

Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor & the Working Poor



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

*Kalmanovitz Initiative
for Labor and the Working Poor*

TEN YEAR ANNIVERSARY SUMMARY & REPORT

January 1, 2020

<http://lwp.georgetown.edu>

INTRODUCTION

Since it was officially launched on November 10, 2009, with a gift from the Kalmanovitz Charitable Foundation, Georgetown University's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor & the Working Poor has established itself as a unique organization. Its distinctive identity and contribution stem from its simultaneous fulfillment of a broad spectrum of roles not duplicated by any other entity in the United States. It is at once a conservator of Catholic social teaching on the rights of workers, the dignity of work, and the ideals of a just and sustainable economy; a producer of pathbreaking and award-winning scholarship on workers, unions, and labor relations; an incubator of new and innovative ideas, organizations, and networks; a trusted convener capable of drawing together organizations and actors who are otherwise unable to convene themselves; the most impactful university-based research center on labor relations policy in the nation's capital; a trainer of future leaders, with a special emphasis on women, immigrants, and people of color; and an advocate for the rights of the working poor, especially those most on the margins.

Among university-based labor centers, the Kalmanovitz Initiative (KI) stands out for the wide range of roles it undertakes, its rootedness in the nation's oldest Catholic and Jesuit university, and its presence in the nation's capital, where it has forged close relationships with national unions, worker advocacy organizations, and think tanks. It also stands out for its commitment to the application of historical insights to contemporary problems. No other university-based labor center matches the depth of historical knowledge of the KI's staff.

In undertaking its diverse roles, the Kalmanovitz Initiative (KI) has helped Georgetown University fulfill its commitment to fostering ideals of social justice. It has aided the labor movement in its efforts to reconfigure its ideas and structures in response to the demands of the twenty-first century. And it has worked to define and lift up just employment practices and promote the work of just employers.

In the pages that follow, this report outlines the activities and achievements of the KI since its founding in 2009. As it shows in great detail, these accomplishments were the work of many hands. They would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the Kalmanovitz Charitable Foundation and the steadfast institutional support of Georgetown University.

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I. Staff, Fellows, and Affiliated Scholars & Activists

Staff Members



Joseph A. McCartin, *Executive Director*: A former community organizer, author/co-author, editor/co-editor of eight books and more than 100 articles, chapters, and reviews, recipient of fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and Harvard University among others, and board member of the Catholic Labor Network and Interfaith Worker Justice, McCartin is KI's founding executive director.



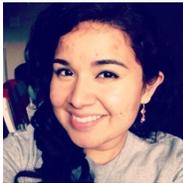
Lane Windham, *Associate Director & Co-Director of WILL Empower*: A nationally recognized organizer, educator, historian and activist with a Ph.D. in History from the University of Maryland and more than a decade of experience in the labor movement. Her 2017 book, *Knocking on Labor's Door* won the top prize in her field from the Organization of American Historians. Her work focuses on innovative labor strategy and training a new generation of women labor leaders.



James Benton, *Director of the Race and Economic Empowerment Project*: a former journalist for such publications as *Congressional Quarterly*, James wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on the de-industrialization of textile towns in the U.S. that won two major awards. He directs KI's new program focused on the empowerment of workers of color.



Patrick Dixon, *Research Analyst*: with a Ph.D. in U.S. labor history, Patrick is an expert on the history labor relations of the U.S. food industry, with a particular interest in poultry production. He directs research projects for the KI and is currently leading its food procurement project.



Jessica Chilin, *Assistant Director*: a graduate of William & Mary with language skills in French, Spanish, and Arabic, Jess has been a past director of Worker Justice DC; she is a current M.A. candidate in Latin American Studies; she keeps KI's financial books and oversees administration of its grants and programs.



Alexandros Taliadoros, *Organizing Director*: a 2014 graduate of Georgetown, where he was an active member in the Georgetown Solidarity Committee, and served on the University's Advisory Committee for Business Practices for three years, Alex is KI's chief liaison to the DC community where he coordinates advocacy and organizing projects in which KI students are involved.



Juan Belmán Guerrero, *Program Officer*: an experienced organizer, mentor, and immigrant rights activist, who last worked for the Texas-based Worker Defense Project, Juan runs the KI's student internship and training programs, including the Organizing Internship, Research in Action, Worker Justice DC and the KI-Heartland Labor Capital Fellowship.



Sara Myklebust, *Research Director, Bargaining for the Common Good*: possessing more than a decade of research, strategy, and campaign experience at the AFL-CIO, the Bricklayers Union, and FRESC: Good Jobs, Strong Communities of Denver, Colorado, and as an immigrant rights organizer in the Southwest, Sara directs research for Bargaining for the Common Good.



Lily Ryan, *Organizing Assistant, Bargaining for the Common Good*: a graduate of Georgetown University, where she was active in the labor rights work of the Georgetown Solidarity Committee, Lily is an alum of the Jesuit Volunteer Corps. She serves as an organizer for Bargaining for the Common Good, with a focus on climate justice.



Chad Frazier, *Graduate Assistant*: a founding activist and member of the Georgetown Alliance of Graduate Employees and a Ph.D. candidate in History, Chad works as an organizing assistant on Bargaining for the Common Good in Higher Education and on the Labor History Resource Project and When Teachers Mobilize.

Alumni of the KI staff, graduate, and undergraduate assistant corps have gone on to take up important roles in the labor movement, worker rights advocacy, government and education. They include:

Paul Adler, Assistant Professor of History, Colorado College;

Jesslyn Cheong, Senior Program Manager, Pacific Forum;

Katie Corrigan, Deputy Chief of Staff to AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka;

Pedro Cruz, Senior Campaign Representative, Clean Infrastructure, Sierra Club;

Taylor Griffin, Press Secretary, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi;

Sarah David Heydemann, Senior Counsel, National Women's Law Center;

Joseph Hower, Labor historian; Assistant Professor of History, Southwestern University;

Vail Kohnert-Yount, former special assistant, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor; J.D. candidate, Harvard Law School; digital co-director *OnLabor* blog;

Jennifer Luff, Labor historian, Professor of History, University of Durham, UK;

Rachel Milito, Spanish teacher, Sharon Academy, and immigrant rights activist;

Seth Newton Patel, Lead Negotiator, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 3299;

Michael Paarlberg, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Virginia Commonwealth University; frequent contributor to *The Guardian*;
Zack Pesavento, Executive Director, Lighthouse Strategic Consulting, LLC;
John Tremblay, Whistle blower attorney, Phillips & Cohen LLP, Washington, DC;
Nick Wertsch, Staff Attorney, Worker Defense Project in Houston, TX.

Post-Doctoral Fellow

When outside funding is available, the KI has hosted post-doctoral fellows. Its current post-doctoral fellow is:



Katie J. Wells, *Urban Studies Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellow*: an urban geographer and expert on housing and transportation issues, Katie is currently the lead researcher on a three-member team that is producing the most comprehensive longitudinal study of Uber drivers' experiences and the impact of Uber and other platforms on Washington, DC, politics and policy.

Practitioner Fellows

Since its inception, the Kalmanovitz Initiative has served as a home to fifteen Practitioner Fellows, accomplished practitioners whose residency at the KI allows them to pursue new projects that advance their life's work in the service of workers' rights, just employment, and a moral economy. Our current practitioner fellows are:



Stephen Lerner, *Common Good Fellow*: A legendary organizer, strategist, and campaigner with more than 40 years of labor movement experience, Stephen was the architect of Justice for Janitors, one of the most successful U.S. union organizing campaigns of the late 20th century. He serves as chief strategist for Bargaining for the Common Good.



Clayton Sinyai, *Practitioner Fellow/Director, Catholic Labor Network*: a former union staff member with the Laborers International Union of North America, Clayton holds a Ph.D. in political science and is the author of *Schools of Democracy: A Political History of the American Labor Movement*. He is directing a project on labor and the church funded by the Catholic Campaign for Human Development.



Dawn Carpenter, *Labor's Capital Practitioner Fellow*: a former investment banker who changed paths to pursue a Ph.D., Dawn is an expert on the Catholic theology of work. She is the founder of the More than Money podcast, and serves as trainer and advisor for the KI-Heartland Labor Capital Fellowship.

The KI's Past Practitioner Fellows are:

Edgar Aranda-Yanoc, immigrant rights activist and executive director of the Virginia Coalition of Latino Organizations (VACALAO);
Marc Bayard, director of the Black Worker Initiative, Institute for Policy Studies;
Donald Cohen, executive director of In the Public Interest;
Netsy Firestein, Coordinator of the Early Care and Education Organizing Network;
Erik Forman, Education Director of the Machinists' Independent Drivers Guild;
Amy Goldstein, *Washington Post* Reporter and author of *Janesville: An American Story*;
Madeline Janis, executive director of Jobs to Move America;
Hilary Klein, national coordinator *Make the Road*, author of *Compañeras: Zapatista Women's Stories*;
Michelle Miller, pioneering digital organizer, cofounder and codirector of Coworker.org;
Saket Soni, guestworker organizer, founding director of the National Guest Worker Alliance and founding director of Resiliency Force;
Joe Uehlein, leading labor and environmental activist, and founder of the Labor Network for Sustainability;
Pilar Weiss, director of the Community Justice Exchange.

Affiliated and Visiting Scholars

The KI, its students, and its allies alike have benefitted from the affiliation of top scholars in the fields of labor history and working-class studies with KI. They are:



Leon Fink, *Editor, Labor: Studies in Working-Class History*: an emeritus distinguished professor of History from the Univ. of Illinois at Chicago, author or editor of ten books, and one of the pre-eminent labor historians in the United States, Leon edits the leading journal in the field, *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History*.



Sherry Linkon, *Professor of English, Co-Editor, Working-Class Perspectives Blog*: a professor of English, and one of the foremost experts on de-industrialization, Sherry is the author of prizewinning books, the most recent of which is *The Half-Life of De-Industrialization: Working-Class Writing About Economic Restructuring*, which won the 2019 best book award from the Working-Class Studies Association.



John Russo, *Co-Editor, Working-Class Perspectives Blog*, an emeritus professor from Youngstown State University, where he and Sherry Linkon co-directed its pioneering Center on Working-Class Studies; along with Sherry, John co-edits *Working Class Perspectives*, the most widely read blog on working-class studies, which has a worldwide reach.

Past visiting scholars include **John Beck**, of Michigan State University, host of *Our Daily Work/Our Daily Lives*, the nation's longest-running labor speaker series/podcast. Past affiliated faculty include **Denise Brennan**, a leading expert on human trafficking.

II. Major Projects



Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG)

Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG) is a national network of labor unions, community based organizations and racial justice groups committed to transformational partnerships that build power for working people and communities. The BCG network was created by the KI through its 2014 Bargaining for the Common Good convening, which in turn grew out of its 2013 “Bargaining for the Future” working paper. The BCG network is now co-convened by KI in conjunction with two partner organizations, the Center for Innovation in Worker Organization (CIWO) at Rutgers University and the Action Center on Race and the Economy (ACRE). It grew out of the innovative work local education unions and community groups in Chicago and St. Paul where coalitions of teachers, students and parents committed to creating an equitable public education system in their cities and using the labor union bargaining process as a tool towards that end. BCG has expanded to involve community and labor unions across the country.

- *KI conceptualized this project and has been the primary staffing, funding and communications hub for BCG work over the last five years*
- KI co-leads BCG’s national network of innovative community and labor leaders exploring transformative partnerships and campaigns to build collective power for social change;
- KI created and monitors BCG’s website and listserv of over 1,000 contacts, as well as social media accounts for the network;
- KI co-founded the BCG Advisory Committee, which comprises leaders from large community and labor organizations across the U.S. who are spearheading the BCG work, the majority of whom are women and/or people of color;
- KI has co-hosted multiple national webinars on BCG campaigns and ideas, such as the L.A. teachers’ strike in early 2019, which had several hundred attendees;
- In support of this work, KI was awarded a \$500,000 National Strategic Grant from the U.S. Catholic Campaign for Human Development;
- To advance its work, KI has co-hosted four convenings for national, regional and local community organizations involved in community organizing and labor union work across the country. These convenings were driven by steering committees of leaders from local and national organizations with whom we partnered to create and execute the events. The events themselves are creative spaces where groups can learn and plan work together. We often say BCG convenings “start where conferences end” - building a collective strategic analysis of the systemic problems we face and then getting to the work of planning campaigns. *A total of 619 people representing more than 150 organizations have participated in these convenings as of October 1, 2019.*
 - 2014 - conceptual gathering around the idea of “Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG)” emerging from labor-community work across the country, especially in the public sector

- 134 attendees from 12 states and 75 organizations
 - 2015 – Bargaining for the Common Good for Racial Justice
 - 127 attendees from 16 states and 85 organizations
 - 2018 – Bargaining for the Common Good in Higher Education
 - 216 attendees from 17 states and 95 organizations
 - 2019 – Bargaining for the Common Good for Housing Justice
 - 205 attendees from 16 states and 112 organizations
 - 15 cohorts - Boston, Chicago, Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Southern California, Northern California, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Puerto Rico, Seattle, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington, D.C.
- Many local campaigns were inspired by and/or gained energy and momentum from attending the convenings and connecting with BCG activities, including the 2019 strikes by the Chicago Teachers’ Union (CTU) and the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA), the 2014-15 Fix LA movement, and Minnesotans for a Fair Economy (MFE).
- KI has been able to launch and expand Bargaining for the Common Good by providing an organizational platform for our Common Good Fellow, Stephen Lerner. Stephen is the chief architect of the BCG model and has driven the work in many localities and issue areas by strategizing, coordinating, training, and writing on BCG campaigning.



Women Innovating Labor Leadership

WILL Empower is the only university-based program designed to identify, recruit, and train a new generation of women labor leaders. *Our women-led approach seeks to impact women at various stages of their careers in the labor and worker justice movement, and opens up an innovative space for in-depth women’s leadership development and culture change.* WILL Empower is a joint project between the KI and the Center for Innovation in Worker Organization at Rutgers University’s School of Management and Labor Relations. Since its inception in July of 2017, WILL Empower has launched a variety of initiatives:

- **Apprenticeship Program:** Recruited, trained and placed 15 women as apprentices with host sites in five states. Apprentices are holding their first job in the workers’ rights movement. They work with a host site for 3 – 12 months, and have two female mentors. Women of color made up 60 percent of the apprentices, and 46 percent of the host site placements were in southern states. There have been two cohorts of apprentices. Host sites have included Jobs with Justice, Jobs to Move America, the NC State AFL-CIO, United Campus Workers / CWA, the Street Vendor Project, the Teamsters, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), the Memphis Central Labor Council and more. 28 women have served as apprentice mentors.
- **Emerging Leader Cohort of Learning and Mentoring:** Recruited and convened a diverse group of 16 women who are early in their career trajectory with

unions and other worker-based organizations. The emerging leaders come together for two retreats, have a female mentor, and develop a personalized leadership plan. Half the class of emerging leaders are women of color, and they come from organizations in a dozen different states.

- **Executive Leader Cohort of Learning:** Recruited and convened a group of 15 women who are the elected or executive leaders of their unions and worker justice organizations, and are newer to their leadership roles. Women of color who are in labor leadership often find that they are isolated. WILL Empower connects them in new and affirming ways for a full 85% of the Executive Leader Cohort participants are women of color. The executive leaders come from 11 states, and one international location.
- **Future of Labor Interactive Project (FLIP):** FLIP seeks to bring issues of gender and women's leadership to the current public dialogue on the future of work, and to connect a broad array of women in novel ways. For example, it has featured: a forum attended by 500 undergraduates and community members on fair wages with Jane Fonda, Saru Jayaraman (ROC) and Eleanor Holmes Norton; two public screenings of the film *Councilwoman*; an Equal Pay Day (Un)Happy Hour at a woman-owned restaurant; and many mixers for labor women staffers and activists. We also regularly communicate with a listserv of over 1000 people.
- **Advisory Council:** WILL Empower's Advisory Council consists of a diverse group of 11 women who represent various levels of leadership. They include secretary-treasurers of unions, education directors, executive leaders of worker centers, and women connected to philanthropy.

Just

Employment Project

Just Employment Policy Project (JEP)

The Just Employment Policy Project seeks to advance a campus model labor relations policy that guarantees a living wage, the right to unionize, and other worker rights. Starting in 2013, the KI adopted a variety of strategies to promote the JEP at colleges and universities. We convened a network of staff, faculty, and clergy who share our vision to drive efforts on their own campuses. We trained and empowered students to advocate for just employment practices through campus visits, Skype calls, and presenting at student conferences such as the Ignatian Family Teach In. We presented research on these issues, such as a report on Georgetown's pioneering approach in embracing the unionization of its adjunct faculty. Finally, we used a variety of blog posts, press hits, social media, and academic articles to highlight campuses that are living out their values in how they treat campus workers as an example for emulation.

Through its advocacy, the Kalmanovitz Initiative has been the pioneer and pace-setter at advancing just employment policies at religious-based universities. At John Carroll University, students surveyed campus workers to build support for the JEP, which led to a substantial raise for janitorial staff. At Brandeis, students passed a campus-wide referendum that resulted in the university adopting a living wage policy and a non-adversarial approach to unionization. Recently, we've focused our efforts on Jesuit

colleges and universities. Fordham University, in response to their faculty and students calling for a Just Employment Policy, dropped their resistance to adjunct unionization and negotiated a landmark contract for contingent faculty. Meanwhile, the Presidents of Loyola Chicago, Villanova University, and St. Joseph's University have both formed committees of administrators, faculty, clergy, and students to develop their own just employment policies.



Justice for Janitors, DC: A Digital Labor History

In 2010, the KI began collecting documents and conducting oral history interviews that captured the history of one of the most dynamic organizing drives ever to take place in the District of Columbia, the successful Justice for Janitors campaign in which the Service Employees International Union unionized the bulk of the city's largely immigrant janitorial workforce. *This digital history, [Justice for Janitors DC](#), includes interviews with dozens of participants, photographs, documents, and timelines in a dynamic format which brings this history to life and has been cited in scholarly works, and used by teachers and labor educators to teach about one of the most dynamic labor organizing drives of recent decades.* This project constitutes one building block of a larger effort now in incubation, the Labor History Resource Project (see project under incubation below).



KI Labor-Capital Fellowship Recipients with former
U.S. Secretary of Labor Tom Perez

III. Education and Community Impact Programs

KI has a variety of education programs that give students experience working in the community with partner organizations. These programs primarily recruit and provide experience to first-generation students, undocumented students, and students of color.



Organizing Internship (OI) and Research-in-Action (RIA)

The purpose of the KI Organizing Internship (OI) and Research in Action (RIA) is to inspire students to make a long-term commitment to activism and organizing, while contributing to ongoing campaigns and research projects to boost the local justice movement. Through firsthand involvement in local campaigns, students develop their own view of the challenges facing workers and community members in the modern economy and the role of worker justice in a larger social justice context. From these experiences, students contribute to the next generation of the worker justice movement. We work to match students based on their interests with local community organizations and small research groups that have active campaigns.

Since 2013, our paid internship has placed over 100 students with community organizations in the summer, fall and spring semesters. Our focus is to work with students who might be first generation or students of color who may have experienced these issues firsthand. Throughout the internship we provide guidance and support for the work with the community organization and to help balance their academic work.

OI students have been placed in such community organizations as:

- The Restaurant Opportunities Center ROC United that worked on raising the tipped minimum wage with Initiative 77;
- DC Jobs with Justice that has convened and done outreach to workers in DC;
- ONE DC which is working on housing and employment justice focusing on DC Residents in Wards 7 and 8;
- Many Languages One Voice working to reunite children at the border with families in DC; and
- Collective Action for Safe Spaces working against sexual harassment in DC.

RIA students have been placed as researchers in organizations including:

- In the Public Interest, which researches privatization and monitors subsidies corporations receive from different government jurisdictions;
- The Worker Rights Consortium, which monitors the production of licensed goods in the global supply chain on behalf of universities;
- The National Black Worker Center Project, which works to support Black Worker Centers nationally by providing assistance with campaigns and research.

OI and RIA alumni often continue to work in the field of their internship placements, bringing with them valuable skills to their future organizations. Some continue to work in DC, others return home or undertake the work in other parts of the country in locally-based organizations. Among the organizations these alums are currently working for are: Workers Rights Consortium, *Fe y Justicia* (a Houston, Texas, worker center), The United Food & Commercial Workers International Union, The Latino Economic Development Center of Washington, DC, Brandworkers (a New York City based worker center), The Workers Defense Project (a statewide worker center in Texas), The International Association of Iron Workers.



KI-Heartland Labor Capital Strategies Fellowship

The KI-Heartland Labor Capital Strategies (LCS) Fellowship is the only national program in the United States that matches undergraduate students from numerous universities with progressive investment houses, pension funds, and union capital strategies shops that advocate for working people.

Inaugurated in 2017, it has quickly emerged as one of KI's most popular internships. The LCS Fellowship provides an opportunity for students to observe the potentially progressive impact of finance and capital strategy. It introduces students to key issues affecting work, the labor movement and the community, and exposes students to the values and practices of progressive corporate governance and socially responsible investment. To date, participants have come from more than a dozen universities:

- University of Chicago
- University College Dublin
- Georgetown University
- Bates College
- University of California at Los Angeles
- Howard University
- Bryn Mawr College
- Cornell University
- College of Charleston
- Fairfield University
- Fordham University
- St Mary's University
- Oberlin College

Since launching the program in the summer of 2017, we have recruited more organizations to host fellows. We have been able to continually grow thanks to an Advisory Board that includes representatives from both investment groups and labor organizations. We have been able to leverage funds so that the placement organizations cover the stipends that we offer to the students. During our first three years of this program, we have placed students in the following organizations:

- AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust Fund
- Change to Win Investment

- Grosvenor Group
- Hamilton Lane
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters
- KPS Capital Partners
- LiUNA (Laborers' International Union of North America)
- Segal Marco Advisors, Inc.
- Smart Growth America
- Sterling Organization
- Ullico (Union Labor Life Insurance Company)

This program continues to attract growing interest from both students seeking placements and sponsors seeking interns. We envision building from it a larger set of work connected to labor's capital.



Worker Justice DC (WJDC)

Workers Justice DC (WJDC) is the KI's alternative spring break program, which it administers in conjunction with Georgetown's Center for Social Justice Teaching Research, Teaching, and Service. WJDC provides an intensive immersion experience for 11 students each March. Those students live together in a hostel and engage directly with the organizations that are advocating for workers and the working poor. Since the program's inception in 2011, approximately 100 Georgetown students have participated in Worker Justice DC as of 2019. *This experience transforms the way students see our economic system and how they engage with their communities.* Graduates of WJDC have gone on to work for a variety of unions, worker centers, and community groups, or to study law or graduate degrees to prepare for careers as social justice advocates.



Immigration and Labor Project (ILP)

The Immigration and Labor Project (ILP) began as a volunteer program for students to engage day laborers in the DC area. At the break of dawn on weekdays, students would commute to day laborer gathering sites to teach day laborers survival English and educate them about their rights as workers so that they could safeguard against wage theft and other abuses. Since then, the program has hired paid student coordinators and broadened its scope to addressing issues that impact immigrant workers on campus, in the DC area, and nationally.

The Immigration and Labor Project has been a key partner in positively transforming the experience of migrant workers in the DC area. ILP students have made DC's driver's licenses for undocumented immigrants much more accessible, helped triple the District's funding for immigration legal services to \$2.5 million, and made it possible for DC residents in immigrant detention to receive legal representation. ILP students have also hosted appreciation events for immigrant campus workers at Georgetown, supported immigrant tenants on rent strike against negligent landlords, and attended national rallies to advocate for justice for DACA and TPS recipients.



The Citizenship Scholarship

The Citizenship Scholarship empowers campus workers at Georgetown to achieve U.S. citizenship or receive other immigration-related aid. The cost of applying for U.S. citizenship is upwards of \$720, the first-time application fee for US permanent residency is \$1225, a renewal of permanent residency costs \$540, a work permit costs \$410, and classes and legal assistance can cost much more. These fees are prohibitive for workers living paycheck-to-paycheck, so the KI partners with student organizations to cover the cost of applying. In addition, KI and its team of students provide flexible, one-to-one tutoring for workers to prepare for the citizenship exam, arrange for immigration attorneys to screen applications for errors, and provide support and encouragement throughout the process.

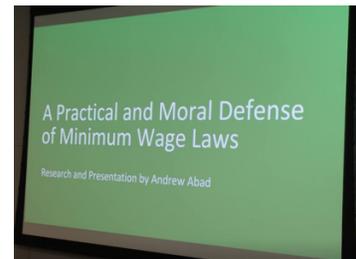
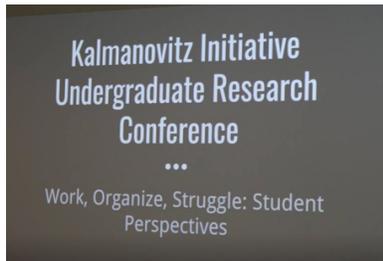
Since the Citizenship Scholarship was launched in 2016, the program has enabled 16 workers to receive citizenship, 4 workers to renew their Temporary Protected Status, and 2 workers to renew their permanent residency. The project has also deepened the solidarity between GU students and the workers who sustain Georgetown's campus.



Ongoing Influence of Student Programs

Student alumni of KI programs have gone on to work for unions including the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, American Federation of Teachers, the Iron Workers, the Operating Engineers, Unite Food & Commercial Workers, UNITE HERE, and SEIU. They have also gone on to worker rights organizations such as Brandworkers, Fe y Justicia, the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance, the Workers Defense Project, Action Network, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, and the Worker Rights Consortium. Others have undertaken graduate and professional studies at institutions such as Harvard Law School, Duke University, and the Georgetown University Law Center.

Undergraduate Education and Research



While the Kalmanovitz Initiative is primarily known for offering extracurricular educational opportunities to students, it also offers more traditional forms of instruction. The KI staff counts four history Ph.D.'s among its staff members each of whom have extensive teaching experience. Its director, Joseph A. McCartin, regularly teaches U.S. Working Lives, an undergraduate labor history survey, and Recent U.S. Political Economy at both the graduate and undergraduate level. Associate director Lane Windham and research analyst Patrick Dixon have mentored undergraduate research projects and conducted tutorials. And REEP project director James Benton has taught courses on race, labor, and the economy.

IV. Major Convenings



Centenary of the International Labor Organization (ILO)

The KI was the main sponsor and convener of a major conference to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Held at Georgetown University in Washington, DC on November 21-22, 2019 it was entitled “Continuing the Struggle: The International Labor Organization (ILO) Centenary and the Future of Global Worker Rights” conference. It brought together a cross-section of over 150 academics, practitioners, policymakers, union leaders, and leaders of worker rights organizations. The conference featured speakers from six continents, including the nations of Australia, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States.

Themes covered during the conference plenaries and panels will include: Global Workers, Global Supply Chains, Global Lives; Gender, Sexuality and Labor Rights; Building Workplace Power and Global Workers’ Rights; and On Shifting Ground: Labor Standards, Policy and the Future of Work.



2015 Joint Meeting of WCSA/LAWCHA



In May 2015, KI hosted the first ever joint meeting of the two leading academic organizations of labor historians and labor studies scholars, the Labor and Working-Class History Association and the Working Class Studies Association. This unique event was attended by over 300 scholars, has fostered increased cooperation between the organizations, and has not been replicated since.



2014 Bargaining for the Common Good Launch

In May 2014, KI hosted the first ever convening of unions and community organizations dedicated to an approach called Bargaining for the Common Good. This convening drew over 100 participants from seven states and gave a name to practices that

had been pioneered by unionists and their allies in Chicago, St. Paul, and Los Angeles. It spawned a network that has grown in the years since, changing how public sector unions approach collective bargaining and attracting growing interest from private sector unions as well.



Bargaining for the Common Good for Housing Justice - Chicago, 2019

In July 2019, the KI team led the convening of over 200 unions and community activists to incubate

and support campaigns at the intersection of Bargaining for the Common Good and the housing justice movement. This convening drew participants from sixteen states and over 100 different organizations who were integral to planning and executing the event. Multiple coalitions of labor and community groups that attended continue to plan, implement and win housing campaigns and victories for tenants and workers across the country, including Puerto Rico building on the work of the convening.



Labor Research Action Network (LRAN)

In 2011, KI hosted the founding meeting of the Labor Research Action Network (LRAN), a network of academic and labor movement researchers, now housed at Jobs with Justice. KI then hosted the next four annual meetings of this new network as it got off the ground. The network now includes more than 200 active members and its conferences now rotate to different locations around the country.



2013-14 State of Black Workers in America Conferences

The KI hosted two convenings (in October 2013 and April 2014) on the state of black workers in the United States, drawing together academics, trade unionists, and community activists. These gatherings were organized by KI Practitioner Fellow Marc Bayard. The April 2014 conference was keynoted by Moral Mondays leader Rev. William Barber (now of the Poor People's Campaign) and included union leaders such as Gerry Hudson of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and Bill Lucy of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). These conferences gave birth to the [Black Worker Initiative](#), which is now housed at the Institute for Policy Studies, and led by Bayard.



Rev. William Barber, Poor People's Campaign; Rev. Barber and KI's McCartin; Gerry Hudson, SEIU; Bill Lucy, AFSCME

Prominent Public Speakers

In addition to these major convenings, the KI has hosted many prominent speakers on issues of worker rights and social justice in talks that were open to the public. These include: **Greg Asbed**, Coalition of Immokalee Workers; **Rev. William Barber**, social justice advocate and chair Poor People's Campaign; sociologist and national political commentator **Michael Eric Dyson**; **Jane Fonda**, actress and working-women's advocate; **Mary Kay Henry**, President, Service Employees International Union (SEIU); **Saru Jayaraman**, Restaurant Opportunities Center; the late **Philip Levine**, poet of workers and U.S. Poet Laureate; **William Lucy**, labor and civil rights leader, co-founder of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; civil rights attorney and member of Congress **Eleanor Holmes Norton**; President of the AFL-CIO **Richard Trumka**; and **Baldemar Velasquez**, leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.



U.S. Poet Laureate Philip Levine (left); Assoc. Dir. Lane Windham and Jane Fonda (center); and labor and civil rights leader William Lucy, *Washington Post* editor, Eugene Robinson, and community activist Nikki Lewis

V. Research, Publications, and Public Education

The Kalmanovitz Initiative undertakes serious scholarly research on issues affecting labor, labor relations, and the working poor. It is unique among campus-based labor centers, think tanks, and advocacy organizations for its ability to investigate contemporary labor issues with deep historical insight. It not only conducts high quality research but works to reach a wide audience through public history projects such as the podcast Labor History Today and the Working-Class Perspectives blog.

Reports and White Papers



Books



KI staff and fellows have been responsible for the production of pathbreaking and award-winning scholarship in fields of labor history, labor studies, and labor relations.

KI staff have written a number of books on the history of labor and labor relations. These include:

- Lane Windham's *Knocking on Labor's Door: Union Organizing in the 1970s and the Roots of the New Economic Divide* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017), a compelling historical analysis of the struggle to organize unions in the 1970s that reframes thinking on the origins of labor's current crisis. This book won the prestigious David Montgomery Award from the Organization of American Historians given annually for the best book on U.S. labor history.
- Joseph A. McCartin's (co-authored with Melvyn Dubofsky) *Labor in America: A History, 9th Edition* (Wiley Blackwell, 2017), an updated version of the most time-honored textbook on U.S. labor history.
- Joseph A. McCartin's *Collision Course: Ronald Reagan, the Air Traffic Controllers and the Strike that Changed America* (Oxford University Press, 2011). This examination of the fateful 1981 conflict between President Ronald Reagan and striking members of PATCO, the union of air traffic controllers, looks at the strike's impact as a turning point in U.S. labor relations. It won the Richard A. Lester Prize from Princeton University given annually for the Outstanding Book in Industrial Relations and Labor Economics.

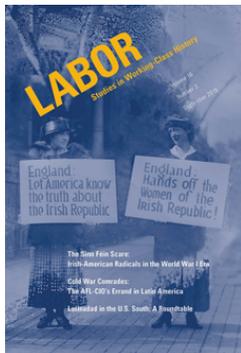
Two books have come out of conferences hosted by KI and for which KI staff played the role of contributor/editor:

- *What Works for Workers? Public Policies and Innovative Strategies for Low-Wage Workers* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2014). This book gathered essays from leading labor researchers who explored and evaluated a range of social policy innovations intended to lift up low-wage workers.
- *Workers in Hard Times: A Long View of Economic Crises* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014). This volume gathered essays from an international group of scholars, surveying workers responses to economic crises from nineteenth-century economic panics to the Great Recession of the 21st century. It won the Book of the Year award from the International Labor History Association in 2014.

Our Practitioner Fellows and Affiliated Faculty have also published books:

- Amy Goldstein wrote *Janesville: An American Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), while in residence and with the help of KI research assistants. It received numerous awards: *Financial Times* and McKinsey Business Book of the Year; Winner of the J. Anthony Lukas Book Prize; 800-CEO-READ Business Book of the Year; A *New York Times* Notable Book; A *Washington Post* Notable Book; An NPR Best Book of 2017; A *Wall Street Journal* Best Book of 2017; An *Economist* Best Book of 2017; A *Business Insider* Best Book of 2017.
- Leon Fink co-edited *Labor Justice Across the Americas* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017).
- Sherry Linkon published *The Half-Life of De-Industrialization: Working-Class Writing About Economic Restructuring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018) which won the 2019 best book award from the Working-Class Studies Association.

KI staff members and fellows have also published dozens of articles, reviews, and editorial columns in such publications as: *Boston Review*; *Commonweal*; *Democracy*; *Dissent*; *Baltimore Sun*; *Human Rights Review*; *International Labor and Working-Class History*; *Jacobin*; *Journal of Catholic Higher Education*; *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History*; *Labor History*; *Labor Studies Journal*; *Los Angeles Times*; *New Labor Forum*; *New York Times*; *Social Policy*; *The American Prospect*, *The Baffler*, *The Week*, and the *Washington Post*.



LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History

Founded in 2004, *LABOR: Studies in Working-Class History* is a peer-reviewed academic journal published quarterly by Duke University Press and widely available in US, Canadian, and UK universities. Now in its sixteenth year, the editorial office has been located at Georgetown University's KI under the supervision of editor and founder Leon Fink since July 2017; KI's Patrick Dixon serves as managing editor of the journal. The journal is indexed in various bibliographic databases including Alternative Press Index, America:

History and Life, Historical Abstracts, MLA International Bibliography, SocINDEX, Sociological Abstracts, and SCOPUS. KI staff have worked on, to date, ten past and upcoming issues of the journal. *LABOR* and KI host an annual book forum involving a distinguished author. Since the journal's relocation to Georgetown, Kimberly Phillips-Fein (New York University), Samuel Moyn (Yale), and Steve Striffler (UMass Boston) have presented books at the forum.

Working-Class Perspectives Blog



Since 2015, KI has hosted the renowned Working-Class Perspective (WCP) blog, which is edited by our Visiting Scholar John Russo and our faculty affiliate Dr. Sherry Linkon. The blog features commentary on working-class culture, education, and politics from several regular contributors and guest bloggers. In 2018, WCP blog posts were read 111,000 times by readers in 178 countries. The blog is cited by journalists from around the world, and discussed in courses in high schools and colleges worldwide.



Labor History Today Podcast

Labor History Today is the only weekly labor history podcast where scholars, activists, lawyers, workers, and union leaders discuss how the labor movement’s past can inform present struggles faced by working people. Founded in November 2017, LHT is approaching its one-hundredth episode and has covered an enormous diversity of different conflicts and worker identities, bringing to light little-remarked upon but nonetheless significant challenges faced by workers. We have had discussions on mineworkers, nurses, teachers, cowboys, construction workers, lumberjacks, sex workers, baseball players, screenwriters, cartoonists, rodeo women, clowns, croupiers, housekeepers, fast-food workers, pizza delivery drivers, and many more



Participants from six continents attending “Continuing the Struggle: The International Labor Organization (ILO) Centenary and the Future of Global Worker Rights,” Nov. 21-22, 2019 on the Georgetown campus and in the Pan-American Building of the Organization of American States

VI. Projects Incubated/Projects in Incubation

Past Projects Incubated

KI has served as an incubator during the early stages of projects that have spun off or gone on to success on their own in part thanks to our early support and encouragement. These include:

[Alianza Nacional de Campesinas](#): In 2012, KI convened two dozen immigrant women farmworker activists who wanted to form a national organization to defend the rights of women farmworkers. There, the women formed a new organization, the Alianza Nacional de Campesinas. It continues to advocate for the rights of the overwhelmingly immigrant women who work in America's fields, orchards, and packing sheds.



Georgetown President John J. DeGioia with the founders of Alianza Nacional de Campesinas, October 3, 2012



Black Worker Initiative

The [Black Worker Initiative](#) of the Institute for Policies Studies: During his tenure as a Practitioner Fellow at the KI, Marc Bayard hosted two conferences on the state of black workers and outlined “And Still We Rise,” a project celebrating black women labor leaders. These efforts became the basis for the Black Worker Initiative, which he brought to house at the Institute for Policy Studies after his tenure as a KI Practitioner Fellow ended.



[Coworker.org](#): During her time as a KI Practitioner Fellow in 2012, the co-founder of Coworker.org, Michelle Miller, put together the key outlines of that impactful online organizing tool she developed with Jess Kutch. By 2015, she would be invited to a discussion of her project with President Barack Obama at a White House summit on the future of worker organization.



Michelle Miller in residence at the KI in 2012 and at the White House with President Barack Obama in 2015

JOBS TO MOVE AMERICA



Jobs to Move America: During her time as a KI Practitioner Fellow, Madeline Janis, then transitioning out of her role as the founding director of the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy, began to put together the outlines of Jobs to Move America, a national campaign for the creation of well-paying unionized jobs developing mass transit that works with community, environmental and other groups.



Labor Network for Sustainability/Making a Living on a Living Planet: During his tenure as a Practitioner Fellow, Joe Uehlein launched the LNS, a network of labor and environmental groups focused on developing strategies for a just transition, such as through environmentally sustainable projects. The LNS in turn launched *Making a Living on a Living Planet*, with a mission statement signed by 30 leaders of labor and environmental organizations, whose language was finalized at a KI-hosted convening.



“More Than Money” podcast: during her tenure as a Practitioner Fellow, Dawn Carpenter, a former investment banker, turned theology doctoral student, launched a successful podcast that highlighted socially responsible and labor-friendly investment practices and entrepreneurs. The podcast was rated a Top 20 podcast on business and investing on iTunes and Causeartist.com ranked it among the “Top 15 Social Innovation Podcasts That Will Inspire You to Change the World.” It is currently in hiatus, but expects to relaunch under a new name in 2020.



Resilience Force: During his time as a KI Practitioner Fellow, Saket Soni, then Director of the National Guestworkers Alliance, worked on the outlines of what would become Resilience Force, an effort to organize the low-paid, typically immigrant workers who have become a floating workforce whose labor has become essential to the reconstruction of areas hit by natural disasters. The Resilience Force is currently fighting for policies to protect these vital and yet exploited workers.

Current Projects in Incubation

KI is currently incubating projects to further labor education in the digital age and to leverage the buying power of college campuses in ways that will elevate the environmental and labor rights practices of the food chains that supply those campuses.

Race and Economic Empowerment Project

In 2020 KI is launching a new project led by Dr. James Benton which will study the impact of the 21st-century economy on people of color. With an initial focus on greater Washington, DC, and in partnership with national networks and allies, the program will convene advocates and researchers, incubating new initiatives with the aim of fostering a more just and democratic economy that dismantles entrenched racial inequality.

A Partnership between Church and Labor to Promote Worker Justice

This is a project of the Catholic Labor Network which is housed at the KI. Directed by Practitioner Fellow Clayton Sinyai and funded by a National Strategic Grant from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, this project seeks to build ties between the Catholic Church and union campaigns in select cities across the United States. In addition to providing physical space for the project, the KI offers staff support and recruits student interns to undertake its work.

A History of Labor Capital Strategies

Beginning with an oral history and documentary collection project focusing on legendary capital strategist Steve Abrecht and his associates, this initiative aims to chronicle the emergence of capital strategy shops in unions, to trace the evolution of their efforts, and to assess the state of the field two decades into the 21st century. Its purpose is to promote creative new thinking in this field in support of such initiatives as Bargaining for the Common Good.

Labor History Resource Project/When Teachers Mobilize

KI is presently serving as the hub institution for a cooperative labor education project that seeks to bring labor education to a 21-century audience. Working with a 23-person board of academic advisors from across North America, KI is leading the work to create the Labor History Resource Project, a website that will knit together various smaller and regionally based online labor research and education initiatives, including the KI's own digital history of the DC Justice for Janitors campaign. As part of this project, KI is also leading the work to create When Teachers Mobilize, a website that will document recent teachers strikes and protests with interviews, timelines, photographs, documents, and a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC).

Campus Food Justice and Sustainability Project

We are presently in the early stages of developing a purchasing model with which we hope to be able to use the collective procurement power of institutions of higher education to raise workplace standards in some of the most dangerous and deprived areas of the food production economy. This work is being carried out in conjunction with the Harrison Institute for Public Law at the Georgetown Law Center and supported by a grant issued by Georgetown's Laudato Si' Fund. The goal of the fund is to incubate projects that will

allow for Georgetown to become a thought-leader in the furtherance of social sustainability. We are working with allies at the Workers Rights Consortium, the National Employment Law Project, United Students Against Sweatshops, the United Food and Commercial Workers, and colleagues from other universities to devise a practical and accountable method of procurement that could be implemented as an essential labor-focused component of broader moves towards sustainable purchasing.

The Uber Workplace

“Urban Development in the Age of Uber” is the first longitudinal study about the platform economy. The research, which is funded by the Urban Studies Foundation from Glasgow, Scotland, examines the work lives of 40 Uber drivers in the Washington, D.C. region as they move in and out of various jobs over a multi-year period. Beyond questions about labor conditions and strategies, this investigation considers the political context in which the platform economy has emerged, been legitimized, and proliferated in one U.S. city. This internationally-recognized project raises new questions about the nature of contingent labor and positions KI as a thought leader and policy expert on the future of work in the digital era.

- The work has garnered attention through 47 radio, television, print, and digital media stories from national outlets such as ABC National News, *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, CNN, and Bloomberg Radio to the German Deutsche Welle.
- The project has trained two undergraduate students as research assistants, generated 6 invited lectures, including one for the National Governors’ Association; 5 presentations at academic conferences; and 6 speaking engagements spanning programs from the Smithsonian Institution to the Department of State and the French Embassy of the United States.
- The project, which includes collaborations with George Washington University and City University of New York, has produced 9 publications in academic and popular outlets.
- Georgetown University has featured the work in 3 ways: Currently, one of the project’s reports is profiled on Georgetown University’s foremost Research page. The Office of Advancement has highlighted the work in its printed materials for potential donors. Most importantly, the Office of Community Engagement held an event at D.C. Council to celebrate the release of the project’s first public report. The D.C. Council Chairman, the third-highest elected local official, gave opening remarks about the importance of the research while more than 70 members of the community attended the presentation and panel discussion.

D.C. Immigrant Rights Organizing

Since 2016, the KI and its students have played a central role in improving protections for immigrants in the District, including the issues that impact our immigrant campus workers and students. In coalition with other immigrant rights groups, KI has reformed driver’s licenses for undocumented immigrants to make them much more accessible. Last year KI succeeded in tripling the District’s funding for immigration legal services to \$2.5 million – and made it possible for DC residents in immigrant detention to receive legal representation. And most recently, KI convened a coalition that passed a sanctuary city ordinance, ending the cooperation between DC government and ICE that unnecessarily separated families and tore DC residents away from their communities.



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

*Kalmanovitz Initiative
for Labor and the Working Poor*