

Back to School for All

Helping Students Recover by Creating Safe and Welcoming Environments

By Todd E. Vachon, Kayla Crawley, and James Boyle



hen it comes to in-person learning, the AFT has a very clear message: our students need to be in their schools and on their campuses. The COVID-19 pandemic has created far-reaching challenges for educators and learning institutions, but with adequate safety measures, schools can be open. And they should be. The positive effects of in-school learning are well documented.1

Starting from that premise, the AFT launched a national Back to School for All (B2S) campaign in the summer of 2021.

According to AFT President Randi Weingarten, the B2S campaign was a concerted effort by teachers and staff across the United States to tackle barriers to safe, in-person learning and to ensure that all students feel welcome. "Our members have talked to thousands of parents, done hundreds of walk-throughs of school buildings, stood up vaccine clinics, given away books, and yes, had some fun doing it," Weingarten noted.2 The campaign served as a catalyst for bringing students back into public schools, colleges, and universities through a vast public outreach effort. The AFT awarded a total of \$5 million to over 75 grantees

"A lot of families were shocked that teachers were taking the time out of their summer to do this. They were super grateful. Families just honestly wanted to be heard."

-Gia Vallone

covering more than 1,800 AFT affiliates serving some 20 million students.3 Importantly, the campaigns also countered misinformation about public health efforts, demonstrated the important role unions play in education and society, and helped build stronger relationships between local affiliates and the communities they serve.

Now that teachers, school staff, and AFT affiliates are preparing for the coming school year, we thought it would be a good time to review campaign efforts from last summer. What are some of the

> major lessons learned? What strategies and tactics were used? How effective were they? And how can teachers build on those efforts this coming school year and beyond?

> To answer these questions and more, we surveyed* B2S grant recipients from both preK-12 and higher education affiliates and conducted focus group interviews with teachers, union leaders, and community partners from three case sites: Martinsville, Indiana; two communities in New York: and several communities in Texas. (For our case studies, see page 12.) We hope that readers draw inspiration from the work and stories of fellow educators who have been

strengthening their unions' connections with students, families, and communities and working to ensure all students feel safe and welcome in their classrooms.

This work is all the more urgent because the United States saw an unprecedented decline in student enrollment in public schools, colleges, and universities over the past two years. The National Center for Education Statistics reported approximately 1.5 million fewer K-12 students attending public schools in 2020-21 compared with the previous school year-a decline of roughly 3 percent.4

Various disruptions triggered by COVID-19 and remote learning were identified as major factors driving many families to leave public schools. But COVID-19 is only part of the story. As we heard from many survey respondents and interviewees, enrollment had been declining or at best stagnating in the years leading up to the pandemic. Many cited the rise of school choice and voucher systems accompanied by aggressive recruitment efforts by private and charter schools. Shifting industries, job losses, and a lack of affordable housing and childcare were also cited as preexisting reasons for enrollment decline in some localities.

The decline has been somewhat worse in higher education. Total undergraduate enrollment at public four-year institutions was 4.5 percent lower in fall 2021 than in fall 2019.5 Our survey respondents identified students needing to work, pandemicrelated family illness or death, and anxiety about safety as among the major factors leading some students to not return. Some respondents fear that many of the students lost momentum and

AFT Secretary-Treasurer Fedrick C. Ingram and the Chicago Teachers Union (AFT Local 1) distributed school supplies during Chicago's annual Bud Billiken Parade to celebrate the new school year.



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^{*}Grantees are quoted throughout this article. When individuals are not identified, the quotes come from anonymous survey responses.



may not return to college unless someone reaches out, encourages them to return, and helps them to do so.

Crafting a Solution: Back to School for All Campaigns

Against the national backdrop of declining enrollment, constrained budgets, and political division, the AFT launched its national Back to School for All campaign. The overarching goal

of the effort, as stated in the call for grant proposals, was to "create welcoming and safe environments where all students thrive." From our survey, we identified a number of complementary goals set by state and local campaigns: safely returning to in-person schooling, increasing school enrollments, increasing vaccination rates, improving social and emotional well-being for students and teachers, building more collaborative relationships with school administrations, and strengthening ties between unions and their communities.

The campaigns used a variety of strategies and tactics to achieve their goals, including media pro-

motions, worksite visits, tabling at local events, community canvassing, hosting vaccine clinics with community health partners, and more. About three-quarters of respondents reported using a combination of social, earned, and paid media to get the word out about important campaign events and to reinforce messaging from phone banking and canvassing efforts. Just over half of respondents indicated they engaged in some form of internal member organizing to carry out campaign activities. About half reported tabling at public events, and a similar number reported phone banking and text messaging. Importantly, many highlighted the value of being able to support families in need, indicating that hosting public events that provided necessary services to their communities bolstered not only event attendance but also overall respect for and greater understanding of the role that unions play in school communities.

When asked to rank their strategies and tactics, most campaigns surveyed found community canvassing to be the most

> effective. Some of the positive benefits included being able to have deeper conversations with community members about their specific needs, providing parents and caregivers an opportunity to clarify vital information impacting their decisions to return to in-person learning, and gaining insights beyond pandemic-related concerns on what the community needs for its overall well-being.

> The survey data revealed some variation in tactics used by schools with differing demographic characteristics. Majority-Black or majority-Latinx/Hispanic school districts were more likely to engage in community outreach, while

majority-white school districts were more likely to engage in internal member organizing. We also found vaccine clinics were more common among locals in school districts that primarily serve students of color. For example, 33 percent of respondents from majority-African American schools reported hosting vaccine clinics, whereas just 11 percent from majority-white schools did so. This makes sense given the initial hesitancy about vaccines among many African Americans⁶ as well as the structural barriers that often made it harder to access free vaccines in many underresourced neighborhoods.7

"When we seek to serve others first ... to share our knowledge, material resources, and union social capital with those most in need, the people will respond in kind."

-Survey respondent



In Broward County, FL, AFT President Randi Weingarten visited New River Middle School, where Broward Teachers Union (AFT Local 1975) members collaborated on protocols to ensure safe, welcoming environments for students.

Grantees also used printed materials (flyers, cards, surveys), technology (phones, texting, social media), union staff time, advertising (radio, TV, billboards, print, internet), and political capital (voices of elected leaders and community leaders). Some locals distributed resources such as backpacks, books,

hand sanitizers, and KN95 masks. Others worked with social service organizations to connect community members with food pantries and rental assistance. Notably, over three-quarters of campaigns surveyed indicated that volunteers were used in their campaign. Some campaigns compensated members for participating, although most members volunteered their time.

Some of the major challenges reported by preK-12 locals in the survey included a polarized political climate, school budget constraints, teacher shortages, vaccine hesi-

tancy, and negative perceptions of teacher unions in some areas. Respondents from higher education locals overwhelmingly said that budget cuts were a major challenge during the pandemic. Other issues included increased difficulties with students being able to finance their education as well as member work overload. Recent reports have documented that the transition to online learning greatly exacerbated the workloads of many educators, at both the higher education and K-12 levels.8

Across most of the preK-12 locals surveyed, respondents noted that public support for union-led vaccine clinics was high in most instances, but securing participation required education and conversations in areas where community members were more hesitant. Only a few locals reported facing anti-mask and antivaccine protestors.

Beyond pandemic issues, some locals were grappling with negative public perceptions of the union—or unions in general particularly in more politically conservative regions. "The biggest

school district stakeholders. Many people fail to understand what unions actually do. It's not just about protecting teachers—it's also about engaging communities. And due to [our political climate, many people think that unions are socialist organizations, which causes trust issues in the beginning." Community canvassing to provide information and resources meeting parents and families where they are—was an effective way

challenge," one survey response said, "was to engage the community in a short amount of time and establish relationships with

to counter the false and negative narratives about teacher unions. The distorted media conversation around the return to school after the winter break this past January was partially based on a lack of understanding in the public about what teachers' unions actually do. B2S campaigns are a good vehicle to educate the community before those false narratives take root.

While canvassing proved to be a vital campaign strategy, it also presented some challenges. For some affiliates, gaining access to reliable and accurate contact information for students who had left schools was a major challenge. This was especially true when the relationship between the union and school leaders was strained. Affiliates with a history of collaboration with district administrators were generally able to secure support for canvassing efforts, including sharing vital data to employ more-targeted outreach efforts.

Other challenges included a general reluctance by many mem-

bers to knock on doors because

was. In essence, the experience

itself became an intrinsic motiva-

tor for members to continue their

of discomfort, fear for personal safety in some areas, or feeling overworked and lacking the time "We have been working in or energy. Some locals were able to solidarity with community overcome this challenge by incentivizing canvassing. Offering compensation was a good motivator. As for the discomfort of speaking with strangers, many noted that once teachers started talking to community members, they realized how enjoyable and valuable the process

-Alejandra Lopez

organizations and

building up those

relationships."

involvement in canvassing. Addressing safety concerns, one affiliate partnered with a local political consulting firm to hire canvassers who lived in the community.

Our data suggest that some of these challenges varied based on the demographic composition of communities. For example, school districts serving mostly students of color were more likely than districts serving mostly white students to report inadequate economic resources as a major challenge. Teacher shortages were a major concern mainly among districts with majority-Latinx student populations and majority-Black student populations, which were about 30 percent and 19 percent, respectively, more likely than majority-white districts to report serious issues with teacher staffing.

Takeaways from B2S 2021

In the survey, 86 percent of grantees reported that their campaigns were successful. Of that number, 24 percent said the campaigns were highly successful. Looking at these successes as well as the many challenges that teachers faced during their campaigns, we identified several key takeaways that can inform future back-to-school campaigns.

Engage the Community

Community engagement was a central piece of most B2S campaigns. As retired teacher Hobie Hukill of Alliance/AFT in Dallas told us: "We saw this as an opportunity to make contact with the community—the folks in the neighborhood who are almost

always overlooked—to begin a dialogue and sustained community connection." Like many others, their campaign's goal was to establish the union as a reliable and well-recognized resource for the school community and to demonstrate that teachers are on their side.

Rochester teacher Molly Bianco said, "Our goal was to get into the community, build those connections, and see where the needs are for our kids and our families." Considering the new hardships for students and families that were created by COVID-19, Bianco said she

wanted to show "how teachers and the schools can be a foundational point for resources and any type of support the family needs."

Some of the major benefits of community engagement reported by B2S grantees included countering misinformation, building trust among parents and the community, improving perceptions of the union, building power, and increasing support for public education more generally. One grantee shared: "When teachers were coming to their doors and helping them, providing good information, we were able to counter some of the misinformation that was out there."

By meeting parents where they were and listening to their needs and wishes, many locals were able to build new levels of trust in their communities. This of course improved public perceptions of the union. In the case of Aldine, Texas, the campaign effort created a new sense of openness and shared interests. As one respondent told us, "We actually had to turn people away because they wanted to join the union—not knowing they had to be teachers to join."

Across most campaigns surveyed, leaders felt that students and parents were incredibly grateful for having a teacher check in on them and ask about their experiences. According to one leader from a higher education local, their greatest moment was "joining with fellow phone bank volunteers to call students who were shocked that a faculty member was actually calling them to check in and see if they were okay, to say they were concerned about and missed them, and to offer assistance in getting them back to their career path." Beyond surprise and gratification, their phone banking resulted in 18 percent of the targeted students reenrolling.

Witnessing parents become more engaged was also a notable moment for many campaigns. As one respondent said, "Hearing from parents how much they appreciated the extra effort in reaching out to make sure this year was off to a good start truly encompasses why we applied for the grant." Rochester teacher

Gia Vallone told us: "A lot of families were shocked that teachers were taking the time out of their summer to do this. They were super grateful. Families just honestly wanted to be heard." Reporting how the community responded positively to their outreach efforts and how well-attended their events were, one campaign leader told us their enrollment ultimately ended higher than pre-COVID-19, "with families moving to our district because of our engagement with the community."

Having experienced the value of community engagement, many

respondents advocated strongly for incorporating it into the union's regular work going forward. As one respondent said, "We must get into our communities more and talk to parents at their doorsteps instead of thinking they will meet us at ours."

Albany Public School Teachers' Association (APSTA) President Laura Franz said it reminded her of the importance of making connections between the work teachers do and the people they serve. She said they plan to be more intentional about creating the time and space for community engagement moving

forward. According to another survey respondent, "When we seek to serve others first, and seek ways to share our knowledge, material resources, and union social capital with those most in need, the people will respond in kind."

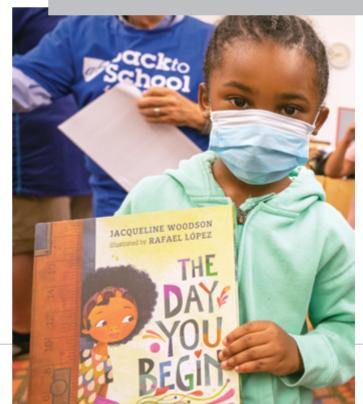
Through this work, B2S campaigns offered many grantees an opportunity to see the shared interests they have with their community members as well as the long-term value of taking a social-movement approach to organizing and bargaining. For example,

"This is really a member-organizing opportunity.... It can help build the bench of

-Laura Franz

potential future leaders."

AFT-West Virginia distributed books to Charleston elementary and middle school students returning for the fall. These were the first books some students had ever received.





At McKinley STEMM Academy in Toledo, the Ohio Federation of Teachers arranged for students to work with an artist from South Africa on standards-aligned projects that stimulated their excitement for learning.

San Antonio Alliance President Alejandra Lopez explained that her local has been pursuing a "bargaining for the common good" approach in recent years and that the B2S campaign further reinforced their resolve to build strong community partnerships. "We don't have collective bargaining, but we still follow that model. We have been working in solidarity with community organizations and building up those relationships."

The San Antonio Alliance worked closely with community partners to develop a platform that informed their school board election efforts. "We had a massive canvassing program. We had field organizers out knocking on doors using a script that was much more rooted in a concrete vision for transformation in our district," Lopez explained. These efforts have begun to build real power as indicated by the victory of their preferred candidate in the local school board election and the establishment of an Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief stakeholder committee. "We've been consistent with our message," she added. "Nothing about us without us. Any decisions that are being made in this district should be made with workers, students, parents, and community."

Community engagement has been an essential element of the labor movement from its inception—from the sit-down strikes of the 1930s⁹ to the farmworker strikes in the 1960s¹⁰ to the recent teacher strikes.* In fact, many of labor's greatest victories have in some way depended on strong community support and often consisted of demands that reflected the values and needs of the whole community.¹¹ This should come as no surprise because union members are also parents, homeowners or renters, taxpayers, neighbors, and community members.

Community-engaged campaigns like B2S can tap into all of those identities and their associated hopes and dreams, instilling a sense of pride among members as they fight not only for themselves and their coworkers but also for and in partnership with their neighbors and the broader community. In sum, community engagement is essential work for all unions, but perhaps especially so for teachers' unions, whose position in society offers tremendous opportunities to promote equity and further the causes of economic and social justice.

Start Early

The most common response we received when asking campaigners what they would do differently next year was this: start earlier.

A majority of respondents wished they had more time to plan their campaigns. This sentiment was also echoed by many participants in the case study interviews. Given the constraints caused by the pandemic, all of the campaigns we examined still conducted impressive and groundbreaking work in their schools and communities. However, looking forward, future campaigns can definitely benefit from pre-summer planning and member recruitment. Many leaders explained that it is much easier to recruit members for summer projects during the school year rather than after school lets out for the summer. Moreover, some locals also placed B2S campaign work within their larger strategic plan to regularly secure more member and community participation.

Organize Member-Led Campaigns

The B2S campaigns were largely member-driven efforts. According to APSTA President Laura Franz, "From a local leader standpoint, ... [B2S] offers pathways for members to get involved with the union that go beyond bargaining or directly confronting management. This is really a member-organizing opportunity that allows people to engage with both the community and the union. It can help build the bench of potential future leaders." This is an important consideration, particularly for locals looking to build their members' capacities and skills.

Many affiliates that did use paid staff leveraged that support to train members and collect data and information, keeping the focus on putting members out front because education professionals are the most well-positioned school district stakeholders to reconnect students and families with their schools and help the larger community understand the value of public education.

Recognizing that B2S works best as a member-driven effort, locals that did not have much experience with canvassing and other campaigning tactics sought staff support from their state or regional leadership for training and education. Many leaders we interviewed said that developing these skills for the B2S campaign is now part of a long-term effort to build a group of member leaders who can aid in future electoral and community organizing efforts.

Create Varied Opportunities for Involvement

We heard many times that canvassing was typically the most effective tactic, but it was often challenging to identify and recruit members willing or able to participate in door knocking or phone banking. This highlights the importance of offering myriad ways for members and supporters to get involved. Designing a comprehensive campaign with earned and paid media, social media, public events, data collection, and other efforts supporting the core canvassing activities creates a variety of opportunities to

^{*}To learn more about recent teacher strikes, see "Organizing and Mobilizing: How Teachers and Communities Are Winning the Fight to Revitalize Public Education" in the Spring 2021 issue of *American Educator*: aft.org/ae/spring2021/casey.

engage a broader set of members in the union efforts. Some are more artistically inclined, others more social, some analytical these are all valuable skills, and the more hands involved in the work, the lighter the lift is for each.

Equally important is offering opportunities with varying levels of commitment. Our survey revealed that being overworked cuts across every sector of education, so providing a range of commitment levels helps members feel a sustainable balance among

work, union, and personal life. Multiple respondents noted that this approach allowed members to engage at their own comfort level, perhaps just a few hours per week. Even if campaign work is taking place mostly during the summer, campaign leaders should also recognize that all educators need a break, especially during the pandemic.

Providing some compensation for campaign activities is also a good recruiting tool and helps support members facing layoffs or reduced hours. According to one survey respondent from an institution of higher education, "With low levels of full-time employment,

college-proclaimed budget shortfalls, and related staffing shortages, ... our members ... are exhausted.... Being flexible in offering multiple small commitment opportunities on a number of projects was key. Being able to pay volunteers-most of whom were part-time faculty and staff—thanks to support from the AFT helped in volunteer recruitment efforts and most importantly helped these colleagues that were hit hard employment-wise during the pandemic."

Engage All Stakeholders

Many respondents discussed the importance of engaging a diverse set of stakeholders—students, parents, support staff, and other school employees—to participate in campaign activities. Many campaigns emphasized the importance of involving

> students to help with canvassing, phone banking, and coordinating events. According to one leader, their greatest moment was "seeing our students emerge as organizers and leaders serving their communities [and] helping others meet basic needs such as food and water, school supplies, and sanitation supplies."

> The San Antonio Alliance had collaborated with students prior to COVID-19, and as a result, students naturally plugged right in to the B2S work. "We've been working in solidarity with students for a couple of years now. The students have organized themselves into a

student coalition. And so we were very intentional about offering support. We offer our offices and backyard for them to meet. We're not here to tell you what students want; we're here to make sure students are at the table and meaningfully engaged," said local President Alejandra Lopez. Education Austin's staff director, Gail Buhler, shared that "voices of the parents, the community, and the teachers were being diminished. Our goal

"Our goal was to build up a committee of parents and community members that could ... have more of a voice going forward on all issues."

-Gail Buhler





that could work on not just return-to-school issues with COVID but also be sustainable and have more of a voice going forward on all issues."

Engaging a broad set of

stakeholders can help B2S organizers better deliver on the promise of a high-quality public education that serves the interests of their communities. Including the voices of parents, students, and other school staff can broaden the scope of demands that are made and also strengthen support for back-to-school efforts. As one survey respondent stated, it is "human interaction at its best-cooperation toward a common purpose."

Build Year-Round Organizing Infrastructure

Most grantees said they hoped to extend the work they began with their B2S campaigns. One survey respondent said, "I honestly hope we can do this annually and offer as much as we can to our families and students. They deserve it!" Some grantees were following up with new and returning students during the school year to see how they were doing with attendance and participation in school. Others committed to make their fall festivals or B2S community nights annual events in partnership with their school administrations or are continuing their community outreach efforts to build their contact lists for next year and beyond.

The San Antonio Alliance incorporated B2S work into its strategic plan to ensure it isn't forgotten or left to the last minute during the school year, when so many other pressing issues arise. Aldine AFT reported that "the work that has been done in this campaign was just the start, but now it's time to help meet the needs of members, schools, students, and the community as a whole."

Beyond continuing their B2S efforts, many spoke about the need for building a more permanent organizing infrastructure that could be operational year-round, including a bench of canvassers, strong ties with parents, and regular contact with the community. One survey respondent said, "We need more strategic and planned efforts to organize our communities. This must be continuous and ongoing."

"We've been thinking about how to keep some of this going, because I think it's important that we're having conversations not just during the political times but outside those times and building those relationships," said Zeph Capo of Texas AFT. He added that they were currently thinking about how to systematize their program with canvassing team captains as well as hiring and training retirees and training volunteers in order to function year-round. "That's what we're trying to think about now because those folks are really what allow you to have continuous improvement in your work."

By always organizing, local unions can be better prepared for annual B2S efforts and for serving the needs of students, teachers, and communities throughout the year. For example, one respondent told us how the B2S effort helped their local become better organized for a later campaign in their district: "It gave us information to organize a subsequent campaign.... We used the data and internal organizing structures learned from the B2S campaign in order to be more efficient."

This can be applied to school board elections, contract campaigns, legislative efforts, and more. In short, having a strong relationship with the community through year-round organizing can build real power to pursue the shared interests of the many stakeholders in the school community.

Collaborate with Management as Much as Possible

From Rio Rancho, New Mexico, to Lynn, Massachusetts, one of the biggest lessons from the 2021 B2S campaigns was the

importance of collaboration between the union and school leadership. Locals that historically have had good working relationships with their school administration or school boards were able to quickly draw on those ties to make their B2S campaigns more effective, Hobie Hukill of Alliance/ AFT in Dallas told us: "Compared to the difficulties they had with the administration in some other counties, I can say that [Alliance/ AFT President] Rena Honea's connection with the administration gave us credibility. Everything else was magnificent. We actually got lists from them, which other counties fought tooth and nail for several weeks to get. It's just one of those things where face-to-face

demonstrates what we're in alignment ... working directly with the district for the betterment and families."

-Zeph Capo

"This campaign success we can have when of the community, the kids,

credible contact over time makes a difference."

Having a collaborative relationship with the administration often meant the difference between access to reliable lists for canvassing versus creating lists from scratch that were typically less accurate or less focused. It also played an important role in access to school facilities and other resources that helped make various B2S campaign events possible. Several teachers in districts with more collaborative relationships told us how much the administration appreciated the plans the union initiated and offered support to achieve the shared goal of getting kids back to school.

Jackie Anderson, president of the Houston Federation of Teachers, described how the district had been attempting to do outreach previously, but its efforts were not very strategic, lacked a basic understanding of organizing principles, and, as a result, were ineffective. She said, "[the district leaders] were overjoyed when they saw that we had a plan for [distributing information] and for canvassing in the neighborhoods, and all we needed from them was to identify the areas where the most students were missing so we could actually make the calls, [drop off the informational literature], and canvass." The district provided a space for phone banking and shared the necessary data for targeted outreach. "It was an experience for them to see how we organize—they did not know what real organizers do," she said.

Countless other grantees described how the union had brought the plan, had the skills, and provided boots on the ground, while the administration was asked to provide data and sometimes facilities. A good collaborative relationship made a big difference when the time came to make this ask. Zeph Capo of Texas AFT told us, "There was clearly a definitive difference where districts were more collaborative with us, and we were working together closely—those were the districts where we

were better able to close the gap, bringing more kids back to school." A good example is the enrollment gap in Dallas, which decreased from 20 percent to just 8 percent, a reduction that was predicated on good union-district relations. Capo continued, "I do think this campaign demonstrates what success we can have when we're in alignment—teachers and the Alliance/AFT work-

> ing directly with the district for the betterment of the community, the kids, and families."

> In areas where the relationship between the union and the administration was antagonistic or strained, it was more difficult to identify and locate students whom the campaign was aiming to bring back to school. "Having access to that data would have made for a better campaign for us. We could have ... canvassed the people who said, 'I'm not sending my child back,' and instead we were ... just door-knocking families that we know were in the city schools," APSTA President Laura Franz told us. With a more collaborative relationship, she said, "we could have

TX. The local also hosted a vaccine clinic.

AFT Executive Vice President Evelyn DeJesus and McAllen AFT (Local 6329) gave books to elementary students in McAllen,



In Scranton, PA, the Scranton Federation of Teachers (AFT Local 1147) hosted community block parties with food trucks, music, arts and crafts, and COVID-19 vaccines for the community.

made better use of our canvassing time and their social media resources and all the other things that the district could have supported us with."

Many anonymous survey respondents indicated that their biggest challenge in the campaign was lack of cooperation from their school administration or school board. One respondent said, "Our biggest challenge was that our school district did not want to part-

ner for the first nine weeks of the campaign, which meant that they did not share data for our canvassing program." And another stated, "Most of our challenge depended on the willingness of the district to share data in order to reach the right families. A partnership with the district would have led to a more fruitful campaign."

Some locals in this situation opted to go past superintendents and speak directly to school board members. According to one local, "Although it was initially frustrating that the superintendent would

not partner with us, we learned that if we approached individual school board members and explained the benefit, ... we could get support for our initiative." Others confronted the challenge by using public voter registries or existing lists the union had generated for previous campaigns.

Many locals that took this approach expressed that, despite not always directly targeting families who had disconnected from schools, it was still useful for the union to connect with the broader community. This broader targeting strategy also proved to be particularly useful for unions in districts facing intense competition with charter schools, many of which regularly engage in similar canvassing strategies to market their schools to families.

Given how critical union-management collaboration

seemed to be to the success of B2S campaigns, some locals saw their campaign as an opportunity to hit the refresh button on their relationship with their district leadership and demonstrate that the union can be a real partner in reaching out to the community. According to one respondent, "One of our goals was to have a better and more trusting relationship with our central office. We are constantly reaching out to them to see how we can support enrollment, school immunization, and vaccination clinics."

Another local said that staying in touch with relevant stakeholders from the district was critical to overcoming challenges that their campaign faced: "We maintained positive communication

> with members and all stakeholders, working with the superintendent."

> The campaign in San Antonio sought to build greater trust with the school board as well, which by most accounts has historically been very

"When we all get in it

together, and we put all of anti-union. According to recently the other stuff aside, great elected union-backed school board member Sarah Sorensen, the efforts things happen for our did help to build some bridges. "I people and our kids." actually am very hopeful," Sorensen said, "that this shifts the tone in -Shannon Adams terms of the way that the board, the union, and the administration work together so that there will be a positive relationship. And I am excited to see what opportunities will grow out of this."

> San Antonio Alliance President Alejandra Lopez agreed: "We have historically had a very antagonistic relationship with the school board members.... It was a real shift for them to be thanking the union for knocking on doors to get people to the vaccine town hall."

> In some cases, a recent change in district administration had opened an opportunity to build new and better relationships or to work collaboratively for the first time with a less antagonistic administration. Commenting on a recent shift in her district, Shannon Adams, president of the Martinsville Classroom Teachers Association, said, "I hope administrators read this. When we all get in it together, and we put all of the other stuff aside, great things happen

for our people and our kids.... If we want to save public education, that's what it takes. If teachers aren't organized, they need to get organized and stick together, start working on their collective voice, and then be cooperative participants in moving forward. It's the only way we protect public education for the community."

Even for locals that were not able to establish a good working relationship with management last year, many expressed an eagerness to go back to their administrations this year. They plan to highlight the successes of their campaigns and begin a fresh conversation about how much more could be done to engage with families and the community if management and labor work together.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic created—and continues to create—tremendous challenges for educators and educational institutions alike. But teachers and their unions have confronted these challenges head on, adapting their practices, advocating for their members and students, and fighting to ensure the best possible education for all.

To this end, the AFT has consistently urged school leaders and other public officials to follow the science on safety measures. "When science and evidence speak, we listen," AFT President Randi Weingarten has said in several news media interviews. Public health mitigation strategies—most especially vaccination—are essential for safe in-person schooling. And in-person learning is essential for providing high-quality instruction and supporting the social and emotional development of our children from pre-K through young adulthood.

Through the AFT's Back to School for All campaign, teachers have begun to build stronger relationships with the communities they serve. Countering misinformation about vaccines and school safety, they have done what teachers do best: educate. Providing vaccine clinics and material resources in underserved communities, they have helped support social justice. And advocating for common-sense safety measures while welcoming students back to school, they have helped to create safe, nurturing learning environments and to reassure families.

There is still much work to be done, and many of the same challenges still exist as we prepare to start another school year this fall. The B2S campaign provides great examples of the work that is needed to rebuild support for and participation in public schools, colleges, and universities. The single most important step any affiliate can take right now is to begin making a plan and pulling together a team to do the vital work of community engagement. This is no longer just an option; it is an essential piece of union work.

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Thanks to collaboration between the North Bergen (NJ) Federation of Teachers (AFT Local 1060) and school leadership, North Bergen students are learning in person safely.



Experiences from Three B2S Campaign Sites

To get a better sense of what some of the B2S campaigns looked like on the ground, we spoke with teachers, community members, and union leaders at three case sites-Martinsville, Indiana; two communities in New York; and several communities in Texas. Each is described below.

Transition Plans and "Returning Joy" in Martinsville

Martinsville is a town of about 11,000 residents in Morgan County, Indiana. The school district includes 10 schools (7 elementary), serves about 4,000 predominantly white students, and employs 281 teachers. Being in a rural area, the elementary schools are small, and the bus rides to the centralized upper-grades schools can be quite long for some students.

Like other school districts across the country, Martinsville has seen a decline in enrollment that began prior to COVID-19—a result of population changes, economic shifts, rising competition from school voucher systems, active recruitment campaigns by charter schools, and, in some cases, dissatisfaction with previous school administrations. But the problem was exacerbated by the pandemic. In particular, the decision by the district to not offer a virtual option (citing equity concerns) led many parents to seek alternatives for remote options or to homeschool their children. Other parents chose to move their children because of an opposition to mandatory face masks in public schools. Altogether, district enrollment was down by 300 students at the start of the 2020–21 school year—about 8 percent lower than the previous year.

When Martinsville Classroom Teachers Association (MCTA) President Shannon Adams saw the AFT's call for B2S grant proposals, she jumped on it. Working with MCTA members, school administrators, and parents, the local union crafted a multipronged plan to "return joy" to the schools. When asked what she meant by returning joy, Adams explained that schools are an important part of the community in rural areas, and during the first pandemic year, only parents were allowed to attend their child's arts or athletic performances, leaving other community members cut off from a significant piece of local culture. "Students could not even come watch their friends perform," she said. "School felt sterile and unwelcoming, despite our best efforts." The



resulting B2S campaign was designed to send a message to the community that the public schools were open, safe, fun, and, as Adams said, "the best game in town."

"When we found out we got [the grant], I sent a video out—I think I was crying, ... and I hadn't brushed my hair—I was just so excited. I had to ... do a quick presentation ... to our members, and the word got out.... I ran into a school board member that morning.... I said, 'We're going to help get our kids back in schools!" The major components of the plan included direct mailings to the community, a community night, targeted canvassing, a booth at the county fair, visible signage throughout town, and, perhaps most innovative, assigning transition assistants to each newly enrolled (or reenrolled) student as they navigated their first 8 to 10 weeks back in the public schools.

The community night event was coupled with the school's annual "red and blue" scrimmage football game. The MCTA offered a free movie following the game and bounce houses and other activities

during the game, including giant Connect 4 and Jenga and multiple cornhole boards. The association also provided a concession coupon to every child to purchase a hot dog or snack at the food stand. Tables were set up for each of the 10 school buildings and were staffed by volunteers to talk with families about school, programming, classrooms, and culture. Fortuitously, the district had just built a new field house, making the event an opportunity to provide a sneak peek of the new facility, which was a big deal for the community. Reflecting on the event, Adams said attendance was great—about 300 people—and everyone had a good time: "Just bring bounce houses and they will come."

Direct mailings were used to promote the community night event (about 4,500 mailed), and they were also used to reach households with children who were not enrolled in the district's public schools. These targeted mailings included information about the school system and its amenities as well as a QR code linking to a teacher-made website with more information and easy access to enrollment forms. The school district helped with the postage—freeing up some MCTA resources for other parts of their plan.

In conjunction with the mailings, the teachers had a large banner placed in a highly visible area of town. The banner let thousands of community members know the public schools were open, safe, and the best educational choice for local children. Rounding out the campaign's visibility was the MCTA booth at the Morgan County Fair, a popular event with thousands of attendees each day. There, teachers had conversations with families and asked what they needed to feel comfortable with the idea of returning to school. (The teachers even won the prize for the best-decorated booth.)

Beyond these public appearances, the Martinsville teachers pulled together a team of eight member-canvassers who went out in pairs to knock on doors in areas with high concentrations of unenrolled students. Teachers were equipped with flyers, school enrollment forms, and school backpacks with some starter supplies for families in need. "I can guarantee," Adams



said, "the parents we spoke with never had anybody come to their door and say, 'Tell me about your kids' education and tell me what you want." Based on one of these conversations, the MCTA worked with the transportation company to create a new bus stop, which made for a safer pickup for one student whose family then returned to the public schools (and was very thankful!).

Overall, the canvassing experience was great, Adams said, but she confessed that getting members to participate was initially more challenging than she had anticipated. "A lot of people don't feel comfortable canvassing—it's perceived as somehow confrontational, which it totally is not." The MCTA therefore decided to incentivize canvassing by offering stipends for participation. "I

think we doubled, maybe even tripled, our budget [for canvassing and school supplies], but for good reason—because that's where we were getting the greatest impact."

The final piece of the Martinsville plan, which dovetailed with the canvassing and was one of the more innovative B2S recruitment tools we encountered, was the creation of transition plans for new and returning students. School workers sought out "lost" students, engaged their families in deep conversations about their child's education and the district, and developed a strong relationship with the student and family. Then they created an agreement to be that student's "transition person" as they were welcomed back into Martinsville schools. The transition person was to be the key contact person for the student for the first 8 to 10 weeks of school, helping them (re)acclimate, answering questions, offering advice, and providing personal support.

"The transition piece," Adams said, "was about having someone that the student felt comfortable with, and they were going to help solve any issues they had. They were their contact person, and it was that person's job to make sure that all of their problems were taken care of." At first, the MCTA thought all the transition people would be teachers, but they ultimately decided to include other district employees, including paraprofessionals, school staff, and a bus driver.

The Martinsville B2S plan had many bright spots and offers many lessons and ideas for other local unions to engage with their communities to bring more students back to public schools this year. Although Martinsville has a very conservative political climate and the statewide voucher system in Indiana is one of the most robust in the country, the MCTA reported overwhelming support from families, who were excited to see teachers at their door and loved the opportunity to talk about their children and grandchildren. The transition teamwork was rewarding for both the incoming students and the transition people, who played an important role of building trust and a feeling of belonging. In the end, Martinsville student enrollment in the 2021-22 school year was up by 150 students, representing about half of the lost students returning to in-person public education.

"One of the biggest takeaway lessons," Adams said, was "if we want our public schools to thrive, then our public needs to see our schools outside of the school, and the way they do that ... [is to] see our people talking to them, listening to their needs, and saying, 'Hey, let me tell you

what we have to offer.' That's the only way our public really knows who we are."

Harnessing the Power of Conversation in New York

Despite having a progressive state political climate, members of New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) confronted significant challenges during the pandemic and the return to in-person learning. Representing more than 600,000 teachers and education professionals, NYSUT is home to more than 1,200 local affiliates. According to Executive Director Melinda Person, the goal of NYSUT's B2S campaign was threefold: providing stipends for parents to prepare their kids for a return to in-person learning, doing community outreach to discuss safety and provide accurate information on vaccines, and conducting a parent survey.

We had the opportunity to speak with teachers from the Albany Public School Teachers' Association (APSTA) and the Rochester Teachers Association (RTA) to gain insights into what their campaigns looked like on the ground, including some of the challenges they had to overcome.

We learned that both locals faced significant budget cuts. During the pandemic, former governor Andrew Cuomo's administration threatened a 15 percent cut to local school budgets, a significant cut on top of what was already reduced funding for public schools in the state. While NYSUT was able to effectively challenge the constitutionality of the proposed cuts in court, superintendents in some school districts made budgetary decisions that anticipated these reductions in funding.

According to APSTA President Laura Franz, the district laid off nearly 275 people in the fall of 2020. Many of these positions were not restored until May 2021. The funding cuts and layoffs increased workloads for teachers, who faced larger classes and increased course loads on top of the logistics challenges created by remote schooling. Not surprisingly, the experience strained the relationship between the local union and district leadership. Both Albany and Rochester saw declines in enrollment across 2020 and 2021.

On top of budgetary shortfalls and layoffs was an absence of meaningful guidance about the return to in-person schooling from either state or local leaders. Franz noted, "We spent all summer thinking we're just going to open up schools like normal.... July and August are when you plan and figure out what you're going to do next. In the absence of that guidance, none of us knew what we were going to do next."

The guidance was not issued until August 18, 2021, with students returning to schools on September 5. "That's ridiculous," Franz noted. "A lot of parents were concerned about the lack of planning, and it was really hard to reassure people because we were feeling the same way."

Rochester teachers Gia Vallone and Molly Bianco also noted that although the district has largely failed to address enrollment decline, much of the public discourse has conflated RTA with the school board and superintendent. "I think the relationship between our district as its own board of education entity and the union gets very blurred, especially with the media," Bianco said.

RTA members saw their B2S campaign as an opportunity to draw a sharp contrast between their union's support for a safe and just return to in-person learning and what

"I can guarantee the parents we spoke with never had anybody come to their door and say, 'Tell me about your kids' education and tell me what you want."

-Shannon Adams

they saw as a lack of action by school leaders to make those goals a reality. Both RTA and APSTA viewed their campaigns as a means to build stronger relationships and trust with their local communities. Vallone said she wanted to better understand how teachers could serve their students and families, but the campaign was also an opportunity to help the community better understand the union's role. "Having those conversations just helps us to be on the same page and move forward together," she said.

Similarly, Franz explained that the goal of APSTA's campaign was to "foster community connections between teachers and families about a safe, in-person return to school, as well as making sure we were communicating and educating about vaccines."

Both campaigns sought to accomplish these goals primarily through canvassing in areas of their districts that had been hardhit by the pandemic. APSTA was able to pull from the ranks of their laid-off members—many of whom were also residents of Albany—as well as other teachers in their membership. Franz said the most effective way to recruit canvassers in her local was calling members and being diligent about follow-up.

Similarly, despite having never canvassed before, Vallone and Bianco in Rochester were both recruited by their local leadership. NYSUT provided extensive training and technical support to all locals engaged in canvassing, which Vallone and Bianco found helpful in building their confidence and skills.

The scripts used by APSTA and RTA canvassers were more open-ended than

those used in a traditional Get Out the Vote effort. This allowed for more organic conversations focused on what parents and community members needed and wanted out of public education. According to Franz, APSTA wanted "to communicate to parents about what we were doing as a union, that we wanted students back, and that we wanted a safe working and learning environment. We also wanted to ask about why parents were [deciding not] to send their students back, and what we could do to help facilitate that return."

RTA was also looking to understand parental concerns, in addition to increasing membership in the Rochester Community Coalition to Save Our Schools, a community-labor coalition fighting for adequate funding of public education in the district. In this way, RTA struck a balance between overcoming the short-term barriers that parents were facing in the return to in-person schooling and building the long-term power required to create a more accessible and responsive public education system in the city.

The APSTA and RTA campaigns both reported receiving little assistance from their district leadership, due in large part to strained relations between labor and management. Both unions believed that better data from the district could have increased the impact of their canvassing efforts. NYSUT helped by providing affiliates with local voter files (which are public records) to develop canvassing turfs. Both locals stated that these lists were effective, albeit less targeted—but even if canvassers



were knocking on doors of people who were not families in the district, they were still increasing public awareness and support for the union's work for a safe return to in-person schooling.

In other words, while collaboration with administration can contribute to success, it does not determine success, and B2S campaigning can still be a great way for locals to engage with their community—even if district leadership chooses not to. As Franz argues, "We are as much entitled to go and connect with families in the community as our district leadership is."

Both locals reported that B2S gave members a firsthand lesson about the pressing needs in their communities, as well as the opportunity to deepen community partnerships to help create a longterm transformation in their cities' public school systems. According to Bianco. "Parents and families are our partners. It's super important to hear them, listen to them, and work together in partnership to do what's best for our kids. I've always thought that, but this [campaign] just put it in your face. It's so easy to separate school and community."

Similarly, Franz underscored how the campaign illustrated clearly that there is more commonality than difference between educators and their community. "I think it reminded me of the importance of making that community connection between the work we do with the people we serve and reminding me that we all have a common goal to provide our students ... with the best possible educational outcomes that we can. We are more alike than different, and we need to continue to connect and communicate around how we are trying to achieve that."

Building Labor-Community Connections in Texas

In Texas, some union leaders were projecting public school enrollment would be down by 8 to 10 percent statewide before the start of the 2021 school year, based on their conversations with community members. But actual declines in AFT locals were much smaller. According to union leaders we interviewed, Aldine reported a decline of 3,800 students from 63,130 students in the 2019-20 school year, San Antonio reported a decline of 3,000 from 48,495 students, and Houston was down 12,000 from 209,309 students. Other districts in the state experienced similar levels of decline. In many cases, declining enrollment predated COVID-19, due in part to the rise of charter schools and their active advertising and recruitment campaigns.1

"We have been monitoring the charter work in Texas," Texas AFT President Zeph Capo told us, "and they put quite literally millions and millions of dollars into advertising, commercializing their programs, and we simply just don't do that in [traditional] public schools."

Political concerns related to COVID-19 have also impacted school enrollment significantly in Texas. Specifically, with a state government that was preventing local school districts from making decisions about masking and other safety protocols, along with little reliable information about school safety plans being shared with parents, the charter and private schools in Texas jumped on the opportunity to recruit even more public school students by offering the safety measures (or freedom from them) that some parents wanted for their children.

Capo explained, "There was so much going on that people didn't know which way they were going, whether there were going to be mask mandates or not," and it inhibited decision making. Ultimately, several public schools defied the governor's ban on mask mandates and were triumphant in court, securing the right to require masks in school buildings.

In the midst of this confusion and uncertainty, several B2S grants were awarded in Texas, including a statewide grant and a number of smaller grants to individual affiliates. According to Capo, the primary goals for the statewide campaign were gathering and disseminating reliable information to communities about the operating status and safety of public schools; retaining and bringing lost students back into public schools; and supporting decision making on schooling from a local level—by community members, teachers, students, parents, and local elected leaders.

Additionally, teachers from the Aldine, Austin, and Houston locals described leadership building and making strong community connections as two of their goals in order to provide greater teacher and community voice in their districts. Representatives from Education Austin told us they were trying to create strong and enduring partnerships with parents and community a long-standing goal that the campaign helped to jump-start. Similarly, teachers in San Antonio talked about listening to their members, students, and community members to identify issues and build a unifying campaign, and teachers from Dallas spoke about building a better relationship with their district and school board.

Unlike in Martinsville and New York, teachers in Texas are not permitted to engage in collective bargaining with school

"We all have a common goal to provide our students ... with the best possible educational outcomes."

-Laura Franz



Texas AFT members assured their communities that masking and other strong protocols were in place to support safe in-person learning.

districts, a factor that influenced the nature of grant proposals coming from the Lone Star state. Local campaigns in these highly diverse school districts comprised a range of tactics, including community canvassing, worksite visits, phone banking and texting, internal organizing of members, vaccine clinics, tabling at public events, and offering educational sessions about topics such as vaccines, masks, ventilation, distancing, testing, and/or outbreak protocols. A common theme was the concerted effort to build deep and lasting relationships between the union and the community. "Certainly part of our interest," said Hobie Hukill, a retired teacher and canvasser from Alliance/AFT in Dallas, "was to make direct contact with the folks in the community—the parents, the grandparents, and uncles and aunts—to establish our union as a go-to resource, a reliable source of information and support that was on their side."

In addition to making community connections, some Texas affiliates sought to empower communities by increasing their influence in local policy decisions. The San Antonio Alliance exemplified this effort by hosting regular community-labor town halls at outdoor venues. The meetings typically attracted around 40 attendees to discuss school and community concerns, including how best to use the public money



"Not only did we work on getting students back to school, but we had to be able to get the assistance [families] needed.... We were able to get them that information and build trust."

-Jackie Anderson

allocated by the state through the Elementary and Secondary School Emergency Relief (ESSER) program.

As part of a progressive labor-community coalition, the teachers also helped to elect a pro-public education member to the school board and ultimately won the establishment of an ESSER stakeholder committee to ensure community participation in decisions on resource allocation. San Antonio Alliance President Alejandra Lopez told us: "We knew that there was a timeline on these funds, and we tried to think, what would best position us to continue to have robust community engagement around these funds? We settled on getting a stakeholder committee to ensure community engagement around the ESSER funds as a vehicle to have more democratic decision making."

The Houston Federation of Teachers dedicated much of its efforts to providing material support to students and families in need, including helping them access rental support and meet other basic needs. Describing the dire nature of the situation in some communities, local President Jackie Anderson explained: "The places where a lot of people worked had closed down, so they had no income, and we are talking about both parents without a job, unable to provide food and shelter for their children."

Teachers (AFT Local 2415) have reason to celebrate: they braved the summer heat to help students enroll in the Houston Independent School District.

As part of its B2S campaign, the Houston Federation of Teachers equipped canvassers and phone bankers with resources and contact information to connect families with much-needed public services. "Not only did we work on getting students back to school," Anderson said, "but we had to be able to get the assistance they needed ... because if they don't have a place to live, they're not going to be able to send their students to school."

Local canvassers also helped connect families to healthcare, utility bill relief, food drives, and information about the safety of vaccines and where to access them for free. "They have to have those basic needs met," Anderson said, "and so we were happy that we were able to get them that information and build trust."

Economic challenges were pervasive in Aldine as well, a Title I district serving a student population that is 80 percent Hispanic and 18 percent African American and where 80 percent are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. "Many of our families have two and three generations in the home," Aldine AFT President Candis Houston told us, which made many families reluctant to send children to schools without a mask mandate in place.

An important part of Aldine AFT's B2S campaign was a series of fall festivals organized in partnership with the school district and hosted at each of the high schools. The festivals were a place where the community could meet the teachers—all proudly wearing their AFT shirts—but they were also used as free vaccination clinics. "We partnered with Harris County [Public] Health to provide those vaccinations," Houston said, "and since the county was no longer giving gift cards as an incentive for being vaccinated, we provided Visa gift cards ourselves out of the grant money, just to show appreciation and create an incentive."

In the face of the difficulties created by inadequate and confusing state government policies around school safety and the inability to bargain directly with school districts, the Texas teachers' locals had to take a social-movement approach in their efforts first to ensure that schools were safe and second to bring kids back into the buildings. By standing up for strong school safety protocols, including supporting mask mandates

> that the governor had banned, the local union canvassers were reflecting the desires of their school communities and, in the end, created a pathway to a safe school reopening for students and teachers alike.

"The families that we were talking to felt that [Governor Greg Abbott] was no friend of theirs for a whole multitude of reasons," Hukill from Dallas told us, "and in an odd way, that was helpful to us. They appreciated us standing in opposition to the craziness he was putting out, ... and we were well-received for just being on the right side of the issues."

By reaching out to, listening to, speaking with, and aiding local communities, Texas teachers began to build stronger relationships with parents and often with school district administrators and school boards as well. In the end, the combined Texas B2S campaign efforts helped reduce the enrollment gap from an expected 8 percent decline to an estimated decline of just 2 percent—no small feat in the face of great adversity. When reflecting on what they would do differently next year, Capo said he would definitely start earlier. And what would help? "Support for really solid year-round organizing infrastructure, ... [and] a team that can be around more often than just when there's a program going on. That's really important."

Many of the Texas locals we interviewed expressed similar feelings about needing to plan sooner for the following year. There were also some unique suggestions about needs for next year, including greater access to shared materials and resources. Candis Houston of Aldine AFT raised the concern that a lot of smaller locals don't have the staff to create materials on their own. She said that to the extent materials "can be provided [or shared] that can be adaptable to our own use, [that] would be very helpful"—an idea that can now perhaps take shape after the insight and experience gained from the first year of the campaign.

-T. E. V., K. C., and J. B.

Endnote

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