated. Bonilla-Silva (2012) uncovers how white folks learn and internalize a racial grammar that “shapes how we see and don’t see race in social phenomena, how we frame matters as racial or not, and how we feel about racial matters” (p. 174). Racial grammar is expressed in news frames that “become universal stories about all of us,” as well as in dismissive comments such as ‘you see racism in everything’ and in the logic provided by social scientists who treat racial identity as an ordinary variable to control for (p. 175). Thus, for Bonilla-Silva, a key feature of white racial grammar is how it positions white racial identity as an unmarked authority and status on truth, and how things should function in society.

Secondly, whiteness as unmarked status produce practices that are xenophobic, racist, or othering. These practices are often nonverbal but are also are expressed as verbal micro-aggressions (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Frankenburg, 1993; Hill, 2009; Jacobson 2015). In Thornton’s (1996) investigation of how scholars conceptualize multi-racial identity, he notes how many of

his white colleagues over the years have implicitly or explicitly tried to figure out his racial identity, which reflects the unease and anxieties racial classification causes for white individuals. Halloween costumes are a clearer example of how the unmarked status of whiteness leads to racist practices (Squires, 2014). Although many white activists have enough racial sense than to wear a racially insensitive costume for Halloween, Hughey (2010) finds that both anti-racist whites and racist white folks essentialize racial identity and treat it as a static and singular category (e.g. there is only one way to express blackness).

Cultural practices that are power evasive are a third type of practice that manifest from the unmarked status of whiteness. Most white anti-racist activists do not acknowledge their role in oppression, (Frankenberg, 1993; Hughey, 2010; Winant, 2004). Ferguson (2014) finds that white activists may use rhetoric that identifies the institutional scope of racism, but white activists do not use their power to fight for the redistribution of resources. The white activists Hughey (2010) observes do not recognize the power they possess, which limits their organizational strategy and turns these groups into white guilt discussion groups, as opposed to a group who uses their status to fight against racial injustice. Anderson (2014) observes that the power evasiveness of white folks is a fundamental component of the social distance between white folks and people of color in a 'changing' neighborhood. Whites folks do not understand how their power is derived through their mobility, and how this mobility is fundamental to their control over historically black spaces. James Baldwin (1998) sums up the power evasiveness of white folks in his observation of Norman Mailer. Mailer asked Baldwin how power works, "how it really works, in detail," to which Baldwin responded "Well, I know how it works, it has worked on me, and if I didn't know how power worked, I would be dead" (p. 279). Here Baldwin is

supporting Hill (2009) and Bonilla-Silva (2012) by highlighting how unmarked status leads to practices that are perceived as arrogant and aloof; practices that hinder allyship. What's more, the unmarked status of white racial identity leads to presumptions on discursive etiquette that can push white allies further away from their coalitional partners.

Democratic Discursive Norms

It's important to separate democratic discursive norms from cultural practice because doing so unpacks the various power lines whiteness connects to as an unmarked status. As an analytically distinct relational dynamic that emerges between white folks and people of color, discursive norms serve a normative and regulatory function that sustains the unmarked status of whiteness and their position as outsiders. Discursive norms regulate who has voice in democracy. The unmarked-ness of whiteness is embedded into discursive norms on what democracy and debate should 'look' like. If recognized at all, the discursive norms that are generally accepted by white folks in the public sphere are not recognized as exclusionary. There is a generally accepted process of democratic action that starts with identifying and defining problems of common concerns, after which debate emerges on policy proposals to fix these problems (Dewey, 1927/1954; Habermas, 1989). The limited view on what constitutes acceptable discourse to promote democracy denies helpful perspectives to understand social reality.

In democracy theory, scholars and activists highlight the importance of rational-critical discourse as fundamental to a healthy democracy because this discourse is underpinned by logic, as opposed to affect. However, not only is there knowledge and experience in communities of color that is unknowable (Smith, 2012) and cannot be transformed into

rational-critical discourse, but what is knowable to white folks is at times impossible to express through rational critical discourse (Hill, 2009; Huspeck, 2011; Scott, 1968; Sontag, 2004; Smith, 2012). The unknowability of experience is shaped by unique and shared experiences of groups that shape individual/collective identities and responses to white supremacy. This is ultimately what makes people of color 'insiders' in movements for racial justice and will always place white folks outside the movement.

Why do some black activists want nothing to do with white allies; why do some Latinx activists use violent rhetoric; why do some indigenous activists use irony and humor to discuss their history and future? White activists do not need to completely understand this discourse, but white activists must recognize and listen to it and make attempts to understand it. Huspeck (2011) suggests that transgressive rhetoric "requires a good faith effort" by white individuals to "try and understand the context of the transgression to foster genuine engagement" (p. 164). However, this engagement is challenged by the cultural practices identified above, as well as the idealized notion of democratic discourse. These practices and discursive norms manifest from the unmarked status of whiteness, and fundamentally constrain how white individuals should act and think as an ally. Adding to these constraints is what to do when whiteness is explicitly marked and addressed by allies.

Marked Status

The marked status of whiteness is another relational dynamic that allies grapple within coalition. When whiteness is marked by people of color in cross-racial coalition it can lead to awkward moments and missed opportunities. For example, black freedom riders, teachers of color at freedom schools, during the long civil rights movement became frustrated by the

higher level of deference and attention people of color showed to white freedom riders and freedom schoolteachers (Edwards, 2014). Because of their outsider status it's incumbent for white activists to reflect on how others might view their voice as a greater authority. Authority in coalition should always rest with groups with less voice and privilege.

When whiteness is marked by white activists it sometimes leads to guilt and anxiety over the role of whiteness in oppression. Guilt leads to white activists being too quiet, or passive in discussions on strategy. There is not much literature in whiteness studies on how the marked status of whiteness leads to this behavior, but in my experience as a labor organizer at University of Wisconsin-Madison, and in Chicago, I was that quiet white activist who worried too much about offending people, or not wanting to speak-up because I felt it wasn't my place. While these worries are important and should be routinely reflected upon by white activists, I learned that being too anxious and too guilty constrained my creativity and constrained how I perceived my role as a white ally. Yes, white activists need to understand the exclusionary cultural practices and discursive norms that limit voices of people of color, but that doesn't mean white activists shouldn't speak-up or share their opinions about strategy when appropriate. Over time, I learned that 'even my' experience was useful to strategizing how to identify future movement leaders, or for strategizing general outreach efforts. I also learned that my experiences of seeing racism, my experiences *thinking* racially, and my experiences of working through my own racisms offered interesting insights to other activists.

The unmarked and marked status of whiteness, as well as traditional democratic discursive norms all give white allies privileges in cross-racial alliances. Allies need to be reflexive on how their white racial identity is assigned and ascribed through social interactions

with other activists. Allies must grapple with their outsider status and all of the elements that make them outsiders: their unmarked and marked status, as well as the discursive norms of society. Through reflexive thinking white activists can mark their racial identity in a way that moves past guilt and anxiety about their role in white supremacy. Reflexive thinking will prepare white activists for the opportunity in which they can share their outsider knowledge and expertise without minimizing the culturally specific approaches to resistance that emerge in communities. Before digging into how allies can set conditions to productively share their insights, I take a brief detour to elucidate two major blind spots of white allies uncovered by the racial dynamics of allies.

The Blind Spots of Allies

The relational dynamics of being an ally produce blind spots. Individuals with privilege who are not reflexive about the dynamics of race, confound opportunities to build alliances across difference. Specific to cross-racial alliance, the blind spots emerge between white activists and activists of color surrounding definitions of racism and the role of race as a social construction. These blind-spots constrain trust and a sense of belonging between activists and represent the vast social distance between groups. To work in coalition with people of color, the burden is on white activists to fill in their blind starts about by reading, reflecting, and talking to other white activists about these issues.

Using an intersectional approach to understand how racial meaning is represented and structured can help white allies think through a major blind spot that emerges in coalitional work. Academics agree that racial identity is not inherent to the individual. Only Neo-Nazis

think that racial meaning is based on biology. But, the social constructedness of race is still real, which white allies often don't initially grasp (Bishop, 2002). Race is *not* “a lesser...contingent phenomenon [that] may or may not have associational (group-level) significance (Bonilla-Silva, 1999).

There is a lot of theorizing race as an embedded structure of social relations and as such race becomes manifest, lived, and real (Omi and Winant, 2015, Goldberg, 2009). Bonilla-Silva (1997) summarize the argument well, stating, “after race-based structurations emerge, definite *socially* existing races arise, which develop distinct objective interests” (p. 899). Two key takeaways on racial meaning emerge from this literature. 1) White allies cannot essentialize racial identity; and at the same time; 2) When activists see race as a social construction, they need to understand how it becomes real through lived experience, and how the intersections of racial meaning organize social relations and culture (Emirbayer and Desmond, 2015).

A second blind emerges from the dynamics of race by how white activists view definitions of racism through an individual lens. Racism in this view is an individual-level behavior. This popular definition of racism misses the more insidious form of structural racism, or institutional racism—how racial inequality is patterned into institutional structures in law, housing, education, health, and voting (Feagin, 2014). For example, even though white folks get caught with marijuana and cocaine more often, people of color are more likely to spend time in prison for possession of these substances. Thus, to avoid the blind spot on the definition of racism, white activists need to recognize its structural and institutional characteristics. Aside from reflexive thinking, reading, and talking to other allies, white activists can find appropriate

opportunities to act and share their insights. Next, I discuss two strategies for overcoming these blind spots.

Outsider Knowledge and Expertise

Despite their outsider status, white activists have knowledge and expertise on organizational and mobilization strategies; however, because of the relational dynamics mentioned above and the blind spots they create, white activists are often seen as out of touch, as all talk, or as a closeted bigot by activists of color (Feagin, 2014). If white activists want their ideas to be taken seriously, they first need to avoid essentialism. Second, white individuals need to think coalitionally as *white* allies. While these two dimensions may seem obvious, once the nuance of these ideas are unpacked it becomes clear that avoiding essentialism and coalitional thinking is more challenging than it appears.

Avoiding Essentialism

White activists cannot equate racial identity to a form of politics. Racial identities shift (Cornell and Hartman, 2007). Identities are often contradictory (Carbado, 2013; Collins, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2016; Paur, 2007) and textured (Asen, 2000, Squires, 2002). The sum of an individual or collective identity is not made linearly, nor can the sum of an identity be seen as the result of a teleological evolution of resistance or survival (Cornell and Hartman, 2007). The responses to racial assignation have never been singular but are dependent on the individual's and group's relationship to other groups, the state, their shared culture and heritage, as well as the maneuverability that the structures of modernity at the local, state, and federal level allowed at that time in U.S. history. All this is to say that some individuals and groups

responded to their racial assignation with assimilation, while others have responded through resistance, ambivalence, a stronger religious conviction, a staid fatalism, or every emotional and attitudinal register in-between (Lopez, 2011; Rodriguez, 2010; Squires, 2002).

It's not possible to join in coalition as an ally using essentialist notions of one's own identity and the identity of others. As Hughey (2010) and Winant (2004) observe white activists who view identities through an essentialist lens have trouble with outreach and creating a sense of belonging. The racial allyship literature suggests that most white individuals trying to build coalitions in communities of color began their political activism in other movements, such as the environmental, or labor movements (Bishop, 2002; Broido, 2000; Reason, Millar, & Scales, 2005). The takeaway here is that white folks have an expertise in *not* equating politics to identity, so why does that stop when white folks gaze at racial politics? The relational dynamics and blind spots discussed in the previous sections offer some evidence on why this disjuncture occurs; and the goal of my project is to unpack more of the nuance of these relational dynamics (i.e. unmarked and marked cultural practices and discursive norms) that constrain allyship. Unpacking this nuance in my project will help to locate how white activists can better bring in their expertise and knowledge productively.

What can be inferred from race theory literature (Anderson, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Feagin, 2014; Omi and Winant, 2015) and literature on social movement cultures (Barvosa-Carter, 2001; Cole, 2008; Carastathis, 2013; Chavez, 2011), suggests that to avoid essentialism white activists need to not only become reflexive about identity construction; but become

stronger white racial role models (e.g. John Brown, Peggy Terry²), develop a stronger racial vocabulary (e.g. how to talk about race and racism as structural, institutional; as well as implicit and colorblind), and develop organizational capacities in rural and suburban areas (e.g. organize areas where white individuals live and work). All of these strategies center attention on the dynamic nature of identity formation in coalitions, and the importance of reflexive thinking. In an early work (Tischauer, 2019), I suggest that radical media helped white activists learn about racial role models and build a stronger racial vocabulary when organizing their white-working class communities of Chicago. What emerges in their media are themes that underpin the multiple, shifting, and intersectional qualities to identity and the oppressive features of whiteness and white racism to their own lives as young and poor white men and women. For scholars who want to understand how white activists can work across difference, it's imperative to continue to examine the mediated or physical sites of white allyship in history, and present day.

It's the essentialist notions of identity that curtail awareness and respect for the culturally specific strategies of resistance in communities of color (Barber, 2006; Frost, 2001; Ellis, 1969; Williams, 2015, Wilson, 2006). There is a limited history on how white allies have moved past this essentialism. By avoiding this essentialism, white activists can better share their knowledge and expertise in a productive way. White activists have strategies on mobilization and outreach efforts that they gained from working in other movements. White

² Peggy Terry is a civil rights activist who worked in the Uptown neighborhood of Chicago. Originally from the Appalachia region of Kentucky, Terry worked for Jobs or Income Now (JOIN), and then moved on to become the 1968 Vice Presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party, alongside her running-mate Eldridge Cleaver (Frost, 2001; Sonnie and Tracey, 2011).

activists also possess knowledge and expertise on how to organize communication infrastructure, how to identify and develop future leaders, as well as how to build transformative organization that build trust and motivate people to act on shared interests. All of this knowledge means nothing; however, if white activists cannot avoid essentializing the people they seek to work with.

Thinking Coalitionally and Intersectionally

White activists who avoid essentialism are better positioned to think coalitionally. Whether or not white activists can think coalitionally while essentializing identities is an empirical question, but the literature on race theory, common sense, and my own anecdotal evidence as a labor organizer suggests that it is virtually impossible to be an ally when you view the other through an essentialized lens. The knowledge and expertise of coalition building can be possessed by anyone who moves past essentialist notions of identity, and who has even minimal experience acting collectively to exact change. Thinking coalitionally is summed up nicely by Carrillo-Rowe (2008) who suggests coalitional subjectivity arises when individuals become open to new authorities based on new ways to see and think. Coalitional subjectivity, suggests Carrillo-Rowe, “decenter[s] individual notions of author, an author that is absent, or unmarked” and locates authorship in the “flexible knowledge forms (i.e. insider/outsider knowledge) that arise from our capacity to move across discursive registers, political communities, and ideological formations” to write a “political of relations” together. In other words, coalitional subjectivity, or thinking coalitionally, is when the individual begins to think in terms of what we can build, not what I can build as part of a group. Bernstein (2005) suggests that there’s a lot of confusion about coalitional thinking because many scholars dismiss outright

the notion that an identity-based movement can be coalitional. Much of the confusion stems from a misunderstanding on the difference between identity politics and coalition politics.

Carastathis (2013) suggests that there is little difference between identity politics and coalitional politics because both require individuals to cross boundaries of difference. Identity politics are “internally heterogeneous, complex unities constituted by their internal differences and dissonances and by internal as well as external relations of power, [which] enables us to form effective political alliances that cross existing identity categories and to pursue a liberatory politics of interconnection” (p. 942). Cole (2008) adds that activists should focus on defining identities based on shared interest, not shared identity, to lay bare the lack of natural affinities within groups. When activists focus on the similar interests between groups within a “local context of continuous and extreme disenfranchisement,” Aparicio (2008) observes that coalitions become more collaborative and lead to a sustained movement” (p. 368). Similar observations are made by Frost (2001), Sonnie and Tracy (2011), and Rice (1998), all of whom look at cross-racial coalitions that emerged around the issue of poverty and racism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Thinking through identity from an intersectional perspective helps pinpoint possible interests that emerge between and within racial groups. A key to thinking intersectionally is to view *every* group, even the powerful ones, as inherently intersectional. White folks often do not get included in intersectional analysis, which reinforces a whiteness that is “part of a cognizable social category” but is unmarked or “unarticulated as an intersectional subject position” (Carbado, 2013, p. 817). But, as Carbado suggests “what we do, and how we perceive of what we do, is mediated by who—in terms of our intersectional identities we are perceived to be” (p.

818). These perceptions do not stop when the activist is white, male, or heterosexual, thus scholarship should tease out the nuanced ways that these intersectional privileges create multiple sites of blindness, power, and rearticulation for members of dominate groups.

My communicative framework on allyship helps scholars uncover how white allies can possess insider and outsider status in cross-racial coalition (e.g. they are white (outsider), but they are working-class (insider) and female (insider)). In this rendition, insider status is granted to individuals because they are a part of a dominated group in some situations. As an insider, individuals experience a degree of oppression and come to see themselves as part of a collectively oppressed group (Morris and Braine, 2001). Recognizing when, where, and how an individual can possess insider and outsider status, sometimes simultaneously, is complicated and forces white allies to take a step back and to reflect on the relational dynamics referred to above (Carbado, 2013; Collins and Bilge, 2016). Viewing allyship as a continuum refracted by our intersectional identities offers a capacity for activists to hold both insider and outsider status.

When white activists begin to think intersectionally about their insider/outsider status they have knowledge to offer, which opens the door to thinking coalitionally in movements in a way that doesn't upset the culturally specific dynamics of the movement. White activists might not be able to share what racial oppression looks like, but they can offer expertise on other forms of oppression and how to fight it, such as class and gender.

Humanizing research on cross-racial allyship

Being a white researcher studying how white activists can use media to become better allies is challenging, namely because of the outsider status of whiteness in the movement. It's important to understand that this outsider status was not created arbitrarily; it relates to the position of whiteness in social relations and culture. Du Bois (1920/1999) was the first sociologist to investigate the unmarked cultural practices that give power to white folks. Among Du Bois's observations was the vagueness and arbitrariness of white rage, as well as the pretentiousness and narcissism that white folks express to racial others. Bonilla-Silva (2012) argues that these attitudes became imbedded into social scientific methods since the beginning of the various disciplines. As such, academics asked misguided and misinformed questions about the social problems that afflict communities of color. Early academics did not spend time interrogating their scholarly position, let alone their racial position. As a result, the academy did not build strong relationships with communities of color, nor come to understand the legacy of white racism in shaping the social problems affecting communities of color. Since this time, critical race scholars, and scholars working around the concept of allyship, have attempted to mend this lack of trust by situating methods of reflexivity, as well as the outsider status of academics, into the heart of the research process.

White researchers will never become insiders, but they do not need to be as long as they are honest, maintain their scholarly integrity, and are transparent with their research participants. The principals of reflexive science proposed by Burawoy can help white academics humanize the research process, which opens space for rapport building between outsiders and insiders. Burawoy (2009) argues that fieldwork of any kind does not simply investigate

responses to stimulus but are *interventions* into a research partner's everyday experience. Normative science labels this jarring experience for research partners as noise. In reflexive science, noise becomes an object of research and allows researchers to gain an understanding of their participant's lived experience. The second principle of reflexive science, *process*, extends from the problem of reliability. Standardizing a swath of experience into multiple choice questions may control for reliability, but it is a reductionist approach to reality and how individuals make meaning about their lives. According to Burawoy (2009), "reflexive science commands the observer to unpack those situational experiences by moving with the participants through time and space" (p. 40). This allows researchers to evaluate discursive and non-discursive forms of knowledge creation; key features in the production of situational knowledge. Third, *structuration* refocuses the limits of replication by acknowledging that the field cannot be held in a fixed position. Reflexive scientists study the everyday, taken-for-granted experience, with the understanding that reality is "simultaneously [being] shaped by and shap[es] an external field of forces" (Burawoy, 2009, p. 42). The last principle, *reconstruction*, confronts concerns over representation by prioritizing the "social situation over the individual" and the difficulty in producing generalizability (Burawoy, 2009 p. 42). The goal of reflexive science is not to discover generalizable results, but to reconstruct existing theory. Or as Burawoy (2009) puts it: "we do not worry about the uniqueness of our case since we are not as interested in its representativeness as its contribution to reconstructing theory" (p. 43).

What's important to consider when we combine's Burawoy's principles of reflexive science with an intersectional twist to racial formation theory, is how racial meaning is assigned and ascribed by the researched. Duncan (2002) suggests that during the research process "even

if race is not specifically mentioned, the starting point is that race plays a role in social interaction” (p. 87). As suggested by racial formation theory, when researchers enter the field their raced body and the raced body of the participant are constituted. The body of white researchers in communities of color, even when they're trying their best to be an ally, is going to ‘race’ the situation for most participants. The history of racial injustice is too great and on-going structural racism is too ingrained for white individuals to not become essentialized to a position of privilege by members of communities of color. When we include the institutional position attached to the researcher their body is further essentialized. The white body is menacing. It threatens to bring up a wealth of personal experience, second-hand accounts, and stories of historical persecution. Obviously, it’s hypocritical to suggest that everyone in communities of color will gaze upon the white body like this. The degree to which the white body of the researcher is racialized by the research partner depends on the individual’s experience, personality, and attitudes. However, only a brief glance through books written by James Baldwin, Toni Morrison, Alberto Memmi, Franz Fanon, Angela Davis, George Jackson, bell hooks, to name just a few, will enlighten any skeptical reader on how white supremacy becomes stapled to white skin. Omi (2001) and Winant (2004) identify and analyze the changing meaning of the white body; however, what’s remained the same since the arrival of slaves in the 16th Century is the structural position of whiteness. Social science can help understand how white individuals have sustained their structural position as racial meaning changed over time. Social science can also help us understand what white individuals can do to help communities of color destroy oppressive institutions.

De-centering Whiteness in the Research Process

A useful heuristic that helps white researchers understand how to rearticulate their privilege is developed by Mayer (2005) who seeks to 'de-center' whiteness in the field. De-centering whiteness is not only asking how to rearticulate whiteness, but "where to locate articulations of whiteness for their deconstruction" (p. 156). Locating where to deconstruct articulations of whiteness is tied to how whiteness is marked and unmarked in the field. Locating where to de-center articulations of whiteness makes this articulation process inclusive to everyone in the room and may lead to a variety of de-constructions of whiteness that de-centers its privilege in multiple ways. Thus, the rearticulation of whiteness is not in itself important to de-centering it from a privileged position. It is the combined effort of rearticulation and deconstruction that occurs between myself and my research partner that de-centers whiteness in the field. For example, researchers who de-center whiteness through reflexive rearticulation sometimes can come across as defensive, which Mayer (2005) defines as when researchers constantly justify their whiteness in the field. This is often the case when researchers enter spaces where "social groups and popular culture pose tactical challenges to white authority" (Mayer, 2005, p. 161). Researchers assume that they are 'woke' and think they have re-articulated their privilege, but quickly learn that they have not.

Burawoy's insight on reflexive social science provide useful starting points for white researchers looking to locate where to de-center whiteness. According to Burawoy, four key power effects occur between researchers and research participants: domination, silencing, objectification, and normalization. *Domination* cannot be avoided when intervening in someone's life experience, whether it's the domination of the researcher by the research

participant, or vice versa. Because of domination knowledge will only be partial. In this way, locating where to de-center whiteness starts by setting expectations between researcher and research partner early in the research process. *Silencing* relates to how common sense notions and dominant worldviews hide voices of subordinate groups. Looking out for "repressed or new voices" that dissent against "artificially frozen configurations" can help researchers determine the extent to which whiteness has become de-centered (Burawoy, 2009, p. 58-59). For instance, the more new voices heard, the more whiteness has been de-centered.

Objectification, or representing "social forces as external and natural," occurs during the structuration process. When researchers examine the conditions and means available to actors in a given situation, the power and influence of economic, political, and cultural systems over everyday experience disguise these systemic forces as ordinary social processes. This suggests that identifying where to de-center whiteness, and the outcomes of the de-centering, can become useful data to measure trust in institutions and groups. *Normalization* refers to how reconstructing theory is reductionists in two senses. Burawoy (2009) suggests that the "field site is reduced to a case, albeit one that is anomalous vis-à-vis theory. On the other side, theory is then tailored to the case, recomposed to digest the anomaly" (p. 60).

The reconstruction, therefore, places social relationships into "categories that can be investigated, sites that can be evaluated, [and] people that can be controlled (Burawoy, 2009, p. 60). In other words, reconstruction normalizes relationships, situational patterns, and subjective experience. It's important for researchers to challenge the process of normalization by centering the analysis on outside perspectives and knowledge that is created inter-subjectively, including how whiteness is de-centered in the field. In the end, taking into

consideration how these power effects skew data collection and interpretation, leads to robust research projects in communities of color by helping researchers re-conceptualize research from the point of view of the participant.

Combining insights from reflexive social science with literature on critical race studies, I produced a toolkit for racial outsiders to use as they conceptualize, implement, and evaluate research on communities of color (Appendix A). The goal of the toolkit is to help racial outsiders evaluate their methodological and epistemological foundations.

Case Study, Instruments, and Methods

In this project, I examine the communicative vehicles used by the Chicago Teachers Union through a case study approach involving a triangulated technique of participant-observation ethnography, in-depth interviews, and textual analysis. To begin, I analyzed social media content, press releases, newsletters, archives at the Chicago Historical Society and in union offices, research reports, YouTube videos, and two blogs published by CTU, the official blog found on its website and ajustchicago.com. In addition to in-house content, I analyzed news coverage of the union published by the *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Chicago Reader*, *Daily Herald*, *DNAinfo.com* as well as *Labor Notes*, a Chicago-based blog dedicated to labor news, *In These Times*, a progressive weekly published in Chicago, and *Socialist Worker*, a weekly paper published by the International Socialist Organization.

I pegged data collection to one month before and one month after four key dates: the 2010 union election, the 2012 strike, the 2016 one day strike, and the failed bid for a one day strike in 2017. These events encompass important moments in the recent history of the CTU,

and are related to issues such as school closings, charter schools, school financing, as well as the impasse on the state budget in Illinois, the looming decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on *Janus v AFSCME*, and the status of Chicago as a sanctuary city. In total, I analyzed more than 500 articles published by the CTU, as well as more than 1,000 social media comments left on the union's social media platform, and more than 500 articles published by news organizations. This review provided background on discourse used by the union, a list of key actors, and helped determine how racial issues were communicated to internal and external audiences.

Prior to the start of data collection, I gained access to the Chicago Teachers Union, in May 2017, to conduct interviews and observe meetings and other events. At this time, I began to observe both private and public CTU-related social media pages, the radio show it funded on WVON, and the show's social media page. In addition, I have attended movie screenings, lectures, and workshops at union offices related to social and racial justice, as well as protests sponsored by the CTU or one of its allies. After some initial difficulty pinpointing who to contact, I began to observe monthly general membership meetings of the Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators in November 2017, the group's private email list, as well as meetings of their membership and communication committee. My time in the field breaks down as follows: roughly 20 hours observing CORE committee meetings; 15 hours observing workshops, lectures, and talk-backs; 20 hours observing protests on school closures. These observations provide insights on the inner-workings of the union, how the union works across racial difference offline, and to what extent this translates into discursive strategies used online.

Lastly, I include information I gathered from 35 semi-structured interviews that I collected as part of my dissertation. From August 2017 to March 2018, I interviewed fifteen

leaders within the union, as well as 12 rank-and-file members and eight community allies. I found community allies through the Grassroots Education Movement, which brings together the CTU with community across Chicago. 20 of my interviewees were women, of which nine were white, three were black, and eight were Latina. Of the 15 men I interviewed, five were white, eight were Latino, and two were black. 30 of my interviewees are, or were, active members of CORE. I focused on members CORE because I'm interested in understanding the communication patterns of activist. The other five interviewees were rank-and-file union members, three of who were familiar with CORE. I included these interviewees in my analysis because their perspectives are useful at understanding the racial landscape of teaching and union activism. All of my interviewees consider themselves part of a middle-class, but most noted the precarious position of the middle-class in the current economic climate. All of these interviews provide interesting insights to the organizational work of CTU, and how the CTU has attempted to work closer with communities of color.

Using the data collected, I define allyship as a relational concept. Allyship is defined as awareness to individual power, awareness to collective power, and awareness to structural and systemic racism. For example, when a member of a union, or the union itself, shows awareness to the history of institutional racism in education the text is coded as showing an awareness to structural racism.

To understand how to create spaces conducive to allyship, I measure the social justice orientation of the Chicago Teachers Union. To do so, I measure who accesses debate on union matters, what drives union policy, and how decision-making is conducted. For example, I code a text for whether or not decision-making is represented as democratic or non-democratic,

and/or if the driver of policy is represented through a social justice lens or through a contractual, bread-and-butter lens.

To understand how digital and social media are used to access, debate, and circulate information related to being an ally by the Chicago Teachers Union, I identify and code numerous items. For instance, I code for type technology or platform used, and whether the participation on social media are personalized or fits into a templated-style of participation directed from within the union hierarchy.

Institutional spaces are key sites in the formation and expression of racial meaning (Omi and Winant, 2015). Understanding the agency people have in the formation and expression of racial meaning within institutions can help scholars understand the challenges of re-articulation and deconstruction faced by allies trying to work within institutions. To measure the agency available to individuals and groups to express racial meaning, I code for how the CTU, its members, and allies represent, express, circulate, or minimize racial discourse. For example, I code for how texts implicitly or explicitly encode events, people, issues, and places with racial meaning, or as non-racial, and colorblind.

Once these codes were collected, the coded texts became my unit of analysis. Using these coded texts, I went through multiple rounds of discourse analysis to identify key themes that emerged in each category. I refined my interpretations by member checking and talking with my informants. I checked with members often. For instance, after each round of coding, I took my interpretations to two informants, who identified additional meanings of texts, as well as contextualize emergent patterns in the data. Discourse analysis is ideally suited to answer my research questions because of its focus on the 'socially-situated' identities activists produce

(Gee, 1999). To understand how these identities are produced through discourse, scholars analyze the social, political, and cultural context produced in texts (Hall, 1997).

I first focus on the patterns of words, phrases, symbols, and logics, as well as what context is included and excluded in texts. Specifically, I'm interested in how these texts produce meaning on the social justice efforts of the Chicago Teachers Union. After coding to identify patterns in texts, I conduct an analysis on the patterns themselves to identify key themes that emerged in media representations. After identifying the themes of representation, I examined how these themes are imbedded with racial meaning, as well as the interconnections of these themes, and how they are woven into a narrative structure to create meaning on racial difference (Gamson, 1990). In doing so, I unpack the underlying meanings of text and come to understand how latent meanings are deeply embedded connections on race, racial identity, and institutional structures. It is here that I start to think about my theoretical link on how this discourse set conditions that constrained or enabled allyship.

I want to uncover the forms of communication that help the CTU promote cross-racial alliances. I'm focusing on internal deliberations, as well as how the CTU represents racial meaning in communications directed at the public. As such, I'm not going to investigate the response to these efforts by community members directly. Leaving out their voices is a limitation; however, the focus of this study is the internal debates on structure and racial difference; in what media these debates occur; how members and leaders share, and shape, these debates using digital and social media; and the extent to which these debates promote cross-racial solidarity.

Chapter 3

"Motivate them to overcome their fears and fight:" Understanding the communicative practices of allyship in the Chicago Teachers Union

The Chicago Teachers Union's record as an ally is rather mixed despite its efforts at creating a space for belonging and coalition. Indeed, the CTU provides only a few resources for members to confront and expose the marked and unmarked status of whiteness, as well as question democratic discursive norms. Yet, at the same time, the union builds capacities in communities of color both discursively and materially. In this chapter, we learn how the CTU builds coalition through communication, as well as the importance of spaces of non-belonging to coalitional work. In short, leaders of the CTU construct spaces of belonging, but often avoid facilitating critical moments of non-belonging, leaving this work for its members and partners.

In the next two chapters, I use data collected from CTU media, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic observations to investigate how the CTU constructs coalitional space as an ally. I do so by looking at discourse and the organizational efforts of the CTU. In this current chapter I focus on its role at building coalition, asking: How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider, expose each other to, and disrupt discourse on structural racial discrimination in education and society?

I find that the CTU disrupts discourse on structural racial discrimination by building an intersectional approach to allyship. This discourse supplies the logic that rearticulates lines between race, class, and community. If allyship is constituted through our actions, I learned in interviews with leaders and partners of the CTU that these actions are fundamentally communicative. I identify communication practices of attention and translation as particularly useful or allies. Attention is a communicative practice that builds on social ties already existing

in communities. Translation amplifies culturally-specific values of communities by carefully communicating the nuances involved with radical and transgressive symbols, behaviors, and attitudes of coalitional partners. Both of these practices take an extensive training in reflexive thinking, particularly as it relates to how our identities intersect with power, institutions, and identities. These practices are tied together by teacher-ally discourse, which helps leaders, members, and partners think intersectionally.

The practices that emerge from this awareness on structure and collective power, help the CTU build capacities as outsiders in coalition. However, there is also a substantial contradiction that finds its way into this discourse, which is the topic of Chapter Four. In the next chapter I wade into this contradiction by asking: What are the starting assumptions and blind spots of discourse on structural inequalities? How does this public discourse reflect the evolving conceptualization of allyship and its relationship to racial identity? Thus, what I uncover in the next two chapters is how allyship relates to racial meaning.

I split my findings on the relationship between allyship and racial meanings into two chapters because of its complicated intersectional nature. Leaders, members, and partners in communities are making an honest effort to build coalition. I take them at their word in this chapter to highlight their genuine and sincere commitments as allies of social justice efforts. However, at times, the discourse surrounding these efforts scrubs away the complexity of racial meaning and how it intersects with multiple lines of difference. Moreover, a real and perceived authoritarian streak among leaders in the CTU frustrates its partners in communities of color and rank-and-file members who feel left out of the decision-making process.

Yet, far from being colorblind and anti-democratic, the CTU is stuck in a bind between its status as an institution of labor and community ally. These are two opposing forces that push leaders in the CTU to communicate their efforts haphazardly.

As a labor institution, the CTU operates as an interest-group that includes professional staff, lawyers, and lobbyists who create and mobilize support for favorable legislation in the Illinois state government, network with and endorse friendly politicians, enforce contract provisions, and negotiate with Chicago Public Schools. Interest-groups have a service orientation to communication, which can be great for advocacy and mobilizing members around workplace-related grievances but does not focus on member engagement and bringing ordinary folks into decision-making (McAlevey, 2016). In contrast, the social justice model of unionism puts ordinary folks (i.e. members, their families, and their communities) at the center of its communicative effort. In this sense, a social justice union is oriented to communication through the lens of a community group that is geographically-situated in a place, focused on one or more issues to strengthen that place, and seeks to build an active membership by getting input on strategy and tactics from ordinary people (McAlevey, 2016). Community organizations are often radically-democratic and participatory and build unity from the messy nature of deliberation and sussing out dissenting opinions (Ganz, 2009). Interest-groups on the other hand, particularly ones that represent a dues paying membership orient their communication around the workplace, limit dissent and stress unity to strengthen their hand at negotiations over contract related issues.

The desire to show a unified voice leads to communication miscues and diminishes the work the CTU conducts as an ally. Pointers on how to avoid these miscues are found in social

movement coalition literature, which dissects the formation and successes of coalitions in various contexts. From this literature we gain an understanding on the structure of coalition, which preconditions communication between allies. After reviewing literature on coalition, I examine the nature of coalitions between interest-groups and community organizations, which the CTU is attempting to redefine. To do so, I examine competing definitions of coalition to understand how CTU can avoid communication miscues as an ally. After this review of literature, I end the chapter with an empirical analysis and examination of the ally work conducted by the CTU.

Between Allyship and Coalition

To be an ally is to always think in terms of coalition, whether there's a specific campaign or not (Bishop, 2002). In this way, allyship is ongoing work that trains individuals to build an awareness on racial meaning, its connections to power and institutions, as well as the practices that communicate antecedent sociological features of community: belonging, reciprocity, trust. In other words, allies always see, think, and communicate coalition (Carrillo Rowe, 2008). Literature on social movement coalitions provides insights on how ally organizations can organize constituents to pursue ways of seeing, thinking, and communicating that are coalitional. Van Dyke and Amos (2017) observe that the form of coalition and its institutional target influence their success. In making their argument, Van Dyke and Amos tap into key themes that determine the survival of coalitions: *social ties*, *organizational structure*, *ideology*, and *institutional environment*. These themes illustrate how ally organizations can leverage their

resources to sustain coalitions across difference, and I will spend the rest of this section articulating what I mean by them.

Existing *social ties* between organizations help individuals make new connections (Bandy and Smith, 2005), which is particularly important for coalition work in deeply segregated cities such as Chicago where interaction between racial groups is restricted. Formal *organizational structure* helps to facilitate coalition by dividing labor via an agreed upon decision-making process. For instance, Arnold (1995) observes that organizations that are non-hierarchical and participatory with shared decision-making often have trouble collaborating. Similarity in *ideology* can mitigate against incongruent organizational structures by allowing for the construction of a collective identity (Barvosa-Carter, 2001; Carrillo Rowe, 2008; Whittier, 2014). However, coalitions that cross multiple lines of difference must grapple with status disparity, stigma, and a legacy of distrust (Enriquez, 2014). Encouraging a broad ideology can aid in coalition, particularly when spaces of interaction are created. Further, coalitions that commit to an agreed upon protocol to resolve grievances, and who have members from dominant groups that are open to ideological change, help to establish common ground, reciprocate values, and avoid misunderstandings (Chazan, 2016). The *institutional environment* presents context specific political opportunities and threats for coalitions. Real and perceived threats can encourage ideological disparate groups to work together to defeat a common enemy (Reger, 2002).

Literature on coalitions between labor and community in recent years has centered on understanding how these coalitions were shaped by collective identities, a commitment to social justice unionism, and the political-economic context which provided opportunities to

organize around a common threat (Ness; 2002; Robinson, 2000). Krinsky and Reese (2006) observe that when community organizations represented the interests of workers, they received push back from union leaders, but not when expressing more abstract rhetoric regarding labor rights. This tension is explained by Krinsky and Reese as evidence for an 'ecological process' of niche formation in which coalition members cede authority based on their expertise and relationships with stakeholders. Their findings also suggest that social justice oriented unions police their organization's legitimacy from the point-of-view of an interest-group—seemingly clinging to their sole source of legitimacy. While this literature provides a rich accounting of the importance of proper staffing, constructing commons goals, as well as how to utilize bridge builders (Brecher and Costello, 1990), all work that the CTU conducts and which I examine below, what's missing is an in-depth investigation on the communicative challenges of transforming a service union into one oriented around social justice. Moreover, the literature that investigate the emergence and limits of social justice unionism in labor history—such as the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s (Murolo et al, 2018), the Service Employees International Union in the 1990s (Krinsky and Reese, 2006), and the Chicago Teachers Union in the last ten years (Alter, 2013; Brogan, 2014; Lipman, 2011; Weiner, 2012)—all miss questions on communication, racial meaning, and what it means to form a coalition across racial difference to sustain a social justice orientation in unions.

Research on coalitions between social justice unions and community groups highlight the decisions that influence a union to ally with such groups, as well as the sociological challenges of sustaining the alliance (e.g. segregation, social inequalities, lack of material

resources including time and energy, conflicting institutional norms and routines). While I touch on the edges of these challenges, the primary focus of my project is to investigate the communicative dynamics, as well as the constitutive elements of allyship, as practiced by a labor organization. How can a labor organization practice allyship? What does allyship mean to a labor institution that is embedded into the political culture of Chicago? What communication practices and vehicles are best suited to this work?

Thus, for example, instead of identifying and analyzing the challenges imposed by segregation and social inequalities, I take these challenges for granted. These challenges exist in Chicago (Gutierrez, 2013). These challenges have historically limited coalition in Chicago (Williams, 2015). Now what? What's needed is a robust analytical and theoretical investigation into the communicative dynamics that make it difficult to turn a labor organization into one oriented around social justice.

The lessons from social movement coalition literature is for ally organizations to become experts of their institutional milieu, to avoid ideological rigidity, utilize formal organizational structures, and leverage existing social ties. Doing so helps individuals see and think coalitionally by creating spaces of interaction, which sets the conditions to act as an ally. The jump from seeing and thinking coalitionally to acting as a coalitional partner (ally) is conditioned by communication. Communicating belonging and commitments between groups in coalition during periods of interaction are the building blocks of solidarity and collective identity (Barvosa-Carter, 2001). The last half of this chapter highlights how the Chicago Teachers Union attempts to create spaces of interaction and act as an ally. However, before we get to an empirical analysis, what's needed now is a deeper understanding on the mystique of

coalitional work to fully vet how a social justice-oriented union often teeters between dual orientations to communication; that of interest-group and community organization. In the next section, I explicate competing definitions of coalition to parse out its communicative and racial foundations, which enables us to make a stronger interpretation on how the CTU can balance, blend, or shed competing orientations to communication that shadow their work as an ally.

The Movement and Moments in Coalition

To invest in the concept of allyship is to take refuge in acts of belonging and reciprocation that are observed by scholars of coalitions. While questions on the sociological features of coalition provide useful insights on how to build coalition structurally and organizationally, the insights on coalitional subjectivities provided by Carrillo-Rowe (2008) and Chavez (2013) help us understand the logic that initiates a break with one's ego that draws out our coalitional selves. In short, Carrillo-Rowe and Chavez help us understand the split between the "I" of interest group politics and the "we" of radical coalitional politics practiced by racialized identity- and place-based groups.

Carrillo-Rowe (2008) defines coalition as a mobility. In this sense, coalitional subjectivity is a process of reverse interpellation; a movement within our subjectivities that readjusts the coordinates we use to navigate our social world. Referring to alternative modes of interpellation, Carrillo-Rowe writes, "How might our subjects be constituted if we were hailed by the needs and demands, struggles and joys, of those who lives, and loves are excluded from the realm of our affective economies" (p. 26). Coalition makes us confront our affective selves, and how our "being" is crafted from our "longings;" the "sense of self that goes beyond the

interiority of the self that strives to connect, that yearns to live on the skin and contact/community/communion/communalism with others" (p. 38). It's here that 'be-longing' becomes a political project that helps us re-imagine identity and subjectivity. In this sense, belonging in coalition is marked through communication between allies that arises "neither from obligation or fetishization, but from yearning for one another that is expressed through holding ourselves accountable to our intersecting, divergent, power-laden histories" (p. 42).

Belonging is thus a movement through space as a de-centered individual, which Carrillo-Rowe writes manifests a *coalitional subjectivity* via a series of contingent moments of (non)belonging. The double turn that crystalizes, then negates our belonging in coalition is shaped by both "institutional location and movement within and among differently racialized communities—"meaning that no matter how sincere our intentions, or how hard we try to displace our ego, our belonging in coalition will be challenged, and rightly so (p. 15). Further, since the negation of belonging is never complete, always contingent, Carrillo-Rowe suggests that this double turn from be-longing to (non)belonging makes it possible for individuals to reach a *tipping point of inclination*. Urged on by feelings of longing, the process of reverse interpellation "gestures toward a frame in which we imagine the subject as engaged in a continual process of placing herself at the edge of herself and leaning and tipping toward the others to whom she belongs, or with whom she longs to be—or those other who become her" (p. 26).

Using the movement as a metaphor to understand the space occupied by the CTU, its leaders, and members, we get a glimpse of the pitfalls of interest-group oriented unions that attempt coalition with communities of color. From Carrillo-Rowe, we observe that viewing

coalition as mobility requires us "to reflect on how we position ourselves and are positioned spatially" within the field, workplace, home, family, etc. (p. 6). As individuals in an ally organization reach a tipping point of inclination, confronting the double turn to belonging then (non)belonging, the resulting displacement of identities and subjectivities within its orbit must be reconstructed in a way that is accountable not just to its constituents, but to coalitional allies. When these two groups do not overlap ideologically and emerge from different discursive registers, which is often the case in social justice unionism (Ness, 2002; Robinson, 2000), an interest-group orientation to communication inherently limits whose being and whose longings are articulated in spaces of interaction. Members first, coalition second. This threatens to move people away from a tipping point needed to build coalitional subjectivity by confining how leaders communicate the logic of coalition to that of cold, calculated rationality (Ganz, 2009). Here, the affective space is lost once again to the bureaucratic management of issues (McAlevey, 2016).

A union that orients its communication around community; using the workplace not just to communicate professional interests, but also using the workplace to communicate the importance of community well-being, provides resources for individuals to reconstruct multiple and flexible belongings together. Community allies are facilitators, or better yet, *translators* for their constituents. They help to translate differing, competing, and contradictory longings, as well as translate how our beings are constructed from them. Indeed, it's a delicate movement through social space that Carrillo-Rowe deconstructs.

Chavez (2013) adds more nuance to the temporal dimensions of coalition in her investigation of queer migration politics and the coalitional moment, which highlights the pace

and rhythm of allyship—what happens when our bodies move through space together. "Putting coalition together with moment names the particular sort of moment and possibility it prompts. In this way both a coalition and a moment engender temporal and spatial dimensions and refer to the possibility—fleeting or enduring—of a coming together, or a juncture, for some sort of change" (p. 9).

Adding a queer perspective to coalition, Chavez writes, "a moment happens in time but may extend beyond a brief instant. Moments expose a queer temporality. Moments taken in this way reveal that time's passage and the meaning assigned to time need not reflect normative assumptions" (p. 9). This genre of temporality thus emphasizes a need to facilitate moments of non-belonging. "Coalition connotes tension and precariousness in this sense, but it is not necessarily temporary. [Coalition] describes the space in which we can engage, but because coalescing cannot be taken for granted, it requires constant work to endure" (p. 8).

Chavez builds on our conception of the boundaries of be-longing in coalition by constructing it as something potentially timeless, but often fleeting. Coalitions, writes Chavez, is a practice and a vision "that is oriented toward others and a shared commitment to social and political change" (p. 7). Here, coalition can be understood as a movement toward the other who is always on the horizon in the realm of the 'not yet.' As we move toward the horizon of the other, we pass through space moment by moment always attuned to the affective features of belonging. In these moments, it is difficult for interest-group oriented unions to locate these moments to build a coalitional subjectivity. The hierarchy of interests frustrates efforts by ordinary folks to stop and start moments of interaction on their own terms (McAlevey, 2016). Instead, unions who oriented communication around community are better equipped to build

coalitional moments. Community-oriented communications are nimble and flexible.

Community-oriented communication carries the capacity to translate nuances in meaning to help ordinary folks through the "not yet" moments of coalition (Frost, 2001; Ganz, 2009; Zakocs and Edwards, 2006). This capacity involves amplifying, facilitating, or translating the needs of bridge-builders, organic leaders, and ordinary folks as they venture to the horizon.

Carrillo-Rowe and Chavez focus on feminist and queer alliances, respectively, helping us unpack sites and moments of agency in coalition. They show that the road to coalitional subjectivity via belonging is surveyed, paved, crossed, maintained, modified, and tolled by and for ordinary folks. Agency in coalition, in part, means to recuse oneself for the justice of the other, but this burden is unevenly applied because of status differences within coalition. Individuals from high-status groups, such as middle-class heterosexual white men, are unreliable in coalition because they rarely challenge themselves to check their being and longings in spaces and moments of interaction (Ferguson, 2014, Hughey, 2010). Indeed, it's a privilege that few others enjoy (Anderson, 2015). Ally organizations can serve a crucial recruiting, training, and translating role for high-status individuals who show a gumption to start thinking coalitionally. Moreover, the fragile space-time of coalition challenges everyone to find contentment in the 'in-between' of (non)belonging, which is experienced as moments of the 'not yet.' It's a space-time ordered by affective-ness that interest-groups have trouble constructing and translating. Community-groups, on the other hand, are partially, and sometimes fully, manifested through our affective qualities (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006), and thus better able to translate how we can use our intersecting identities to create a coalitional subjectivity useful for allyship.

Now, I turn to an empirical analysis on the spaces of interaction created by the CTU. I do so by asking: how do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider, expose each other to, and disrupt discourse on structural racial discrimination in education, and society? In asking this question, I interrogate the movements and moments that build or constrict coalitional subjectivity during moments of interaction, as well as how the CTU orients itself organizationally; as an interest-group, or community-group.

How the Chicago Teachers Union works as an ally

The Chicago Teachers Union works as an ally to communities of color as a variety of ways. These efforts are tied together by teacher-ally discourse, which provides the logic for individual-led efforts by leaders, members, and allies of the CTU. CTU works as an ally by creating material spaces of interaction for activists to pursue coalition between community-labor. The construction of material space is accompanied by two practices of allyship: attention and translating. While attention is useful at building coalition out of our social ties, translating the nuances embedded into codes used by allies helps to build a broad ideology. Both of these practices, as well as the construction of material space itself, shows that the leaders of the CTU have a deep understanding of their institutional environment. What's missing is a community-centered communication strategy that links these efforts. After a short summary of the CTU's efforts as an institution to work as an ally, I examine each institutional effort in turn. I then turn to exploring the themes of *teacher-ally discourse*, which helps us understand how leaders, members, and community partners of the CTU work together as allies on an interpersonal level. What follows in this chapter is an examination on the following activities of the union:

- 1) The CTU uses the political system by lobbying for legislation that increase equity and accountability in education funding, as well as providing resources to United Working Families (UWF), an independent political organization that according to its mission statement seeks to "give voice to working people and to advancing a progressive policy agenda in Chicago and Illinois."
- 2) The CTU uses the legal system to bring lawsuits against racist and discriminatory hiring policies of Chicago Public Schools, which pushes back against the decline in Black and Latinx teachers specifically, and the larger targeting of members of Black and Latinx communities in Chicago.
- 3) The CTU donated roughly \$50 million, which it earned after it sold its real estate holdings, in 2014, to the Chicago Teachers Union Foundation (CTUF), a separate entity with a separate structure. The foundation directs this money to community organizations and student scholarships.
- 4) The CTU through the foundation oversees professional development (PD) and training of teachers. Known as the Quest Center, teachers can earn PD-credit on classes that help teachers understand their role in communities of color. Teachers are required to complete a certain amount of PD to maintain accreditation by the state. Teachers who complete enough PDs also earn more money.
- 5) The CTU houses a research department that focuses on uncovering racial and economic disparities in education, and society. Staffed by a team with advanced degrees, the research department has published their findings as white papers, in academic journals, as well as in labor and progressive magazines. In addition, the research conducted by

CTU staffers are policy focused and designed to help stakeholders who are looking for new ideas to fix the education system in Chicago and Illinois.

- 6) The CTU created an organizing department to help coordinate actions with rank-and-file and allies at the school-level. The organizing department has helped strategize resistance to school closings, and other racially-tinged policies of Chicago Public Schools.
- 7) The CTU and allies organize protests, rallies, conferences, film screenings, discussions, book clubs, and other social events in support of communities of color. These events help members connect and interact.

Using the Political System to Support Allies

As an institution, the CTU offers support to politicians and legislation that work to build equity and accountability in education. During my time in the field, from July 2017 to July 2018, the legislative agenda of the CTU included four main items. 1) House Bill 1774, which ends mayoral control over the Chicago Board of Education by making the board democratically-elected, starting in 2023. The bill, which passed the Illinois House and Senate, provides a greater voice for parents and bring more accountability to education politics in Chicago. Currently, the bill waits in the Rules Committee waiting for a sympathetic Governor to sign. 2) House Bill 4560 provides distressed school districts in large municipalities the ability to calculate and distribute their financially distressed surplus funds, as well as funds from Tax Incremental Financing districts. The bill has not come up for a vote but includes five chief sponsors and 19 co-sponsors of the 118 person House. 3) House Bill 1253 expands bargaining rights for teachers in Chicago by dismantling parts of the 1995 Chicago School Reform Act. This bill passed the

Illinois House is waiting to be assigned to a committee in the Illinois Senate. Providing CTU additional opportunities to negotiate around curriculum, class sizes, and wrap-around services will benefit students across Chicago. 4) House Bill 3567 limits the development of charter schools near locations where community schools have closed. The bill has not reached a vote. It's designed to limit the fallout and displacement that occurs when community schools are closed.

The combined legislative efforts of the CTU show it trying to enhance member job security, but the larger impact of these policies is felt in communities who will gain more oversight and transparency over their school system. However, if allyship rests in the details of relationships, as I theorize above, as I learned in interviews with leaders and allies, the CTU builds its legislative agenda behind closed-doors with little, or no input from the House of Delegates or relevant union committees with an ear to community allies. Thus, the question that pushes back at relevant theory on allyship and coalition becomes: to what extent do allies need to encourage participation, transparency, democratic values at every step along the way to strengthening coalition and communities?

To be sure, CTU is not using its legislative agenda as a site of interaction or the building of coalitional subjectivity, but the end result of this legislation could build inclusive community schools that then could become sites to such activity. Yet, what would it look like for the CTU to open up its legislative agenda to more democracy? In what ways would adding more democracy risk its legislative agenda, or radically reshape its relationship with politicians needed to vote its legislative agenda into law? Would adding democracy slow its legislative agenda down? I return to questions like these throughout this chapter, and the next, to expose

the bind social justice unionism places on our notions of coalition and allyship before offering possible solutions.

Funding an independent political organization is an easier piece of evidence to hold up as an act allyship. By funding United Working Families (UWF), the CTU is spending money on a grassroots labor-community partnership. Partner organizations to the UWF include Service Employees International, Action Now, Grassroots Illinois Action, and 22nd Ward Independent Political Organization. The mission of UWF is to change the political narrative on issues related to public education, jobs, wages, racism and other issues; a narrative that is currently dominated by two corporate backed political parties. UWF donates money to aspiring political leaders from communities. Its events in 2018 included, "Campaign Management Training for Women – Wisconsin," "Labor Roundtable," "We Rise Up: How Revolutionary Black Women Lead," and "Do you have what it takes to be an alderman," among others. What you see at these events are a fairly small, but heavily committed individuals from communities and labor interacting, riffing on ideas, and constructively critiquing the strategies posed by leaders. The UWF is led by Emma Tai, a woman of color, who has labor and community organizing credentials. Tai, according to her LinkedIn page, earned a B.A. in Africana Studies and History from Brown University and worked on CTU President, Karen Lewis' exploratory mayoral committee.

In CTU's magazine, *Chicago Union Teacher*, a CTU leader understands UWF as a way to bring "the project of social change" from the classroom and into the community. Its support of UWF, says the writer, is "similar to efforts to unite with community organizations and parents to promote a campaign" that can strengthen the classroom and community. Aside from raising

awareness on the group in its media, the CTU also provides access to space in its headquarters for UWF to hold events, including its board meetings, which often serve a crucial coalition function by helping to build social ties between activists. For example, in December 2017, UWF invited political and labor affiliates, including Warehouse Workers Organizing Committee and Alder Carlos Rosa to talk with community members about the March 2018 primaries, as well as how to recruit new people to their vision. While the allyship practiced by UWF is itself a fruitful research project, my focus on the CTU suggests allies provide vital financial and logistical resources to ensure spaces of coalition have the opportunity to exist. Crucially, the CTU provides resources to UWF without restrictions; a fundamental gesture of an ally.

To put this into terms of the interest-group and community-group tension, the lack of restrictions speaks to the community orientation of this effort. But, the decision to provide space and resources to UWF came after internal debates between staffers and leaders of the CTU. What's more, information in CTU media on UWF has been slim, which speaks to larger blind-spots in their communicative strategy to be discussed later. The union's media coverage on UWF has included mentions in articles, sharing UWF media on its blog and social media platforms, and providing space for Tai and others affiliated with UWF to write about their work in the union magazine. As of this writing, how UWF fits into its larger efforts to bring about community change is curiously left vague if mentioned or is not mentioned at all. My hypothesis for why this occurs is that leaders of the union struggle to communicate a meaningful community orientation to social justice work, which reduces the impact of their allyship and diminishes moments of coalition. The rest of the chapter focuses on examining the spaces in which this occurs, as well as what is to be done.

Using the Legal System to Support Allies

During the last eight years, the CTU has pursued a fairly typical service union legal strategy that pushes back against changes to the pension system and issues related to compensation. However, the CTU use of the courts doesn't stop there. Here are a few brief samples of their community-based legal strategy. In 2013, the CTU's legal team helped parents file suit against school closings three times. Two suits charged Chicago Public Schools (CPS) with racial discrimination and disabilities violations, while the last legal challenge related to claims of "improper procedures" followed by the district. In 2018, the CTU legal team once again helped parents file a class action lawsuit against CPS for "discriminating against students with disabilities whose parents have limited English skills." Even before coming to power, leaders of the Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE) pushed the union to file a lawsuit against the mass firings, in 2009, which predominantly affected black and brown teachers and staff.

Which lawsuits to pursue may come from debates and conversations in the House of Delegates, committee meetings, informal conversations via professional social ties, or in meetings between lawyers and staff, but legal strategy by and large is left to experts within CTU for obvious reasons. A similar dilemma could be found here, between the democratic values of allyship and the need to interact with ordinary individuals to hear their ideas and to include them in the deliberative process on this topic. To be sure, the lawsuits that are community focused stem from grievances of ordinary teachers and parents. They advanced their grievances onto union staffers and leaders who strategized what to do with this information. Moreover, for the purposes of my project, whether or not the lawsuits are successful is secondary to the

spaces of interaction created at the rallies to promote the lawsuits, as well as virtual spaces on social media in which these lawsuits are discussed by leaders, members, and partners of the union. Themes of this discourse and its blind-spots on community will be examined in the next section of this chapter. For now, we need more clarity on how the CTU uses its institutional might to create spaces of interaction to build coalition.

The John Fewkes Tower: How to turn a real estate holding into spaces of interaction

The CTU built the John Fewkes Tower in 1966 to house retired teachers and staff. Located in the ritzy Gold Coast neighborhood, which sits two miles north of downtown, the 224 apartment complex allowed working people to take advantage of one of the trendiest neighborhoods in the city. Only about seven teachers remained at the Fewkes Tower, in 2014, when it was sold for about \$50 million. Though the sale was overseen by the foundation, leaders of the CTU helped push for its sale, and how to use its proceeds. After the sale, the CTU purchased and renovated a former warehouse in West Fulton Market, an area of artist lofts, industry, and working people. The block-long three-story building houses the CTU Center (i.e. headquarters) and the Quest Center. Members and allies can reserve rooms to hold meetings, build ties, and interact. The main hall—named after the former-CTU President Jackie Vaughn, who is best known for her leadership in the longest strike in CTU history—is a 5,000+ square feet space that the CTU uses to hold social events, such as lectures, film screenings, fundraisers, and debate watch parties.

Vaughn, the first black woman to become CTU president, is perhaps the perfect symbol of community-labor coalition. Raised on the south side, a product of CPS, she taught special

education while organizing teachers and parents to support campaigns at the school-level. In addition, as president she established the Quest Center, among the first professional development centers inside a teachers' union. The Quest Center offers, among its many workshops, training for teachers to reflect on their role with parents and community stakeholders. The act of labeling, as suggested by Hall et al (1978), helps individuals "place and identity events" as well as mobilize "whole referential context with all its associated meanings and connotations" (p. 19). Thus, we can see how dedicating this critical site of organizing and interaction after Vaughn is itself an attempt to de-center the aura of white masculinity in actual space and expresses a desire by the CTU to showcase its organic roots in communities of color. Indeed, by creating the CTU Center and labeling its main hall after Vaughn, the CTU is centering material spaces around facilitating social ties between members and allies.

After building the CTU Center, the union's foundation was left with approximately \$25 million. The foundation is using the remainder of this sum to provide grants to community organizations and to operate the Quest Center. In 2015, the union's foundation donated more than \$1.9 million to 46 community groups. According to its funding guidelines, groups that receive support are on the ground creating spaces that support public education, restorative practices in schools, and societal values, including racial and gender equity, violence prevention, mental health counseling, and arts education. The selection committee is comprised of seven people, the Executive Director of the foundation and six active members who participate in review workshops, potential grantee site visits, and foundation networking events.

Due to space limitations, I do not undertake an in-depth examination of the spaces of interaction created by the community groups who receive funding from the foundation. Such a project would underscore the ways in which a labor institution can become useful to community groups. However, in the conversations I had with allies of the CTU who are part of the Grassroots Education Movement (GEM), a few were critical of what they see as creeping "foundation liberalism" among CTU leaders. The foundation's funding of community groups is also a point of contention among members in the new Members First caucus discussed in Chapter One. In the next chapter I examine these critiques, among other blind-spots and assumptions found in how the CTU practices allyship. What's important to takeaway now is that through the foundation, the CTU can help enact its vision of social justice unionism in much the same way as its support for United Working Families.

Both the foundation and UWF are a way a social justice union can anticipate how their discourse might influence constituents. In other words, these brick-and-mortar structures are ways to guide the union's and the coalition's attention. Attention is centered on the union, but on their organizational comrades in communities of color. By centering other attention center spaces of interactions for their partners. by *divesting* in its , a counter-intuitive approach to building affective spaces of coalition, but one that shows a deep understanding of the institutional context needed for coalition. By divesting itself in the creative spark that produce spaces of interaction, CTU provides resources for community groups to do that work on their own terms. Spaces of interaction created this way, as suggested by critical race theorists, are viewed as more legitimate by members of communities of color (Chavez, 2011). The previous social ties within communities are amplified through outsourcing, not reconfigured. Outsiders

who want to be allies should assist by providing resources and logistical support (Bishop, 2002). Outsourcing coalitional spaces is a community-oriented approach, but as we observe in the analysis on discourse to come, the CTU does not communicate to members and allies the full potential of this practice.

Using Professional Development Workshops to Support Allies

The Quest Center, operated by the foundation, offers professional development (PD) courses, which allow members to move-up on the pay scale, as well as sustain their accreditation with the Illinois State Board of Education. Over the span of my fieldwork, course offerings at the Quest Center included: "Cultural Competency: Valuing Diversity," "Family and Community Involvement," "Creating a Trauma-Sensitive Learning Environment," among other workshops with a social justice orientation.

The CTU's magazine, *Chicago Union Teacher*, published a special section on the Quest Center, in April 2017, which addressed the importance of continued learning and "the academic and socio-emotional needs of our students, members, and greater community." Attending PDs provide teachers an opportunity to collaborate and interact, and in the process, attendees can gain a fuller understanding on their role as a teacher and the role of teaching for communities. Workshops on social justice related topics, though not an official organizing tool, are useful at training members on how to communicate across difference in various contexts. The tools, such as learning how to build safe spaces for students to cope with grief, are useful beyond the classroom. Teachers learn how to build safe spaces through honing listening and self-reflection skills, which they can apply to their school-based, or union-based activism.

Another aspect to consider in judging the CTU's commitments to allies is its affiliation with the Grow Your Own Campaign Illinois. An article on Grow Your Own found on the CTU's blog and social media, in May 2017, asks, "Have you always wanted to be a teacher? Do you have a passion for community and social justice? GYO might be for you?" Operated in part by allies in the Grassroots Education Movement, members of Grow Your Own and the Quest Center designed programming that helps paraprofessionals earn a college degree and become a certified teacher. Grow Your Own provides tuition assistance, tutoring, and test preparation. In return, graduates are required to teach for a minimum of five years in a "high needs school." The foundation has provided grants to Grow Your Own through its first four funding cycles, from 2014 to 2017. Programs such as Grow Your Own channel more people from communities of color into the teaching profession, which underlines an institutional commitment by the CTU to create a more representative teaching body for their students. Moreover, a secondary element of allyship emerges outside of the program itself. By amplifying Grow Your Own in its media, as well as encouraging paraprofessionals to join Grow Your Own during face-to-face interaction, leaders and allies of the CTU are given an opening to build relationships and goodwill with paraprofessionals. This dimension of allyship, the realm of discourse, attempts to hail professional social justice educators into being, but is done unevenly, particularly around Grow Your Own and paraprofessionals, which are issues I take up later in the chapter.

How the CTU uses research to support allies

Since 2010, the research department in the CTU has published a slew of work that uncovers the racial and economic inequalities found in the Chicago public school district. This

research bridges quantitative and qualitative methods and gives union staffers an opportunity to showcase the contradictions, half-truths, and lies made by CPS officials and Mayor Rahm Emmanuel. Mary, a white woman, and member of CORE, with 10+ years of experience teaching in communities of color, suggests that it was the CTU's research team that ultimately showed her how committed its leaders were to improving schools and communities. "Their research has been unbiased and independent. They're professional reports. It's been helpful from a delegate point of view because I know I can trust the information. I use it in organizing conversations I have at my school," Mary said in an interview.

The research team is led by Carol Caref, PhD, who taught math for 26 years in CPS. Caref's team of researchers published several white papers highlighting racial and economic injustices, including: *The Black and White of Education in Chicago's Public Schools*, *A Just Chicago: Fight for the City Our Students Deserve*, and *The Schools Chicago's Students Deserve*. Unlike communication regarding UWF and the foundation's grants, there is a stronger record of coordinating media outreach within the union regarding its research. For instance, the report titled *A Just Chicago* was also turned into a blog of the same name. Articles on the blog, which are aggregated and shared on CTU social media and on its official blog, unpack information found in the report on racial and economic discrimination in policing, housing, healthcare, employment opportunities, education. In addition, coordination between research and the communication department can be found in media kits provided to journalists. In one kit I reviewed in the CTU archives, titled "Chicago Public Schools Budget Brief," readers are provided information on the "broke on purpose" policies of CPS. The author highlights questionable expenditures by CPS on testing, consulting, predatory loans, and the outsourcing of nurses,

which costs the district hundreds of millions of dollars per year. "Broke on purpose" is a catchphrase that comes into use in speeches by union officers, in articles in *CUT*, in memes shared on social media, as well as in chants at rallies in 2015. Thus, far from being a phrase that floats through discourse with little representative value, the CTU research produced a trove of evidence that backs-up the claim.

The focus on inequalities in CTU research is framed as a structural critique against the wealthy and the political patrons who do their bidding. A wealth of citations and metrics are used to make this critique. In the press release that announced the publication of *A Just Chicago*, the CTU Communication department includes the transcription of President Karen Lewis' speech to the City Club of Chicago, in 2015. At the City Club, a place popular with political and business elites, Lewis pulls tidbits of data from the report on inequalities in Chicago, then tells her audience:

They [CPS] want 'Stepford Teachers' and 'Children of the Corn,' kids who are compliant and will not challenge authority or the system on eradicating inequality, poverty, and injustice. The district is focused on testing, testing, testing. We are boring children to death. Testing does nothing but show you the educational attainment of the child's mother. We don't even get to see the test results. Why? What is the point of all this testing? These tests are what they arousing to ruin people's lives—adults and children; and then they run around saying, 'I'm for the kids.' We have been talking about a crisis in education since I was a baby. We continue to brand public education as a failure. Why are we telling these lies?

Once more, the discursive qualities of Lewis' speech are analyzed later. What I want to unpack now is the function of the research department for allies in spaces of interaction. As noted above by Mary, the research produced by the CTU helps its leaders spread expert knowledge on conditions in schools and communities. "We trust it...we know where the research comes from and how to use it," Mary said. In spaces of interaction then, CTU research is a way for

individuals from diverse backgrounds to find common ground and build a broad ideology on social justice by providing a baseline to understand the conditions in which students and parents live. In this sense, CTU research acts as a *translator* for people who are unfamiliar with the impact of structural inequalities on these communities.

Translation, as a practice of allyship, corrects common misunderstandings and helps individuals from different backgrounds sort through the nuance carried in symbols and codes. Indeed, this work requires reflexivity and attention to the socio-cultural and socio-historical shifts in structure and meanings. CTU research fulfills the role of translator when it analyzes, then discusses in plain terms, how structures create patterns of inequality that unevenly affect teachers, student, parents, communities. In this way we see that translation is specific to building coalition and being an ally. Professional development instructors may also engage in translation; for instance, when they breakdown culturally-specific and historically-rooted ways of thinking and seeing to their mostly white audience. However, to translate the various forms of discrimination caused by structural inequalities is to venture close to the uncomfortable position of 'speaking for' the other. Allies generally should avoid this work (Bishop, 2002; Patel, 2011). How then should we understand the role of translation in spaces of interaction created by the CTU? Let's dig deeper into Lewis' speech at the City Club to provide insights on this question.

The research department assists Lewis in sharing accurate, vetted, and well-sourced information on structural inequalities that affect communities of color. While the act of 'speaking for,' is generally disregarded by critical media theorists and rightly so, Lewis' participation in City Club events amplifies evidence on structural inequalities and experiences of

multiple forms of oppression to an elite audience. To be sure, as a woman of color from the Southside of Chicago, there's less of a concern of knowledge appropriation in her act of 'speaking for' communities of color. Yet, she is nevertheless a representative of an outsider organization.

Lewis navigates her insider/outsider tension by moving between the needs of communities and the needs of the profession. She uses CTU research to translate how poor conditions in schools and communities are outcomes of a broad attack against working people waged by elites. In her public addresses, Lewis talks about structural inequalities using relatable personal experiences. She is a former-student and parent of CPS who has had to navigate the racial landscape of Chicago. She also couples her stories with less relatable statistical evidence found by the CTU research department, which asks questions of central concern to communities: Is CPS really broke? In what ways can we improve schools and communities with the resources already available? What is the social impact of school closings for communities? It's a research program centered around understanding the flaws in structures of power, and the inequalities that these structures create. This research program helps leaders such as Lewis speak more accurately and more representatively about conditions in schools and communities and adds a layer of legitimacy to her policy positions and personal experiences. In other words, CTU research functions as a way for Lewis to translate the complex ways structural inequality transcends lines separating her community and profession.

'Speaking for,' under these circumstances, is thus work that an ally organization can conduct after carefully considering how expert evidence was collected, how communities are represented and impacted such evidence, and ways in which expert evidence speaks to

similarities or differences between everyday experiences of the speaker and the audience. As we see in the analysis on discourse, while Lewis does a good job skirting the line of 'speaking for,' other leaders in the CTU need to be pushed a little bit harder to critically reflect on the blind-spots and starting assumptions imbedded into their research agenda and how they communicate this agenda to members and allies.

Organizing an Organizing Department to Support Allies

The CTU Organizing Department was among the first acts taken by leaders of CORE after winning elections. The creation of the organizing department has a few internal critics for adding redundant bureaucracy. However, the department, much like the work completed by the research department, helps to condition spaces of interaction through translation. The organizing department is one-part translator and one-part translator trainers. The department provides resources to union leaders at the school-level, helps to train delegates at workshops during the school year, as well as at the CTU's Summer Organizing Institute, and identified and trained strike captains during the 2012 and 2016 strikes.

The trainings overseen by the organizing department are important sites of interaction between current and future leaders in the CTU. First, much like PDs and CTU research, trainings are designed around understanding cultural and political contexts, as well as the communicative environment. For example, in a delegate training packet I found at the CTU archives in the Chicago History Society, delegates participate in discussions after reviewing a few bullet points on overcoming organizing obstacles.

Listen to what *they* want to win, protect, or change. Your biggest issue may not be theirs. When someone is reluctant, go back to what they really care about. That is the

issue that can motivate them to overcome their fears and fight. Connect whatever you are asking them to do to the fight for *their* issues (Italics are in the original).

After reviewing the prompt above, delegates are asked to discuss their experiences listening to members at their school and to think through how to translate union campaigns to the needs of members. The trainings emphasize the affective qualities on why rank-and-file might appear apathetic, but in reality, rank-and-file just need "a little bit of hope that when we work together, we can make a difference." Here, we glimpse at how the trainings attempt to manage the affective energy that delegates pour into their workplace by setting expectations.

"Remember: people don't often go from uninvolved to leading rallies overnight. Even if they aren't as committed as you would like, get them to do *something* and it will help move them on that path," (Italics are in the original). Indeed, discussing and reflecting on reasonable expectations can help individuals become attuned to the affective needs of the other in spaces of interaction.

There is contention regarding the real and perceived status of the organizing department within the CTU and leads to distractions and potentially limits the emergence of spaces of interaction for the union as a whole. To establish the organizing department leaders of the CTU moved resources away from Field Representatives who work on grievances filed by members against CPS. Field Reps also have traditionally served as conduits between organizing union delegates at the school-level and the union itself. For some, the tactics used by leaders of CORE in the creation of the organizing department upset individuals still undecided about CORE's platform on social justice. When CORE's slate won elections, in 2010, the victory ousted the United Progressive Caucus (UPC) from power; a caucus with a long history of leading the

CTU and tipped more toward the service model of unionism. For their part, supporters of UPC can still be found among staffers and other leaders. However, where their allegiance to CORE's agenda actually lays is open to interpretation.

From my interviews and observations, it's clear just how unclear interpreting events in CTU history can be. While individuals spoke about CORE's curtailing of dissent, its lack of accountability or concern for members' rights, and the way its leaders use authoritarian tactics to fulfill its social justice agenda—I also had conversations with CTU partners and members of CORE who talked about UPC's disregard for students and communities, as well as the racial and class dynamics involved in teaching in Chicago. For example, Sam a white member of CORE and leader in the union, said in an interview that many social justice efforts of the union's organizing department are distractions. "You can argue that capitalism has hurt the educational system, but like [other topics] are part of a larger progressive coalition...so it's relevant to those existing coalitions, and it's strategic to pick those. It's not necessarily in the best interests of our conditions." When I asked what were in the best interests of the union, Sam replied, "Time, security, compensation, and voice in the workplace; advocate for good educational practices."

In contrast, for Robin, a black woman who has taught in communities of color for five-plus years, and is a member of CORE, UPC's legacy of service model unionism, erases the urgency of this political moment.

We [CORE] are trying to create those opportunities for people to understand that...fully funded classrooms and pensions are only going to happen if we're collaborating with communities of color. It is an *existential* issue and so, you know the charter school union merger is a part of staving off charter proliferation as one cause...having GEM folks come to talk about how housing issues affect our students gets people to understand it's all connected. It's existential. It's not *just* a moral argument. I wish it was, but you're not going to win just on a moral argument today. We've lost 10,000 members in the last 20

years because of disinvestment in communities of color, the school closings, the turnarounds, gentrification in these communities, is shifting populations out of the city (*Italics are my own*).

In other words, the existential crisis defined by Robin needs leadership that helps members redraw traditional lines between community and profession by first sketching out the affective nature of contemporary politics.

The organizing department is a part of the efforts to redraw these lines through training the next generation of community-labor leaders how to translate and transcend boundaries that separate community-labor. "We need our white members who have the sense to talk to other white members on this [existential threat]," Robin said. The organizing department is a space where the strategy for this work is completed in the CTU. The strategy, in part, is to train delegates to learn about the affective spaces of interaction, to be realistically positive to members' engagement, and to translate political and cultural contexts of communities to members. However, this tactic and overall strategy and how its communicated to members, like that of the research department, starts with similar blind-spots and starting assumptions.

How the CTU uses social events to support allies

The measure of success for CORE should not reside solely in metrics and the raw numbers of collective action, but also in its capacity to use the CTU to release in real and virtual space our imaginings on collective identities and political possibilities. Before we dig into this capacity, let's quickly review CTU's record as an ally organization thus far under CORE. CORE's officer slate uses the resources of the CTU to build material spaces of interaction that is needed for coalition a few different ways: 1) Outsourcing the creation of these spaces to community

allies via UWF and CTUF; 2) Translating the seemingly divergent needs of communities and teachers through its research and organizing department; and 3) Investing in a larger, more accessible headquarters and professional development center. In my turn to social events, I return to its new headquarters, but also to sites far from it that dot communities. These are the raw spaces of interaction that can arise from, build upon, or weaken coalition.

Communication at these events between members and allies, as well as communication about these events produced or shared by CTU media, are opportunities to use our creativity and the power of collective identities to *politicize the social* in moments of interaction. Finding transcendent messages that link community-labor can draw on affective and critical-rational discourse, as shown in PDs, speeches by Karen Lewis and other leaders, CTU research, and in communication by the CTU Organizing Department. The discourse that links community to labor in spaces of interaction within the CTU is premised upon a diverse notion of politics that has been shaped by the resistance to white supremacy and capitalism throughout U.S. history. "The overflow of political meaning," suggests Omi and Winant (2015), that seeps into spaces of interaction needs to be translated for its diverse occupants, because this overflow of meaning brings "awareness into the arena of everyday and emotional life, which had up to then been a largely private and depoliticized sphere" (p. 151). In other words, when individuals push politics into previously de-politicized spheres—e.g. spaces in-between community and labor structured by racial meaning—what was once liminal, contingent, "largely unconnected to power, and outside the purview of the state" is centered. Doing so, opens up to deliberation previously unproblematic relationships, taken-for-granted assumptions, and common sense notions that often supply meaning to our identities (Omi and Winant, 2015, p. 151). The tipping point of

inclination, as suggested by Carrillo-Rowe (2008), largely rests on our capacity to respond to this uprooting of identities and common sense. The communication I observed during moments of collective action, and at formal and informal social events, as well as the representations of these events in CTU media hints at how *politicizing the social* can be done by a labor organization to reinforce values that tip individuals closer to the other. Next, I explore one of the best examples of how this is done in the CTU from my time in the field.

At a discussion titled "A Tale of Three Cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago," held at the CTU Center in the Fall of 2017, highlighted the legacy of racist housing policies in Chicago. Invited to speak were two academics from a local university, a community activist, and a teacher who created an innovative unit to teach the effects of segregation. All of the speakers were women of color. All of the speakers highlighted evidence on the lack of racial justice via a mix of personal stories and statistics related to inequalities in education, policing, housing, and media representations.

Focusing on the intersection between race and class, Barbara Ransby, a historian at the University of Illinois-Chicago (UIC), began her presentation by memorializing Jackie Vaughn and the space dedicated to her work in which we occupied. "This is a space of trust, truth telling, struggle," Ransby said. Using a map that charts segregation in Chicago created by the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy at UIC, Ransby translated the nuance of criminalization for her audience. She examined the racial logic behind the increase in punishment for non-criminal offenses during an era of decreasing crime rates. "Who is a criminal doesn't really mean those who are doing harm in the world," she said. Ransby asked her audience of about 150 people—composed of mostly white rank-and-file teachers, students of color, and

community members—to think about who oversees the justice system; who works for the justice system. Ransby, responding to her own question after a pause—white individuals. She added a caveat that is useful to translate the nuance on emotional topics: "This doesn't mean all whites are racists, or bad people...I'm just saying that they don't walk in their shoes [referring to people of color]." She ended by asking us to be courageous in the face of doubt and to hold hope for the tide of activism and community building undertaken by groups such as the CTU and Black Youth Project 100.

In her presentation, Ransby uproots our everyday notions on politics and gets us to think about the political possibilities in our relationships. She places politics far from political parties, paid lobbyists, and governance. Instead, Ransby gets her audience to reflect on the complexity of criminalization; its social constructiveness and relationality, as well as its long history as a tool of oppression. She directs our attention on the culprit behind the rise in criminalization. The outpouring of political meaning behind the question, "who works for the justice department," is then translated using an empathic gesture. White individuals are not to blame but are complicit in the oppression of others.

Ransby, leading by example instead of finger pointing, asks us to reach out to the other, to think about their point of view, and reflect on how status is stamped by racial meaning, not racist intent. It's not all white racist individuals that are to blame; it's structures of oppression we sometimes unknowingly support because oppression is often disguised as common sense. Of course, we should increase punishment, crime is up! In this sense, Ransby helps her audience politicize the social *structure*, which is a critique often left out of conversations on race, class, and inequality in mainstream politics (Bonilla-Silva, 1999). Her translation of a

structural critique on criminalization includes a deep understanding of her mostly white audience, whose fragile sense of being often wrecks spaces of interaction (Bishop, 2002). A chance at empathy is provided for them. It's not completely your fault. It's structure. Now act in coalition with communities under siege. The line between community and labor is thus open, politicizing its socially constructed terrain, which turns what is usually a de-political relationship between profession and community into one that overflows with political possibility.

During small group discussions, which took place after the four presentations, we discussed how to directly act against structural racism at work and in our communities. Ana, an Asian-American woman who teaches at a local university, pushed us to challenge colorblind policies at work, and for white individuals to be more vocal. "We need you in there [e.g. in committees, research groups] calling out racism too. We are the ones who get labeled and are the ones expected to do it. When it comes from you, it's different." A former CPS-student, Jason, who is Latino and now an undergraduate at a local university, concurred, adding that "That happens at [my school] too...like they [white individuals] have an attitude that things will never change. We need to show them that things need to change." Indeed, a collective identity began to show itself in this space of interaction. While we all came from different places, have had to wade through varying degrees of oppressive conditions and the stigma of our identities, we became burgeoning *community allies* challenging each other to think about our privilege and how we can create unity, trust, reciprocation, and accountability. We imagined ourselves as facilitators, our agency capped and wielded for others. Our communities and labor tied by political necessity, but also by love. What's more, this collective identity, peeked through during

the four presentations, the question and answer session, as well as in comments I overheard by audience members.

Sitting behind my seat was a Latino rank-and-file teacher accompanied by a few students of color. His pessimism was palpable. "It's never going to change. Society doesn't want it to change," he said after a question was asked by a retiree on whether or not their efforts will ever matter. But cracks in the teacher's pessimistic attitude appeared and shed insight onto the collective identity forming around me. "True. True. You hear that? See that's what I've been talking about," he said to evidence of structural racism in criminalization presented by Ransby. Without knowing it, he jumped two slides ahead of her PowerPoint, and explained, "It's money. Follow the money. Punishment is all about profits." To which, a few students chimed in, "Yep, Yep. It is." What we observe in these comments is a teacher utilizing his insider/outsider knowledge of his community to anticipate, and thus facilitate, the political underpinnings of criminalization. His comments, which also helped get his students off their phones (a comment I heard him make twice; "Put those away. This is about us...about you!"), shows the political possibilities created by the teacher who facilitates his students understanding on criminalization by anticipating the affective and critical-rational responses to the moment created by Ransby, and by extension the CTU. After Ransby introduced the slide that 'followed the money,' a student responded, "Damn. You should be up there...," to which the teacher laughed. Indeed, the facilitation of understanding by the teacher shapes an otherwise depolitical professional identity between teacher and pupil. The teacher shows a concern for his students' well-being (not unheard of in the teaching profession); but this concern is sutured by awareness on structural power and oppressive conditions. His concern rests in community well-

being. The suturing of concern levels his influence and outsider-ness by placing himself and his students together inside a community fighting against oppression. Doing so, helps to legitimate his authority as a teacher-ally to students and their communities. The larger discussion of this collective identity, and how it is created discursively in actual and virtual spaces of interaction, as well as in CTU print media, is a matter to which I turn to next.

In the next section, I examine how CTU leaders, members, and allies 'show-up' discursively in spaces of interaction. From this section on the material spaces and practices of allyship by the CTU, it's clear that an attempt is being by leaders of the CTU to strengthen alliances with communities of color. The CTU practices allyship three main ways: 1) The CTU builds brick-and-mortar spaces of interaction; 2) The CTU outsources the spaces of interaction via financial support to community allies; and, 3) The CTU (and its guests) translate the nuances within political meanings that emerge in the spaces of interaction. Now we turn to an examination on the discourse that supplies these practices and spaces with meaning.

How the Chicago Teachers Union Talks about Allies

The focus of this section is how the CTU—its leaders, members, and allies—'talk as an ally.' My empirical analysis rests on discourse used by these actors on racial inequalities that are structural that they observe in education, as well as society. This discourse is found in the spaces referenced above, as well as in CTU media, speeches by leaders, and in Online spaces of interaction curated by the CTU. I define this as teacher-ally discourse, which includes several themes.

Teacher-ally discourse supplies the logic of allyship found within the CTU and rearticulates the role of teaching from that of dis-embedded outside authority to one that is foundational to community. It's way to view the authority of teachers that does not necessarily straddle or balance the insider/outsider dynamic of communities, as much as it tries to erase this distinction as much as possible given the legacy of institutions within communities of color. In short, the discourse on teacher-ally discourse is an attempt to place teaching inside communities that have been historically-situated in oppressive conditions that stem from structural racism. In a way, teacher-ally discourse operates as a discursive support network for leaders, rank-and-file, and allies. The discourse found in this support network helps to model behavior, think about collective power, and build a collective identity around communities and their profession.

Thematically, teacher-ally discourse includes three features: 1) Professional social justice educators use their agency to build a curriculum on justice and equity, which I refer to as *social justice C&I*; 2) Professional social justice educators use their agency to organize their schools and communities, which I refer to as *social justice organizing*; and 3) Professional justice educators use their agency to fight for their schools and communities through collective action, which I refer to as *social justice actions*. Now I turn to an examination of these themes, after which I synthesis how this discourse supplies meaning to the material spaces of interaction created by CTU. I end the chapter with a discussion on how teacher-ally discourse reinforces a coalitional subjectivity, which highlights the blind-spots and assumptions of this discourse that are examined in Chapter Four.

Ally Talk: Social Justice C&I

When talking about their role in the classrooms, the leaders of the CTU and allies represent a social justice-oriented curriculum and instruction as fundamental to community well-being. Because of limitations caused by CPS, building a social justice C&I is something teachers should aspire to, but is urgently needed. Regarding the murder of Laquan McDonald by a Chicago police officer, Abby a white woman who has taught in communities of color for 10+ years, and is a leader in the CTU, states:

A lot of new teachers have trust issues with students. I did. We all do. We learn to build that trust, which makes us better teachers. One way I did this was to be real with them. Like if after something as big as Laquan happens and if you as a teacher ignore it, you're telling something to that student. You know, it's not just about race, but after something like Pulse happened [i.e. the shooting in Orlando, in 2016] and you don't say something in your class, I think you are making a statement by not saying something. If you bring these major issues up, like DACA [Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals]; like if you're a science teacher and you teach physics, when attacks against DACA started, my advice is to pause the class and do a lesson on DACA. Then your students will know more about it, and open up to you about being undocumented, or members of their family who are. You have to include those kinds of social justice issues in class. How can students focus on anything else when that's happening to their communities?

As suggested by Abby, social justice C&I requires flexibility, or rather builds flexibility into C&I to open up space for students to speak about their concerns. Doing so builds trust and makes for a stronger learning environment. David, a white man who has taught in communities of color for 15+ years, and is a leader in the CTU, expresses a similar concern for students and communities in his C&I. Referring to a court mandated reparations package for victims of torture by the Chicago Police Department, which included a provision that CPS provide instructional time to learning about these crimes, David states:

The biggest criticism I have is that the curriculum was written by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. That's the author. CPS and CPD are using this as public relations. I forget the central office personnel who is responsible for social studies curriculum, it's a committee and the chair said that they would take the lead on writing the curriculum. But it was written by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. And so, it has a very know-you-rights feel to it. When the reality of the Burge situation [John Burge was in charge of the unit convicted of torture], it didn't fucking matter what your rights were. And that's been our point and that's why it's such a tragedy. And it's why it's such a horrendous incident. But also, the fight back against Burge is [not] in the curriculum. And this is how racism works. 30 years of police torture...400 years of white supremacy...the case against Burge was brought by ordinary community members. A couple of community organizations really kept the flame alive while Burge was still operating as a police officer, as a torturer. And so, none of that important history, the people based history is in the curriculum project. But it's nice that [the curriculum] exists. Some really good teachers will put this history [of ordinary people] into the classroom, but not everyone.

Frustrated by the removal of ordinary voices in the torture curriculum, David views social justice C&I as not only more relatable and experience-based, but as an opportunity for teachers to build trust and relationships with students and their parents. "We need to push Quest Center people and I'm sure they are doing this already, but we need to make sure that our PDs on this curriculum have this conversation, and that we learn how to talk to students and their parents about it. And from that, there can be a greater potential to go further towards actual social justice," David said. Here, David implies that having a social justice C&I also relates to how teachers interact with parents and their communities; a point which is reaffirmed by other leaders, allies, and across CTU media.

Without a fully-funded school system, efforts by teachers to bring a social justice orientation to C&I are constrained. Many leaders point to a need for stronger wrap-around services to support their students. "Making sure that we have librarians in every school, counselors, nurses, as many different additional support staff that we can have in a building

that can provide students with a holistic education. Unfortunately, [CPS] has not been able to grant those or even thought about those as a viable option for our children," Vincent, a Latino rank-and-file member who has taught in communities of color for 10+ years, said. Vincent goes on to talk about education in Chicago as a tiered system that favors wealthier, whiter part of town. He refers to the system as "educational apartheid," a phrase used by Vice President of the CTU, Jesse Sharkey, as well as in research reports and in trainings overseen by the organizing department. "Labeling our district in this sense," Vincent said,

Is necessary because I think anyone who travels in the city could see it. You don't have to be blind to acknowledge that. It may make you uncomfortable...But go down to 95th and Stoney Island and see what those schools look like and compare it to the heart of Lincoln Park. You will see, particularly if you actually walk through the schools, that there's a different infrastructure...It's reflected in the condition of the building, by the morale of teachers and staff...So, we need to have words that speak to that reality that the district exacerbates. You think it would be the other way around, that those neighborhoods that need the most would get the most, but that's not how it works. Not at all. And when it comes to funding, I'm just talking about what's offered by the state and district. I was talking to another member and they were describing what happens at [a high school in a wealthy-area] where they have family members. They do this gala every year...and they can raise anywhere up to like \$1 to \$10 million in one night. IN ONE NIGHT! And now they can draw their salaries or pay for all the additional resources through that one night of fundraising. That would be unheard of in other parts of town. And if CPS and the mayor really cared about students, they would figure out a way to end this system and give us the funding we need to teach [every student].

In acknowledging the importance of labels, such as "educational apartheid," Vincent helps to translate the nuance of this term to me an interviewer, as well as to his co-workers. Vincent situates his C&I in this framework. Through recognizing the apartheid-like structure of education in Chicago, Vincent is better able to design lessons that helps his students explain the inequalities that exist between communities.

Michelle, a white woman who has been a counselor in communities of color for 10+ years, adds social justice C&I is an ideal to strive for, but like Vincent, she says that this will only remain an ideal if wrap-around services in schools remain underfunded. Michelle states:

How are our kids going to care about what's on that test when she's not even eating, or because the parents are working two jobs, and the kids now have to take care of their brothers and sisters. Studying is not their priority...if you don't look at our students wholly, not just cognitively or whatever, you're not going to get anywhere. You got to make sure our students are okay before you can teach them anything.

Reiterating the importance of wrap-around services, Michelle, like the majority of teachers I spoke with, views using a social justice-oriented C&I and demanding fully-funded support services as not just essential, but part of the very fabric of their professional identities; an identity that receives reinforcement and creative articulation by the CTU through PDs, research reports, and trainings. By supporting a social justice C&I, the CTU helps teacher-ally discourse highlight the structural relationships in society. Doing so, helps students and parents better understand the conditions in which they live so they can respond accordingly. However, the work of teacher-ally discourse is not confined to the classroom. As we see in the next two subsections, teacher-ally discourse also represents what work should be done outside of the classroom as well.

Ally Talk: Organize, Organize, Organize

The leaders of the CTU I spoke with, as well as CTU media, research reports, and training workshops define the role of teachers as extending beyond the classroom. Professionals social justice educators create a *social justice-oriented C&I* and commit to a philosophy of *social*

justice organizing that puts community-labor coalition is at the center of their efforts. What I focus on here, is a theme of discourse on how to become a professional social justice educator by committing to the philosophy of social justice organizing. Abby understands the CTU's organizing philosophy as marked by race and class. Abby states:

First of all, white voices need to uplift members of color, and members of color should be leading. So, we try to make sure within CORE that we have a slate that is representative, that's it's a diverse racially, and in gender, things like that. It also helps if you work in a Spanish-speaking area, and you are white or whatever, you should be fluent in Spanish, connect with the community by going to some events, speak with parents outside schools, get to know of the leaders in their communities.

For Abby, organizing efforts must include leaders who are representative in look and politics of members. Getting out of schools and mixing with parents at community events is a larger commitment, and only works if teachers know the language of the community, which for some teachers makes the philosophy of social justice organizing advocated by leaders of the CTU challenging.

Hector, a Latino rank-and-file members who has taught in communities of color for 10+ years, provides perspective on this dilemma, stating, "Whenever people talk to me about activism, I do want to do it more, like if I can go to a CORE meeting or a rally, I want to go...But at the same time, I feel like I'm being an activist for five hours every day because we're informing youth. We spend hours preparing for classes. We find texts, news, and videos to look at the rhetoric and discuss how to fix [social problems]."

Recognizing the value of social justice organizing, Hector falls back on his social justice-oriented C&I. "As a teacher you should be active, particularly for your students' communities, but we need to be realistic about what we expected from each other. I mean, I have a family,"

Hector said. Indeed, Hector represents a view held by all of the rank-and-file members I spoke with regarding the importance of activism, but lacking time to commit. "Of course, organizing and activism itself are important," Hector said. Thus, while Hector and other rank-and-file members might not have the time to commit to social justice organizing, they regard their work building a social justice C&I as not necessarily an exact substitute, but as supporting social justice organizing in communities done by other members.

The organizing work done by leaders, members, and partners receives extensive coverage in CTU media. Readers learn the importance of leadership, and tips on how to build grassroots campaigns in schools and communities. One task identified by leaders in interviews, and in organizing department communications, is how to identify and approach potential collaborators. Avery, a white male union leader who has taught in communities of color for 10+ years speaks about a need to understand competing interests. Avery states:

You can organize just paraprofessionals, teacher assistant and clerks to support a campaign. They're going to have—they're the lowest paid group of our members. They're 85% Black and Latino women. There's a whole different set of concerns and issues that they have that are different than teachers or clinicians who are paid twice as much who tend to live in neighborhoods that have greater levels of social capital investment. So, how do you talk about school closing with that group differently? How do you talk about wages and benefits differently? Clerks and paraprofessionals tend to have more involvement with parents in the community than the average member. You know, that might resonate a little more, so you need to think about the campaign and its message for each group.

Finding collaborators for campaigns, for Avery, requires an ability to turn a broad message on social justice into one that is narrow-casted to particular groups. Aside from identifying 'who to talk to about what,' the theme of social justice organizing includes talk on importance of location. Professional social justice educators know how to select the right site to hold

collective actions whether it's at their school, community, across the city, or downtown.

Literature from the organizing department suggests that delegates think about the issue the campaign is based around, who the target of change is, and opinions of community stakeholders before making a decision.

Aside from locating a site of collective action, teacher-ally discourse defines appropriate places to hold meetings. Olivia, a white female with 30+ years of experience working as a nurse in CPS, and is a leader in the union, describes the site CORE chose to hold its initial meetings as crucial for its success. "It was easy for people to get to." In short, unlike its predecessors, CORE understood the mobility limitations of its base of support. The only other caucus to hold power outside of UPC and CORE, was PACT [Pro-Active Chicago Teachers]. As PACT began organizing itself in the late-1990s in a restaurant in Bridgeport, a predominately white neighborhood on the south side. Leaders of PACT grew concerned about the lack of people of color in attendance. To this, Olivia responded, "I don't think having a meeting at six at night in Bridgeport is necessarily comfortable for African-Americans and Hispanics." A leader of PACT, who is a woman of color, then asked an uninformed question, "Really? People around here still feel that way?" "Yeah, they do," Olivia said. "I mean there's been numerous incidents this year and last year about black guys getting chased out of Bridgeport...If you want to attract more African-Americans I think you should move the meetings." PACT listened to Olivia's advice and moved the meetings to a location near downtown where two expressways intersect. "When we moved locations, we did attract more African-Americans. So [leaders of PACT] were unconscious in a way to race, like when people try to be race blind. There's a way to be racist without meaning to be," Olivia said.

Olivia's comment on choosing a site to hold meetings sheds light on the reflexive work needed by teacher-ally discourse as they organize for social justice. More interestingly, Olivia's experience with PACT shows that colorblindness is not only contained to white individuals. Social justice organizing, thus, requires an in-depth awareness on proper sites of collective action and the differing needs of groups within the union and communities. Aside from these features, the theme of social justice organizing also includes sussing out who to hold responsible and how to leverage their collective power to fight back. Constructing a common enemy helps groups organize participants (Carastathis, 2013). Leaders of CTU and their allies focus their energy on calling out the hypocrisy of Mayor Emmanuel, leaders of CPS, and Governor Bruce Rauner. In other words, a teacher-ally discourse understands who to fight back against.

A poem written by a rank-and-file member of the black caucus, and published in *CUT*, questions the motives of CPS and their corporate benefactors, stating:

They claim, we should educate students to think critically
 They become angry, when we educate students to act politically
 From afar, they idolize and romanticize freedom fighters and historic events
 But they mar, change happening in front of their eyes, they ignore the sequence
 We are here to say, Stop the Ridiculous Rhetoric and the Erroneous Etiquette!
 We are here to stay. That is evident and well we not become hesitant
 Solidarity adds clarity to the disparity, because injustice is NOT a rarity.

Solidarity in the face of a vague corporate-backed "they" was often repeated in the pages of the union's magazine, on CTU curated social media, and in interviews. At different moments, discourse on teacher-ally discourse links corporate power to specific politicians, including Rahm, Rauner or the Trump Administration. Remaining constant is indignation at the growing

corporate control of public education. In a sidebar to a story regarding the one-day strike, in 2016, a rank-and-file teacher states:

That's what I'm fighting for. That's what I focus on. CPS has to stop making cuts to my non-core and core colleagues regardless of experience—to save money. They need to stop privatizing education and get away from high-stakes testing that damages our students more than helps them. They need to start investing in our educators, our staff and our students to make meaningful education the priority. They need to reallocate funds to public education that they are currently investing in opening more privatized schools.

Indeed, corporate-control of education is equated with less transparency and accountability in education for students, and their communities. Addressing the elite City Club audience, in 2016, CTU President Karen Lewis summarizes the gap between 'them' and everyone else in the city as a difference in values. Lewis, quoting Henry Giroux, tells her audience:

The greatest threat to our children does not come from lowered educational standards, the absence of privatized choice schemes, or the lack of rigid testing measures. On the contrary, it comes from a society that refuses to view children as a social investment, one that consigns 16.3 million children to live in poverty, reduce critical learning to massive testing programs, promotes policies that eliminate most crucial health and public services, and defines masculinity through the degrading celebration of a gun culture, extreme sports, and the spectacles of violence that permeate corporate-controlled media industries.

The lack of funding for public education, for Lewis, is thus deeply rooted in cultural values that are exploited by the wealthy. "We have a crisis in values in our city and in Illinois," Lewis said.

"We need to change the conversation." Teacher-ally discourse changes the conversation in the classroom through a social justice C&I, as well as outside the classroom through

advocating/organizing for parents and communities. Because who stands with integrity to oppose the wealthy and their corrupt band of politicians in both political parties? Students.

Parents. Teachers. Community members. How these individuals talk about the power of

collective action and their ability to resist efforts that private education, gentrify communities, and strip away the wealth of communities to benefit elites, is where I turn next.

Ally Talk: Social justice actions

A theme of *social justice action* is found in the discourse on teacher-ally discourse alongside the themes of social justice C&I and social justice organizing. As a theme, social justice action, unpacks how leaders, members, and allies of the CTU should use their agency to act in solidarity with communities. Giving and amplifying voice, as well as participating in collective action, allow teacher-ally discourse to use their individual agency productively outside of the classroom. A rank-and-file teacher writing on *A Just Chicago*, a CTU-sponsored blog, describes efforts to stop a school from closing:

When my eyes lingered a bit longer, it was the mothers, and the teenagers, and well, everybody. They sat in folding chairs under the scant, moving shade of skinny trees, or leaned against the wrought iron fence, or sat on the steps of the alderman's office. This group of parents, community members, and students—many of them affiliated with the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, one of the oldest black organizing groups in the country—sat in the 95-degree heat to demand a meeting with the alderman, Will Burns...I shared some bottles of water and sat for a while...A city worker drove by in a pickup...[and] raised his fist out of the window and gave a cheer, and the folks cheered back...

Social justice action, as the writer suggests, are efforts that support people's well-being: show-up, even on hot days, share stories and water, and express a shared voice. As described by Ella, a black female community organizer with 10+ years of experience working in communities of color with an organization that is a partner of the CTU, social justice action requires a division of labor that breaks down along racial and class lines because of the legacy of white supremacy:

We, I, can't go to jail, we get treated different. Our white counterparts in the CTU understand that—the expectation is different for them. And when we get arrested, they don't get arrested—they get a ticket and they're let go right there. We got to go to jail, give fingerprints, and we're there until we are cleared or someone posts bail. So, there's a difference in what you and I can do, right? When we do an action and say, we're ready to go to jail to save our schools, our white counterparts know how we will be treated, so they stand in for us. They will do an action with us, and when the police say either you go or leave, we leave, but {our white allies} stay and take the arrest. It has to work like that because...you know how racist the culture of CPD [Chicago Police Department] is right? They shot a boy [Laquan McDonald] ...16 times in the back. We can't take that risk.

Willingness to take risk, including arrest, was talked about by several leaders as a way to garner media attention, and amplify their message. Nobody expressed concern that the tactic might backfire. What I did hear from leaders was an understanding on the historical significance of the practice. Showing up and taking risks provides support and reciprocates solidarity provided by parents during work stoppages.

Social justice action also involves intra-personal speech acts—reflexivity in spaces of interaction; what we tell ourselves in moments of coalition as we make decisions that can tip us toward the other. What I heard from white individuals is an understanding on the difficulty of reflexivity when we work closely with others. Angie, a white female community organizer with 10+ years of experience, explains the difficulty facing white allies and the CTU:

I'm learning about the follies of white organizers every day. We can do better. And also, I'm have a little bit of an issue because like everybody, all white allies keep saying like, listen to black women, follow black women, like follow, follow. I agree, I have very strong examples that I follow. But it's also just feels like very surface-based. It doesn't deal with the realities of what it's like to work with multi-racial groups, or what like actual pettiness and personalities look like...And, then there's like the fact that sometimes they [women of color] are not right. And, then sometimes like, they lead, and they are human beings too. They get to make mistakes. And I grapple with that and then I remember a friend, a white woman, that is fine with funding experiments in black liberation work, because

messiness is going to happen, and people funded white people for fucking years to make messes and mistakes...And this is what I think about when I'm working with people: when to lead. A woman of color came to speak to [our office] and when someone asked, should white people be doing this work; should we be leaders? And she said, we don't need less leadership now. And so, it's this thing where, okay figure out when you can be a leader, where you can do it, when its right to, how to do it respectfully, how to relationship build, how to check your ego, how to see your space, like it's a constant 900 different things going on.

For Angie, the reflexivity required for social justice action for white allies includes being aware of when to speak-up, not just show-up.

Other acts related to 'showing-up' include canvassing door-to-door, flyering, phone-banking, phone-trees, meetings, rallies, sit-ins, pickets, and marches. What these acts have in common is that they place individuals into spaces of interaction. For example, distributing useful literature to parents and community stakeholders becomes an opportunity to build relationships, not just share information. Abby, a white female with 10+ years teaching in communities of color, and a leader in the CTU, explains, "we flyer parents multiple times [a year] and talk to them outside about whatever issue was going on. That made a huge difference [during work stoppages]." Flyering is thus an act that creates spaces of interaction with parents, allowing an opportunity to deliberate with parents on areas of mutual concern. It's an act that takes strong listening skills.

"Really making those connections with parents," Abby said, "and talking and listening and listening. And parents get it, like when we were talking about the millionaires' tax, [in 2016], you know they got that, because millionaires sort everything out in Mexico, or Guatemala, or wherever they are from. These are global problems." Indeed, Abby reminds us that local politics are never far from global movements. The theme of social justice action

undergirds the importance of connections between global-national-local movements. An article in *CUT*, written by two leaders in the CTU who attended the Tri-National Conferences for the Defense of Public Education, write about the conference as an opportunity to build relationships and to better understand their role as activists and teachers. "Our participation in the Tri-national Conference has helped solidify the shared awareness that we are all under attack, and that by coming together to form bonds with other teachers, we provide mutual aid, shared strength and real hope that we cannot only preserve, but win." The conference, which brings together teachers from the U.S., Mexico and Canada, also provided the opportunity to deliberate on areas of common concern, such as "standardized testing and curriculum, pedagogical autonomy, class size, working conditions, school closing, charters, and wrap-around services..." While attending a conference is financially burdensome, particularly one held in a different country, other members and allies can attend talks held by conference participants on their return to Chicago. Participating in talks, or other social events, such as film screenings provide teacher-ally discourse a chance to build an awareness that helps them interact with parents and community stakeholders.

Teacher-ally discourse focuses on how leaders, members, and allies of the CTU can strengthen their schools and community. Teachers become teacher-ally when they build social justice in C&I, as well as organize and act for social justice outside of the classroom. The theme of social justice action constructs how teacher-ally discourse can effectively act to support other's well-being: 1) show-up, share, talk; 2) be willing to take risk, or support others who take risks; 3) be reflexive, particularly on when to lead or use voice; 4) participate in various spaces of interaction depending on what the campaign requires; 5) act locally, but understand how

actions fit into the trans-national landscape. Teacher-ally discourse supplies the material and virtual spaces that are curated by the CTU with meaning. Moreover, the logic on how to implement practices of outsourcing and translating in spaces of interaction, or the labeling and sharing of material space, is also informed by teacher-ally discourse. The relationship between discourse and practice is the topic to which I turn to now.

Conclusion

Leaders of the CTU are using their union's institutional might to address structural disparities in education and society. Connecting their profession to community well-being, the CTU provides a platform for members and allies to learn about how structural inequalities impact everyone. The discourse that emerges in CTU media, interviews, and observations foregrounds social justice as it relates to acting, organizing, instructing on structural inequalities and oppressive conditions. Moreover, the CTU works to build a type of affective and cognitive capacity that can help members work through spaces of nonbelonging that occur in coalition. The discourse helps to breakdown how to use agency, while the material spaces created by CTU, as well as the practices of outsourcing and translating help to routinize allyship. In the CTU, being an ally made part of a professional routine; a category of professional with certain role expectations inside and outside the classroom.

What is missing from the CTU's efforts is recognition to apply role expectations to everyone. Social justice orientation is thought to be for 'them:' students, parents, rank-and-file, and community stakeholders; not for leaders. Angie, a white woman and community organizer in a community of color for more than 10 years, explains part of what constrains the work in

GEM is that there is no time to conduct training for leadership. "We don't have time to do the deep reflexive work we are asking from our members. Organizers don't sit down and do the relationship building that we're asking our members to do around race. And, so we've got these people that are just like, 'we are professionals and we care about these things, so we are working on them.'" Indeed, the cold and calculated professional empties the affective space in coalition due to a lack of training. The irony here is palpable, but what's worse is a perceived arrogance or out-of-touch-ness of CTU leaders, which creates a two-tiered system on how to do allyship. We do it. Follow us. In other words, this division between 'woke' leadership that doesn't need training and everyone else who does, creates a system that privileges certain 'ways to do' allyship.

Teacher-ally discourse folds lines separating community-professional together and erases the distinction between teacher and community member. However, the logic that glues teacher to community member is applied unevenly, which leads to perceptions of arrogance or saviorism. Not all social justice action, organization efforts, and instruction are treated the same. Certain issues that help members of dominant groups reflect on their power and role in oppression are left out or discussed in vague terms. In addition, issues deemed "too controversial" and "un-related to students," such as the Palestinian struggle for national liberation, as well as the militant groups involved with Black Lives Matter, are not provided much space in the CTU. To be sure, leaders in the CTU point to the practicality of these issues, while others point to timing as a reason to background certain issues. Still, the contradictions are noticed and give rise to a vocal minority who believe that they doing what is asked to become a teacher-ally discourse but continue to have their voice minimized by leadership. In

the end, these real and perceived contradictions stymie participation and constrain how the CTU builds spaces of interaction. Indeed, people who believe their union doesn't mean what it says, constrains the efforts of CTU to create coalition with community.

Instead of working in and through the CTU and giving legitimacy to spaces of interaction outsourced or created by CTU, individuals forgo the institutional resources of the CTU and chart their own course to pursue allyship. Another form of irony. The CTU helps teachers and parents think and act like an ally, but once trained in reflexivity, risk, and listening, members come to hold leaders and the union up to the same standards. When these standards are seen as flexible, or shifting based on who one is, or what social justice issue matters, or whether or not it's the right time, the emergence of collective identity is constrained. Politics remains private and attached to one's clout. Politicizing the social structure may occur, but without a collective identity it's more difficult to tip towards the other in moments of interaction. Nevertheless, coalition may still form in these conditions (Chavez, 2011), but it's short-term and campaign-based; not the long-term coalition-building advocated by the CTU.

The starting assumptions of leadership on social justice create a tiered-system of allyship, which is the focus of Chapter Four. There is also a major blind-spot that emerges in teacher-ally discourse involving who carries racial meaning and the qualities of communities that join together in coalition. Known as the deficit paradigm (Zhao, 2016) what we see in CTU media are representations of deficit thinking that reinforces white supremacy. While teacher-ally discourse connects to counterhegemonic themes, how the line between labor-community is erased creates a new intersectional line of privilege based on race, class, and culture. Teacher-ally discourse does not erase lines between labor-community, but between labor and

an at-risk-community. While the evidence of 'at-risk' is strong and based on structural inequalities, which are necessary topics of deliberation between allies, there is a more robust and fruitful conception of the ties between labor-community that are missing in the spaces and discourse curated by the CTU.

Supporting community well-being is great discourse, and leads to spaces of interaction that can tip people toward each other; however, what does it mean to support the well-being of an at-risk community? Far from a matter of semantics, answering this question is tinged with entitlement and disrupts deliberations that focus on what the dominant group can do, and how they are responsible for the conditions in communities that wear the moniker 'at-risk.' As we observe in the next chapter, who is missing what, who needs what, and other questions on how to fill-in the gulf of resources that isolate communities in Chicago, is a major blind-spot in the CTU's effort to become a social justice-oriented labor union. The blind-spot is wrapped into a racial logic of the deficit paradigm, which suggests that communities of color are more at-risk, thus less capable, and more in need of outside support.

Put into the terms of Patel's intersectional approach to allyship, far from being colorblind, what we observed in the spaces, practices, and discourse in the CTU is evidence of a different-type of allyship that can only go so far in working for communities of color. It's a race conscious approach to allyship, but one that does not fully appreciate the legacy of white supremacy and how to undo its reach into labor institutions. Put differently, it's a way to politicize the social structure by unevenly politicizing what is worn on the flesh. The unevenness disrupts the turn from belonging to (non)belonging in spaces of interaction by limiting whose being and whose longings are recognized.

In summary, there is one surface level communicative challenge, as well as two challenges that are embedded into the logic of the CTU's effort to work as an ally with communities of color. 1) The CTU lacks a clear communication strategy regarding how different spaces and practices of allyship are part of a wholistic effort to orient the union to social justice. 2) The CTU unevenly applies role expectations to leaders, members, and allies. How these expectations are established often lacks transparency and leads to perceptions of favoritism or clout culture. 3) The CTU erases the line between labor-community with a line that separates insiders by what they lack, and who is responsible, which typically breakdowns down by race, class, and culture. Next, I turn to a closer examination of these two deeper challenges and investigate the communicative features and racial logic of the deficit paradigm. After this examination, I turn to an analysis of news media and digital tools to understand how the CTU can communicate teacher-ally discourse and community well-being more productively.

Chapter 4

Power-evasive and procedural allyship, and the communicative blind-spots that constrain allyship in the Chicago Teachers Union

During the heady days of the 2012 strike, which occurred just over two years after the Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators (CORE) won union election, a community-oriented unionism gained authority among rank-and-file and allies. Trust and respect for social justice unionism peeked through in daily routines. Herman, a Latino rank-and-file member who has been teaching in communities of color for more than 10 years, recalls in an interview: "A group of us were taking a break from the picket line at [a restaurant], finishing up lunch and talking when another group of teachers walked in from a different part of town. We nodded at each, and before you know it we were singing 'Solidarity Forever' together. [Community members] in the place joined in too." The scene of complete strangers, of colleagues-turned-activists committing themselves to each other through song played out many times over the course of the strike. Hermann himself said in his interview that he experienced spontaneous sing-alongs multiple times during the strike. "I'm a grown-up. We...I don't just get up and start singing with 50 people regularly, but it was one of the more memorable moments of solidarity I felt during that time." In Hermann's revelation, we see a glimpse of what we risk when we give ourselves to the other. In his case, the risk is wound-up in embarrassment of breaking a taboo on random acts of singing, of being thrown out of public space. Risk was on display at the organizational-level during the 2012 strike as well. Not only did CORE officers and leaders risk their reputations on a strike, a tactic that has grown less common and receives widespread condemnation by political and media elites (Uetricht, 2014), but they increased the risk to their careers when they continued the strike into a second school week.

Allies take risks (Bishop, 2002; Patel, 2011). Communicating through, or around, risk is a fundamental to making a turn toward the other in coalitions. To venture toward the other is to stall and reconfigure one's being and longings (Carrillo Rowe, 2008). In these moments we are vulnerable to our emotions and perceptions. In Chapter Three we observed two substantive failures in the CTU's communicative efforts: a failure to apply role expectations evenly and a failure to productively critique deficit thinking. Both of these failures sustain a risk adverse climate in coalition by reducing allyship to a procedural rationality. Taken together these failures reflect blind-spots on the nature of racial meaning and structural inequality, which slows the turn to the other and reinforces a sense of risk aversion to participation in the coalition. This is the topic I turn to in this chapter by asking: What are the starting assumptions and blind spots of this discourse? How does this public discourse reflect the evolving conceptualization of allyship and its relationship to racial identity?

In exploring the blind-spots on how the CTU practices allyship, I pull from interview data, as well as data collected from media published by the CTU. I try my best to avoid the pitfalls of language that glue meaning to intersubjective and constantly morphing process of social constructions. If Chapter Three is about highlighting the great work the CTU conducts to communicate coalition, Chapter Four is about wanting to show where the CTU can improve. To this end, I break this chapter into a definitional section, followed by a series of theoretical approaches that are interspersed with empirical observations. In this way, I chart how racial meaning is rearticulated by the CTU and how this rearticulation conditions allyship. I use this organizational method, in part, to 'show my work' as a scholar; to call attention to how synthesis and analysis of theory and empirical observations lead to my overall conclusion. I find

that rearticulating colorblind racial ideology is harder than social justice activists in the union would like to think. What's missing in the CTU's efforts to build a social justice and anti-racist union are meaningfully reflections on their own racial, class, and professional power. In other words, by using this organizational method we can more accurately piece together how uneven role expectations and unproductive critiques on deficit thinking stymie risk taking and coalitional moments.

Risk in Coalition

After receiving "major concessions" from Chicago Public Schools (CPS) in a contract proposal on Friday, September 15, media in Chicago framed the end of the 2012 strike as a foregone conclusion, which was echoed by Mayor Rahm Emmanuel (Elk, 2012). Instead of bowing to pressure, leaders of CORE reaffirmed their commitment to democratic-decision making. A passage published Sunday, September 17 in, *On the Line*, a newsletter CTU publishes during work-stoppages, gets to the point: "In a spirited debate, the House of Delegates voted Sunday to extend our strike through Tuesday. The vast majority voted to continue the strike, to bring information about the tentative agreement to members and give the bargaining team time to get the Board's commitments in writing." By extending the strike into a second week, delegates and rank-and-file members were able to deliberate and critique the contract, which further solidified bonds between members and allies.

Ella, a community organizer with seven-plus years of experience working in communities of color, said in an interview that she appreciated the CTU's efforts in 2012. "Of course, the CTU has to make it right for their members, but at the end of the day, they

understand that this relationship is co-parenting...how are we to attack the very people who we expect to turn out our next set of leaders who are going to turn this country around and make it right." Implied in these comments, and confirmed by a direct question later, Ella sees the CTU as taking important risks to help CPS students succeed because, as she said, "Emmanuel doesn't give a damn about us and our kids." In other words, the risk leaders of the CTU took in organizing, then extending the strike, facilitated Ella's commitment to working with the CTU.

The material and discursive spaces of coalition observed in Chapter Three show us how an organization can use communication to facilitate these commitments with community members. We saw how invited speakers and group discussions talked about institutional racism and white supremacy in ways that anticipated white fragility and helped to support the creation of teacher-ally discourse. These conversations, while considered difficult topics for some white individuals, are important for coalition partners because they root out bias, give voice to dissenting opinions, and further politicize previously unproblematic relations. However, despite these benefits, the CTU risks alienating white individuals by discussing their role in the oppression of others.

In many ways, the actions that the CTU takes to work and talk as an ally, is an attempt to position the union as a risk taker and counterpower to Mayor Rahm Emmanuel (D), Governor Bruce Rauner (R), and CPS. Indeed, this countering move legitimates much of the risk taken by CTU leaders and allies. A leader in the CTU who has taught in communities of color for more than 10 years, wrote on the CTU blog, in March 2016, that "For years, the hardworking people of this city have been starved of the resources that allow them to live their lives with a sense of pride and dignity...The people in charge of this city and the media spewing their agenda are

collaborating to ensure that the working class remains voiceless and powerless." These claims are backed by evidence that outlines how institutional racism works through CPS and other policies supported by Mayor Emmanuel (Lipman, 2011). The blog post ends by essentially calling for more risk taking by the CTU and its allies to stop these policies.

Among the many ways institutional racism works through CPS is through adherence to the deficit paradigm—the idea that the "culture" of Black and Brown families causes students to fall behind academically (Dumas, 2016). Thus, part of the risk assessment to leaders, members, and allies of the CTU, is deciding what tactics to use to confront deficit thinking. In this sense, the CTU conditions communication with allies by attacking deficit thinking through building reflexive capabilities that promote inclusion, belonging, and commitment to community well-being. However, as we will observe in this chapter, leaders and allies of the CTU become entangled in a problematic critique of the deficit thinking that constrains these efforts. To understand the significance of this critique requires a tour of critical approaches to race theory that expose the structural and dynamic nature of racial meaning (Omi and Winant, 2015). By tracing out the components of racial meaning, we expose the racial implications of the uneven role expectations within the CTU.

Rearticulation and racial ideology

Literature on racial ideology and representation helps us determine where to start rethinking the CTU's communicative efforts to allies, particularly as it relates to uneven role expectations between members. I argue that uneven role expectations pinpoint a tension within teacher-ally discourse that is tied to a racial logic in which some racial groups are

identified, while others are not. To unpack this logic, we need to begin with a clear understanding on how ideology and racial meaning work through representation.

Ideology is not simply a duping enacted by those who control the superstructure as suggested by classical Marxism. Instead, ideology is better conceptualized as an action that serves multiple sociological functions, including building class unity or dis-unity (Gramsci, 1971/1996). Ideology is also an action that transforms individuals into subjects (Althusser, 1971), and produces private/public distinctions (Marcuse, 1966). Ideology, in this sense, is the glue that binds social domination of various sorts together, but in doing so, provides the capacity to resist and survive domination through the process of rearticulation (Hall, 1986). The productive capacities of ideology observed by Gramsci, Althusser, Marcuse, and Hall are streamed through media and represented in the images, texts, and discourses consumed by audiences. The outcome of ideology, at least thus far in the evolution of history, is the sustainment of social domination by a class of white wealthy men. The ideologies that are represented in news and entertainment media generally reinforce these interlocking and mutually supporting dominant social identities.

A key takeaway from Hall is that not all production and consumption is equal. To Hall, individuals use their agency to re-interpret the images, texts, and of dominant discourses in ways that carves out space to reimagine their own identities. However, Hall is unclear on how rearticulation can have consequence beyond empowering the individuals and collectives doing the rearticulation. In other words, how the process of rearticulation can work to unify heterogeneous groups is left unanswered by Hall but is taken-up by scholars of coalition (Carrillo-Rowe, 2008; Chavez, 2011; Morris, 1992.). We observe in this literature that creating a

set of common experiences and problems can unite individuals under an oppositional identity. Moreover, in Chapter Three, we observe how the CTU uses material spaces of interaction and discourse to unify a heterogeneous group around social justice. Through creating material spaces of interaction and discourse, the CTU rearticulates dominant racial ideologies that create strict lines between insider/outsider in coalition. Explanations on how this is done is the topic we turn to now.

Colorblindness in the neoliberal era and procedural allyship

Scholars approach the meaning of race and racism in society from many angles, but I find the perspectives that highlight their dynamic qualities most helpful because they focus on the material and fluid nature of racial identity in its relation to power. “A relational perspective,” according to Emirbayer and Desmond (2015), “shifts attention...from concrete and hierarchically arranged races to *epistemic races*,” as categories that hail individuals and collectives into a racialized subject position (p. 89). Race is not a real category in this sense but is “constructed through theoretical and practical action” that makes race and racism real, felt, lived, material (p. 89). The constructed nature of racial identity doesn’t make it a lesser social phenomenon contingent on class, or other social identities. As Omi and Winant (2015) state, “race is both a social/historical structure and a set of accumulated signifiers that suffuse individual and collective identities, inform social practices, shape institutions and communities, demarcate social boundaries, and organize the distribution of resources” (p. 215). Hall (1997) adds that race is fundamentally about representation and the power to label, classify, and place on a hierarchy.

Scholars across fields suggest that the current era of racial hegemony is best defined as colorblind (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Feagin, 2014; Hill, 2009; Marable, 2002; Omi and Winant, 2015). In this era, race is thought to not exist and that policy must be race neutral. This is seen in research on *the Cosby Show*, which finds that white audiences view blackness, not through a racial lens, but through the lens of class and culture (Jhally and Lewis, 1992). These findings support Bonilla-Silva's (2010) observations that cultural difference is the biggest driver of racial inequalities. Gray (1995) suggests representations of blackness becomes a space where different white political groups meet to fill blackness with content that furthers white supremacy. By selectively marking blackness while claiming to be colorblind, white individuals sustain their dominance. Daniels (2013) suggests that because of digital media, and the networking of society, colorblindness is a global force that acts as a discursive bridge between a transnational network of mainstream conservative groups and white power groups. Hughey (2010) finds that colorblind ideology helps to hide explicitly white supremacist goals; turning white supremacy into a reactionary brand of white identity politics.

Underpinning colorblind racial hegemony is neoliberal economic policies, which has over the last 40 years, turned the welfare state into the police state (Cha-Jua, 2010; Goldberg, 2009; Lentin and Titley, 2011). The logics of neoliberal rationality are racialized, according to Goldberg (2015), by how it disproportionately affects racialized groups. To Goldberg, racial neoliberalism is fundamentally about defining who's inside and outside civil society. Omi and Winant (2015) add "in its abandonment of the social, in its repudiation of the welfare state, in its passionate embrace of market rationality, neoliberalism gives its adherents permission to ignore the others, the darker nations, the poor, of the United States and the entire planet."

Colorblind ideology is thus ideally suited to support neoliberal policy by making it harder to attack racial exclusions and inequalities. The link between colorblind ideology and structures of neoliberalism is thus fundamental to maintaining white hegemony in the neoliberal state. Enter the CTU trying to use its institutional might to organize coalition with communities of color to stall neoliberal policies that gut public education to the benefit of private enterprise.

By amplifying race conscious policies and gathering evidence on the effects of structural and institutional racism, leaders of the CTU upend the dominant racial classification system and hierarchy through filling racial categories with positive meaning. The rearticulation of colorblind ideology, within the CTU, recognizes and confronts racial neoliberalism by creating material and discursive spaces of interaction. From my observations outlined in Chapter Three, participants see and think racially; fill blackness and otherness with meaningful and accurate meanings and build a local network on- and offline that challenges racial exclusions. In short, the CTU rearticulates colorblind ideology into an ideology that is race conscious and anti-racist, which is all well and good, until participants begin to demand more inclusion and a wider tent to pursue social justice work.

After talking with leaders and allies about the salience of issues within the CTU, as well as their ability to voice concerns with leadership, it's clear that a disconnect occurs that increases the outsider-ness of the CTU and its leaders to communities of color. From these interviews, there's a sense among community organizers, that the CTU relies too much on its own whims and expertise when determining how to work with allies. This attitude focuses attention on the unclear and inconsistent process that determines what organizations and

issues to support. This lack of communication creates blind-spots that cloud spaces of interaction, lead to perceptions of favoritism, and ultimately the othering of allies.

Angie, a white female community organizer who has worked on education justice issues in communities across Chicago for 10-plus years, suggests leaders of the CTU have trouble listening to others. Regarding a bill that would create an elected school board in Chicago, which is working its way through the Illinois Senate, Angie said in an interview, "it's the mindset of like things need to be this way, this person needs to be the leader, we are going to wait for this person to send out [information] to meet. You know, do this now, instead of planning together and strategizing." Angie gives leaders of the CTU the benefit of the doubt, stating, "some people want to [strategize collectively], and other people don't have time," but she also sees leaders of the CTU who do not "listen to people who have done more, who have more experience. They [not the CTU] should be calling the shots."

Caesar, a Latino who has been working in communities of color for more than 10 years, is more pointed in his criticism on coalitional efforts by the CTU. Speaking in an interview, he thanks union leaders for providing his constituents an opportunity to present their stories at rallies, but the unwillingness of union leaders to debate options and priorities regarding the event itself was frustrating. "There is time to do both [long-term and short-term planning] right," Caesar said. "But if you're going to do it right, do it right. Don't pretend that you're doing [both], and just tokenize us. Or, you have privilege...let the community members lead. You provide resources and the necessary tools to make them be a power agent of change."

Locating his critique of the CTU in its lack of transparency Caesar remarks, "Anger can [only] carry you into the next day or the next drink, right? You know you are pissed off, so you

have to take it out on someone. And then you have someone with privilege saying, here let me tell you who to take on, who you are targeting, the power you'll lose, they'll [give you] a power analysis and say this as a problem. When that's the way things [are], organizing [can] only be short-term solutions..." It's a logic on how to interact with communities of color that Caesar has experienced working with foundations.

You know, CTU starting their own foundation, it's like you're using a mechanism that has been the basic tool, the perpetual vehicle for conquer and divide isolationism. Most foundations they are not private [like the CTU]. [The public foundations] were created so there wouldn't be like uproar, or revolution of people. 501C3's are sanctioned by the government, all this money comes from Wall Street. So, that's a challenge when...the funding to do social change comes from foundations.

Referring to provision 501(c)(3) in the U.S. tax code that provides tax incentives for donors of charitable organizations, Caesar shows a deep understanding between structure, agency, and resistance. His identification of CTU as a private charity is interesting for its insider knowledge on how the CTU Foundation received its resources through the sale of the John Fewkes Tower. Nevertheless, Caesar is rightfully suspicious on CTU efforts based on his knowledge and experience working with foundations. These comments, and similar ones I heard when talking with other partners of the CTU, highlight the exclusionary nature of decision-making within the union. Instead of supporting its image as teacher-allies, or as community insiders, stories about exclusivity, whether real or perceived, constrain spaces of interaction and limit expression of belonging in coalition.

Angie finds similar problematic logic in the political campaign of Brandon Johnson—a member of the CTU's organizing department—who won an election for Cook County Commissioner in District 1. The district stretches from Austin and Garfield Park on Chicago's

west side—neighborhoods that are primarily black—to the middle-class and mostly white neighborhood of Galewood, and suburbs of Oak Park and Forest Park. The Cook County Board of Commissioners oversee activities of the county including its healthcare services, forest preserves, courts, and jails. Cook County, home to 5.2 million people, is the largest county in Illinois, and second largest county in the U.S. after Los Angeles. Composed of 29 municipalities, including the City of Chicago, Cook County had \$4.4 billion in operating revenue, in 2017, according to its website.

Johnson, a Black individual who taught in CPS before moving over to work for the CTU, lives in the Austin neighborhood. He campaigned on bringing more transparency to Cook County governance, as well as to protect communities and workers. However, despite a platform oriented toward social justice, problems emerged in his campaign that highlights the uneven role expectations of leaders in the CTU.

"He didn't even campaign in his own ward," Angie explains. "All he thought about was Oak Park and Forest Park, you know. The only fucking ward he won in the City of Chicago was the 28th ward [Garfield Park]. He won it [the ward] by 96 votes. He only won the whole election by 450 votes or close to it." Angie suggests the campaign's focus on wealthy areas are part of a pattern within the CTU that avoids having meaningful discussions on strategy and decision-making with community members. Once decisions are made there is little coalition partners can do to reverse it, even when the decision made behind closed doors contradicts the nature of social justice and allyship. Thus, despite their rearticulations of dominant racial ideology, the allyship practiced by the CTU is limited by uneven role expectations that separate CTU leadership from everyone else.

The 'we know more than you logic' that frustrates community organizers, and effectively turns the CTU into an outsider, reaffirms a procedural approach to coalition. Further, by separating the institution and its leadership from decision-making of community allies, the CTU inadvertently supports white supremacy. Despite its social justice-orientation, as well as its meaningful work communicating coalition to communities of color, the CTU only meaningfully rearticulates racial meaning of people of color. By giving white racial meaning a pass, the CTU reinforces its outsider-ness by failing to fully interrogate the power and privilege of the vast majority of its members and leaders. To understand this nuance in racial meaning we need to investigate one last twist in the relationship between racial ideology and structure, which clarifies how white supremacy often lingers over social justice efforts.

Deficit thinking, racial meaning, and communication

When patterns of talk appeared in interview data, as well as archival records and CTU published media, that suggested that the allyship practices were not valued equally by leaders in the CTU, I became confused. But, after additional deep readings of texts, and multiple rounds of coding, it became clearer that there were blind-spots hidden underneath a seemingly race conscious, anti-racist, ideology. What we will observe in the next section is a particular type of race consciousness that only labels and classifies certain groups as 'raced.' But I was stuck trying to interpret the significance of an explicitly race conscious, anti-racist, understanding of race and racism that is applied to some groups and not for all.

Racial formation theory offers a clue on where to go, but the race consciousness expressed by leaders of the CTU is far from the white supremacist racial projects identified by

Winant (2004). Nor is the race consciousness of CTU a feature of the hegemonic whiteness observed by Hughey (2010). Unlike Hughey's observation that anti-racist groups essentialize racial identities, teacher-ally discourse supports community-oriented formations that *actively* build capabilities in communities of color. An interview participant guided my thinking on where to go next. A rank-and-file member, who is well read in critical race theory and critical pedagogy, pointed my attention toward the concept of the deficit paradigm. Developed by Valencia (1997), the deficit paradigm is a type of race conscious discourse that reinforces white supremacy without using its representational repertoire.

The deficit paradigm, as suggested by Valencia, is a set of child development theories, pedagogical and disciplinary practices, and interpersonal relationships within schools that has taken root within school districts to explain poor educational outcomes for students of color. "A particularly pernicious version of deficit thinking situates the blame for high levels of educational failure among poor Black and Hispanic students, for example, in the cultural and linguistic practices of those groups" (Dudley-Marling, 2015, p. 1). The focus on culture gestures toward culture of poverty arguments that essentially blame poverty on people experiencing it: they're too lazy, too unintelligent, too apathetic. In doing so, the culture of poverty argument *racializes* poverty by rationalizing its existence on the inability of people of color to assimilate to dominant American cultural values. Racialization, the process that spreads racial meaning to new structures, is found in the education system as well (Omi and Winant, 2015). Like the culture of poverty argument, the deficit paradigm *racializes* education policy by using the cultural practices of identified racial groups to explain away gaps in educational obtainment. In this sense, the deficit paradigm is a 'racial project' that focuses on what racially-defined groups

lack. Indeed, the deficit paradigm falls somewhere in between colorblind ideology and a negative race consciousness.

The CTU does not engage in deficit thinking per se, which is what makes it difficult to interpret. Earlier we observed how the CTU actively challenges the deficit thinking of CPS, Mayor Emmanuel, and Governor Rauner. However, what we do observe in the CTU—as we will see shortly—exposes a tension within existing literature on how to measure deficit thinking.

A common indicator used by scholars to measure deficit thinking centers on individual statements, beliefs, or policy positions that separate students of color into an 'at-risk' category (McGregor, 2017). In another category are statements of educators that contrast their expertise with the perceived inferior cultural values of parents and communities of color (Ladson-Billings, 2007). Another common indicator of deficit thinking is the lack of talk on the structural elements behind education gaps (Dumas, 2016). Conversely, researchers define the absence of deficit thinking if educators speak of the agency of students and parents in a positive light. If educators speak of building capabilities, ending structural inequalities, and fighting institutional racism, researchers suggest that those topics indicate anti-deficit thinking. Standing against these measures is Zhao (2016), who critiques these measurements for their inability to speak to the many ways racial meaning and representation work through education policy.

Zhao suggests that critiques of deficit thinking are often power-evasive, which only see and think about the racism in deficit thinking as a problem for people of color that they and others should solve. The role of the dominant white racial group in sustaining this problem is not put under scrutiny. Indeed, Zhao helps to trace a race consciousness that is more inclusive

and sees everyone embedded into the racial landscape, not just people of color. Thus, without naming it, Zhao suggests that two types of critiques on the deficit paradigm occur; one that is power-evasive and racializes deficit thinking as a problem for people of color; and one that is power-centric and deracializes deficit thinking by putting attention on white individuals too. In short, Zhao provides a way to understand a critique of the deficit thinking that emerges in spaces constructed by the CTU that is often power-evasive and lacks a full accounting of the ways in which white racial ideology, white supremacy, and white privilege work through the union.

Evaluating the power-evasive structural critiques of the Chicago Teachers Union

The power-evasive critique of deficit thinking that is communicated through teacher-ally discourse in CTU media follows a basic pattern. First, in representations of structural inequality there is limited discussion on white racial meaning. Second, representations of structural inequality reduce the agency of communities of color by conceptualizing them as a problem that need fixing and leads to limited solutions on how to fix structural inequality. Third, the semblance of agency left to allies in spaces of interaction in the CTU becomes a procedure to manage. Lastly, interactions with allies turn into procedures that secure the next win and limits how the CTU imagines social justice. The effects of this pattern lead to perceived favoritism by members and the othering of allies. Below I illustrate the pattern of the CTU's power-evasive critique on the deficit thinking and then explore what can be done to challenge it when it occurs.

The desert of white racial meaning

There is lack of explicit discussion on white racial meaning in the teacher-ally discourse of the CTU. When this talk does mention white racial meaning it's often communicated via public events as an aside comment a speaker makes to support a larger point. Talk on white racial meaning occurs in a few CTU publications, but it's few and far between. For example, during my examination of *Chicago Union Teacher*, the union magazine, only one article directly interrogates the meanings of whiteness. Written by a high school student as a response to the film "Dear White People," the student writes:

We must confront the racism in ourselves before seeking to help ending racism in others. To allow yourself to admit to your own flaws not only empowers you to face it, but to also empower others to confront their flaws. Even I admit to being a racist. I sometimes catch myself unconsciously judging a person based on their skin color and not their individuality. However, by admitting to it, I have the confidence of confronting it and, ultimately, defeating it. This becomes an inner battle for many people because racism is, after all, subjective. It is a matter of how the person interprets racism, therefore, can only be ended with themselves.

Showing an awareness on racial meaning that is wise beyond their years, this high school student is telling his teachers not to check their privilege, but to interrogate how racism is lived through their flesh. While the student's individualistic focus doesn't confront institutional forms of racism, the writer nevertheless challenges a common sense definition of racism that makes it a problem for others to solve.

Only one other article published in *CUT* represents the oppressive features of white racial identity. Written by a rank-and-file member, the article problematizes the role white teachers play in communities of color, particularly Latinx communities.

Although white teachers can challenge students of color, they can never truly understand the cultural practices that may create oppositional identities for the

students. Once Latino educators are certified, they must come back to communities of color and engage in the growth of those communities. Once engaged in the community, the educator must use what he or she has learned by appealing to the community and making culturally relevant studies for the students. This will give the students a sense of pride, ownership and may validate their oppositional identities.

In this exert, the writer suggests that since white individuals do not experience oppression it makes it difficult for them to see the importance of "culturally relevant studies." Indeed, experiences of students of color often include racist interactions with white educators, not to mention the forced assimilation to values and knowledges via textbooks and activities that dismiss oppositional identities.

The writer ends by demanding that CPS hire more teachers of color who understand how to use agency.

This agency is something that is unique to a Latino educator because they have had to grapple with their place within the dominant white culture. White educators that are inexperienced cannot state what that struggle is or how that struggle impacted their own life. Latino educators (for the most part) have an advantage in relating to those very real struggles that students of Latino origin are facing everyday as it pertains to identity, positionality, and agency.

What remains consistent across CTU media is a relative lack of examination on white racial identity, which implies that this critique is secondary and of lesser importance. Yet, allies must grapple with these issues. Arguing that this talk is impractical belies the point of allyship and contradicts claims made about social justice in official CTU communication.

As an institution of labor led by a multi-racial leadership committed to social justice, the CTU can provide a sense of legitimacy to the need for white individuals to unpack their privileges and racial experiences. Instead, the CTU falls into a similar discursive pattern as the

power-evasive critique of the deficit paradigm. Because of its outsider-ness to communities and its primarily white membership, even with a black and brown leadership, the CTU needs to confront a white racialization. By not meaningfully acknowledging white racial identity, the CTU focuses racial attention on the agency of people of color. Doing so, constrains the creativity of spaces of interaction and limits coalition between labor and community.

Racializing communities of color as at-risk

The in-depth investigations into structural disparities between white and non-white communities in Chicago conducted by the CTU research team moves the conversation on education two-steps forward and one step backward. By examining structural disparities in education and creating well researched proposals on how to fix them, the CTU is engaging in a form of allyship. The white papers, journal articles, and stories on their blog "A Just Chicago," provides legitimacy to structural arguments and adds a deeper understanding on how racism works. Moving the conversation beyond individual behaviors, the CTU research department nevertheless engages in a power-evasive critique of the deficit paradigm. Focusing on communities that are "at-risk," the report and blog "A Just Chicago" is a prototypical example on how racial meaning is deployed in this critique.

In a blog article titled "Neighborhood Inequality in the Land of Opportunity," the writer challenges the culture of poverty argument advocated by media and Mayor Emmanuel, stating:

There is low opportunity in 'bad' neighborhoods because of intentional, historical, and continued segregation, and structural disadvantages that play out across schools, jobs, experiences with the justice system, and all the facets of socio-economic life. We should be wary of narratives that promote the "judicious character" of families that move to opportunity, as if those that stay behind are making poor choices, an entire community of 'poor choosers.' We can't move or choose our way to good neighborhoods for all, nor to good schools for all – we have to address the structural inequalities head on.

The above passage is a classic example of a power-evasive critique on deficit-based policies that is repeated throughout *A Just Chicago*. After the debunking the narratives that critique individual-level behavior (e.g. "judicious character"), the writer moves on to explore the difference between "decades of confirmed, cross-disciplinary research on structural inequality and neighborhood segregation," and research that is based on a "highly-questionable statistical method that requires heroic assumptions to be considered causal." However, as suggested by Zhao, the problematizing of structure must be linked to content and practice that centers on how dominant groups reinforce it. Without this focus, education policy and research miss culturally appropriate and inclusive ways to mend inequalities between communities. As such, the insider/outsider split between labor-community is effectively reified as the CTU constrains who, how, where, and what defines social justice and allyship. Social justice work doesn't happen where structural inequality doesn't exist. It happens there, not here.

On the surface "A Just Chicago" sets the condition for allyship. Perhaps a power-evasive critique on deficit thinking can open spaces of interaction by communicating an awareness on structural inequalities. Indeed, we cannot move or choose our way into allyship without a strong awareness on structural disparities. What's missing in "A Just Chicago" and other CTU publications are approaches to fixing structural disparities that move beyond political-economic approaches. For example, the CTU's "progressive taxation" proposals, such as taxing financial transactions at the Chicago Board of Trade, will provide more resources for public education in Chicago. But, to fundamentally fix structural inequality at its root requires policies that address identity and culture; the values, expressions, representations, etc. we use to communicate who

we are, what we know, and where we would like to be. In short, how we address belonging to a group as equals. In this way, we can ensure that once resources are available, they will be used to create more equity, and not be funneled into already well-sourced communities.

By opening a policy conversation on culture and identity, the CTU can more meaningfully problematize structural inequality as a problem for members of dominant groups, particularly white individuals. Addressing differences in culture, agency, and power can lead to more creative solutions to structural disparities. Of course, talk on white complicity to structural inequality; however framed, is not a convenient conversation to have with members of a mostly white union. However, because of the history of the CTU at advancing a power-evasive critique of structural disparity, the organization has already started the conversation on structure. What the CTU needs to do is to make their proposals more inclusive to the ways in which structural inequality is sustained by white normativity.

Limiting how structural inequality is problematized racializes the role of communities of color in coalition. Instead of deploying agency evenly, leaders of the CTU use the agency of communities of color procedurally; only certain types of structural inequality are useful to pay attention to, deconstruct, and fix with coalitional partners. This attitude is observed by the union's focus on structural inequalities in Black and Latinx communities while remaining uncommitted to the role of white individuals in supporting structural inequalities. In place of the role of white individuals in structural inequality is discourse on how to reduce the marginality of communities of color. What's missing is a bigger tent of social justice activity, or a more accurate representation on the cultural and civic components of oppression.

'Othering' supposed allies

The power-evasive critique of structural inequalities, which are practiced through poor listening skills, arrogance, and silence (e.g. lack of deliberation) reify the CTU's outsider status in coalition and ultimately lead to the othering of allies. This is what happened to an ally in the aftermath of the one-day strike, in 2016. In interviews, on private Listservs, and in discussions on public Facebook groups, I observed similar talk that othered allies. Moreover, my claim in this section isn't on the frequency of occurrence of this talk, but on its features and outcomes. Can allies practice a pragmatic politics? If so, to what extent? What does practicality mean for a social justice union? These questions animate this section by contrasting the pragmatic nature of interest-group politics to the risk allies must take in coalition.

In the late afternoon, on April 1, 2016, the CTU organized a rally in downtown Chicago to express solidarity for a joint one-day strike between teachers, healthcare, and service unions. The downtown rally was the penultimate moment in a day full of actions around Chicago. From Northern Eastern Illinois University on the northwest side to Chicago State University on the south side, and in dozens of other sites in between, labor, student, and community groups picketed, marched, and rallied to support "a progressive plan of taxation" that could fix the budget impasse crippling Illinois public services (Olmstead, 2017). Much of the plan was the work of the policy buffs in the CTU's research department (CTU Communications, 2016). At the downtown rally, near the end of her speech, Chicago Teachers Union President Karen Lewis acknowledged the participating unions, including the Fraternal Order of Police Chicago. After Lewis, standing at the podium, the last speaker of the day, was a community organizer connected to an organizational effort to survive and resist oppression in communities of color. The organizer, possibly near the beginning of their speech, said, "Fuck the Police!" The

statement, which directly contradicted assertions made by President Lewis, remains to this day a tense issue in the CTU.

Media covered the remark, and the FOP's repudiation of it, and their demand for an apology. The community organizer received death threats. CTU members, including many who have families with, or are related, to police officers, made angry calls to union offices and posted angry messages on CTU controlled social media. The CTU's public response to this uproar is an interesting lesson in how communication conditions allyship. Comments made by Vice President Jesse Sharkey, in an interview to *DNAinfo.com* (2016), capture the essence of a Twitter message posted by President Lewis and the CTU's official press release. Sharkey tells the reporter:

Although one speaker went off message and condemned police in a way that our Union does not condone, and we regret what was said, the rally was a resounding success...We hope that this unexpected incident, which could not be predicted, does not obscure the tremendous power and momentum we created on April 1. The fact is that our expanding coalition will increase our chances to win progressive revenue and governance reforms before the summer and into the fall.

Contrast this to a series of messages posted on Twitter by Sarah Chambers a leader in CORE, including:

CTU can apologize once the FOP apologizes for supporting & fundraising 100k for Van Dyke who killed our CPS student

If u have no idea why ppl of color r angry enough 2 yell "F the police" then u r out of touch or racist. Their rage is real [#cpacNow](#) [#laquan](#)

CORE itself remained silent on the matter. The contrast between these messages represents diverging views based on different communicative positions and the gap between community-

oriented communication and interest group-oriented communication. This gap is also representative of the distance between two critiques of the deficit paradigm. On the one hand, Sharkey's and Chambers' comments represent a contradiction within teacher-ally discourse on what accounts for social justice rhetoric and action. On the other hand, Sharkey's and Chambers' roles are clearly different and pose a dilemma for understanding how a social justice union becomes a better ally. Can these contradictions between leaders and activists, and the ambiguous nature of social justice work, be helpful to coalition by inspiring productive discussions? At what point if left alone, minimized, or stripped of meaning, do these contradictions become unhelpful? What is the role of officers and leaders in social justice efforts? To what extent do elected officers in a labor union need to express the rhetoric of its most radical members on issues related to race, class, and community? Can unelected leaders of the CTU, with fewer institutional constraints, pick-up the slack of union officers in coalition efforts?

Responding to pressure, officers and other leaders in the CTU attempted to explain away the rhetoric of the community organizer rather than support an ally. The last sentence of Vice President Sharkey's quote gets to this point. Using an instrumental logic, Sharkey suggests that allies are part of a procedure that "will increase our chances to win..." An accurate assessment to be sure, but one that belies the beings and longings that bring people together in coalition. Moreover, Sharkey's instrumentality rests on a power-evasive assumption that minimizes the experiences of the community organizer. Instead, he implies that all experiences are equal in the coalition, which contradicts the meaning of allyship in teacher-ally discourse used in CTU.

The framing of the message as unpredictable also reveals a power-evasive understanding of situation. Amplification of voices include listening to comments that are uncomfortable and contentious. It's part of being an ally and the practice of translation. The role of ally-translators is not to rationalize the other's speech acts via a free speech logic. In contrast, ally-translators provide context for the un-comfortability and contention, which is what we observe in the twitter messages posted by Chambers. Lastly, Sharkey provides some space to condemn the Chicago Police Department, but only "in a way that our union" condones. Framing the community organizer as "off-message," Sharkey places their condemnation of the police outside the bounds of proper deliberation, which reinforces the outsider-ness of the community organizer. Placing the organizer's remarks outside union norms, Sharkey suggests that certain ways to see and think are not socially valuable, which is an argument that minimizes the agency of people of color. Similar to the power-evasive critique of the deficit paradigm, which removes the agency of people of color, Sharkey's message to allies is that they must be led.

The series of Twitter messages posted by Chambers provides a contrasting view on the community organizer's message. Instead of trying to explain the community organizer's comments as "off-message," Chamber's Twitter messages translate how communities of color understand their position in relation to police. Moreover, the leader anticipates outrage and hostility by labeling people who do not understand the organizer's comments as "out of touch or racist." In doing so, these messages set the conditions necessary for allyship by communicating the complexity of the union's commitments to communities of color. The communicative positions of the rank-and-file leader, Chambers, and Vice-President Sharkey are

obviously different. One position is representative of the activist, ally-wing, of the union, while the other represents the official view of the CTU. The point of Chapter Five and Six is to better understand how the official position of the CTU can be pushed to more fully represent the teacher-ally discourse of rank-and-file leaders through alternative media practice and digital organizing strategy. What we observe in the response to transgressive rhetoric is a divide between what teacher-allies want their union to be, and the instrumental logic of coalition used by an elected officer of the union. Despite being an out-spoken socialist, Sharkey's message constrains the ways allies interact in coalition by minimizing their agency.

For Sharkey, communicating a stronger message of belonging and commitment to their allies, risks weakening the union's relationship with a small slice of its membership, but also to contract negotiators and state lawmakers. The community organizer risks everything. The CTU leader, grasping the organizer's risk, responds through Twitter as an ally. Other CTU leaders and members spoke up to, whether in our interviews, or in Facebook or Twitter posts. How social media, in general, and digital organizing strategy, specifically, can be used by leaders, members, and allies to support one another, when officers and the institution cannot or will not, is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. To understand the space of interaction in the CTU, and the maneuverability leaders, allies, and members have to bypass the communicative blind-spots of the institution on- and offline, we need to carefully identify the main function of the communication blind-spots discussed above.

Conclusion: Toward a neoliberal approach to allyship

When CTU officers miss an opportunity to support their allies, leaders and members of the CTU can step-up and set the conditions for allyship through communication. Without the legitimacy of the institution, leaders and members can still translate and amplify the messages of allies. Yet, for an institution led by individuals dedicated to social justice, the lack of clear guidelines and open discussion on who and how to support allies creates uneven expectations in spaces of interaction. Selectively choosing how to support allies is an important conversation to have, but this conversation should be explicit, engaging, and accessible to participants. Indeed, holding these conversations will undoubtedly lead to some members questioning the need for social justice unionism. However, this conversation can serve as an opportunity for the majority in the CTU to double-down their commitments to allies by identifying, clarifying, and reaffirming the definition of social justice unionism and allyship.

One way to push back against power-evasive critiques of the deficit paradigm that racialize communities of color, as suggested by Zhao, is through dialogue and deliberation (Zhao, 2016). Without dialogue between stakeholders on the nature of racial meaning and structure, efforts to create policies or spaces of interaction that can reduce structural disparities will be limited. An ongoing conversation on social justice and allyship can build a stronger understanding on the nature of racial meaning and structure, which can help reduce communicative blind-spots with community allies.

Michelle, a white woman and leader in the CTU, who has worked in communities of color for 20-plus years, emphasizes the need for more dialogue in her description of

"reactionary." Speaking in an interview, Michelle suggests that CTU President Karen Lewis understood what was at stake by denouncing the community organizer's comments:

A lot of people in CORE wanted to write a resolution denouncing the police, blah, blah, blah, blah. And [Karen] being the person that she is that thinks about things—and she's not *reactionary*—she's smart. She knows what the [community organizer did and said]. We cannot come out against the police number one during the [one day] strike. They moved the barricades for us, they helped us. They said they were going to arrest us, and they took us around the corner and let us go. They told us, kick his ass, really, the cops will say like, kick his ass. They were in our corner. They stood by us hook, line, and sinker. And, a lot of our members are tied to police. We're not going to disrespect them...you just don't...So, you have to look at the big picture. You can't be *reactionary*. You can't because then you come back with...we represent 20,000 people of all races...you have to take all that into consideration.

The use of reactionary by Michelle is indicative of the contradictory racial logic I observed within spaces of interaction constructed by CTU. Somewhere on the continuum between race consciousness and colorblindness falls Michelle view on community allies and their experiences with police. Empathy for allies is replaced with pronouncements on their reactionary behavior. Here, reactionary is understood not simply as opposition to reform, but is extended and used against reformers themselves.

Histories, knowledges, and experiences represented in the community organizer's comments are collapsed and interpreted by Laura as a double threat. There's an external threat that jeopardizes relations between the Fraternal Order of Police and the CTU, as well as a threat to internal unity. What's reactionary is not the culture of the Chicago Police Department, the efforts of the Emmanuel Administration to cover-up the murder of Laquan McDonald by a Chicago police officer (WBEZ, 2018), nor individual officers that share their support for the CTU behind corners. Instead what's reactionary is efforts to upset labor unity. Michelle's use of "all

racism," similar to Sharkey's use of "off-message," is seemingly a pragmatic response that contains and de-radicalizes voices from communities of color. It's a response to transgressive rhetoric borne from a limited understanding on how to critique deficit thinking and neoliberal education policy.

What's erased by Michelle and Sharkey are ways to see and think about racial meaning and structure beyond its utility for contract negotiations. The work of being an ally requires risk. Particularly when confronting a colorblind neoliberal ideology that is fraying social relations, risk in coalition includes confronting our own role in oppression of others and amplifying the agency of allies. What's at risk is labor unity and the political fallout from who feel uncomfortable confronting this information. However, deliberating on the nature of social justice provides opportunities to reduce insider-outsider divides in labor-community coalition. Without this conversation, trust in the coalition, as well as the authority of labor as an insider to community is diminished. Indeed, the communicative blind spots expressed by leaders' function to subvert the nature of allyship and reinforce the logic of colorblind neoliberalism.

Race conscious policies are the antithesis of the neoliberal policies of CPS, Mayor Emmanuel, and Governor Rauner, according to the CTU and others. In many ways, the CTU conducts allyship by using its resources to raise awareness on racial meaning and racial structure, but it does so unevenly. Thus, far from being colorblind, leaders of the CTU express race consciousness, but only on their terms. Thus, the material and discursive spaces of coalition constructed by the CTU, at times, effectively privatize allyship. Indeed, what we see is not so much a colorblind approach to allyship, as noted by Patel (2011), but a *neoliberal approach* to allyship.

By *unintentionally* communicating a limited view of racial meaning and structure, the CTU constrains social justice, community well-being, solidarity, etc. In doing so, leaders of the CTU turn allyship into a procedure decided in private. Instead, of pursuing allyship as an end in itself, questions on allyship turn into small group decisions on whose knowledges and experiences matter, who are natural constituents and allies, who's inside and outside the community, and what is the right time and place. Of course, these questions are important to particular tactics and strategy, but there is a way to approach these questions that strengthens spaces of interaction. To escape its communicative blind-spots that produce a neoliberal approach to allyship, the CTU needs to reevaluate the racial implications of deficit thinking through dialogue with allies.

More open dialogue on the nature of social justice can create space to rearticulate racial ideology behind a power-evasive critique on structural disparities. Dialogues between allies can break the pattern of representations on racial meaning and structural inequality that lead to the othering of allies. Next, I investigate how the neoliberal approach to allyship can be broken via alternative media practices.

Chapter 5

“It doesn’t fit:” Defining the alternative media produced by the Chicago Teachers Union

Ask leaders of the Chicago Teachers Union why the 2012 strike succeeded, and you will receive a range of responses about the importance of the social organizing model. Much like deep organizing efforts defined by McAlevee (2016) social organizing are practices and principles that create engagement, participation, and deliberation among leaders, members and allies of an organization. In interviews and in CTU media the theme of ‘hitting the streets’ defines much of the success of this model during the 2012 strike. Often framed around canvassing communities and outside schools, ‘hitting the streets’ is more than an organizational effort to use collective voice or be heard but emerges as a shorthand to define coalition-building between teachers and their communities.

The logic that undergirds the social organizing model suggests that coalitions are borne and grown through face-to-face conversations that take place between members, parents, and community activists in and around schools (Noonan et al, 2014). Some of my interviewees add that face-to-face conversations that occurred far away from brick-and-mortar school buildings played a larger role at bringing teachers and community members closer together. Places like community stores, libraries, and restaurants; spaces like block parties, street festivals, and street corners; as well as ‘non-places’ such as public transportation, all proved to be fruitful sites of coalition-building between teachers and community members.

The discursive theme of “hitting the streets” supplies the logic of “A Seat of Red: Chicago Teachers Union members reflect on how the social organizing model of unionism helped win the union’s 2012 contract campaign,” a joint effort by the CTU research department

and scholars at Harper College, Roosevelt University, and Texas Christian University (Noonan et al, 2014). Before examining the importance of face-to-face communication to organizing, the authors write, “A number of CTU members noted how the school-to-school solidarity activities not only built necessary solidarity but served to highlight the systemic inequality and racism at work across the CPS system. One teacher noted: ‘They didn’t have gym; they didn’t have any prep periods. No library, no music, no art; they didn’t have books to start the school with...’” (p. 14). Other secondary literature reinforces the sense that CTU leaders helped members and coalition partners forge personal ties, build community, and create an oppositional collective identity that stood against the neoliberal policies of the Chicago Public School district and Mayor Rahm Emmanuel (Lipman, 2011; Patel, 2016). The point of this chapter is to shed light on another successful component of the 2012 strike specifically, and social justice unionism broadly, a component that has been overlooked by scholars (Brogan, 2014; Ganz, 2009; Han, 2014; McAlevey, 2016)—how the media content produced by social justice-oriented unions contributed to efforts in the streets.

This chapter pushes back on a few popular perceptions among some activists and scholars. First, I’m not denying the value of face-to-face communication between allies. Instead, I observe how allyship and social justice organizing are constituted by media content and practice. In doing so, I suggest that beyond being sites that “counteract” frames of dominant discourse (Noonan et al, 2014, p. 10), the media content and practice of the CTU is best viewed as spaces of interaction that can create or constrain coalition. Thus, being an ally and organizing for social justice is fundamentally related to media content and practice.

Second, while I understand the need to think instrumentality about the role of in-house media to coalition-building and unionism, which is how many of my interviewees view it, there is a deeper, more fundamental aspect of media content in our current hyper-mediated world that involves synchronizing values (Zuckerman, 2011). Social justice-oriented unions are ideally-suited to produce media that doesn't *just* promote union talking-points but provide a vehicle for allies and their coalition partners to learn about one another. In this sense, media works to synchronize the values and experiences of its diverse audience. This insight leads me to view media published by the CTU as encompassing aspects of labor, community, and alternative media because its geared toward representing voices and investigating issues that are often left out or oversimplified by dominant media outlets. In the next section, I talk about how scholars define these media forms, which also draws out importance of mediated forms of communication to coalition-building. Before we get there, let's review what we know about how the CTU communicates coalition with communities of color.

In Chapter Three, I discussed the material and discursive spaces of interaction that occurred at CTU's headquarters, as well as in schools and communities. We observed how practices of outsourcing, mediation, and translation helped to build spaces of interaction that 'tipped toward the other.' Add in teacher-ally discourse and these practices helped the CTU erase lines that separate teachers from communities and vice versa. However, as examined in Chapter Four, these lines are sometimes redrawn and reified by a power-evasive critique of racial structure and identity. By avoiding this conversation leaders of the CTU approach coalition as a procedure, as a relationship to manage, which turns being an ally into private discussions. Instead of bringing people into the conversation, CTU leaders discuss best strategy,

tactics, and messaging among themselves. I define this practice as the neoliberal approach of allyship, which problematizes conditions of communities of color and education based on what's practical and marketable.

The point of this chapter is to better understand how the CTU uses alternative media to represent the themes of teacher-ally discourse, which often disrupt and contradict power-evasive critiques made by CTU officers. To do so I ask the following questions:

- How do local newspapers imagine the role of Chicago Teachers Union in issues related to education?
- How does media produced by the Chicago Teachers Union imagine social justice unionism and its role in education in Chicago?
- How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies operationalize the relationship between allyship and racial identity in search of building a social justice-oriented organization through media?

These questions help unpack the role of media in coalition by providing insights on what media practices and content are most useful for ally organization. Indeed, these questions speak to the complexity of identifying and defining genres of media since the rise of digital publishing tools, while centering analysis around the form and function of racial representations. To understand how these concepts, relate to media produced by the CTU, I start by exploring the communicative, institutional, and cultural aspects of media production.

Understanding the impact of media form and content on social justice activism

The media produced by the CTU is best understand as an intersection of different media genres. It's part alternative media, part community media, and part labor media. The lines

between these media genres are connected, in part, by information gathering routines, editorial decisions, and authorship choices (Atton, 2007). To be sure, these lines are blurry. Due to the ease of digital publishing, and the wealth of information that appears Online, it's often difficult to pin down a clear definition of what's alterative, community, or labor-oriented media (Rodriguez et al, 2014). However, by explicating the definitions of these media genres, we come to a clearer understanding on the role that ally media producers play in coalition.

Alternative-community-labor media have a similar orientation to the public. The logic of this orientation is undergirded by Dewey's (1927/1954) understanding of media not as an abstract objective entity that hovers over civic life. Instead, media production is best thought of as embedded directly into the communities in which it originates. Building off this logic, Carey (1992) suggests communication does not involve the production, circulation, and consumption of valueless set of facts. Information is not simply transmitted to audiences via channels of mass communication. Instead, communication is a ritual, and as such, is a product of culture; it's "the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and container for human action" (Carey, 1992 p. 18-19). As a ritual, news production projects community ideals; their stories, attitudes, and symbols "to manifest an ongoing and fragile social process" (p. 19). Thus, Carey's ritual view of communication suggest that ally media producers disseminate stories that shape affiliation and belonging to community. While Dewey and Carey are useful at theorizing the community-orientation of media, they are not as helpful at theorizing how media content and practices shapes oppositional- and counter-discourses that are present in CTU media. For these insights, I turn to counterpublic theory and its conceptualization of publicity.

Responding to the exclusionary features found in Habermas' (1991) public sphere theory, counterpublics are a way to theorize the emergence of institutions that oppose forces hostile to sociocultural diversity in civil society (Fraser, 1990). These emergent institutions create civic spaces that are not binary in nature, but multiple. Indeed, Asen (2000) suggests that efforts to reduce counterpublic formations to identities, places, or topics often reduce public formation to either counter or public, which negates the "manifold relations among publics" (p. 426). By centering analytical attention on discursive norms and practices, scholars help to outline the multiple forms of oppositional identities, interests, and needs that exist in civic life (Negt & Kluge, 1973; Squires, 2002). Counterpublic theory, in this sense, suggests that the form and function of counterpublicity differs from medium-to-medium and public-to-public. Thus, when we define counterpublics, we must be careful to attend to the many ways these spaces produce media that both engage and withdrawal from dominant civil society.

It's a dual turn between engagement and withdrawal that counterpublicity helps to chart and which produces a multitude of strategies, tactics, and institutions of opposition (Jackson & Welles, 2015; Squires, 2002). Thus, allies must attend to how 'counter' is constructed, while understanding the nature of the often differing, contradictory, and complex forms of publicity that emerge. Counterpublic theory, thus, suggests that ally media function to amplify and translate communication from counterpublics seeking to engage larger civil society. Second, counterpublic theory suggests ally media function to communicate respect and support for efforts to withdrawal through remaining silent or carefully breaking down to their audiences the importance of withdrawal. What's fundamental is for allies to reproduce, what I am calling, a counter*publicity* that reifies discursive norms and practices used by groups to debate the

meaning of their identities, as well as alternate modes of belonging, seeing, thinking, and knowing.

Scholarship that defines alternative and community media is helpful at pinpointing the content and practices important for allies to consider when producing counterpublicity. Scholars who debate the definitions of alternative and community media focus on different production practices, media content, and the views of underrepresented groups (Atton, 2002; Rodriguez, 2011). While Atton prefers to use 'alternative' to capture media content that are politically and culturally distinct from dominant media, he and others observe that when it comes to production, there is often little difference between the practices used by alternative media practitioners and their mainstream counterparts (Coudlry, 2015). Rodriguez (2014) suggests that literature on alternative media often forgets the *communicative* aspects of production.

Current research on alternative media, for Rodriguez, is "insufficient for answering complex research questions about cultural negotiations, hegemonic forces, anti-hegemonic resistances, and political economic frameworks that transverse uses of media technologies" (p. 153). In this view, communication is more complicated than sender, receiver, message models. Instead, Rodriguez defines communication more precisely based on how community-oriented communicators use media to prompt a different type of communication process. "They intervene to repopulate the public sphere, to activate interaction between local government, and their constituencies, or to trigger communication happenings" (Rodriguez, 2014, p. 159). These community-oriented communicators explore their community to detect information needs and to figure out which media technologies are needed to meet these needs. It's this

communication-centric view of media that ally organizations can draw from to produce spaces that unpack the impact of social, political, and economic dynamics to community. As Rodriguez suggests, community-oriented communicators “have learned to see the social fabric of a community as a mesh of communication dynamics that shape people’s sense of identity, their sense of belonging and agency, and togetherness – all necessary ingredients for collective action” (Rodriguez, 2014, p. 160).

Alternative and community media scholarship provides more clarity on the role of mediated communication for allies. While their publicity counters hegemonic forces that strip texture from diverse sociocultural identities, the practices of ally organizations that produce counterpublicity function as a process of social interaction between community-oriented communicators and communities. In other words, Rodriguez (2011, 2014), and to a lesser extent Atton (2007), Dolber (2016), and Mislán (2017), suggest that production practices shape specific forms of counterhegemonic organization. These practices include editorial decisions making processes on what to topic and how to cover and present it, as well as routines of information gathering, which include questions on what evidence to collect, who to interview, what questions to ask, and how to contextualize information.

As an ally organization that is primarily an institution of labor, we might assume that the CTU produces labor media; that is, stories about workplace conditions, contract negotiations, programs initiated by officials, and the like. To be sure, the CTU produces this content. However, there is little scholarship on media produced by labor organizations, which makes defining its impact and function challenging. Most literature on labor media focus on investigating the labor beat of dominant news outlet, or the lack thereof (Martin, 2003), and

supports Gitlin (2003) and other scholars who find patterns of misrepresentations or silencing of social movements and unions. Media histories on labor journalism during the 19th Century and early 20th Century show its importance at popularizing issues backed by worker movements and political parties, such as an end to child labor and a shorter workday (Streitmatter, 1999). Less is known about the production practices of labor media. Outside of interviews by labor journalists (Fraser, 2018), as well as a toolkit for labor journalists developed by Duncan (2018) for *Labor Notes*, the little attention paid to the content and practices of labor media by social scientists, suggests a need for definitional clarification. Furthermore, labor's turn back to social justice unionism, particularly among public sector unions, makes building a definition more important. It's media produced for members of an organization to be sure. But, what function does it serve in the context of social justice unionism in which members are organized as allies to communities? To better understand the answer to this question, let's discuss the communicative purpose of labor media in the context of the CTU, social justice unionism, and our understanding of counterpublicity and alternative-community media.

CTU members need information on bread-and-butter issues, like contract talks. Members need information about their profession, like curriculum and instruction trends. Members need information about their schools, like impacts of policies instituted by administrators of the Chicago Public School district. Members also need information about communities, particularly communities of color (from which CPS draws 90% of its student), particularly the systemic devaluing of these communities by policymakers and elites. Additionally, what's needed in community-oriented news are stories on individual and organizational efforts to strengthen communities, how members can participate, and news on

coalitional possibilities, whether literal or metaphorical. What this suggests is that media produced by the CTU negotiates the tension between the needs of labor and the needs of community. CTU media negotiate this tension two ways: 1) Through counterpublicity and amplifying counterhegemonic discourse that connects labor to community; 2) Through production practices that enact social interaction between community-centric communicators and communities. I argue in the next section that the CTU does a good job at the former, but when it comes to production practices, leaders use problematic assumptions that damages their reputation as allies.

Evaluating the Counterpublicity of the CTU

Using discourse analysis, I evaluate texts by identifying thematic patterns of representation. Van Dijk (1993) suggests that discourse analysis is best suited to contextualize how representations operate in culture and politics. Similarly, Gamson (1992) identifies themes of discourse to understand the relationship between issues and frames. Indeed, “those who respond to the larger cultural theme will find it easier to respond to a frame with the same sonorities” (Gamson, 1992, p. 135). Thus, by developing a coding scheme to identify issues, frames, and themes of discourse, scholars gain insight on how texts resonate in culture.

In this chapter, I use data collected from 35 interviews with leaders and rank-and-file members of the CTU, archival work on the CTU, as well as articles published by news outlets. The texts produced by the CTU used in this analysis include the magazine *Chicago Union Teacher*, which is published about nine times a year. Also included in the analysis are press releases, as well as articles published on its two blogs: the CTU’s official website blog housed on

its website, as well as, *A Just Chicago*, which is published using Wordpress.org. The CTU also publishes a newsletter during work stoppages titled *On the Line*, as well as other issue specific newsletters that are published as news occurs (e.g. updates on contract negotiations, changes to CPS policies). During my archival work, I found *OTL*'s for the 1987 and 2012 strikes, as well as media kits, election guides, and newsletters regarding school budgets and school closures. All of these documents are included in the analysis below.

I collected texts published by news media and CTU media around four key dates in CTU history, to understand the content and practices of CTU media. The four key dates are: 1) CORE's election victory in June 2010; 2) The 2012 strike that started in early-September 2012; 3) The one-day strike on April 1, 2016; and 4) The aborted attempt for another one-day strike on May 1, 2017. I analyzed coverage one month prior and one month after these events in the following news outlets: the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Daily Herald*, *DNAinfo.com*, and *Chicago Reader*. These outlets were chosen because local newspapers have an agenda-setting effect on local media ecologies (McCombs & Funk, 2011). Also included in this analysis are texts found through archival work at the Chicago History Museum, as well as texts collected online through the CTU's website.

I start my analysis by answering what CTU media counters. By examining how dominant media frames the work of the CTU, we can better contextualize the counterhegemonic discourse found in CTU media. After analyzing themes found in its mediated discourse, I examine how the CTU operationalizes allyship to build a social justice-oriented union.

Representations of the CTU in Chicago Newspapers

The CTU and its role in education is represented in dominant news media through the following themes: 1) Trust the system; 2) Union disempowerment; 3) Union greed; and 4) Erased connections. The themes together present an image of the CTU as a representative of an elite class of public worker that is primarily concerned about increasing their salaries. There is little to no talk on the coalitional work of the CTU and its efforts to build capacities in communities.

The theme of *trust the system* is present in articles and editorials about pending legislation to democratize the Chicago Board of Education (Chicago Tribune, 2016b), charter schools (Chicago Tribune, 2017), as well as the one-day strike, in 2016 (Sfondeles & FitzPatrick, 2016), and the 2012 strike (Janssen & Spielman, 2012; Lester, 2012). An editorial published by *The Chicago Tribune* (2016b) argues against bringing democracy to the Chicago Board of Education for several reasons, including its “sheer heft. Gather 21 newbie board members around a table, many of them likely beholden to special interests (read: the Chicago Teachers Union or other deep-pocket contributors for their seats and ask them to find ways to rescue the foundering district without more borrowing or massive tax increases.” After equating the CTU with special interests and deep-pocket donors, the *Tribune* ends by suggesting that the current system works because it holds people accountable.

Similarly, in an article on the 2012 strike, written by *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Mark Brown (2012), he suggests that the structure of union democracy hurts its negotiating position with Mayor Rahm Emanuel. Brown suggests that teachers in the CTU House of Delegates, by taking extra time reviewing the district’s contract offer, are limiting the options of CTU

President Karen Lewis, who publicly announced she supported the offer. At the essence of Brown's comments is belief that union delegates should trust their leadership, and by extension CPS and the mayor's office. What Brown fails to adequately account for is the power of union democracy. Union delegates are elected representatives who are voted to represent the interests of members at their respective schools. Lewis is beholden to delegates; not the other way around. Brown's trust the system approach to the strike and contract negotiations is representative of other articles that serve to minimize the role of teachers as agents of democratic social change. Instead of adhering to democracy, Brown and others want members of the CTU and communities in Chicago to trust the system.

Supporting the logic of trust the system, is the theme of *union disempowerment*, in which the CTU is either lumped together with other elites—or bullies local and state politicians into—using children as political pawns to score political points. This theme suggests that unions disempower communities in their fight against CPS. The *Tribune* editorial board regularly derides Lewis as a politician who wants power and influence (Azam, 2010), or as an old school union boss who sees the public as her enemy (Chicago Tribune, 2016a; Steinberg, 2016). Another way the union disempowers communities is through its radical rhetoric and activism.

Talk on the activist core of the CTU is limited in news coverage. Activism associated with the CTU that is explicitly recognized by journalists, which is rare, is never defined as social justice-oriented, or particularly helpful for civil society. Instead, the activist nature of the CTU is represented as a distraction and harmful to communities. For example, in news content published by the *Tribune* during the 2012 strike Ahmed-Ullah et al., 2012, the authors begin the article by writing that “Chicago Teachers Union President Karen Lewis and the union's other top

brass have spent months fueling their membership's anger through street marches, meeting sit-ins, and hostile rhetoric as negotiations for a new contract have dragged on. But curbing that vitriol enough to seal a deal now could be Lewis' biggest challenge..." The article continues to talk about the heated rhetoric used by union members as too radical and out-of-touch with the needs of communities and parents.

In a passage that gets closer than any other news article analyzed for this study to fully vetting the social justice-orientation of the CTU, the authors describe CTU's current leadership as part of the Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators, "which started out as a book club to review Naomi Klein's best-seller *The Shock Doctrine*, which argues that corporate interests have exploited crises to push through agendas that undermine democracy." Indeed, "the union's current leadership," as contextualized by the authors, "rose to power on a platform of pushing back against privatization of public schools and the aggressive education reform efforts introduced by former CPS chief Arne Duncan, who is now the U.S. secretary of education." While this limited context offers some insight on the roots of the "hostile rhetoric" mentioned earlier in the article, the overall representation of the CTU is that its new activist nature is distracting from the work needed to fix structural inequalities in education.

Union Greed is a theme of news coverage that is closely associated with union disempowerment and extends representations of power-hungry union bosses to the realm of economics. In other words, union bosses, such as Karen Lewis, are political operatives who want to enrich themselves off public money (Ihejirika & Spak, 2012). In addition, the theme of union greed suggests that union members advocate for higher pay and more benefits, which is the bread-and-butter logic that accompanies most news coverage on the 2012 strike and one-

day strike of 2016. Union greed stands in for what unions and their members want: more money. For example, a common refrain on striking teachers is found in an editorial written by *The Daily Herald* (2012), which likens the CTU to a selfish adolescent. The *Herald* writes:

So, what do we see now in Chicago? Red-shirted Chicago teachers circling sidewalks, shaking signs and stalling traffic to declare the unfair conditions under which they are expected to work – the ‘injustices,’ in short, of being asked to link some of their potential wage increases to their performance, of allowing school administrators rather than union rules to select teachers who may be rehired from layoff, of a 16% wage increase offer over four years for some of the highest-paid teachers in the country and, admittedly to a lesser extent now than earlier in the summer, of asking teachers with one of the shortest school days in the country to increase their instructional time.

The discourse used by the *Herald* editorial board is common among other elite outlets, as well as neoliberal policymakers at CPS (Gutstein & Lipman, 2013), the mayor’s office (Pearson, 2012), and the governor’s office (Perez & Garcia, 2017), and at think-tanks, such as the Illinois Policy Institute (Tillman, 2012). Meaning, in a typical news article on the 2012 strike, while the union’s efforts are minimized as disempowering communities and as distrustful of the system of accountability, the union’s opponents who are interviewed or cited give voice to the notion that union members care mainly about pay. Moreover, as we see in the quote from the *Herald*, the actual working conditions of teachers are reduced to anger over performance reviews, dismissing a wide range of atrocious conditions picked up by smaller news outlets, such as *The Socialist Worker* and *In these Times* (Barret, 2012; Moberg, 2012; Uetrict, 2016). Outside of these outlets, no in-depth investigations on teachers’ grievances appear in the sample. Instead, audiences of dominant news media in Chicago are presented with a union that is part of the problem, not the solution.

Supporting this conclusion is the relative absence of talk on the community-labor coalition supported by the CTU. The theme of *Erased Connections* minimizes the relationships between the CTU and community organizations. Erasing these connections helps to reinforce representations of the CTU as fighting for themselves against the interests of communities. An editorial that pushes back against the closure of charter schools by CPS published, in 2016, by *The Chicago Sun-Times* (2016) provides a typical example of this erasure. After arguing that charter schools are a drain on public resources and coming close to the position of the CTU and its coalition partners, the editorial cites a tweet from one of these partners—Raise Your Hand—without mentioning the organization’s work with the CTU. Instead, Raise Your Hand is labeled a “parent group,” which it undoubtedly is, but it’s also a parent group that is closely aligned with the CTU.

In a news article by the *Tribune* from 2017 (Pratt & Perez, 2017) that covered a rally organized by the CTU and its allies to draw attention to the financial turmoil of CPS, the authors mention several issues and organizations that attended the rally. “Demonstrators called for minimum wage increases, policy accountability and economic, racial, and immigrant justice. Ongoing controversies took center stage from the beginning of the rally. A rapper took the microphone to warm up the crowd and said, ‘Let me hear you say, Stop the Wall.’” What’s implicit in this coverage is that organizations such as the CTU, which is identified as a primary organizer of the rally, are disconnected from the work of other organizations working in a separate set of non-union related issues. By not explicitly representing the connections between the CTU and its allies, representations of the CTU in news coverage minimizes its role in communities. What’s more, during coverage of the 2012 strike, when news article mentioned

polls that showed a wide range of support for striking teachers, particularly in communities of color, the deep organizing efforts taken by the CTU in these communities went unmentioned. It's the silencing of this work, added to the representations that reduces the CTU to greedy political operatives who don't trust the system of accountability, that trivializes the CTU as out-of-touch and out-of-reach. And, it's this coverage of education and community produced by dominant news media that CTU media counters—the topic we turn to next.

Representing and Legitimizing Social Justice Unionism

The media produced by the Chicago Teachers Union represents social justice unionism and its role in education through the following themes: 1) Grassroot campaigns; 2) Union approachability; and 3) (in)Direct democracy. While these three themes reinforce how the CTU uses teacher-ally discourse to erase distinctions between teachers and communities—the topic of Chapter Three—in this section I chart how themes of teacher-ally discourse position the union as counter-to dominant discourse on education.

The theme of *Grassroot Campaigns* represents the CTU and its allies as forging substantive relationships to fight back against neoliberal policymakers who are destroying public education. Examples of this theme are numerous and are present across CTU platforms. In memes shared Online by the communication department, in press releases about rallies and legislation (CTU Communications, 2016), in research reports (Caref & Jankov, 2012), blog posts (Bloom, 2017), and in speeches by union officers posted to YouTube (Lewis, 2016) it's clear that the work to fix structural inequalities in education requires a concerted effort between teachers and community members. For example, a quote from a CTU delegate in *On The Line*, published

on the 5th day of the 2012 strike, after referring to the “huge amount of support” his colleagues have received from community members, states:

My fear is no longer allowed when I’m standing strong with my fellow teachers. **We are one with each other and the community we serve.** We cannot wait to get in our classrooms, but we know that **if there is no struggle, there is no progress** (bold in the original).

The delegate’s fear, which they define earlier as “serious doubts” on the strike, is soothed over by solidarity and unity with other teachers and community members. In this sense, the yearning for collaboration and contact with others drive grassroots actions on the picket line, which are often covered by CTU media and local newspapers. These actions include humorous signs, emergent chants and singing, drumlines, impromptu speeches, and acts of solidarity: community members who donated food and coffee, as well as their time and bodies— all topics covered by *On the Line* during the 2012 strike.

Unlike articles in popular newspapers, articles in CTU media mentioned specific relationships between the CTU and organizations in the Grassroots Education Movement, which includes the CTU, as well as Pilsen Alliance, Raise Your Hand, and Enlace, to name a few (CTU Communications, 2017). Other articles represent the relationships social justice organizing creates in broad strokes. In a blog post about a rally organized by Healthcare Illinois and Indiana chapter of the Service Employees International Union to celebrate the successful end to the 2012 strike, the author states, “At a time when working men and women embattled by corporate backed political agendas hostile to collective bargaining, the Chicago teachers’ strike represented a resurgence of grassroots power, as educators, parents, and children, and community leaders united to protect their schools” (CTU Communications, 2012). It’s

representing the power of relationship building that becomes central to countering the dominant themes of the CTU as out-of-touch. Readers also look at CTU media as a powerful source of relationship building (Noonan et al. 2014). Likewise, my interviewees describe CTU media as important sources of information on education that aids in organizing efforts and relationship building. While leaders of community organizations I spoke with don't regularly pick-up CTU publications, they all follow the organization, as well as many of its leaders, online. Miguel, a community organizer who has worked in communities of color for more than five years, reads CTU media sometimes when it comes across his news feeds. He suggests that CTU media represents perspectives that build connections between people, despite disagreement on tactics or strategy. Speaking of his group and the CTU, Miguel states in an interview:

We're almost always on the same page together...we share values, we share [a] base...and similar demographics...what we usually disagree on is how do we work together to challenge the status quo and...we work as a team...We have our challenges. How do we bring [everyone] together? So [when] layoffs are taking place and [the CTU] is losing a vast majority of African-American and Latino teachers...I want to see more action on this from [CTU] leadership, but [CTU media] has helped me share this story with my people.

In the context of Miguel's community organizing experience, CTU media, even if it's not the first place he goes for information on education, serves an important function that reinforces social bonds between coalition members. By reporting on layoffs of teachers of color CTU media helps to build trust with community groups for grassroots campaign, even after disagreements on how to effectively bring people together.

The theme of *Union Approachability* adds to the representation of the CTU as tied to grassroots movements by showcasing transparency and a willingness to listen. For example, after the 2012 strike, the CTU issued a press release to promote a forum to educate members

on the history labor-community coalitions, as well as the legal, political, and economic ramifications of school closures (Gadlin, 2012). Examples of union approachability also includes articles and advertisements about Grow Your Own, a joint-effort with the Chicago Teachers Union Foundation and Grow Your Own Illinois, that helps interested community members become teachers. A blog posts starts by asking, “Have you always wanted to be a teacher? Do you have a passion for your community and social justice? GYO might be for you!” The program provides tuition assistance, tutoring and test preparation to help community members earn a college degree and teaching certificate. In return, graduates are required to teach for five years in “high needs schools” (CTU Communications, 2017). What comes across in articles about GYO, as well as in articles on rallies (Caref & Pope, 2017), lawsuits (Reese, 2017; Gadlin, 2012), conferences (Potter & Williams-Hayes, 2017), news about union activities, is the sense that the CTU wants more openness and participation. As we observed in Chapter Four, sometimes these representations that value openness and participation are sometimes contradicted by leaders of the CTU who practice a neoliberal approach to allyship. Yet, the theme of union approachability shows difficulty at affixing a label to social justice work conducted by the CTU and its leaders, particularly once we consider the value of spreading counterhegemonic discourse to its coalitional network.

A final theme of *(in)Direct Democracy* highlights the coalitional possibilities that can occur during moments of deliberation and political activism. In a blog post that responds to the film *Waiting for Superman*, which is about the success of a charter school network in New York City (Featherstone, 2012). The author pulls apart the film’s contradictory logic suggesting that “in the bipartisan neoliberal fairytale that passes for education reform, teachers and parents

are good, but the institutions that represent them—unions, the state—are bad.

‘Empowerment’ is desirable...but democracy is the enemy.” Indeed, as we observed in Chapter Three, union democracy is not just a procedure to secure votes for an internal election but is a process of deliberation that has the potential to build coalitional spaces. It is this deeper understanding of democracy this is attacked by the film and supported by the author. Referring to “our current opposite day political moment,” the author suggests that “getting rid of representative government and calling in a private entity to handle things...represents a glorious triumph of people power. The [film] invites parents to use their vote to give up their vote—that is, to be enormously powerful for one short moment of direct democracy, which they will use to dispose, in the long run, with the ‘public’ part of public school, and thus with any actual power over the children’s education” (Featherstone, 2012).

What’s foundational to building a social justice organization, and stronger ties between teachers and communities, is using “people power” and democracy to protect the public-ness of education. The theme of (in)direct democracy applies to the work delegates as well. In a delegate training packet, found at the Chicago History Museum, the CTU asks delegates to encourage members to donate \$2 per month to its political action committee. Before reminding delegates that “dues money is not used for CTU-PAC activities,” the memo states “legislative successes are a result of membership involvement in the political process,” which includes donating to grassroots politicians, letter writing campaigns, and lobbying efforts. The memo reinforces CTU media stories on the CTU-PAC that asks members to get “involved in endorsed candidates’ campaigns and make sure all members are aware of and utilize the recommendations for election [by] our political action committee.” In this sense, CTU media

encourages passive participation that helps to elect social justice-oriented candidates and lobby for social justice-oriented policies in education.

In CTU media social justice unionism often stands-in for democracy at all levels of decision-making (Gonzalez, 2017; Potter, 2016). In an interview, David, a white male leader in the CTU who has taught in communities of color for more than 10 years, said “when CORE came along, the big shift was to take ordinary teachers and help them figure out how to improve their schools and to give them a greater platform.” Essential to this effort, according to David, is using the school as a space to come together advocate for social justice action using democratic action, such as consensus-building and open discussion. Undergirding democratic action for David is a social justice-oriented unionism that helped members “do something about it.” Indeed, David suggests that CTU media helped him share important facts about education in Chicago, as well as think through how to use democracy to support public education. “I’m not sure I would be leading this fight now if I wasn’t inspired by a lot of people, I met over the last four or five years,” David said. “There were lot of good debates on the 2016 contract between teachers at my school, which you don’t see in the [*Chicago Union Teacher*], but the CTU [communication department] does a good job elevating the public discussion on what can be done about charter schools and the like. That’s why you see a lot of support for the merger between the CTU and [the Chicago Alliance of Charter Teachers and Staff]...”

Thus, we see in CTU media content a theme that straddles the line between direct and indirect democracy. Indeed, both aspects of democracy are important to social justice efforts and provides multiple ways for members to participate and protect public education. Combined with the theme of union approachability and grassroots campaigns, CTU media helps to counter

dominant representations in Chicago newspapers that imagine its role as a community pariah and drain on Chicago's education system. The themes of teacher-ally discourse circulated through CTU media content helps to synchronize values between members and allies. What is constituted through its media content are ways of seeing and thinking about social interactions. Through imaginings of social justice unionism and its role in improving education in Chicago, CTU media helps to condition its work as an ally. Media content published by the CTU circulates themes on grassroots campaigns, union approachability, and (in)direct democracy all of which foregrounds social interaction and relationship building. In doing so, CTU media content helps members and allies communicate belonging and build awareness on the connections between power and institutions. Next, we observe how practices of media production add to, or subtract from efforts to communicate coalition.

How Media Practices Impact Content in CTU Publications

In stories about social justice unionism and its role in education, CTU media represent a sense of common cause between teachers and communities. Using research collected by the CTU and outside experts, CTU media shed light on the existential threat posed by neoliberal policies promoted by CPS and Mayor Emmanuel. In these stories, which are delivered across platforms, the CTU and its allies work together to disrupt attacks on public education. However, these stories, particularly ones posted to *AJustChicago.org*, often lack a creative reimagining of public education and rely on generalities. It's these patterns of talk on general outcomes, mixed with talk on concrete policies, that helps us understand how CTU media operationalize the relationship between allyship and racial meaning. In answering this question, I unpack the

relationship between media content and practice, we observe how an anti-democratic production process and authoritarian practices, which are popular in dominant outlets censor stories and constrain the image of CTU as an ally and social justice-oriented organization.

A few stories published in CTU media provide clarity on how to bring social justice curriculum into the classroom, as well as information on ways to increase education funding and instruction. What remains inconsistent is how public education is reimagined, if represented at all. In stories that talk about how to improve education in Chicago, patterns of information gathering techniques center attention on institutional racism in the U.S., as well as the ways members can help strengthen schools and communities with resources available. To support their claims, writers in CTU media rely on expert opinion and statistical evidence that represent communities of color as at-risk. In a typical example from an article published in the *Chicago Union Teacher*, in April 2017, about the negative impact of school closing the author writes (Jankov, 2017):

In CPS, schools have a long, troubled history of being racially segregated in both student population and staff. So [school closings] in CPS have not only disproportionately impacted Black students, but also black teachers and paraprofessionals. For example, the schools selected for turnaround in 2013 and 2014 were almost all schools with majority black teaching staff, and some with staff over 2/3 Black. In comparison, the percentage of Black teachers across all of CPS was just under 25% in those years.

An article published, in March 2017, in *A Just Chicago*, a blog operated by the CTU research department, uses similar information gathering techniques that focuses on expert opinion to contextualize institutional racism in housing. After stating that Black and Latino families were “robbed of billions of dollars,” The author writes (Rothschild, 2017):

The history of [racially targeted disinvestment] goes back to the mid-20th Century when nearly 85% of the Black-owned homes in Chicago were owned by companies selling contracts instead of mortgages, a concept known as 'contract selling.' Dr. King called this 'economic disenfranchisement.' Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote about this extensively in 'The Case for Reparations,' which details the experience of North Lawndale residents caught up in the contract selling scam.

The author goes on to describe predatory lending practices that caused the housing crisis, which because of the history of discriminatory lending and redlining, had a greater impact in communities of color. To support their claims, the author reiterates expert opinion collected by CTU research. The focus on expert opinion from leaders and elite sources is a similar information gathering routine found in dominant news outlets (Atton, 2007) and often reduces institutional racism into a problem for communities of color to solve.

Indeed, we observe once again a focus on communities of color as at risk. As represented by CTU media, at-risk space reifies social relations to those that help (us) and those that need help (them). It is them, over there, where the social justice gaze falls. While important tidbits of information are presented that build upon the shared values of social justice, community, and public education, being an ally and social justice organizing requires power-centric analysis on all parties involved.

Much like the CTU research department and statements from union officials we observed in Chapter Four, power-evasive representations of communities of color side-steps challenging discussions on their role as an elite power broker and as representatives of a powerful institutions. Moreover, the prevalence of power-evasive structural critiques in CTU media are the result of editorial decision making, as well as routines of information gathering.

These routines rely on evidence in which quantitative metrics, statistical analysis, and expert opinion focus attention on what communities are lacking.

From what I heard from my interviewees, and from what I read on a private Listserv, as well as on public and private Facebook groups where leaders of the CTU debate and discuss issues of common concern, the editorial decision making process at the CTU—how topics are covered, where topics are placed, what topics are avoided—is often conducted by committee, and includes members of the CTU communications department and research department. Elected officers sometimes attend as well. Stories ideas have been altered, or killed by a plurality of committee members, or sometimes by a vocal minority—which are typical experiences for teachers, unionists, and journalists. However, during my time in the field, I also observed a public and private airing of grievances against the editorial process. And when I dug deeper into the story, I found that the democratic process of the CTU editorial committee is sometimes overruled by leaders who manage CTU media like autocrats.

At issue was the decision to deny publication of a story about education in the West Bank, which is part of the Occupied Territories of Palestine. Written by a rank-and-file teacher, in early 2018, the article, which was shared to a public Facebook group and private Listserv with the subject line “Censorship in *CUT*, pt. 2,” the author describes in detail the oppressive conditions created by the Israeli occupation of Hebron using first-hand accounts of state sanctioned and vigilante violence against Palestinians.

Tying together occupation forces to militarized policing of communities of color in Chicago, the author, who recently spent time in Hebron, suggests a discursive and material relationship exists between institutional racism, state violence, and resistance in the West Bank

and Chicago. “Our government’s role in choking out our schools parallels the role it plays in maintaining the situation I saw in Hebron. American taxpayers finance settlements and occupation, we have a responsibility to bear witness, just as we do in our schools” (author removed, 2018).

It’s important to put the decision to kill this story into the context of other CTU media representations of Palestine. After reviewing seven years of headlines in the *Chicago Union Teacher*, I found two articles that exclusively focus on the Palestinian education system in the West Bank and its similarities to Chicago. Coincidentally, or interestingly, one of these articles appeared in my sample of CTU media. Published in May 2017, the article, written by two leaders in the CTU who recently traveled to Hebron to meet with educators, describes in detail the poor working and learning conditions of schools in Palestine. The article uses first-hand observations and interviews to dispel four myths about Palestinians.

Six months later a “response” to the article on Palestinian education was written and published in *CUT*. Efforts to support, or show understanding with, Palestinian resistance has long been condemned by conservatives and liberals in the U.S. (Massad, 2006). It’s a taboo subject among social justice educators as well. What’s surprising for CTU, as a social justice-oriented union, the article uses discourse and endorses policies of a conservative Israeli political party, Likud, which suggests a lack of an editorial process to catch these contradictions or lack of an awareness or concern to republishing conservative talking points—all of which were labeled as ‘myths’ by the first article.

I came across the response article in the field. After an interview of a rank-and-file teacher, which took place in a school in a community of color, the teacher showed me the

latest issue of *CUT*, in which the article appeared. After glancing at the article, I noted its topic to my interviewee, as well as the article on Palestine education published months earlier. I asked whether or not CTU media should talk about relationships between Palestinian and Chicago education systems. My interviewee demurred its impact focusing instead on the polarized nature of the topic, which was a common response I heard from others. Yet, most of my interviewees agreed that CTU media should cover complicated and challenging topics related to education even if some people objected to the coverage.

After I left the interview in which I learned about the response article, I went back to all of the issues of *CUT* on the union's website. The CTU website at the time published issues of *CUT* going back to 2010, which I downloaded.³ I converted the PDF files of all of the issues of *CUT* published between 2010 and 2017 into plain text format and ran a content analysis using Voyant Tools. I searched for co-locations of the keywords "response" and "response article." I did not find any other article published during this time that responded to another. Clearly, publishing about Palestinian education sparked a tension within the CTU.

I wrote my M.A. thesis, from which I published a monograph, on representations of Palestinian resistance in news articles. Because I'm familiar with the issue, as well as my methodological interests in community-based research, I decided to intervene. During my intervention I participated as a community ally to the CTU a few ways. First, following my intersectional definition of allyship and toolkit for social scientists on how to humanize the research process (Appendix A), I asked power-centric questions on structure, community, and

³ Interestingly, after the CTU updated its website, in the Fall of 2018, users can only access issues of *CUT* to May 2017.

social justice. What are the racialized values and norms communities assign and ascribe? How do these values reinforce oppressive conditions? What are the racialized conditions that constrain agency for insiders and outsiders of communities? Coupled with questions on my biography and intersectional identity—including how to articulate and rearticulate multiple lines of power in the field (e.g. racial, class, professional)—I grounded my participation in a labor-community coalition as an ally. But an ally to who? To the CTU? To communities of color? To Palestinian resistance groups? Indeed, using an intersectional understanding of allyship, and directed by a process of humanized research, it's clear that being an ally is layered and multi-dimensional for people from high status backgrounds. However, being an ally is not blindly supporting a set of identities, however intersectional. Being an ally means using an intersectional understanding of power and structure to build coalition and redistribute justice, wealth, voice, attention.

Second, while some scholars may see my intervention below as directing a conversation, I used my reflexivity toolkit to carefully choose how, when, and where to enter the conversation. During my fieldwork, I heard from several interviewees that leaders of the CTU, particularly leaders in the communication and research department, were sometimes out-of-touch with the values of the rank-and-file. At the time of my fieldwork, the communication department was overseen by an African-American male with an advanced degree and more than 10 years of professional experience in journalism, while the research department was overseen by a white woman with an advanced degree and more than 20 years of experience in education. While most of what I heard about the internal dynamics of their respective departments was on background and I have yet to corroborate all of the claims dogmatic

personalities and “mini-fiefdoms,” I saw the response article and claims of censorship by a rank-and-file member as an opportunity to investigate the extent to which these claims were true by directly intervening into the conversation.

Near the end of 2018, I contacted the Managing Editor at the time who was responsible for publishing the response article to voice my concerns. I addressed the subject line accordingly, “Trash Israeli Propaganda in CUT.” Continuing on with activist and ally rhetoric I wrote:

Jason, I didn’t take *CUT* to be a publication that dabbles in unverified, undocumented, and false taking points about Palestine and people who fight for their freedom.

Aside from being a researcher on communities and communication, I’ve worked as an editor for years in community journalism outlets. When reporters come to me with information like this, I push back and ask questions such as: where are you getting this information, and where is the cite for this information?

I’m mostly responding to the idea that the authors of this article lump together terrorists and resistance groups (and make unverified claims about Palestine resistance). For example, all of the groups the authors list near the end (Hamas, Fatah, among others) do not get 13-year-olds to strap bombs to their bodies. There’s also cultural aspect to why teenagers join the freedom struggle in Palestine that white liberals from the northside don’t understand.

Who knew that *CUT* and the editorial board of the Tribune actually have something common? There are many academics that I know, and CTU staff knows, that could push back on all the claims found in this article. I’m surprised you let this article in as is. I get that this article may provide the false sense of balance to your members, but I question the need for this false balance in light of the mission of CTU and CORE.

For a cite that will provide better information to your readers about Palestine and the groups that make up the resistance you should try the on-the-ground reporters hired by Electronic Intifada. You can also check out my [monograph] on the subject: *Anti-Arab and Anti-Muslim Bias in American Newspapers*. Or any book by Edward Said or Joseph Massad.

Jason replied within seven minutes, writing:

Interesting, because there were a number of people who took offense with the original article that sparked this debate. Did you happen to read that one? I'm guessing no, because why be informed of the entire situation when you can just latch onto a part of it?

I'd much rather have this conversation with a friend or colleague, and we're neither. Please don't contact me again.

As an ally to Palestinian resistance groups, I felt compelled to use my knowledge to callout

Jason's lack of understanding. In my last email to Jason I said:

I've analyzed every CUT published on CTU.net on the matter. You're the editor CUT. Part of your job is to respond to readers' comments, no? I'm a reader and that was my comment. Maybe leave articles on Palestine for adults to write and edit.

Looking back on my initial email to Jason, I'd write differently based on a greater understanding of my intersectional identity and allyship. There's always a need for further reflection on how to intervene as allies and scholars. My aggressive comment likely led to Jason's curt response.

Had I showed more deference he may have used his training in journalism to spin the conversation in another direction.

What's insightful for our understanding of media practice in this interaction is not so much how Jason dismissed my concerns on the article, but why. To Jason, critics just latch on to one side of the debate; I don't want to be informed. He also said that he would rather have this conversation with friends and colleagues, but "you're neither. Please don't contact me again." It's this language that represents how some leaders within the CTU think about social justice organizing and allyship: we do it, you don't—leave us alone.

My interaction with Jason also sheds light on the decision-making process that led to the silencing of debate on Palestine within *CUT*. The third article on Palestinian education was cut not just because it's a topic deemed too controversial by the editor, but because the editor, and by extension the CTU communications department, do not have meaningful editorial processes in place to avoid, or soothe over these tensions.

After the author went public with claims of censorship, I entered the debate once again, this time by responding to an email sent by the author to the private listserv that alleged censorship. I did not initiate this conversation on editorial policies, or debates on media and censorship. I responded to an ongoing conversation. Informed by my experience in community journalism and community-based research, and as a supporter of the CTU, I focused attention on the journalistic aspects of the issue. While many folks appreciated my perspective, some pushed back by suggesting that unions are not institutions of journalism, which is a fair point. However, as outline throughout my project, mainstream definitions of communication as an instrument and journalism as information do not meaningfully understand their cultural qualities. By understanding communication as culture, we attend to what values, ideologies, narratives, discourses, and rhetorics create or constrain belonging, community, and agency.

Using a cultural understanding of journalism and communication, I ended the email by talking about the importance of transparent publishing guidelines. I also suggested that:

There's a lot of 'fact-checking' that I do that maybe people at CUT don't have time to do. Or, maybe [the author's] articles don't use the best language, which is a subjective call that I would hash out with my writers if that was a problem. I definitely wouldn't just say "No, it doesn't fit," and leave it at that. The process of how we get information out to the public (or members) matters and is a reflection of our values as an editorial board...is what we tell ourselves in community journalism.

Respondents to my email were thankful for my input and supportive to the author's concerns.

One of the more supportive responses was sent by a leader in CTU, who wrote:

I'm troubled by this.

I appreciate the labor on the CUT on a month-to-month basis. I also believe that we owe our members very clear guidelines as Jeff describes to govern contributions. Without any transparent process and an empty response, "It doesn't fit", it's hard to understand what is included and what is excluded.

Furthermore, in that light, I'm concerned that [the author] as a CTU member has traveled to work with youth and that this is somehow a controversial issue. Past discussion of the larger Palestine-Israel issues may have been difficult. But when the daily experiences of young people we work with become too controversial because their actual lived experiences make us uncomfortable about our positions, then I think we need to do some deep reflection.

From here this email conversation between members and allies of the CTU, went back and forth on the merits of publishing information on controversial topics, the need for clearer editorial policies, and calls for Online forums for members to share their views.

We learn a lot about how CTU media operationalizes the relationship between racial identity and allyship through evaluating its lack of editorial policies. The routines CTU media applies to information gathering and its ambiguous editorial policies suggests that allyship and social justice are viewed instrumentally, as tactics to strengthen public education. These routines and policies, I argue, are outcomes of a neoliberal approach to allyship that is enacted by some leaders of the CTU. Without clear policies, leaders within the CTU, such as the editor of *CUT*, can censor stories and promote convenient narratives on power and communities of color. What is communicated to its allies and rank-and-file members is an authoritative impulse that reduces coalitional possibilities. Without thinking through how to be an ally through media practice, particularly in terms of how information is collected and how editorial decision-

making operates, the CTU increases its distance as an outsider to communities and constrains its social justice efforts.

Conclusion

Being an ally, social justice organizing, and communication are not mutually exclusive. Understanding media content and practice as sites of social justice organizing and allyship can serve important coalitional efforts. First, while its counterhegemonic discourse helps to provide important perspectives on education that are often silenced by dominant media, how information gathering, and editorial policies produce this content can also serve to silence perspectives on education. In the email thread regarding censorship in *CUT*, a few leaders mentioned the polarizing nature of writing about Palestine causing too big of a distraction for the CTU.

Indeed, some leaders and rank-and-file members of the CTU I interviewed worried that stories published by CTU media on Laquan McDonald, #nocopacademy, supporting sanctuary schools, supporting trans students, and other social justice efforts also served a polarizing function. When I pushed back on their claims by mentioning the importance of representation and giving voice, I often heard talk about the importance of unity and solidarity, and not wanting to upset the balance within the CTU. However, it's moments of dis-unity and non-belonging that are crucial at pushing outsiders and insiders closer, particularly in the context of counterpublicity and media content produced by allies (Carrillo-Rowe, 2008; Chavez, 2013).

From what we observe in the CTU, allies who produce media represent their social justice organizing efforts and their role in movements as counter to dominant civil society. In

doing so, they produce content that helps to provide an alternative representation of social relations and interactions. In this sense, what CTU media counters are representations that transform complex social relations and interactions into something random, or cultish. What's missing in CTU media are stronger representations of its own power and culpability. CTU media does little to help train or raise awareness to the complex relationship between power, institutions, and identity. In short, it does little to promote reflexive thinking that will help members communicate more effectively in coalition. Instead, its media content focuses on communities as at-risk and in need of saving. While this provides some important information for activists, this media content does little to communicate coalition.

As an ally organization, the CTU helps to build a counterpublic spaces that transverse and reinforce enclaves of resistance to the dominant sphere, while also forging into this dominant sphere to share voices from enclaves when appropriate. Indeed, CTU media produces a counterpublicity, but as we observed above, production practices often stand in the way of fully embracing this role.

When re-evaluating its information gathering routines and editorial policies, it's important to view media content and practice through a non-instrumental lens. Looking through literature written by rhetoricians of coalition (e.g. Chavez; 2013), we learn that without moments and movements of (non)belonging coalitional subjectivity—the process of reverse interpellation that breaks our ego and gets us to reach out toward the other—becomes impossible. Thus, by embracing the controversial nature of social justice organizing, CTU media can produce a stronger counterpublicity and help condition coalition possibilities by synchronizing values.

If the CTU wants to be community-centric communicators as many social justice organizers imagined themselves, it's important to embrace the constructive and deconstructive nature needed for coalition-building. To get here, it's important for labor and community leaders to add a non-instrumental perspective to media content and production. Indeed, as we more of in Chapter Six, media content produced within the context of digital social networks, does not only serve instrumentalist ends, such as promoting a certain agenda, or call for collective action. Instead, media content helps to synchronize values between disparate groups. How we can do this Online is a topic we turned to next.

Chapter 6

Synchronizing allyship in affiliative networks: The role of storytelling and listening in social media curated by the Chicago Teachers Union

Locating our social selves into meaningful relations with space and others is a fundamental feature of social justice efforts and allyship (Chavez, 2011). It's a process of finding place in community. Driven by human needs of belonging, we have observed how finding place in community is choreographed and filtered by organizations through the production of counterpublicity. Ally organizations have a unique opportunity to institutionalize information gathering and dissemination techniques that communicate discoveries of place in community it all its complex heterogeneity. Can this happen using social media when there is less control over an organization's message?

John, a union leader who has taught in predominantly white schools and schools in communities of color for more than 10 years, and did not want to share his racial identity, suggests in an interview that no form of media will ever supplant the importance of face-to-face communication for allies. "Social media...it's something that we can't rely on too much," John said. "This is really going to be a matter of people getting to know their neighbors and being comfortable picking up a phone or knocking on a door, holding meetings and coffee groups, discussion groups, with people who really stand for public schools." The point of this chapter is to understand to what extent this is true. For the CTU to build coalition—to become an ally and social justice union—social media present the tools for amplification and simultaneity, but not the communicative practices. Indeed, the vitriol, hatred, and layers of censorship do not bode well for locating and supporting allies Online.

John's pessimism about social media is reflected in interviews with other union leaders, and in scholarship on the perils of online activism (Karpf, 2012; Morozov, 2011). The value of social media for John, and other leaders I spoke with, lies more in its capacity to organize groups than in its communicative capacity to spread meaning. "Social media," John said, "I feel like it's now more like icing on the cake. It's a way for us all to have fun on this or that campaign. Campaign or hashtags that are funny or somewhat sarcastic is a way for us to unify around these issues we're dealing with [on the ground], but I don't think [social media] is going to drive ends." In this sense, social media help members and allies of the CTU share experience, but not necessarily shape victories achieved against the privatization efforts of the Chicago Public School district.

In Chapter Five, we examined how the CTU's use of alternative media practices is used to build its image as a social justice organization. CTU media engages in counterpublicity that encourages the growth of oppositional interpretations of labor-community divides by highlighting shared places of belonging. Media produced by the CTU provides the backdrop of "withdrawal" from dominant discourse, while earned media serves as a space of "regroupment" (Fraser, 1990, p. 68). Fraser suggests that it is in this dialectical relationship between "withdrawal and regroupment" that counterpublicity manifests as energized dissent that seeks to expand discursive space, rather than depart from it. My turn to social media is an attempt to draw-out how far this discursive space expands online.

Unlike CTU media, which brandish counterpublicity through alternative media practices to multiple publics, social media strategy is communication to precise groups of constituents. Building a social justice union centered on allyship is one-part mobilizing and one-part

organizing. These parts are composed of inter-personal and intra-personal communicative practices that condition insider-outsider dynamics between allies. The conditioning of allyship via communication in this context is thus related to how well CTU leaders navigate fractured and diminished space of civic life through building an on- and offline coalitional network. In this chapter, I argue that far from being simply a node in a network, finding place in community is an essential component of online activism for allies in the CTU's labor-community coalition. Place supplies the logic for deep organizing efforts that are connected through the CTU's digital infrastructure, which includes the union's website, as well as their official accounts on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. Aside from official accounts of the union, its digital infrastructure includes the Caucus of Rank and File Educators social media accounts, as well as CORE's private listserv in which many discussions on organizing coalition occurs. These digital tools provide CTU leaders an opportunity to expand discursive space online and tap into emergent participatory styles that have shown to increase member engagement (Bennett et al, 2018; Bimber et al, 2012; Zuckerman, 2014)

By situating my discussion within literature on civic engagement and networks, we gain insights on how online tools can be used to build coalition in a fraying civil society. Part of this work lays in harnessing the potential of social media, which trends toward affective, ambient, and personalized spaces of sharing and listening. Guided by the complicated and problematic landscape of racial difference in coalition, I seek to better understand the potential of social media for allyship by asking: How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider the role of social media in their work as union and community activists? How do these actors share,

disrupt, and support the organization's effort to build a social justice-oriented union using digital and social media?

To answer my research question on social media, I start with an examination on the nature of allyship in a diminishing civil society; asking, how can social media be used to synchronize voice and attention between allies? After examining literature on civic engagement to think through this question, I explicate the concept of digital organizing within the context of allyship. In doing so, I tease out how civic organizations might use digital spaces to conduct allyship and build coalition before turning to my empirical analysis.

Finding allies in a diminishing civil society

The CTU is attempting to build alliances with communities of color as institutions of civil society struggle to gain voice in the new attention economy. The changes to civic participation (Bennet, 2008; Zuckerman, 2014), civic norms (Schudson, 1998), and civic organizations (Skocpol, 2003; Wells 2015) have coincided with the informational revolution that has eroded the legitimacy of traditional gatekeepers of attention in the public sphere. Many activists rightly point to this breakdown as a good thing. Messages can circulate in digital and social networks free from established political and journalistic institutions. But many activists wrongly associate a lack of gatekeepers with an increase in agency and control over messages. Often this is not the case because messages often don't travel far in digital networks without institutional support (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013; Robinson, 2018), so few eyes receive the it.

The new information paradigm of 'networked society' based on peer-to-peer production, which on the one hand leads to a lot of information exchange and overload, also

has the potential to increase participation in civic organizations (Benkler, 2006; Jenkins, 2006). The personalization of politics defined by Bennett (2012) suggests that digital technology lowers barriers to identification. Using digital communication vehicles, the rise of "crowd-sourced inclusive personal-action frames" require less "socialization and brokerage to propagate" (p. 22). In this sense, social fragmentation, which has coincided with the reduction in traditional group loyalties, has also "given rise to an era of personalized politics in which individual expression displaces collective action frames in the embrace of political causes" (Bennet, p. 37). Participation in coalition, thus, is driven through "dense social networks" in which allies share their concerns by sharing their stories and experiences of news events.

A number of scholars have studied the structures that increase circulation of stories on social media. Connectivity on Twitter, for instance, is driven by the same news values as traditional news organization. Armstrong and Gao (2010) observe that traditional news organizations use Twitter to publish snippets of breaking news as stories unfold or when there is not enough time to develop a fuller story. Networks of like-minded people, i.e. homophily, drives stories, suggesting that groups of like-minded people tend to talk and listen to one another online (Weller et al, 2013). The sheer volume of news that is shared in homophilous networks is labeled by Hermida (2010) as 'ambient news' that is always present, with "diverse means to collect, communicate, share and display news and information" (p. 301). Civic organizations, such as the CTU, have resources (e.g. people, financial) needed to keep up with rapid news cycles, while repurposing news values of traditional media to tell stories that undercut hegemonic relations (Russell, 2011).

Twitter, and social media generally, affords voice to individuals and groups from marginalized communities (Robinson, 2018). But, is anybody listening? Crawford (2009) studies the practice of following opinion leaders on Twitter and observes three types of emergent listening practices that occur: background listening, reciprocal listening, and delegated listening. These practices increase connectivity and conversation between individuals and groups (Henneburg et al, 2009). Suggesting that social media create emergent 'listening publics,' Lacy (2013) observes that as previously uninformed publics gain information and deliberate on local or distant events, they develop agency and contribute to action.

Of the structures of social media that increase circulation of information and lead to expressions of collective agency, listening is perhaps the most fundamental to allies and coalition. "Good listeners are like trampolines. They are someone you can bounce ideas off of—and rather than absorbing your ideas and energy, they amplify, energize, and clarify your thinking. They make you feel better not merely passively absorbing, but by actively supporting" (Zenger & Folkman, 2016). Thus, listening can bring a stronger sense of commitment to a shared goal as individuals work to understand each other's underlying motivations, vocabulary, and worldviews. Social media are an ideal communicative tool for listening because it nets such a diverse flow of information and knowledge production.

Papacharissi's (2016) concept of affective public underpins the importance of listening to public formation via social media. Affective publics, to Papacharissi, emerge by and through informational streams that "discursively call in to being public formations," which primarily serve as "storytelling structures that sustain a modality of engagement that is primarily affective" (p. 4). The formation of these publics is activated by feelings of belonging and

solidarity, which "connect disorganized crowds and enable the formation of networked publics around communities, actual, and imagined" (p. 4). What's more, the ambient nature of online information creates a self-sustained "mode of reflexivity, generated and re-generated by accumulating and imbricated digital layers of expression"(p.4). Bits and bytes of affect, in other words, have staying power via social media and serve as an adhesive to publics long after events have passed. This adhesive is fundamentally linked to the practice of listening, which guide how we process affect.

Affect is defined by Papacharissi as a "pre-emotive intensity subjectively experienced" that focuses our awareness on certain states of mind or body (p. 5). "Without affect, feelings essentially do not feel, for it is affect that provides the intensity with which we experience emotions" (p. 5). Social media, thus, are communicative tools that circulate and amplify affective stories through networks of weak and latent ties, which are vital to activation of publics. What's missing in Papacharissi's rendition of affective publics is deeper insight on 'non-instrumental' styles of civic engagement that could lead to their formation.

Zuckerman's (2014) model for participatory civics highlights a disconnect in scholarship on the function of voice and attention. Non-instrumental engagement is possible, and useful, particularly in affective and ambient informational spaces that are marked by belonging. For Zuckerman, listening to, and sharing stories, does not require individuals to engage with "a specific direct theory of change" (p. 159). Instead, what's important for Zuckerman is how voice acts as a "first step toward engagement in instrumental civics" by building movements through "synchronization" (pp. 162-163). Zuckerman is reasonably pessimistic about the "great deal of work and conscious effort" that is required to get everyone to see the bigger picture; however,

by listening and sharing with our latent and weak ties we energize the affective intensity of digital space, setting the conditions for coalition in actual space. Whether or not what we listen to, or share, is instrumental to social change is secondary. What's important is the voice and attention, which 'synchronize' and attune individuals toward others. Thus, Zuckerman remains hopeful that social media can be used to overcome barriers of "translation, context, and discovery" between sociocultural groups (Zuckerman, p. 165).

Combining the concepts of affective publics and participatory civics, we can gain a fuller accounting on how civic organizations can use digital and social media to strengthen coalition. Social media can be used to synchronize voice and attention between allies by coordinating expressions that are deeply personal, reflexive, and engaging. Leaving the residue of belonging and solidarity in eternal bits and bytes of information, social media have the capacity to spread voices that are often marginalized in dominant domains. Aided by affective structures, social media can inspire participation and connectivity beyond our strong ties. Moreover, as Zuckerman suggests, engagement is fundamental, not its exact outcomes. Even non-political participation online spreads awareness and can ignite agency by getting individuals to coordinate affect.

Civic organization attempting to bridge social isolation and fragmentation in civil society can become important hubs of listening. As a listening hub, civic organizations aggregate, publish, and circulate stories from its diverse members and allies, which lays the groundwork for coalitions that cross between public formations. Yet, to fully understand how to use social media as a practice of allyship, and how its affordances can be used by civic organizations to aggregate and amplify our listening and storytelling skills, we need insight on the changing

nature of organizations in a society structured around networks of information. After a brief exploration on literature on networked organizations, we gain a greater sense on the structures of digital and social media, which sheds insight on how organizations can overcome translation and discovery barriers that hamper listening and storytelling.

Network structures that organize allies

Building coalition across difference online, requires that organizers digitize listening and storytelling as part of their efforts. Social media, as platforms of communication, provide tools to do so, but it's difficult for civic organizations to routinize critical listening and storytelling because of the changing structures of organizations in network society. A primary difficulty of organizations is learning how to navigate the layering effect of networks, which has been observed in various forms. Nodes enter networks as producers, users, consumers (Jenkins, 2006), rapidly shift between public and private spheres of social life (Papacharissi, 2016), and engage in hybrid and overlapping forms of organization (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012) and leadership (Fine, 2006; Han, 2014). Changing orientations to and roles in networks, challenges organizations to identify useful structures that promote translation and discovery.

Wells (2015) pushes back on scholars who focus on engagement to understand effective network structures. By focusing on engagement, scholars miss the changing structures of membership in organizations in an informationally-rich society. Moving past definitional debates on engagement styles, Wells centers attention on how members observe civic life through changing forms of media. In the current digital age, streams of networked communication influence the communicative relationships between organizations and

individuals, which suggests that communication is as important as engagement styles to defining the role of associational life. Indeed, Wells finds that "civic information is never far removed from civic action," suggesting that civic culture continues to serve a social integration role by encouraging a degree of interaction and identification across social classes (p 70).

What's changing is who and how civic information is spread by nodes in networks with multiple orientations toward social life, which often leads scholars to narrowly define engagement online (Zuckerman, 2014). To digitize listening and storytelling, in this sense, is to identify the potential of communication to expand boundaries of membership. In other words, if we take Wells (2015) observation that civic organization in network society is constituted through communication, communicative practices of listening and storytelling thus impact the form and content of organizations. Communication practices of listening and storytelling thus constitute organizations that are flexible and adaptable as they work through the translation and discovery needs of its target audience and members. The affective thrust of these communication practices (listening, storytelling, translation, discovery) have the capacity to accentuate togetherness across a range of interaction and decision-making styles. Therefore, we must ask, what interactive qualities do listening and storytelling in networks offer? What network structures are best suited to organize members for this interactive work?

How membership manifests online varies depending on the interaction and decision-making styles that are communicated by organizations (Bimber et al, 2013). Theorizing the new spatial characteristics of collective actors and organizations, Bimber et al suggest organizations can harness online communicative vehicles to engage boundaries of personal/impersonal to create conditions which amplifies "the information and communicative capacity of larger,

diverse, and fairly unconnected networks of people who add value to a person's strongly tied, personal relationships...who are tied just enough to rise above anonymity" (sec, 1945). Here, interactions in organizations are imagined as a continuum between personal and impersonal relationships, which connect not weak ties, but affiliative ties between individuals with a sense of common connection and identification. Organizing a network of affiliative ties through digital media has the potential to allow organizations to operate across scale and segregated urban space to create new forms of collaboration (e.g. coalition, allyship) and social practice (e.g. listening and storytelling) (Bimber et al, 2012; Neal, 2013; Rokeach et al, 2001).

Building a network of affiliative ties for an organization is rooted in technical and nontechnical structures. Bimber et al suggests that technical structures of organizations—such as environment uncertainty, organizational size, and technological innovation—shapes, and is shaped by, nontechnical structures such as organizational culture, legitimacy, and trust. Organizations devoting resources to digital organizing can identify and analyze how technical structures, such as environmental uncertainty shapes its trust and legitimacy, to define an ideal style of communication useful at targeting affiliative ties online.

Dividing participation styles into four categories—enthusiast, minimalist, individualist, and traditionalist—Bimber et al find that the type of interaction (personal-impersonal) and decision-making styles (entrepreneurial-institutional) organizations communicate to members can predict what type of participation style is expressed. This framework is useful at theorizing how affiliative ties might participate in listening and storytelling. While Castells (2015), Bennett and Segerberg (2012), Benkler (2006), and others focus attention on how collective action emerges among 'enthusiasts' in de-centralized and the horizontal 'spaces of flows' of networks,

Bimber et al's framework suggests that listening and storytelling are practices that bind together impersonal or personal ties, or can be managed by institutional decision-makers, or facilitated by individuals. Indeed, listening and storytelling, two basic practices of communication, can enact a diverse range of participation styles among affiliative ties.

It's the practice itself; the importance of its communicative function to organization (Wells, 2015); the importance of its affective capacity to impersonal or personal ties (Papacharissi, 2016); as well as the importance of its instrumental or non-instrumental usages (Zukerman, 2014) that help listening and storytelling overcome barriers of translation and discovery. Thus, it's not a question on what type of participation style for CTU to engage in to make the digital infrastructure of CTU a site of critical listening and storytelling. Instead, it's a question of what communication to use to effectively target an organization's affiliative ties online. These communicative decisions include what digital or social media to use, what messages and media to produce on these vehicles, what voices to share and like, what conversations to join via hashtags and public or private groups, and who to 'friend' or follow.

What all this means in practice for allies who want to use digital and social media as sites of critical listening and storytelling is to make communicative decisions that bring to light unknown experience (discovery) and to help members understand nuance of meaning in experience (translation). Thus, ally organizations, such as the CTU, condition allyship by following, liking, sharing, and producing communication that gives voices to experiences that are often unknown or misunderstood by affiliative ties. In short, ally organizations need to follow and share information to the right accounts and help new and old members make sense of communication that flows back. My intention is not to map the CTU's affiliative tie network,

which is a limitation to this current study and a topic of future research. Instead, my goal is to identify and analyze practices of listening and storytelling for ally groups on digital and social media, and how these communication practices can set the conditions for allyship in an affiliative network online.

The Potential of Social Media as Sites of Critical Listening and Storytelling

To investigate how the CTU uses digital and social media to set the conditions for allyship, I ask the following questions: 1) How do leaders of the CTU, its members, and allies consider the role of social media in their work as union and community activists? 2) How do these actors disrupt or support the organization's effort to build a social justice-oriented union using digital and social media? While many examples exist to show how digital and social media are used to support the CTU's social justice orientation, the general consensus from leaders in the CTU and their allies is that no form of media will ever replace the importance of face-to-face organizing.

How leaders and allies consider the role of social media

Most leaders I spoke with consider digital and social media as useful tools to amplify messages, as expected, but one that has its limitations in terms of organizing. Reflecting the view of other CTU leaders I interviewed, Abby said, "I think the messaging helps a lot on social media by connecting people from different places. But I think to get people to a protest, a lot of time you need to make calls, or you need to talk directly to them." Indeed, the rapid and widespread circulation of information, spread via CTU's affiliative network online, is perhaps

the most useful aspect of social media for CTU leaders. Brady, a white male leader in the CTU who has taught at communities of color for 15 years, sees power in the ability of social media to show supporters how union activity unfolds.

To be honest, [social media] is a good place to spread information; however, it does not organize people. Now you can put something on Facebook and get something to go viral. It's a good way to make sure that information is spread widely, easily, and quickly as possible to those who need it. We share our personal [photographs] and experiences at protests and during strikes on Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. We're just saying to teachers here or there that this is an issue CTU cares about, just so people will see that union activity is happening.

Brady's and Abby's comments on the amplifying and accelerating effects of social media represent the ability of networks to spread information instantly and cheaply. Thus, using social media the CTU can promote its campaigns to supporters across the planet.

Comments from supporters far away from Chicago, particularly comments from teachers, are observed to boost morale and spread awareness about the people and logic behind actions. Cesar, an ally of the CTU, suggests that social media have the "ability to actually refer information, information that's limited but yet important. But it also has the ability to refer chaos, so it's about dosage." Cesar's comment highlights the tension between quality and quantity of information on social media, a dichotomy that has the potential to constrict allyship.

While leaders and allies in the CTU did not explicitly speak of social media as listening or storytelling tools in our conversations, many leaders spoke about the importance of using social media to gain attention and use voice for collective action. In essence, the attention received by local and national media on certain campaigns reflected not just the tech-savvy of CTU's

communication department, but also reflected the ability of CTU members and allies to use social media as a storytelling platform; a topic I will turn to next.

Storytelling a social justice union into action

Storytelling is used to organize the affective energies of CTU members and allies. Using Twitter, public/private Facebook groups, and YouTube, the CTU has the capacity to synchronize values, experiences, and affect to amplify messages. After an analysis of interview data, arrival work, as well as the top 100 retweets by followers of the CTU, it's clear that the CTU uses storytelling as a form of discovery two ways: 1) to give voice to, and learn about, life experiences that are often masked by privilege or censored by authorities; and 2) to give voice to, and learn about, spaces of belonging constructed by the CTU and its allies.

Social media for some of my interviewees is considered a communication vehicle that projects real people into debates about policies that affect their lives. John, a union leader who asked that his racial identity not be revealed, and has taught for more than 10 years in both majority white schools and schools in communities of colors, described in an interview a campaign he worked on that highlights how social media are used to give voice to life experiences hidden by social isolation caused by the racial and class segregation of Chicago.

In 2013, as part of the CPS budget crisis that perennially occupies attention of policymakers, a decision was made to cut back on toilet paper for students to save money. "So, we heard about these awful things in schools about teachers keeping toilet paper behind the desk," John said in an interview. "If a kid asked to go to the bathroom, they would hand them the toilet paper and students were expected to bring the roll back. There was toilet paper that

was chained and padlocked to the stalls." These conditions were not on the agenda of community members, particularly in whiter communities on the northside, which were able to avoid rationing toilet paper because of annual fundraising efforts at these schools, which typically pays for supplies, field trips, and technology for students.

Schools in browner and blacker communities of the city, which do not have access to parents with a lot of disposable income, began to ration toilet paper. "Probably the most salient feature of [the toilet paper] issue wasn't that it was a budget issue, but people were afraid, members were afraid to report these things" to CPS administrators. Leaders in the CTU tipped off local media, but to enter school property reporters have to have principals sign-off on sharing any pictures or any information...CPS was not granting this to people."

CPS, through fear of retaliation and not granting access to reporters, effectively censored the abhorrent learning conditions experienced by students of color. Luckily, John and other leaders had a plan to break the silence. "We sent an email out to members asking them to take pictures with their camera phones of these bathroom conditions and of scenes in which students ask the teacher for toilet paper before going...," John said. "Then [teachers] were able to send this to us anonymously and we start in this communications meeting like, okay, we have this information what can we do next with it?" A third-grade teacher and rank-and-file member, who was not present at the meeting, mentioned using a hashtag to coordinate these photographs around a central theme. #CPSwipes was born. "We put a little toilet humor into it and, we asked ourselves if toilet humor was appropriate" for parents and students. After deliberation between staffers, leaders, and rank-and-file, "we all said, well our kids will love it...this is going to catch people's attention, so we went with it. It was [among] the most

successful social media campaigns. We were trending on Twitter by day three," which drove local media to cover the story. Thus, in this campaign we see how insider information on school conditions is communicated to affiliative ties that are networked into the CTU's social media sphere. This information helps to place the CTU and its members inside communities forgotten by policymakers. Using a logic of communication, not engagement, #CPSwipes enters the communal lexis promoting an we're-all-in-this-together approach. Indeed, it's a campaign that shows the capacity of affiliative ties to use social media to drive attention to forgotten voices.

Social media also play a large part in circulating other stories on the atrocious conditions of schools in communities of color. #FightforFunding, a hashtag associated with the one day strike and day of action that took place in April 2016, tells the story of the lack of resources in CPS schools, as well as the solidarity needed to demand more. Guided, in part, by CTU research that outlined tax policies and structural adjustments to education financing by the state, #FightforFunding was a broad effort by CTU leaders, healthcare unions, other teacher unions, and community groups to call attention to the crisis in public education driven by the budgetary woes of Illinois. At the time, the state had been without a budget for fifteen months, which drove CPS to borrow millions in high-interest loans (Olmstead, 2017). The budgetary stalemate reduced funding for wrap-around services—including nursing, libraries, counseling—as well as funding for supplies, textbooks, and instruction materials.

#FightforFunding, utilized across social media by individuals and organizations, describes their place in community as under attack by wealthy elites and their political stooges. While teacher-ally discourse is dominant on social media curated by the CTU, ally groups and unions

use similar themes to represent the labor as inside community. Indeed, #FightforFunding emphasizes the shared values labor unions and communities that often compete with each other for state resources. Storytelling their latent solidarity into existence via #FightforFunding, in this sense, stocks their coalition with images and experiences with an antagonistic state run by wealthy elites. The protagonists, teachers, healthcare workers, service workers—though from different parts of the city and region—used #FightforFunding to assert their place in the broader community—to find a site of their struggle in public space; the plot. Taking a closer look at a popular meme shared by 156 accounts and liked 258 times on Facebook, helps draw out the affective nature of place in community circulated in this campaign.

The meme reads: "While Gov. Rauner looks the other way, rich corporations pay poverty wages and evade taxes. Fund our future, not the wealthy! #FightForFunding April 1 #ShutdownChi." Included in the meme is a grinning Bruce Rauner, Governor of Illinois, whose eyes glare down toward the text. It's well designed, adhering to the rules of thirds, and includes elements of contrast and consistency, not notably in the form of font choice and size. A red background drapes the lower third of the meme, emphasizing the message on funding the future in the preferred color of labor and the CTU. Comments under the meme include ironic banter, expressions of solidarity, and brief descriptions on the conditions of classrooms in Chicago. In this sense, this meme created a space for storytelling and discovery in the comments on the CTU. This space expands with each share—providing an opportunity for stories to populate into the comment section of this meme on other Facebook news feeds, which can lead to further synchronization of values.

Other posts using #FightForFunding produced by the CTU were more participatory. In several posts in the days leading up to the day of action, as well as on the day of action itself, commenters upload personal photographs to the comment sections showing-off their signs, dress, rallies, and multi-generational solidarity (i.e. many commenters included photographs with their children making signs or attending rallies). During this period, and as far back as early March 2016, the CTU shared photographs of the 2012 strikes and other events in recent labor history in Chicago. Seen in these photographs are a sea of red shirts out in the streets, as well as community members, teachers, and other professionals on picket lines, at rallies, talking with parents outside schools, and meeting with ally groups. While these posts did not explicitly ask for participation, commenters included their own photographs of events, as well as statements that reminisced on these previous actions. This transfer of meaning imbedded into the uploads, likes, and shares helps to tell the story of where, when, why, and how the CTU and its allies must push back against greedy elites to provide essential services to communities. In doing so, #FightforFunding transfers nuances of experiences—why people act and for whom—between allies in coalition and coordinates their voice and attention.

Capturing and holding onto the affective energy wrapped into voice and attention, social media effectively digitizes collective memories, making them easily sharable and ready to download. The affect coded into photographs and comments facilitates a common purpose and opposition and helps the CTU and its allies navigate insider-outsider divides. There *is* a common purpose between different labor groups and community groups. It's to protect each other by fixing the Illinois budget crisis. Sharing stories of previous actions, as well as memes and stories

involved with the day of action, helps to coordinate a common set of values and experience that are often isolated, or hidden because of social segregation.

The CTU archive at the Chicago History Museum includes documents that elaborate on the internal discussions tied to CTU's use of social media to support its campaigns, which highlights how social media are used give voice to, and learn about, spaces of belonging constructed by the CTU and its allies. In one memo, from a September 2011 Politics and Policy Cluster meeting, CTU leaders discussed the top four objectives and associated messaging themes for the school year. The list of objectives included: 1) "Defend Image against pension busting bill;" 2) "Funding...legislation to recoup lost TIF revenue...;" 3) "Class size reductions;" and 4) "Elected school board." The four objectives are then connected to a six-month media relations plan, which includes descriptions of events to achieve earned media, how to tie in CTU research, as well as how to engage parents and rank-and-file members on- and offline. Most interesting about this memo is that we gain insight on how newly elected leaders of the CTU, representing CORE's slate of candidates, created a multimedia campaign one year before CTU's 2012 strike. Indeed, what we observe in this media campaign is how CTU use social media to create spaces of belonging through listening.

In month four of the media relations plan, titled, "Teachers as Talented Public Servants," CTU leaders decided to focus media attention on the dedication of teachers "who put in lots of their own time and money," to create stronger learning environments for students. To amplify this message with the parents, rank-and-file, and community stakeholders, CTU leaders selected Facebook and Twitter as platforms "in which teachers share their own stories of dedication and going the extra mile for students." Tying in survey research that highlights the

broad level of support teachers receive from community members, the campaign's goal is to show why this support is the logical outcome of teachers' work ethic.

A potential model of participation is mentioned for the campaign in the memo. Using the hashtag #AftertheBell teachers are asked to use Twitter or Facebook to post "examples of what they're doing to help students above and beyond what they're required to do." In addition, specific measures are added to increase participation by teachers.

One teacher at each of the 10 schools would be in charge of bringing the campaign to his/her school, and starting the ball rolling by putting up the initial post and then recruiting an additional teacher to post and find another teacher, etc. The upside of this is you go straight to the experts—the teachers themselves—about the kinds of things they do "after the bell," and as the campaign grows it shows that teachers are energized and united as a bloc—and for the right reasons. The campaign about could potentially spread to parents/neighborhood groups, who could share the great things they see the teachers around them doing.

What's telling is the expectation on how community members should participate if they choose to, which reflects a broader problem on CTU's communicative efforts with allies discussed in Chapter Four. CTU is not asking community members to join in at showing how they too "go above and beyond" in *helping* educate students, in which parents could *also* mention the efforts of their child's teachers. Indeed, the adage that it takes a village to raise a child is not represented, despite CTU's social justice orientation and its broader commitment to communities.

Despite the lack of creative space provided to community members who join in this campaign, the attempt to use social media as a storytelling tool is premised on its ability to get the attention of reporters and the broader public. An analysis of the associated hashtag to this campaign is not possible without purchasing data from one of Twitter's data analytic partners.

Without this data, what can be said about the success of this social media effort for this campaign is limited. Moreover, the earned media and owned media data used in Chapter Five, does not capture this campaign's timeframe. Yet, the point of incorporating this campaign into my study is not to evaluate its success, but to observe how social media are used to support a social justice orientation.

The memo constructs storytelling on social media as an attention grabbing and informative way to build internal unity. What's interesting, from a network perspective, is that to start this Online campaign, teachers on the ground at schools are asked to begin the effort through snowball sampling and referral recruitment. What's needed next is an analysis of this Twitter campaign and associated news articles to understand how these stories flowed through CTU's affiliative network.

What can be said with the current data is that CTU uses storytelling to reinforce its social justice orientation. #Afterthebell coincided with an awards ceremony hosted by CTU to honor dedicated teachers. Prior to the event, the CTU's communication department planned to pitch reporters on interviews with participants to get more in-depth on some of the stories teachers shared, or at the minimum, the plan was to recruit interested journalists to cover the campaign itself. These plans help CTU emphasize features of teaching associated with spaces of coalition and teacher-ally discourse. In terms of spaces of coalition, these stories present a digital portrait of educators dedicated to their communities and profession, which reduces divisions between insider and outsiders in labor-community coalition.

The media plan is indicative of CTU's efforts to build spaces of coalition that captures the intersections of teaching and community. The stories of teachers, whether short status updates

or ones with selfies or other visuals, reaches out to CTU's affiliative ties and calls their longings to attention. #Afterthebell reinforces the commitments teachers have for their communities; that they are fighting for stronger education as well. It's a story that reaches an affective register among affiliative ties and opens them to discovery; the amount of work teachers complete is confirmed not by out-of-touch media institutions, but personal and impersonal ties connected by digital technologies. Indeed, the emotive intensity experienced by these ties is charted by the phrases and images of the experts themselves: teachers. In this sense, teachers exert authority over their time and profession by highlighting their commitment to community-centered education. Indeed, these stories invite conversation, shares, 'likes,' or imitation among affiliative ties, which opens spaces of interaction to a variety participatory styles.

Aided by the forever-ness of digital and social media, #Afterthebell is guided by teacher-ally discourse of *social justice organizing*, which highlights the role of educators in organizing healthy schools and communities. As observed above, talk on social justice organizing among teachers emphasizes reflexivity on the relationship between their profession, communities, and identities. Circulating personal stories on their commitment to schools and community, CTU members and allies use #Afterthebell to emphasize the importance of place and inequality in education. Social justice organizing, as a theme of teacher-ally discourse, thus helps to synchronize the political possibilities of teaching by helping allies discover ways to see and think about educational justice. #Afterthebell in this way is represented as a bulwark against policymakers that threaten community-based education. Communities can't rely on them, but don't worry. Teachers organize their time to support schools and communities. Organizing, in this sense, is part of their job description.

Structured by its affective features—namely disgust, enthusiasm, and compassion—#Afterthebell are stories that condition the intensity of these emotions among affiliative ties. In doing so, the affective 'carving out' that these stories manifest between teacher-outsiders and community-insiders legitimates in digital space a coming-to, and moment-of, coalition. It's carved-out space that is excavated by movements towards the other. Movements that rupture lines of insider/outsider are akin to limestone or sandstone that are worn down over millenniums to create spectacular natural formations: arches, land bridges, plateaus. Driven by digital and social media, that amplify the affective nature of teachers' stories via the forever time and simultaneity of network space. While #Afterthebell is tied to specific outcomes for the CTU—news coverage and unity—which require immediate consumption, this storytelling campaign lives forever on social media. As such these stories can be called upon, discovered, and discussed by affiliative ties at any time. What's needed is access to technology, the Internet, and the capacity to listen.

The affective space of social media that capture a longing to respect one's time and commitment conditions an allyship dependent on listening. Thus, aside from the power imbalance in which allies listen to stories to learn more about life experiences that are blinded by their status and privilege, we see in #Afterthebell a logic of belonging premised on listening itself. While listening remains implicit in these campaigns, how the CTU tunes into communities of color can help pinpoint the practices needed to make listening an explicit goal. Who ally-organizations choose to listen to, as well as how and when, is just as important in affiliative networks as stories shared. Next, I examine the potential for the CTU social media sphere to condition digital spaces of interaction through listening.

Re-considering the role of social media in the CTU

As a potential site of critical listening, the CTU's digital and social media footprint in Online networks can be leveraged to help followers overcome barriers of translation and discovery. While CTU leaders did not mention the 'listening potential' of social media, by evaluating one of their following networks, we can establish a baseline to evaluate future success. Understanding how leaders in the CTU currently use social media to listen to allies, provides insight on how social media can condition allyship on- and offline. According to the literature review above, we listen Online by aggregating and sharing media from allies and by helping followers understand the nuance of previously unknown racialized experience that emerges. Thus, by pooling information and breaking down complexity, social media can help synchronize commitments between affiliative ties.

In this analysis, I focus on one follower network in CTU's social media sphere; who CORE follows on Twitter. While this limits what can be said about CTU's overall network of affiliative ties, my goal here is to provide a roadmap to future work, as well as to begin the process of charting what listening to allies looks like Online, and to what impact. Using R Studio and the Rtweet package, I downloaded all of CORE's following network, which totaled 569 Twitter Accounts as of May 26, 2018. Once converted into a CSV file, I hand-coded who CORE follows based on account types, racial characteristics, and rate of use.

What we observe in CORE's following network is a focus on *out-state* individuals, which composes 156 of the 569 accounts (Figure 6.1). I identify *out-state* as unaffiliated activists, academics, or journalists that are located outside of the Chicago metro region. Chicago's metro region is defined by the U.S. Census as encompassing the six counties in Northeast Illinois, as

well as Kenosha county, Wisconsin and Northwest Indiana. Similarly, I also identify and define *union national* as official accounts of parent unions, caucuses, and union locals outside Chicago's metro region.

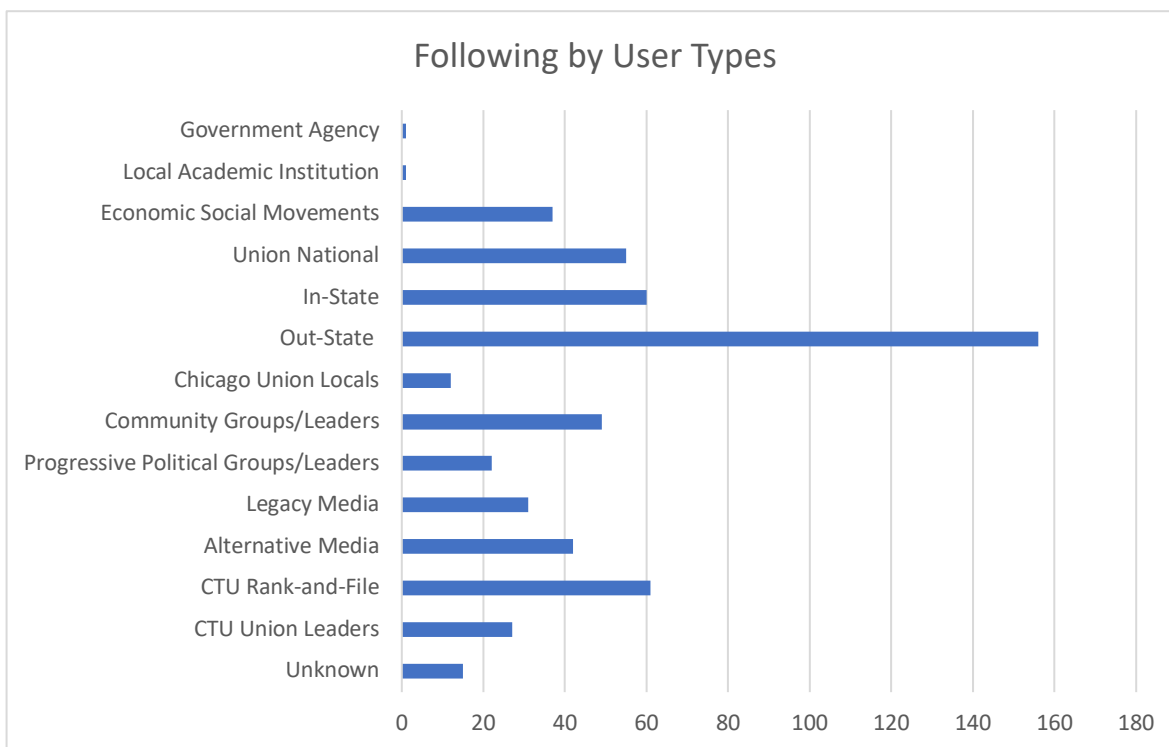


Figure 6.1

CORE follows 55 *union national* accounts, including organizations such as the American Federation of Teachers in which the CTU is the founding member (i.e. the CTU is Local 1 in the AFT). CORE also follows 37 accounts linked to local and national *economic social movements* and 22 *progressive political groups and leaders*. Progressive here is defined as grassroots organizations that advocate for stronger regulations, greater equity, and want to reform the current two-party system (Robinson, 2018).

In and around Chicago, CORE follows one *local academic institution* (the College of Education at University of Illinois-Chicago), 12 *union locals*, 27 *CTU Union Leaders*, 49 *community groups and leaders*, 60 *In-State* accounts, and 61 *CTU Rank-and-File* members. *In-State* are accounts of unaffiliated activists, academics, and journalists who are based in Illinois. Thus, CORE's following network emphasizes out-state relationships, which backs-up claims made by leaders in interviews on the use of social media as a circulation and amplification tool.

As a site of listening, CORE's following network on its surface shows potential to curate a diverse flow of information that aids in discovery and translation. However, looking at how its following network breaks down racially reveals a disparity. To identify an account's racial make-up, I coded the user's profile, which included reviewing the profile photograph and demographic information listed. Organizations that are led by people of color, which primarily work in communities of color are coded as non-white, while organizations with multi-racial membership, such as labor unions and social movement organizations, and media outlets are coded as N/A.

What this analysis shows is that nearly half of CORE's following network, 238 accounts, is composed of white individuals who work as journalists, academics, activists, teachers, or union leaders, while 92 accounts are people of color and organizations led by people of color work in communities of color (Figure 6.2). When we dig into the 239 accounts that have no clear racial make-up, we find 90% are organizations, while 10% are accounts of individuals without a profile image or description that indicates a specific racial make-up. Using racial formation theory, we could explore how these multi-racial organizations come to express and reinforce problematic white racial ideologies (Omi and Winant, 2015) like we did for the CTU in

Chapter Four. But identifying and analyzing how white space emerges in these organizations in the CTU's affiliative network is beyond the scope of this current study. What is relevant to this study is the overall lack of listening to people of color in CORE's following network.

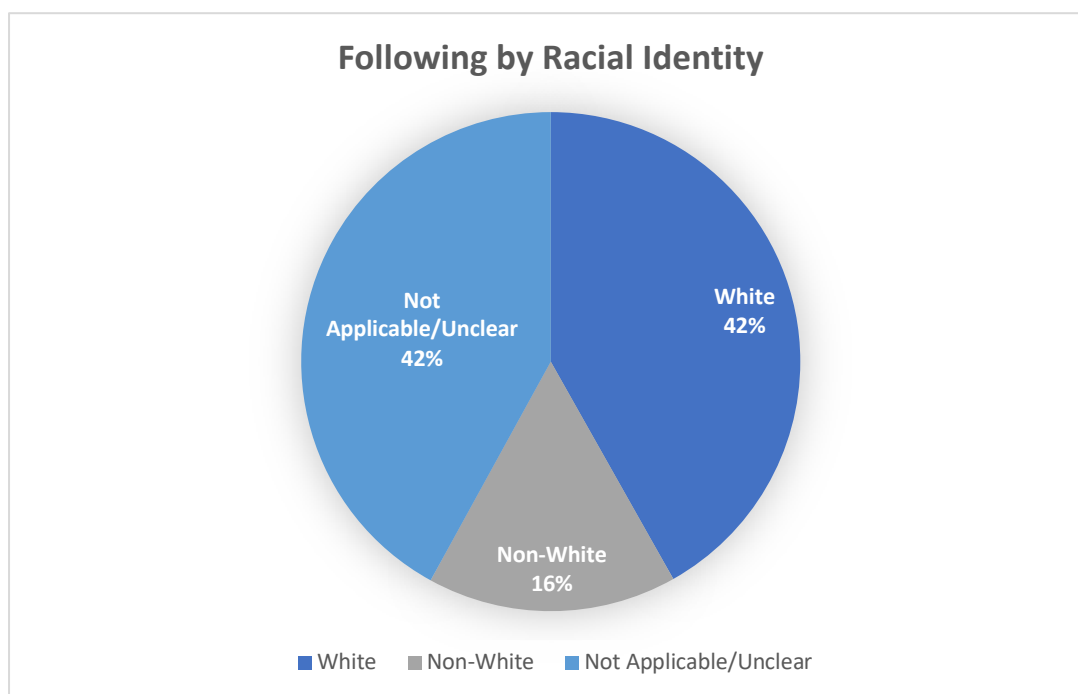


Table 6.2

Discourse from the dominant domain flows from local and national unions, as well as legacy media into CORE's Twitter feed. However, counterhegemonic discourse emerges from organizations without a clear racial make-up, including seven progressive political groups, 25 individuals, and 42 alternative media outlets (Figure 6.3). While this counterhegemonic discourse includes some talk on racialized experience, only a few alternative media accounts followed by CORE express racialized experience consistently. What's most striking is that 29 out of 49 community groups followed by CORE represent a multi-racial membership. Thus, CORE

follows 20 community groups that are led by people of color and work in communities of color in Chicago.

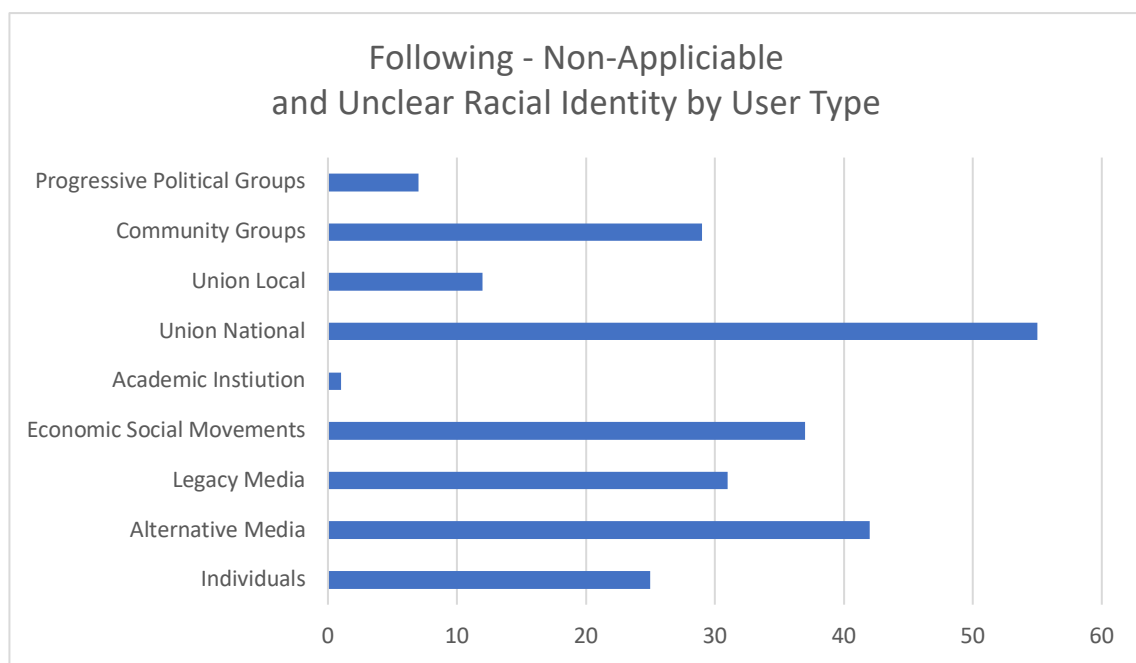


Figure 6.3

Alternative media are a key source of counterhegemonic discourse in affiliative networks. By identifying the types of alternative media followed, we gain a greater understanding on the type of counterhegemonic discourse listened to by CORE. In Figure 6.4, we see that CORE follows 16 Education focused media, 10 local alternatives, and eight class focused outlets. Four alternative media sites focus on racial issues and uncovering racialized experience. Adding together these four media outlets, to the 20 community groups led by people of color, and the 72 individuals of color, we find that 96 accounts, or 16.8% of CORE's following network, provide insider views on communities of color. The affective staying power of digital and social media afford listeners the chance to gain insights on experience typically

obstructed by social isolation and segregation. Discovery, in other words, is an affordance imbricated into the design of social media.

Allies long suffer from the unknown, and their fear of not knowing (Bishop, 2002), which is often reinforced by their poor listening skills and/or arrogance (Hughey, 2010). If CORE's following network is any indication of the other following networks in the CTU's social media sphere, then there is an urgent need to begin to use the affordances of social media to build one's authority over social justice issues.

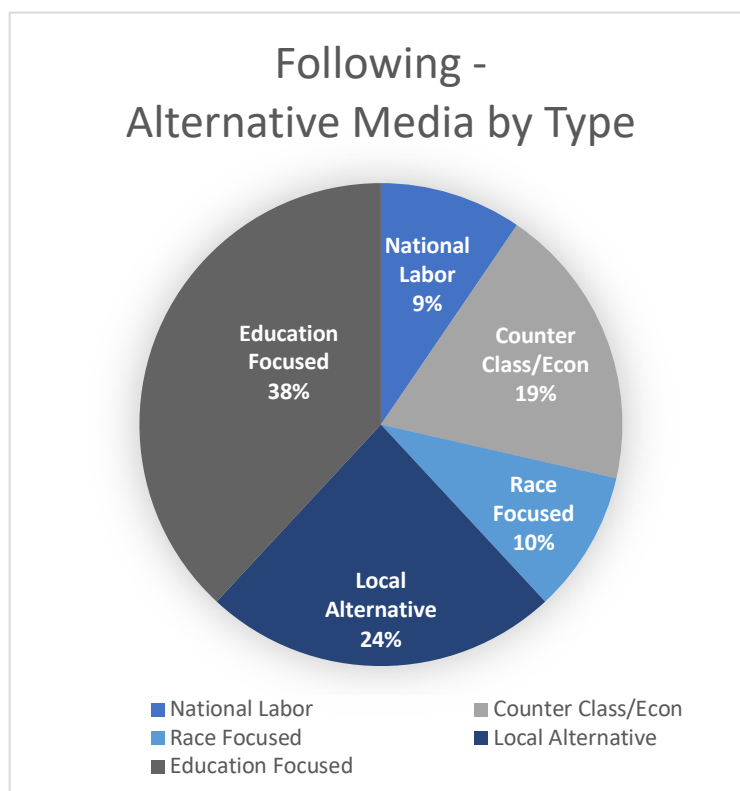


Figure 6.4

Curating an informational stream on Twitter

Reinforcing the lack of listening to people of color between the CTU and allies is an analysis of the top 100 words found on CTU's official Twitter account. To conduct this analysis, I used RStudio and the Rtweet package to download 3,200 of CTU's most recent Tweets, which is the most that Twitter allows individuals to freely access. These tweets represent 13% of CTU's Twitter history as of January 8, 2018. After cleaning the data to get rid of punctuation and other lines of text that did not download accurately (i.e. images, emojis, etc.), I used <http://www.voyant-tools.org/> to create a word cloud of the top 100 words that appears in these 3200 tweets.

Interestingly, like CORE, the vast majority of CTU tweets are retweets of CTU leaders and news about labor and education. Of the 3200 tweets, 304 are original content—or, .095% of the CTU Twitter sample—which suggests that administrators of this Twitter feed are using this platform to listen, discover, and curate an informational stream based the experiences of others. Figure 6.5 is a visualization of the top 100 terms found in CTU's Twitter sample. The larger the text the more often the keyword appears in the sample. The visualization shows the major topics and users connected to CTU's Twitter presence. Outside of the diversity among CTU leaders whose accounts are listed, the visualization shows that there is a lack of information shared by and about people of color. While themes of teacher-ally discourse emerge in this sample, only a few key words stand-out as particularly relevant for allies trying to overcome barriers of discovery and translation, including 1) Englewood, which is a community of color targeted for school closures; 2) Black, which indicates a focus on black individuals and groups; 3) bpncChicago, which is an organization working in Latinx communities;

4) power, which represents the belief in collective action; 5) solidarity, which represents the outcome of collective action.

The visualization is further evidence on how CTU utilizes social media to circulate information about its work, which include stopping school closures, creating a democratically-elected school board, protecting neighborhood schools, and defending rank-and-file members from bullies in administration. However, as a site of critical listening, the word cloud emphasizes what's lacking on the CTU's Twitter feed—voices from allies in communities of color in Chicago.

Conclusion

The CTU locates place in community on social media through storytelling, and to a lesser extent listening. Curating a social media sphere around retweets, as well as a diverse following network, can shed insight onto experiences and discover nuance involved in action. However, as currently developed, the CTU lacks diversity in what voices it shares Online, which constrains what allies know about each other. What we see in its social media sphere are storytelling practices, which have an amplification and affective value.

While leaders of the CTU focus on the former, the affective nature of social media drive their use of it, particularly its ability to help discover unknown information and create spaces of belonging through storytelling. Attesting to the affective nature of interaction, whether on- or offline, participation by followers happens naturally in the CTU's social media sphere. What's missing is a commitment to sharing voices, and paying attention to, allies. What's needed by

the CTU is a more concerted effort to build a diverse informational stream using social media, particularly information produced in and on communities of color in Chicago.

Theorizing the affective nature of social media focuses on its capacity to communicate values to likeminded people (Papacharissi, 2016; Zuckerman, 2014). It's the personalization of politics at the group-level and driven, not by "crowd enabled networks," but by a commitment to place in community (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012, p. 198-199). Flows of counterhegemonic discourse, in this sense, do more than guide collective action among enthusiastic supporters of a cause, but draw out oppositional and structural understandings of place. Flows for allies fix place in community at its intersection between insider and outsider. As seen in the CTU's social media sphere, the divide between labor-community is reduced through discovery of the other's voice and through paying attention to and amplifying their experiences about their professions and communities. Stories on the conditions of schools, stories that make meaning out of current and historic collective action, as well as stories that showcase the dedication of teachers, share a commitment to communities. Conditioning allyship, in this sense, communicates awareness to the multifaceted, complex, and layered values and identities that are used to construct communities.

The voices we bear witness to on social media, then amplify, circulate among impersonal and personal ties, harbors affiliation and commitments, and anchors personalized networks and curated informational flows to place in community (Friedland, 2016). How this place is established—the histories, institutions, and expressions that ground place to an inner core, are communicated to its outside edges with appeals to unity, solidarity, and resistance to policies that gut the inner core that gives place its meaning. Inside this core are schools,

healthcare service providers and other labor groups—that when politicized with teacher-ally discourse or other counterhegemonic scripts—contribute to the process of discovery of coalition members on social media. What's needed is an audience for this voice, and trained translators, which is where the CTU and other ally organizations can enter to build affiliative networks and expand members—regardless of the individual's preferred engagement style.

Chapter 7
**Evaluating the communicative functions of allyship, coalition, and social justice unionism
within the Chicago Teachers Union**

My findings contribute to communication scholarship on allyship and coalition, particularly as it relates to understanding how racial meaning works through representation and practice to reduce lines between insiders and outsiders. Using my framework on the communicative conditioning of allyship, scholars from high-status groups, can better understand how to study the work of social justice activists in communities of color.

As we see throughout my project, allyship is a relational concept. Being an ally depends on context, specifically the intersectional racial identities of activists. For allies who produce media, being an ally also relates to representations (i.e. media content), communication form (i.e. alternative media, social media, and face-to-face) As outlined in my methodology, and observed in my interventions in the field, being an ally, coalition, and social justice unionism are concepts that should not be reduced to noun-form; that is, as something static and constant. Instead, allyship, coalition, and social justice unionism are relational concepts that help build reflexivity skills that help activists see and think on power, institutions, and identity.

The relationality of allyship suggests being an ally is a dynamic process that involves using communication to soothe over gaps between insiders and outsiders in labor-community coalition. Moreover, understanding allyship as a relational concept dependent on context, we learn when and how allies can provide their expertise and knowledge with communities of color in a way that does not distract from culturally-specific ways to see and think about oppressive conditions.

Before and after ‘woke-ness’ is communication

By using a relational approach to allyship, we observe how teacher-allies use communication to straddle communities of color as insiders and outsiders. Regardless of how racial meaning is intersectionally assigned or ascribed by teacher-allies, as representatives of an institution of labor, they start as outsiders to communities of color. Through creating material and discursive spaces of coalition, the CTU helps teachers, parents, and community members create be-longing. Indeed, in Chapter Three, we observe how communication conditions allyship in material spaces of interactions, as well as in discourse. We see that the importance of thinking through the intersections of racial meanings activists ascribe and assign during moments of coalitional possibility, particularly as it relates to mediating and translating different ways to see and think about social justice work in communities of color.

The CTU creates material and discursive spaces to help members and supporters reach a ‘tipping point of inclination’ (Carrillo-Rowe, 2008). Practices of allyship that appear in these spaces include creating actual space for allies to interact, outsourcing the creation of material space to community groups, as well as discourse that translates different, and sometimes competing, meanings on community, identity, and coalition. In coordination with the Chicago Teachers Union Foundation, the CTU provides logistical and financial support to organizations in communities of color that build toward racial, economic, and education justice, among other issues. Essentially, as a practice of allyship, outsourcing puts the creative and intellectual energy of coalition and navigating spaces of interaction in the hands of community members. Translation relies heavily on reflexivity skills and helps allies understand the nuances embedded into codes used by coalition members. The CTU functions as an ally-translator when it produces

research, holds lectures and other social events, as well as creates media content that helps teachers see and think like insiders to community of color. However, this material and discursive ally work is unevenly applied and often relies on problematic assumptions about power, structure, and the place of communities of color.

Perhaps, my biggest contribution to communication scholarship is building a framework that helps see through the seemingly 'woke' discourse in the CTU. My study exposes two tensions within spaces curated by the CTU. First, using a relational understanding of allyship, we observe a tension within teacher-ally discourse that is exposed by power-evasive representations to structural critiques. While many material and discursive spaces provide powerful moments of coalitional possibility that helps insiders and outsiders think moments of belonging and non-belonging, in Chapter Four, we see how allies come to racialize communities of color as at-risk and in need of help. Often what frustrates coalitional efforts is a focus on 'them,' and not 'us.' Furthermore, even though some leaders in the CTU step up as allies when officers and other leaders do not, this creates the perception among community organizers and members of the CTU, that the CTU's efforts to organize coalition are inconsistent, distracting, or patronizing.

While CTU discourse on education does a great job legitimatizing social justice unionism and commitment of teacher-allies to communities of color, what's missing is meaningful talk on interrogating states of non-belonging, as well as individual and organizational culpability in sustaining oppressive conditions. Without meaningful talk and representations on their own power, it's difficult to train members for coalitional possibilities. The CTU, by focusing on representing communities of color as at-risk, fails to meaningfully train members to find

multiple connections between racial meaning, structure and institutions, which can help teacher-allies communicate belonging and trust to members of communities of color. It's the lack of this discourse, combined with a confusing decision-making process on who the CTU should ally with, which leads to the CTU enacting a neoliberal approach to allyship. In other words, though their rhetoric and actions, leaders of the CTU effectively privatize allyship and reduces a dynamic communication process into: 'Trust us, we do it; follow us.'

A second tension appears between the content of teacher-ally discourse and media practice. As observed in Chapter Five, teacher-ally discourse creates a counterpublicity that helps to reduce lines between insiders and outsiders; however, how the CTU produces this counterpublicity is lacking. The counterpublicity of the CTU, while helping to counter dominant media representations that minimize complex social relationships and interactions between labor and community, relies on editorial policies and routines of information gathering that reaffirms a neoliberal approach to allyship. Indeed, the CTU use of unclear editorial policies and routines of information gathering reinforces their outsider-ness to communities of color.

In Chapter Six, we observed that social media are imagined by leaders and allies as a communication tool that amplifies messages. However, despite the instrumental logic that organizes social media use within the CTU, we observe how leaders use social media to tell stories about place in community. While the instrumental logic means these stories are typically attached to a specific campaign or collective action, the content that informs these stories also serves an important synchronization function. Through storytelling, followers of the CTU social media sphere, serves to mediate discovery of new or different values. In doing so, storytelling becomes a practice of allyship that reduces social distance between insiders (communities) and

outsiders (teachers) through creating a repertoire of shared meaning. However, once again, the CTU enacts a contradictory media practice. In the case of social media, it's a lack of listening to communities of color. By not effectively using social media as a listening tool, the CTU constrains the discovery process and trivializes the wealth of channels and networks available to learn about racial, economic, or place-based others. Indeed, it appears that some communities are not worth attention. While the CTU's storytelling efforts communicate allyship to an affiliative network that uses a wide-range of engagement styles, I find that the lack of listening constrains the growth potential of this network.

For communication scholars, as well as social justice unionists, community organizers, and leaders of coalition, my study of the CTU highlights the tenuous position occupied by allies and how this tension is either reduced or heightened through communication. However, this study has limitations. Going forward, more work is needed to understand how communication conditions allyship. For starters, using a similar framework to study the communication of other social justice-oriented organizations, such as progressive political parties or non-profits that conduct work in communities of color, future scholars can investigate if the communicative practices of allyship I found are unique to the social justice unionism of the CTU. Additional work on the CTU is also needed, particularly on how it curates its social media presence. Without charting the reach and form of CTU's affiliative network, it's difficult to fully understand how flows of stories and listening can aid its coalitional efforts. More research on how the CTU produces alternative media will also shed additional light on the tension between content and practice. While I focus on an intriguing example of editorial censorship, I heard (off-record) about other instances of censorship from interviewees that have been difficult to

corroborate. More interviews with coalitional members, observations of CTU-sponsored events, as well as archival work at community organizations, are fruitful starting points to this endeavor.

Lastly, whether moving to a different site or remaining with the CTU, more scholarship is needed to understand how, why, when, and where the social justice gaze of allies falls. Often this gaze in the CTU, regardless of one's intersectional assigned and ascribed racial identity, falls upon communities of color and not itself. Understanding to what extent this is true for other social justice-oriented organizations can help us understand how to use communication to productively interrogate the different privileges and statuses activists bring to moments of coalition. In doing so, we can build a framework for scholars and a toolkit for activists that helps everyone in moments of non-belonging in coalitional work.

Challenging allies to communicate more effectively

What separates allies from those they ally with? Flesh, hair, skin, reproductive organs, beliefs, taste, values, power, status, entitlements; privileges of being cultural, economic, and political hegemony? It's a hegemony tied to racial meaning that binds together a sometimes overlapping, contradictory, and fluid regime of power relations that crisscross the micro-meso-macro levels of society (Omi and Winant, 2015). Imbedded into all levels of social structure, hegemony implicitly and explicitly rationalizes social hierarchies, which order, makes natural, and reifies oppressive conditions. Following Collins' (2015) intersectional approach to racial formation theory, how oppressive conditions intersect with power, and how this relationship is represented and structured, is best thought intersectionally. As such, what separates allies from

those they ally with is always shifting, fluid, and dependent on context. Thus, everyone has the potential to be an ally to another group.

Everyone needs to work through their status and privilege. However, for those at the top of most or all social hierarchies, e.g. white heterosexual cis-gendered middle-class men, being and becoming an ally is more work because of all the varied, textured, and unique forms of oppressions that they *do not* experience. Without this experience, and due to the socialization and structuration process in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva, 1997), it's difficult for members of high-status groups to see and think about other types of belongings that have emerged in response to oppressive conditions. Individual and community responses to their conditions are complex, often emergent, and based on a convergence of local, national, and global factors (Squires, 2002). The best allies can do is raise an awareness to multiple lines of difference, train themselves and others to understand the relationship between power, institution, and identity that sustain social hierarchies.

Ally organizations, such as the CTU, serve an important training and facilitating role for individuals from high-status groups, but also to all members regardless of intersectional identification—who depending on context are put into situations in which their privilege and status come to be dominant. In this sense, the work of ally organizations is to serve as a vehicle for discussion, debate, and unpacking power in all its forms. The work is messy and may feel like dis-unity; but it's these movements and moments of (non)belonging that are essential to coalition.

Ally organizations are situated as in-between counter- and dominant domains and can use their in-between position to help train members for coalitional possibilities, which I

frequently observed in the field. At the social events I attended, including comedy nights, protests, film screenings, public talks, and committee meetings, I noticed a pattern of discourse I describe in Chapter Four as part of the neoliberal approach to allyship. While this discourse does a good job explaining structural inequalities in communities of color and providing important information for members and allies, its power-evasive understanding of structure is too convenient. Enjoying convenient narratives on oppressive conditions in communities of color focuses attention on sociohistorical issues, and by extension the neoliberal policymakers that sustain them to the benefit of their wealthy elite benefactors. All of this is well and good, until other groups want this attention provided by the CTU's social justice gaze.

Applying a power-centric understanding to structural inequalities consistently can help the CTU train members for movements of (non)belonging. By effectively translating different types of counterpublicity, as well producing counterhegemonic discourse that focuses on relationships and interaction, the CTU can build reflexivity skills and create a repertoire of shared meanings that are useful in coalitional spaces. Fundamental to this effort is helping leaders, members, and allies work through their own power and privilege. As an ally organization that is in-between counter and dominant domains, the CTU can tap into their relationships and meaningfully represent multiple spheres of publicity that help teachers and community members see their shared fates in the racialized neoliberal order.

This type of intervention into multiple spheres of publicity often turn contentious when one or more group feels their voice and attention is not being respected, trusted. Reciprocation can build on the latent solidarity and unity that is connected by values, but without shared attention to voices that are silenced by dominant discourses, it's difficult to make productive

use of this latent belonging. The CTU does a good job at attending to voices in communities of color, but its narrow focus on these communities as at-risk doesn't help members of higher status groups understand their place in coalition. While this discourse arms members with an awareness of structural inequality, without an understanding of their individual and organization power and culpability to sustaining hierarchy, moments of coalition can get awkward, hostile, or worse. When confronted with questions such as, why are you here, why don't you know your history, why are you acting like a savior, and other questions directed to allies in moments of (non)belonging, without a communicative register that can condition belonging, is more challenging to hold onto coalitional possibilities. Instead, the lines between insider and outsider becomes reified.

What's needed is a reorganization of communicative practices within the CTU. More attention is need to the multiple sites of counterpublicity that responds to oppressive conditions and causes the need for social justice efforts and allyship. Critical listening through social media are one way to routinize this attention. Rethinking and clarifying editorial policies and information gathering practices can also help to routinize attention. How the social justice gaze is enacted through communication practice includes how its attends to itself. Without attention paid to its own set of privileges, blind-spots, and assumptions, the gaze of social justice activists will limit what is sees and knows about communities.

To implement changes to communication practices leaders of the CTU must re-evaluate some of their core beliefs about social justice unionism, communities of color, and communication. First, the CTU must embrace dis-unity and debate. Representations of unity and solidarity whether real or perceived are great to win contract campaigns. But finding

belonging in social justice efforts requires allies to think more meaningfully about who they are in relation to others, as well as how to communicate meaning across multiple lines of difference. Embracing contention and moments of dis-unity that occur when difference is crossed is impossible to stop. What is possible is for organizational leaders to help establish a reference point or context of understanding by leading by example. Leaders of ally organizations can step-up by providing discursive and material resources to train members on how to communicate during moments of coalition.

Leaders of the CTU are aided by viewing communication non-instrumentality. Strategy wins campaigns. Of course, leaders of the CTU need to think instrumentality about how they represent their union, particularly in a hyper-mediated and networked public sphere. However, instrumental communication alone does not serve coalitional efforts. Non-instrumental communication can sync values by creating a wealth of shared meanings about identities, institutions, and power. By embracing an affective and non-instrumentalist view of communication, particularly as it relates to what stories and truths to circulate and produce, leaders in the CTU can curate flows to its affiliative network that prepares allies for the unknown and unknowable moments of (non)belonging in coalition work.

Final thoughts for allies and ally organizations

Spaces are needed at the meso-level for allies, such as facilitated discussions, film screenings, talk backs, listening sessions, comedy nights, and other social events that help participants think about their racial blind spots and think coalitionally. As seen in my data,

belonging isn't intrinsic to social justice efforts. Belonging is actively articulated through practice, which at its core is communicative and radically democratic.

The democratizing nature of allyship, which undergirds the logic connecting our professions to communities, is driven by a radical potential that is needed to politicize the antagonisms created by neoliberal governmentality (Brown, 2014). Focusing on the racializing dimensions of neoliberal control reveals the central preoccupations of ally organizations: subverting the anatomizing effects and anti-social logic of neoliberalism, particularly as it relates to our imaginings on collective identities and action. Allyship as a communicative practice resides in our capacity to think coalitionally, and to be reflexive about authority in our identities and institutions. Thus, allies build trust by understanding lines of insider/outsider, which ultimately opens-up space for others in movements.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985), in their famous explication on radical democracy, suggest that reducing lines between insiders and outsiders can produce a tension between autonomy and diversity. This tension, for Laclau and Mouffe, can be soothed over by articulating a politics that reclaims discursive space for everyone: insiders and outsiders. "This moment of tension, of openness, which gives the social its essentially incomplete and precarious character, is what every project for radical democracy should set out to institutionalize" (p. 190). Pushing back against social theory that reduces complex social processes into abstract administrative procedures, Laclau and Mouffe identify a difference between diversification and diversity in movements for social justice. As a noun, diversification becomes "always exclusively a question of the management of the social...and every diversification takes place, in consequence, within a rationality which dominates a whole set of spheres and functions" (p. 191). In such a

rationality, diversification is managed by connecting each of the forms that constitute its totality to categories and associated meanings. "But in the case of the pluralism proper to a radical democracy, *diversification* has been transformed into a *diversity*, as each of these diverse elements and levels is no longer the expression of a totality which transcends it" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 191).⁴ Thus, in movements for social justice we are partners at creating knowledge and sharing mutual experience. In other words, what's needed by allies in coalition is spaces to construct each diverse element inter-subjectively.

What Laclau and Mouffe are doing, similar to the work of Hall (1986), is unpacking the possibility of democracy in movements that are driven by converging, but sometimes mutually exclusive grievances and collective identities. Activists who miss the primacy of power, and how it shapes what grievances are voiced and paid attention to in coalition, miss out on the opportunity to expand their activism beyond their own personal grievances. It's a shallow form of action, but also ego-driven and procedural. Instead, pluralist organizations in movements can create structures that reduce privileges and entitlements of high-status members.

Though pluralism is contentious at times, social justice and anti-racist efforts remain emergent in coalition because of the latent values built into overlapping grievances. It's not always a comfortable debate as more grievances are identified, defined, and institutionalized. Yet, it's just this space and moment of debate that can become transcendent and full of political opportunity. "The compromise, the precarious character of every arrangement, the antagonism," as Laclau and Mouffe suggest, "are the primary facts, and it is only within the instability that the moment of positivity and its management take place. The advancing of a

⁴ Italics are in the original.

project for radical democracy means, therefore, forcing the myth of a rational and transparent society to recede progressively to the horizon of the social" (p. 191). Indeed, allies in social justice organizations must embrace unity in all its mess and precarity.

Appendix A A Methodological Toolkit for Racial Outsiders

My methodological toolkit for racial outsiders is created for those who use positivistic and reflexive social science. The first step is to confront the possibility that research project, as conceptualized by the researcher, might not be necessary, or might be overly cumbersome to members of community of color. I argue that white social scientists should not enter communities of color unless every ounce of their mind and body is working toward emancipation and ending racial disparities.

Regardless if other motivations lead the white researcher to conduct research for communities of color, or if they seek to remedy racial disparities, it's important to make sure the intended project is not redundant, or emotionally taxing on the research partner. The project ought to be meaningful and beneficial to the community in question in the near- and long-term. Finally, every stage of the research process must be humanized (Paris, 2011). The toolkit is broken down into three sections, each based on how the researcher can humanize the research process.

Know Your Science

The first step is to understand how the chosen methodology and epistemological framework works for, or against, communities of color. To do so, ask the following questions:

- Why is reliability, replicability, and representativeness important to the research question?
- How is controlling or managing the contextual effects going to limit the questions asked, how the data is collected, and how the data is interpreted?
- How is pre-structuring social identities in the sampling process going to bias the results?
- Why is racial/ethnic identity an ordinary variable?

- How can a stronger understanding of racial/ethnic identity as a variable lead to stronger results?
- How is a neutral interview style, or survey questions, going to influence the results?
- What are the near-term benefits of the research project for communities of color?
- What are the long-term benefits of the research project for communities of color?

If any of these questions cannot be adequately answered in a way that leads to the humanization of the research partner, then consider utilizing a reflexive approach to science.

The following are questions to consider when employing reflexive science in communities of color:

- What are the goals of the research project and how do these goals match community needs?
- How can domination be rearticulated and de-centered in the intervention process?
- How is trust and rapport going to be built, sustained, and re-established?
 - It's also a good measure to consider what problematic situations may arise that may break trust and rapport.
- What outsider voices are present in the field?
- What voices of dissent are present in field notes and interview transcripts?
- What meanings are seemingly fixed; what meanings are more fluid in the minds of the research partners?
- To what extent is meaning making an intersubjective process between researcher and research partner?
- What possible political, economic, and cultural systemic forces could be masked as ordinary social processes?
- What are the deficiencies of the chosen theory? What are its criticisms?
- What theories are most useful for the community in question?
- What theoretical reconstruction can best help the research project work for communities of color?
- What are the near-term benefits of the research project for communities of color?
- What are the long-term benefits of the research project for communities of color?

It's critical for researchers to understand how scientific research is de-humanizing experience for participants. What is needed by researchers is an increased effort to re-humanize every step of the process. Answering the questions above helps reach this goal.

Know Your Location

After the researcher understands how to humanize social science, it's vital for researchers to consider the location of research. Answering the questions below will allow the white researcher to get a strong sense of how racial difference and racialized subject positions structure and constrain action for members in communities of color:

- What are the deep-seated structural racial conflicts inside and outside of the community?
- What are the racialized values and norms the community ascribes to and assigns?
- How do these values reinforce oppressive conditions?
- What are the racialized conditions that constrain agency for insiders and outsiders of the community?
- What are the common representations of the community in local media?
 - Check local news websites and community blogs
 - Identify and follow local opinion leaders on social media
- What racial projects can be identified in local media, or in speeches, policy reports, and public communications of local opinion leaders and politicians?
- What opportunities are there to participate in community activities?
- What research questions are most helpful for community members?
- What methods are most helpful for community members?

Know Your Biography

The next step to create a humanized research project is to reflect upon your biography. The point of this section is help white researchers understand how to communicate their biographies to communities of color.

- How do you define your racial identity?
- Describe the status and authority of your racial identity in society.
- How is your racial identity signified and symbolized in culture?
- How do you define your role as a social scientist?
- Describe the status and authority of social science in society.
- How is social science signified and symbolized in culture?
- How, when, and to what effect, have you used white logic and white methods in previous work?
- How have you articulated whiteness in the field (or in the classroom, or among peers)?
- How do you plan on re-articulating a white identity in the field?

- Review past field notes. Locate an area in which you articulate, or rearticulate, whiteness. How did you and the participant deconstruct this rearticulation? What meaning of whiteness was rearticulated in this intersubjective process?

Notes from the Field and Concluding Thoughts

The toolkit proved useful throughout my research project. I used the toolkit at every stage of the research process, from design, to implementation, to evaluation of data. In doing so, I asked better interview questions, found data from ‘noise,’ and asserted my expertise in a way that pushed back on forms of ‘othering’ reinforced by my research participants. Below are two examples that highlight how I incorporated my toolkit into the research process.

By thinking through what type of science to employ, as well as my location, I asked more meaningful questions, as well as found data by chance. What some scholars might dismiss as noise—which Burawoy (2009) defines as the effects of intervening into people’s daily lives—I observed as data. How this played out in the field depended on my location. For example, while waiting to interview the director of a community organization that works primarily in a Mexican-American community, I tried my best to become small. The organization’s main office is one large room, with a large conference table in the middle, and desks around the wall. The only other person in the room was Jamie, a Latino with more than 10 years of experience working in communities of color. He is the leader of the jobs program of the organization and was working at his desk on one side of the office. I sat at the conference table, close to the door to the office. After about 30 minutes, Manny, a person with Mexican heritage in his mid-50s, entered to talk with Jamie.

Fast-forward 90 minutes later. After making at least 10 phone calls, presumably to prospective employers, Jamie was able to find Manny work. Upon finding out the news, Manny

became electric. He hugged Jamie and talked excitedly about the work opportunity using in Spanglish. A few moments later, remembering they were not alone, they looked up at me. I glance back with a smile and a “Hell yeah. That’s awesome!” Jamie proceeds to tell Manny who I was and why I was there—to interview the leader of the organization about his work building a labor-community coalition with the local teachers union.

Manny goes into a lengthy story, mostly in English, about his experiences navigating school choices for his children. As a recently arrived migrant, it wasn’t just confusing, but scary. He did not want to make a mistake that could hurt his children’s education. He talked about his children’s “great teachers” and programs that the teachers’ union and its coalition partners created to help parents through these choices. While Manny didn’t acknowledge the role of the coalition in this work, Jamie mentioned it. After about 10 minutes hearing from Manny about his experiences as a parent, he leaves, and Jamie and I pick up the conversation, spending another 45 minutes talking about education politics, racial identity, community-building, and the importance of coalition. The leader I was supposed to interview ended-up canceling shortly thereafter, but because I thought through my location, I was able to be part of a moment in someone’s everyday life through which I built rapport, captured interesting insights, and was able to show Jamie that he could talk to me too.

The next example from my fieldwork is less wholesome and shows the importance of thinking through one’s biography in relation to the site’s location. I scheduled an interview with Aaron, a Black man with 10-plus years teaching in communities of color, to talk about his work as a teacher and union member. He welcomed me into his house for the interview. Despite having the resources to live in a “safer neighborhood,” Aaron said in the interview that he

chose to return to the neighborhood where he grew-up to stop the “brain drain occurring from Black parts of the city.” So, he purchased property and invested in community-building. Our interview lasted nearly three hours. While there was a lot of good riffing back and forth about race and racism in Chicago, a few moments stand out as particularly jarring from my position as a scholar and ally.

I’m not naïve. Because of questions I asked about my location and biography, I understand that there are numerous ways for a Black individual to express reactionary and de-humanizing views about other groups. In short, during our conversation about race, racism, and coalition building, Aaron said “Black Lives Matter is getting too queer. It’s a black movement.” Regarding white allies, “they distract from Black liberation.” Regarding his union, “they are part of a complex system of racism and oppression...they try to take too much control.” Then, Aaron started talking about Jewish control over media and politics. Again, these comments are not shocking. Allies cannot assume that they will agree with everything that someone from an ally-group says. Similarly, reflexive scientists cannot assume that members of communities of color do not engage in ‘othering.’ What matter is how allies and reflexive scholars respond.

By using the toolkit for racial outsiders, I was more aware on how to use my expertise to push back on Aaron’s claims while redirecting attention away from my racial and professional position. Aaron’s views reiterate classic tropes of Black nationalist discourse, particularly talk from the Nation of Islam. I asked about this link and we started talking about the importance of enclaves in a white supremacist society. I offered a critique of enclaves provided by Black feminists and intersectional scholars (Collins, 2015), as well as my own experience trying to build coalition as a labor organizer. While Aaron did not backdown from his positions, he did

show some reflexivity and a willingness to listen and debate. “Ok, if we are trying to destroy the whole system, I see a coalition working and needed and to get everybody respecting one another and trusting one another,” Aaron said. “That’s like 1,000 years in the future though...[it’s] never going to happen. We are stuck with who we are and what we grew out of. We need liberation now...Black people can’t wait...” As an ally, it’s difficult to *feel* the sense of urgency in Aaron’s remarks, but we can understand it. I said something to this affect to which he responded with a laugh.

The balance between feeling and understanding that plays out in the field can often frustrate allies and scholars. Should we respond to reactionary beliefs and attitudes? If so, how? By expressing disagreement and providing other perspectives that addressed my research partners’ suspicions about ‘others,’ I built rapport and engaged in a fruitful conversation about white supremacy, and by extension my culpability. Thinking through my biography and location helped me avoid feeling ‘singled-out,’ shocked, confrontational, or indignant. I understand Aaron’s views—probably similar to how he understands my views—within the context of white supremacy and white racism.

Bibliography

- Ahmed-Ullah, N. Ruthart, B., & Hood, J. (2012, September 18). Union anger hard to quell. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 1A
- Ali, T., & Cherone, H. (2017, January 13). CPS Is Cutting Teacher And Staff Pay By 4 Days To Save \$35 Million. *DNAinfo Chicago*. Retrieved from <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20170113/albany-park/cps-public-schools-cuts-four-furlough-days-when-claypool-rauner-budget>
- Alter, T. (2013). "It Felt Like Community": Social Movement Unionism and the Chicago Teachers Union Strike of 2012. *Labor*, 10(3), 11–25. <https://doi.org/10.1215/15476715-2149461>
- Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In L. Althusser (Ed.), *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Anderson, E. (2015). "The White Space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 10–21.
- Armstrong, C., & Gao, F. (2011). Gender, Twitter and News Content. *Journalism Studies*, 12(4), 490–505.
- Arnold, G. (1995). Dilemmas of feminist coalitions: Collective identity and strategic effectiveness. In M. M. Ferree & P. Y. Martin (eds.), *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new Women's movement* (pp. 276–290). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Asen, R. (2017). Neoliberalism, the public sphere, and a public good. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 103(4), 329–349.
- Asen, R. (2000). Seeking the "Counter," in Counterpublics. *Communication Theory*, 10(4), 424–446.
- Atton, C. (2007). Current Issues in Alternative Media Research. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1), 17–27.
- Atton, C. (2002). News Cultures and New Social Movements: radical journalism and the mainstream media. *Journalism Studies*, 3(4), 491–505.
- Author removed. (2018). From Chicago to Palestine. Unpublished manuscript.
- Azam, A. (2010, June 2010). City schools cancel some budget cuts. *Chicago Tribune*,
- Baldwin, J. (1998). The black boy looks at the white boy. In *James Baldwin Collected Essays*. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc.

- Ball-Rokeach, S. J., Kim, Y.-C., & Matei, S. (2001). Storytelling Neighborhood Paths to Belonging in Diverse Urban Environments. *Communication Research*, 28(4), 392–428.
- Bandy, J., & Smith, J. (2005). Coalitions across borders: Transnational protest and the neoliberal order. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Barber, D. (2006). Leading the Vanguard: White New Leftists School the Panthers on Black Revolution. In Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams (Eds.), *Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Barrett, X. (2012, September 13). Striking for Chicago's kids. *The Socialist Worker*, p. 6.
- Barvosa-Carter, E. (2001). Multiple identity and coalition building: How identity difference within us enable radical alliances among us. In Jill M. Bystydzienski and Steven P. Schacht (Eds.), *Forging Radical Alliances Across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium* (pp. 21–34). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20–39.
- Bennett, W. L., Segerberg, A., & Yang, Y. (2018). The Strength of Peripheral Networks: Negotiating Attention and Meaning in Complex Media Ecologies. *Journal of Communication*, 68(4), 659–684.
- Bimber, B., Flanagin, A., & Stohl, C. (2012). *Collective Action in Organizations: Interaction and Engagement in an Era of Technological Change*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Bishop, A. (2002). *Becoming an ally: Breaking the cycle of oppression in people*. London: Zed Books.
- Black, C. (2016, December 1). Emanuel's growing collection of slush funds. *Chicago Reporter*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/emanuels-growing-collection-of-slush-funds/>
- Black, C. (2015, November 24). How Chicago tried to cover up a police execution. *Chicago Reporter*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/how-chicago-tried-to-cover-up-a-police-execution/>

- Bloom, M. (2017, March 28). Stop new charters until public schools are properly funded Guzzardi says. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*, article originally posted to *DNAinfo*.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2012). The invisible weight of whiteness: The racial grammar of everyday life in contemporary America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*, 173–194.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (1999). The Essential Social Fact of Race. *American Sociological Review*, *64*(6), 899–906.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. & Zuberi, T. (2008). Toward a definition of White logic and White methods. In T. Zuberi, & E. Bonilla-Silva, (Eds.). *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* (pp. 3-27). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Brecher, J., & Costello, T. (Eds.). (1990). *Building bridges: The emerging grassroots coalition between labor and community*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Brogan, P. (2014). Getting to the CORE of the Chicago Teachers' Union Transformation. *Studies in Social Justice*, *8*(2), 145–165.
- Broido, E. M. (2000). The development of social justice allies during college: A phenomenological investigation. *Journal of College Student Development*, *41*, 3–18.
- Brown, M. (2012, September 18). Bargainers, delegates need to get on the same page. *Chicago Sun-Times*, pp. 13.
- Brown, W. (2015). *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books.
- Burns, A. (2014, November 19). Illinois' odd couple. Retrieved April 15, 2019, from POLITICO website: <https://www.politico.com/story/2014/11/bruce-rauner-rahm-emanuel-illinois-odd-couple-113012.html>
- Carastathis, A. (2013). Identity Categories as Potential Coalitions. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, *38*(4), 941–965.
- Caref, C., & Jankov, P. (2012). The schools Chicago's students deserve: Research-based proposals to strengthen elementary and secondary education in the Chicago public schools. Chicago Teachers Union.
- Caref, C., & Pope, D. (2017, April). Taking a stand for justice on May Day. *Chicago Union Teacher*, pp. 2.

- Carey, J. W. (2009). A Cultural Approach to Communication. In *Communication as Culture: Essays on media and society* (pp. 11-28). New York: Routledge. pp. 11–28
- Carrillo Rowe, A. (2008). *Power lines: on the subject of feminist alliances*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the internet age*. London: Polity.
- Cha-Jua, S. K. (2010). The New Nadir: The Contemporary Black Racial Formation. *The Black Scholar*, 40(1), 38–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.2010.11413508>
- Chavez, K. R. (2013). *Queer migration politics: Activist rhetoric and coalitional possibilities*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Chazan, M. (2016). Settler solidarities as praxis: Understanding ‘granny activism’ beyond the highly-visible. *Social Movement Studies*, 15(5), 457–470
- Cherone, H. (2016, October 14). Here’s What Chicago Teachers Won & Lost In Contract Deal. *DNAinfo Chicago*. Retrieved from <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20161014/gladstone-park/cps-chicago-public-schools-teachers-union-strike>
- Chicago Public Schools. (2018). CPS : At-a-glance : CPS stats and facts. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from https://cps.edu/About_CPS/At-a-glance/Pages/Stats_and_facts.aspx
- Chicago Public Schools. (n.d.). School data: Student assessment. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from <http://www.cps.edu/SchoolData/Pages/Assessment.aspx>
- Chicago Sun-Times. (2016, March 31). ‘Day of action’ is a testing day for the CTU. *Chicago Sun-Times*, pp. 12.
- Chicago Tribune. (2017, April 24). Chicago’s cold shoulder to charters. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 12A.
- Chicago Tribune. (2016a, April 11). Congrats, Ms. Lewis. Now, about that strike. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 12A.
- Chicago Tribune. (2016b, March 7). The Chicago bloat of education. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 12A.
- Cole, E. R., & Luna, Z. T. (2010). Making Coalitions Work: Solidarity across Difference within US Feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 36(1), 71–98.
- Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality’s Definitional Dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41(1), 1–20.

- Cornell, S., & Hartman, D. (2007). *Ethnicity and race: Making identities in a changing world*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Couldry, N. (2015). *Alternative media and voice*. In Chris Atton (Ed.). *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (pp. 43-53). New York: Routledge.
- Conquergood, D. (1995). Between rigor and relevance: Rethinking applied communication. In K.N. Cissna (Ed.), *Applied communication for the 21st century* (pp. 79–96). Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cox, T. (2016, February 29). Teachers Threaten Immediate Strike Over Pension Pickup Cut. *DNAinfo Chicago*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160229/downtown/teachers-say-they-could-strike-immediately-over-pension-pickup-cut>
- Crawford, K. (2009). Following you: Disciplines of listening in social media. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 23(4), 525–535.
- CTU Communications. (2017, May 25). From PSRP to certified teacher with GYO. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*.
- CTU Communications. (2017, April 18). Resolution for the Chicago Board of Education: Sanctuary and safe schools for all students. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*, pp. 1-4.
- CTU Communications. (2016, May 4). Revenue recovery plan. Chicago Teachers Union Press Release, 1-4.
- CTU Communications. (2016, March 19). Updated April 1 FAQ. Chicago Teachers Union Press release, pp. 1-6.
- CTU Communications. (2012, September 24). Healthcare union honors teachers union, community allies for demonstrating the power of grassroots unity. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*.
- Daily Herald. (2012, September 12). Our view blending realism, cooperation to tell teachers' story. *The Daily Herald*, pp. 16.
- Daniels, J. (2013). Race and racism in Internet Studies: A review and critique. *New Media & Society*, 15(5), 695–719. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812462849>
- Darr, J. P. (2016). Presence to Press: How Campaigns Earn Local Media. *Political Communication*, 33(3), 503–522.
- Dewey, J. (1927/1954). *The public and its problems*. Athens: OH: Ohio University Press.\

- Dolber, B. (2016). Commodifying Alternative Media Audiences: A Historical Case Study of the Jewish Daily Forward. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 9(2), 175–192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12101>
- Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the Dark: Antiblackness in Education Policy and Discourse. *Theory Into Practice*, 55(1), 11–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2016.1116852>
- Duncan, L. (2018). Labor TV in Chicago: A brief history. *Labor Beat*. Retrieved from http://www.laborbeat.org/Documents/Chicago%20Labor%20TV%20History_4p.pdf
- Elk, M. (2012, September 11). Chicago Teachers Strike Headache for Democrats. Retrieved from In these times website: http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/13804/chicago_teachers_strike_headache_for_democrats/
- Emirbayer, M., & Desmond, M. (2015). *The Racial Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feagin, J. (2014). *Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Enriquez, L. E. (2014). ‘Undocumented and citizen students unite’: Building a cross-status coalition through shared ideology. *Social Problems*, 61(2), 155–174.
- Entman, R. M. (2005). The nature and sources of news. In *Geneva Overholser and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (Eds.), The Press* (pp. 48–65). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Farmer, F. (2013). *After the public turn: composition, counterpublics, and the citizen bricoleur*. Boulder, Colorado: Utah State University Press.
- Feagin, J. (2014). *Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Featherstone, L. (2012, September 27). Dissent magazine: “Empowerment” against democracy, tinseltown and the teachers’ union. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*, p. 1-3.
- Ferguson, R. (2014). The distribution of whiteness. *American Quarterly*, 66, 1101–1106.
- Ferguson, R. (1998). *Representing race: Ideology, identity, and the media*. London: Arnold.
- Fine, A. H. (2006). *Momentum: Igniting social change in the connected age*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- FitzPatrick, L. (2017, August 23). Claypool cuts back on CPS consultants — but not 3 he has ties to | Chicago Sun-Times. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved from <https://chicago.suntimes.com/chicago-politics/forrest-claypool-cuts-back-on-chicago-public-schools-cps-consultants-but-not3-he-has-ties-to-the-watchdogs/>
- FitzPatrick, L., & Spielman, F. (2017, July 19). Chicago Public Schools borrow \$275 million at sky-high interest rate | Chicago Sun-Times. *Chicago Sun-Times*. Retrieved from <https://chicago.suntimes.com/chicago-politics/chicago-public-schools-borrow-275-million-at-sky-high-interest-rate/>
- Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. Minneapolis, MN: University Minnesota Press.
- Fraser, M., Greenhouse, S., Slaughter, J., & Jaffe, S. (2018). Labor Journalism Today: Three Interviews. *Labor*, 15(1), 81–91. <https://doi.org/10.1215/15476715-4288674>
- Fraser, N. (2019, April). *What can socialism mean today? An expanded view*. Presented at the The Havens Wright Center for Social Justice, Grainger Hall, 975 University Ave. Retrieved from <https://havenswrightcenter.wisc.edu/2019/01/17/nancy-fraser-april-11/>
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, (25/26), 56–80.
- Friedland, L. A. (2016). Networks in place. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(1), 24–42.
- Friedland, L. A. (2001). Communication, Community, and Democracy Toward a Theory of the Communicatively Integrated Community. *Communication Research*, 28(4), 358–391.
- Frost, J. (2001). *An interracial movement of the poor: Community organizing and the New Left in the 1960s*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gadlin, S. (2012, December 27). Chicago teachers file federal lawsuit charging CPS with racial discrimination. Chicago Teachers Union Press Release, pp. 1-2.
- Gadlin, S. (2012, December 4). Chicago teachers union to hold summit to educate community, defend against attacks on neighborhood schools. Chicago Teachers Union Press Release, pp. 1-2.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ganz, M. (2009). *Why David sometimes wins: leadership, organization, and strategy in the California farm worker movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Geiger, K. (2016, February 3). Rauner creates new economic development arm, but no guarantees of transparency. Retrieved from [chicagotribune.com](https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/politics/ct-gov-bruce-rauner-business-group-met-20160204-story.html) website: <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/politics/ct-gov-bruce-rauner-business-group-met-20160204-story.html>
- Gitlin, T. (2003). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goldberg, D. (2015). *Sites of race*. London: Polity.
- Goldberg, D. (2009). *The threat of race reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Goodman, D. (2000). Motivating people from privileged groups to support social justice. *Teachers College Record*, 102(6), 1061–1085.
- Gonzalez, R. (2017, March). I teach because it matters. *Chicago Union Teacher*, p. 5
- Gramsci, A. (1971/1996). *Prison notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gray, H. (2013). Subject(ed) to Recognition. *American Quarterly*, 65(4), 771–798.
- Gray, H. (1995). *Watching race: Television and the struggle for blackness*. Minneapolis, MN: University Minnesota Press.
- Gutierrez, R. R. (2013, June 1). Beating the Neoliberal Blame Game: Teacher and Parent Solidarity and the 2012 Chicago Teachers’ Strike | Rhoda Rae Gutierrez. Retrieved July 6, 2017, from <https://monthlyreview.org/2013/06/01/beating-the-neoliberal-blame-game/>
- Gutstein, E., & Lipman, P. (2013, June 1). The Rebirth of the Chicago Teachers Union and Possibilities for a Counter-Hegemonic Education Movement. *Monthly Review*. Retrieved from <https://monthlyreview.org/2013/06/01/the-rebirth-of-the-chicago-teachers-union-and-possibilities-for-a-counter-hegemonic-education-movement/>
- Gwynne, J.A., & Moore, P.T. (2017). *Chicago’s charter high schools: Organizational features, enrollment, school transfers, and student performance*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Consortium on School Research.
- Habermas, J. (1991). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Hall, S. (1997). The Spectacle of the Other. In *Stuart Hall (Ed.), Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices (pp. 1-40)*. (1st ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S. (1986). Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10(2), 5–27.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Palgrave.
- Han, H. (2014). *How organizations develop activists: Civic associations & leadership in the 21st century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartnett, S. J. (2010). Communication, Social Justice, and Joyful Commitment. *Western Journal of Communication*, 74(1), 68–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10570310903463778>
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Henneberg, S. C., Scammell, M., & O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (2009). Political marketing management and theories of democracy. *Marketing Theory*, 9(2), 165–188.
- Hermida, A. (2010). *Twittering the News: The Emergence of Ambient Journalism* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. ID 1732598). Retrieved from Social Science Research Network website: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1732598>
- Hill, J. (2009). *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
- Hughey, M. W. (2010). The (dis)similarities of white racial identities: the conceptual framework of 'hegemonic whiteness.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33, 1289–1309.
- Ihejirika, M., & Spak, K. (2012, September 12). Parents feel the pain. *The Chicago Sun-Times*, p. 5.
- Kelleher, M. (2015, September 11). The changing face of CPS teachers. *Chicago Reporter*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/the-changing-face-of-cps-teachers/>
- Kreiss, D., Finn, M., & Turner, F. (2011). The limits of peer production: Some reminders from Max Weber for the network society. *New Media & Society*, 13(2), 243–259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810370951>
- Krinsky, J., & Reese, E. (2006). Forging and Sustaining Labor-Community Coalitions: The Workfare Justice Movement in Three Cities. *Sociological Forum*, 21(4), 623–658.

- Kunichoff, Y. (2014, June 5). One Year After Closings, How Are Chicago's Public Schools Now? Retrieved February 1, 2018, from http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/16804/CTU_report_CPS_chicago_closing
- Jackson, S. J., & Foucault Welles, B. (2015). Hijacking #myNYPD: Social Media Dissent and Networked Counterpublics. *Journal of Communication*, 65(6), 932–952.
- Jacobson, G. (2015). Racial Formation Theory and Systemic Racism in Hip-Hop Fans' Perceptions. *Sociological Forum*, 30(3), 832–851.
- Jankov, P. (2017, April). The metrics of school turnaround and closing discrimination. *Chicago Union Teacher*, pp. 5.
- Janssen, K., & Spielman, F. (2012, September 11). Who's to blame? Alderman back mayor, but parents with teachers. *Chicago Sun-Times*, pp. 13.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: where old and new media collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jhally, S., & Lewis, J. (1992). *Enlightened racism: The Cosby Show, audiences, and the myth of the American dream*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Johnson, A. (2017). A Communication Approach to Social Justice: Midwest College Campus Protests. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 28(2), 212–215.
- Johnson, B. (2014, June 17). School Deserts Hit Chicago's Black Neighborhoods. *Labor Notes*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from [/2014/06/%E2%80%98school-deserts%E2%80%99-hit-chicago%E2%80%99s-black-neighborhoods](http://2014/06/%E2%80%98school-deserts%E2%80%99-hit-chicago%E2%80%99s-black-neighborhoods)
- Karpp, D. (2012). *The MoveOn effect: The unexpected transformation of American political advocacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelleher, M. (2015, September 11). The changing face of CPS teachers. *Chicago Reporter*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/the-changing-face-of-cps-teachers/>
- Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2011). *Blur: How to know what's true in the age of information overload*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Lacy, K. (2013). *Listening publics: The politics and experience of listening in the media age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2007). Pushing Past the Achievement Gap: An Essay on the Language of Deficit. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 76(3), 316–323.

- Lentin, A., & Titley, G. (2011). *The crises of multiculturalism: Racism in a neoliberal age*. London: Zed Books.
- Lester, K. (2012, September 14). Duckworth calls strike 'a failure on both sides.' *The Daily Herald*, pp. 15.
- Lewis, K. (2016, April 20). President Karen Lewis at City Club of Chicago. *Chicago Teachers Union Blog*, pp. 1-8.
- Lipman, P. (2011). *The new political economy of urban education: Neoliberalism, race, and the right to the city*. New York: Routledge.
- Mantler, G. (2013). *Power to the poor: Black-brown coalition and the fight for economic justice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Marable, M. (2002). The political and theoretical contexts of the changing racial terrain. *Souls*, 4, 1–6.
- Marcuse, H. (1966). *One dimensional man*. New York: Beacon Press.
- Masterson, M. (2016, August 5). CPS to Cut More Than 1,000 Teaching, Support Staff Positions. *Chicago Tonight*. Chicago: WTTW. Retrieved from <https://chicagotonight.wttw.com/2016/08/05/cps-cut-more-1000-teaching-support-staff-positions>
- Martin, C. R. (2004). *Framed!: Labor and the corporate media*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Massad, J. (2006). *The Persistence of the Palestinian Question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians*. New York: Routledge.
- McAlevey, J. (2016). *No Shortcuts: Organizing for power in the new gilded age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCombs, M., & Funk, M. (2011). Shaping the Agenda of Local Daily Newspapers: A Methodology Merging the Agenda Setting and Community Structure Perspectives. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14(6), 905–919.
- McGregor, G. (2017). Counter-narratives that challenge neo-liberal discourses of schooling 'disengagement': youth professionals informing the work of teachers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(4), 551–565.

- McIntosh, P. (1988). *White privilege and male privilege: a personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies*. Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.
- Mishra, P. (2017). *Age of anger: A history of the present*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Mislán, C. (2017). The imperial 'we': Racial justice, nationhood, and global war in Claudia Jones' Weekly Review editorials, 1938–1943. *Journalism*, 18(10), 1415–1430.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916664109>
- Moberg, D. (2012, September 15). Negotiations Look Promising for Chicago Teachers; Strike Could End By Monday. *In These Times*. Retrieved from http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/13858/chicago_teachers_may_finalize_contract_end_strike_by_monday
- Moberg, D. (2012, August 30). Which way will the pendulum swing? Chicago teachers give notice to strike. *In These Times*, pp. 3.
- Moody, J., & Robbins, S. R. (2013). Seeking Trust and Commitment in Women's Interracial Collaboration in the Nineteenth Century and Today. *MELUS*, 38(1), 50-75,183-184.
- Moore, E. (2016, April 7). Teachers Union Regrets "F The Police" Comment At Rally, But Activists Don't. Retrieved August 16, 2017, from DNAinfo Chicago website:
<https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160407/downtown/teachers-union-regrets-f-police-comment-at-rally-but-activists-dont>
- Moore, N. (2019, January 22). What Can Chicago Do About The Racist Effects Of Segregation? Retrieved April 16, 2019, from WBEZ website: <https://www.wbez.org/shows/wbez-news/what-can-chicago-do-about-the-racist-effects-of-segregation-look-to-other-cities/4a834a26-c79d-4f83-a15e-51d148fa236c>
- Moore, W. (2007). *Reproducing racism: White space, elite law school, and racial inequality*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Morozov, E. (2011). *The net delusion: The dark side of internet freedom*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Morris, A. (1992). Political consciousness and collective action. In *In Aldon Morris and Carol M. Mueller (Eds.), Frontiers in social movement theory (pp. 351-373)*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Morris, M. (2009). Social Justice and Communication: Mill, Marx, and Habermas. *Social Justice Research*, 22(1), 134–155.

- Moser, W. (2012, September 17). Poll Shows Substantial CPS Parent, Racial Divide on Chicago Teachers Strike. *Chicago Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagomag.com/Chicago-Magazine/The-312/September-2012/Poll-Shows-Substantial-CPS-Parent-Racial-Divide-on-Chicago-Teachers-Strike/>
- Morris, A., & Braine, N. (2001). Social movements and oppositional consciousness. In *In Jane Mansbridge and Aldon Morris (Eds.), Oppositional consciousness: The subjective roots of social protest (pp. 20-37)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Murolo, P.; Chitty, A.B.; & Sacco, J. (2018). *From the folks who brought you the weekend: A short illustrated history of labor in the United States*.
- Negt, O., & Kluge, A. (1973). *Public sphere and experience: Toward an analysis of the bourgeois and proletarian public sphere*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ness, I. (2002). "Community labor alliances: A new paradigm in the campaign to organize greengrocery workers in New York city." In Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (eds.), *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization: 57–73*. London: Verso.
- Noonan, S., Farmer, S., & Huckaby, F. (2014). *A sea of red: Chicago Teachers Union members reflect on how the social organizing model of unionism helped win the union's 2012 contract campaign*. Chicago: Chicago Teachers Union.
- Olmstead, M. (2017, October 10). Illinois Is Still Facing the Nation's Worst Budget Crisis. *Slate*. Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2017/10/10/illinois_budget_problems_are_still_the_nation_s_worst.html
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States (3rd ed.)*. New York: Routledge.
- Patel, A. (2016, March 7). As Rahm Emanuel Argues Yet Again for CPS Cuts, It's Time to Stop Believing His Cries of 'Crisis.' Retrieved from <http://inthesetimes.com/working/entry/18934/rahm-emanuel-tax-increment-financing-tif-chicago-public-schools-cps>
- Papacharissi, Z. (2016). Affective publics and structures of storytelling: sentiment, events and mediality. *Information, Communication & Society, 19*(3), 307–324.
- Patel, V. (2011). Moving toward an inclusive model of allyship for racial justice. *The Vermont Connection, 32*, 78–88.

- Pearson, R. (2012, September 19). Emanuel adviser wants to split teachers, union. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 14.
- Perez Jr., J. (2017, March 2). Federal prosecutors seek 9 years for SUPES owner who bribed, defrauded CPS - Chicago Tribune. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-gary-solomon-supes-sentence-request-met-20170301-story.html>
- Perez, J., & Garcia, M. (2017, May 7). Chance the Rapper writes \$1 million check to CPS as a 'call to action.' *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 1.
- Potter, J. (2016, April). The long struggle for sustainable community schools. *Chicago Union Teacher*, pp. 51.
- Potter, J., & Williams-Hayes, C. (2017, March). A delegate's work is never done. *Chicago Union Teacher*, pp. 6.
- Pratt, G., & Perez, J. (2017, May 2). At May Day protests, calls for justice for all. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 4.
- Precourt, G. (2014). How Does Earned Media Work in Advertising? *Journal of Advertising Research*, 54(4), 370–371.
- Reese, R. (2017, June). New CTU reports address racial segregation, impact of school closings throughout Chicago's public schools. Chicago Teachers Union Press Release, p. 1-2.
- Resnikoff, N. (2015, April 22). Garza wins. *Substance News*. Retrieved from <http://www.substancenews.net/articles.php?page=5595>
- Reason, D., Millar E.R., and Scales, T.C. (2005). Toward a model of racial justice ally development. *Journal of College Development*, 41, 530-546.
- Reason, D., Scales, T.C., and Millar, E.R. (2005). Encouraging the development of racial justice allies. In R.D. Reason, E.M. Broido, T.L. Davis, N. J. Evans (Eds.), *Developing Social Justice Allies* (pp. 55-66). San Francisco, CA: Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
- Robinson, I. (2000). Neoliberal restructuring and U.S. unions: Toward social movement unionism. *Critical Sociology*, 26,109– 138.
- Robinson. S. (2017). *Networked news, racial divides: How power and privilege shape public discourse in progressive communities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodríguez, C. (2011). *Citizens' media against armed conflict: Disrupting violence in Colombia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Rodríguez, C., Ferron, B., & Shamas, K. (2014). Four challenges in the field of alternative, radical and citizens' media research. *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(2), 150–166.
- Rodriguez, D. (2010). *Suspended Apocalypse: White supremacy, genocide, and the Filipino Condition*. Minneapolis, MN: University Minnesota Press.
- Roediger, D. R. (1991). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. London: Verso.
- Rothschild, S. (2017, March 20). Contract selling is 'racially targeted disinvestment.' *AJustChicago.org*.
- Ruthart, B., Pearson, R., & Geiger, K. (2016, June 2). Rauner and Emanuel, from friendship to insults. Retrieved April 16, 2019, from [chicagotribune.com website: https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/politics/ct-rahm-emanuel-bruce-rauner-donald-trump-comparison-met-0603-20160602-story.html](https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/politics/ct-rahm-emanuel-bruce-rauner-donald-trump-comparison-met-0603-20160602-story.html)
- Shaw, A., & Hill, B. M. (2014). Laboratories of Oligarchy? How the Iron Law Extends to Peer Production. *Journal of Communication*, 64(2), 215–238.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12082>
- Shulman, S. W. (2009). The Case Against Mass E-mails: Perverse Incentives and Low Quality Public Participation in U.S. Federal Rulemaking. *Policy & Internet*, 1(1), 23–53.
<https://doi.org/10.2202/1944-2866.1010>
- Schmidt, G. (2017, August 1). CORE failing CTU rank and file. *Substance News*. Retrieved from <http://www.substancenews.net/articles.php?page=6785>
- Schudson, M. (1995). *The Power of News*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schudson, M. (1998). *The good citizen: A history of American civic life*. New York: Martin Kessler Books.
- Sfondeles, T; FitzPatrick, L. (2016, March 23). CTU votes yes to April 1 'showdown' strike. *Chicago Sun-Times*, pp. 1.
- Skocpol, T. (2003). *Diminished democracy: From membership to management in American civic life*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Smith, L. T., 1950- author. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies : research and indigenous peoples*. Second edition. London : Zed Books, 2012.
- Squires, C. R. (2014). *The post-racial mystique: Media and race in the twenty-first century*. New York: New York University Press.

- Squires, C. R. (2002). Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres. *Communication Theory*, 12(4), 446–468.
- Steinberg, N. (2016, March 31). Hello class, I'll be your teacher today. *The Chicago Sun-Times*.
- Streitmatter, R. (1999). Origins of the American Labor Press. *Journalism History; Las Vegas, Nev.*, 25(3), 99–106.
- Thornton, M. (1996). Hidden agendas, identity theories, and multiracial people. In *In Maria P.P. Root (Ed.), The multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier* (pp. 101–120). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Tillman, J. (2012, September 20). Why Illinois is so broke. *Chicago Tribune*, pp. 21.
- Tischauser, J. (2019). "That applies to my people too:" A discourse analysis of the radical white press in the original Rainbow Coalition." *Democratic Communique*, 28, 1, 11-26
- Uetrict, M. (2014). *Strike for America: Chicago teachers against austerity*. London: Verso.
- Vassilatros, J. (2017, April 7). The continuing saga of filthy schools, brought to you by Aramark. *Chicago Now*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagonow.com/chicago-public-fools/2017/04/the-continuing-saga-of-filthy-schools-brought-to-you-by-aramark/>
- Van Dyke, N., & Amos, B. (2017). Social movement coalitions: Formation, longevity, and success. *Sociology Compass*, 11(7), n/a-n/a. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12489>
- Valencia, R. (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. In The Stanford Series on Education and Public Policy. London: Falmer.
- Van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2), 249–283.
- Vevea, B. (2015, July 15). Why are Latino teachers a minority in CPS? *WBEZ News*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from <https://www.wbez.org/shows/wbez-news/why-are-latino-teachers-such-a-minority-in-cps/3a6460d3-9a56-4362-a265-4d6c4dcd7250>
- WBEZ Chicago. (2018). *16 Shots: The police shooting of Laquan McDonald*. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/podcasts/643309816/16-shots-the-police-shooting-of-laquan-mc-donald>
- Weiner, L. (2012). *The future of our schools: Teachers unions and social justice*. Chicago: Haymarket Publishers.
- Weller, K.; Bruns, A.; Burgess, J.; Mahrt, M.; & Puschmann, C. (2014). *Twitter and society*. New York: Peter Lang.

- Wells, C. (2015). *The civic organization and the digital citizen: Communicating engagement in a networked age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whittier, N. (2014). Rethinking coalitions: Anti-pornography feminists, conservatives, and relationships between collaborative adversarial movements. *Social Problems*, 61(2), 175–193.
- Wiley, M. D. (2003). *Structural Racism and Multiracial Coalition Building*. Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- Williams, J. (2015). *From the bullet to the ballot box: The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party and Racial Coalition Politics in Chicago*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Winant, H. (2004). Behind blue eyes: Whiteness and contemporary U.S. racial politics. In *Michelle Fine et al (Eds.) Off white: Readings on power, privilege, and resistance* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Wood, B. D. (2017). *Party polarization in America: The war over two social contracts*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Zakocs, R. C., & Edwards, E. M. (2006). What Explains Community Coalition Effectiveness?: A Review of the Literature. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 30(4), 351–361.
- Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 10, 219–237.
- Zenger, J., & Folkman, J. (2016). What Great Listeners Actually Do. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2016/07/what-great-listeners-actually-do>
- Zhao, Y. (2016). From Deficiency to Strength: Shifting the Mindset about Education Inequality. *Journal of Social Issues*, 72(4), 720–739.
- Zuberi, T. and Bonilla-Silva, E. (2008). *White logic, white methods : racism and methodology*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Zuckerman, E. (2014). New Media, New Civics? *Policy and Internet*, 6(2), 151–168.
- Zupan, S. (2017, September 25). Members First, Questions about the proposed CTU Charter union merger and other challenges to changes including the proposal for CTU to officially vote itself into a so-called “social justice union.” *Substance News*. Retrieved from <http://www.substancenews.net/articles.php?page=6801>