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EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Aft

A Union of Professionals

OUR MISSION
The American Federation of Teachers is a union of professionals that champions fairness, democracy, economic opportunity, and high-quality public education, healthcare and public services for our students, their families and our communities. We are committed to advancing these principles through community engagement, organizing, collective bargaining and political activism, and especially through the work our members do.

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From The Officers

“I have been humbled and heartened by the overwhelming response from leaders and members around the country who participated in our union’s courageous conversations. So many of our leaders and members called or emailed me directly to express gratitude and pride in our union taking on this important issue, and so many stepped up to be a part of this work. This work will take the efforts of all of our members, and especially support and participation by our white sisters and brothers. I am proud that the AFT is the first union in the labor movement to address this crisis of black males in a significant way.”

—LORRETTA JOHNSON, AFT secretary-treasurer and Racial Equity Task Force chair
equality. Those discussions—at each of the AFT’s program and policy council meetings, at constituency and commit-
tee meetings, and at affiliate conferences—were blunt and passionate, and yielded a diverse group of volunteers to serve on the newly formed task force.

The executive council determined that the work of the task force should focus on developing real, union-driven solu-
tions to address racial justice, particularly what has hap-
pened to black males. The decision to narrow the scope of
the task force’s work, however, is in no way meant to mar-
ginalize or minimize the challenges and struggles of other oppress ed groups. Our work in racial equity will strength-
then and propel our fight forward to defend the rights of
all working Americans, including women, people of color,
the disabled, ethnic minorities, immigrants and members of the LGBT community. We are confident the AFT’s efforts
to fight inequities for black males will help reclaim our na-
tion’s promises of liberty and justice for all people.

Today, a grass-roots movement—fueled by the growing
crisis around racial inequities in our nation—has emerged.
A new generation is standing and delivering a fervent de-
mand for racial justice. We must recognize that their fight is
our fight and their struggle is our struggle. This movement
shows us that it is not enough to be against discrimination.
We must act to fundamentally change a society in which
black lives have been demeaned. Now is the time to seize
this unique moment to reaffirm our union’s commitment to
this fight forward.

We sincerely thank the members of the Racial Equity Task
Force for the contribution of their time, talent and energy
to this important work.

The Racial Equity Task Force has
now met twice, both times in cities—
Baltimore and St. Louis—that have
become important battlegrounds in
the fight for racial justice. Over the
past year, racial tensions erupted into
community uprisings and inter-
national attention following tragic
events in both metropolitan areas,
underscoring the urgency of the work
of the task force.

The inaugural task force meeting took
place in June 2015 in Baltimore, just
two months after Freddie Gray—an
unarmed black man—died from in-
juries he sustained in police custody
following his illegal arrest. For days
after Gray’s death, the protestors—
some peaceful and some not—took to
the streets to express frustration and
outrage over injustices that are part
everyday life for too many. In May,
Baltimore State’s Attorney Marilyn
Mosby filed charges against six city
police officers after a medical exam-
iner ruled Gray’s death a homicide.
Those officers all will face trial later
this year and early next year. Mosby
was one of several Baltimore officials
who attended the meeting to wel-
come task force members to the city.

In August 2015, the task force met
in St. Louis, a short distance from
Ferguson, Mo.—the small suburban
community where Michael Brown
died a year earlier in a police-in-
volved shooting. A week before the
 task force meeting, local elected
officials declared a state of emergency in
Ferguson when protests marking the
anniversary of Brown’s death and
unaddressed issues turned violent.
Peace had been restored by the time
task force members arrived in St.
Louis for the meeting.

At both meetings, task force members
were divided into smaller working
groups to delve into the three major
issue areas that were identified as a
result of the union-wide conversa-
tions around racial inequalities. The
three groups were the:
• Educational Justice Working Group,
• Economic Justice Working Group, and
• Criminal Justice Working Group.

The greater part of the task force’s
time was spent developing recom-
mandations during working group
sessions. In addition, experts in edu-
cation, economics and the criminal
justice system addressed participants
during plenary sessions to help
provide a framework for the working
group sessions.

The members of the Racial Equity
Task Force have developed a frame
for our union’s work—at the national,
state and local levels. Rather than
representing the culmination of this
task force, this report marks the be-

This report of the
Racial Equity Task
Force expresses our
shared vision and
charts a path for our
union in the fight to
reclaim the promise
of racial equity.
Our Aspirations

The American Federation of Teachers is a union that strives to give voice to the professional, economic and social aspirations of our members and their families. We recognize that these aspirations for a better quality of life—at work, in our communities and in our nation—form the basis of a shared vision that unites us all. But for more than a century, race, the racial divide and inequity based on race have been used to try to divide American workers and prevent them from joining together around the aspirations that unite us.

The fight for racial equity cannot be separated from the fight for economic justice, and equal access to public education is a building block to economic parity. And the right to vote is the right to have a say in our lives, our communities and our country. They are all intertwined. For too many black men and boys, however, the path to economic opportunity through education is obstructed and cut off by inequities that exist and persist in our criminal justice system. We aspire to live in communities and in a nation where the promise of racial equity becomes a reality for all. We seek to unite students, parents, teachers, and faith and community allies to reject efforts to deprive our public schools of resources; to fight back against those who blame teachers, unions and parents for school “failure”; and to resist efforts to close or criminalize our educational spaces for students and educators.

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The Obstacles to Equity

For too long, America has broken its promise of liberty and justice for all. The doors of educational and economic opportunity remain firmly closed for many men and boys of color. Systemic cultural and institutional racism—rooted in a legacy that extends back more than 400 years—has created and perpetuated a state of crisis for black males in America.

Black male students lag far behind their white counterparts in several measures of educational attainment. Graduation rates for black males are the lowest among all students, which keeps gainful employment out of reach. In 38 states and the District of Columbia, black males have the lowest graduation rates. While the national graduation rate for black males has increased by 10 percent since 2001, there continues to be a staggering gap between graduation rates for black male students (52 percent) and white male students (78 percent).

Black male achievement in math, reading and science falls significantly below that of whites. In 2013, fourth-grade black male students scored an average of 27 points lower in math and 29 points lower in reading than their white counterparts. That same period, 26 percent of black boys received out-of-school suspensions, compared with just 6 percent of white boys. During that same period, 26 percent of expulsions were black male students.

Starting as early as preschool, black male students are affected, disproportionately, by suspensions, expulsions and zero-tolerance discipline policies in schools. Black male students are far more likely to be suspended or expelled from school, which causes them to lose access to valuable classroom instruction and significantly increases the likelihood of contact with law enforcement and the criminal justice system.
The decline in the share of the teaching workforce represented by blacks also presents a significant obstacle to equality and opportunity for African-American students. A recent study of nine cities by the Albert Shanker Institute found a sharp decline in the number of black teachers. The AFT believes all students benefit from a diverse teaching force.

Studies show that a college degree is a major factor in earning potential, but black males make up less than 5 percent of America’s college students. What’s more, their graduation rates are roughly half that of black women. Black males who are able to attend college often have to borrow more than their white counterparts. That larger debt is compounded by the persistent wage gap between blacks and whites.

Black male employment and income levels continue to lag behind the levels for white males. Deindustrialization has hurt both black and white workers, but it has disproportionately harmed black workers. While the white male unemployment rate is 4.9 percent, the rate for black males is 10.6 percent, according to recent data from the Department of Labor.

Black men also are disproportionately consigned to low-wage occupations, with nearly half of the black male workforce (46 percent) employed in the lowest-earning occupation fields. On average, black men earn only 71 percent of what white men earn. The median income for black male-headed households is $43,909, compared with $59,915 for households headed by white males. (Figure 4)

Generational and chronic poverty also affects black males at an alarming rate. Twenty-six percent of all black men and boys live in poverty, with 37 percent of black boys under the age of 18 and 42 percent of black boys under the age of five living in need. (Figure 5)

These economic realities are closely tied to discriminatory policies that place many black males on a slippery slope. For them, it is a downward spiraling slide through law enforcement and judicial system practices and policies long rigged to produce their disproportionately high rate of felony convictions. Often awaiting black males at the end of their time served is a lifetime of severely restricted access to good jobs and support services. Racial profiling and the high rate of incarceration among black males are blocking the path to opportunity for many men and boys. Black men are disproportionately represented in our nation’s prison populations. Of the 2.3 million people currently incarcerated, 1 million are black. One in three black men can expect to go to prison in their lifetime. For men ages 18-19, the imprisonment rate of blacks is nine times higher than that of whites; for men ages 20-24, the rate is seven times higher for blacks.

Young black males account for 26 percent of juvenile arrests, 44 percent of youth who are detained, 46 percent of those who are judicially waived to criminal court, and 58 percent of young offenders who are admitted to state prisons. What’s more, 13 percent of black men have been locked out of the democratic process and lost their political franchise because of laws that prohibit convicted felons from voting.

The vast inequities that exist in education, economics and our criminal justice system continue to cause grievous harm to the very fabric of the African-American family, as well as our communities and our nation.

The fight to reclaim the promise of racial equity is one that must be waged by all of us—labor unions, community organizations and individuals—who believe the time has come to open wide the pathways to equity and opportunity.
Racial Equity Task Force Recommendations

The following recommendations provide a starting point for our union’s work around racial equity. They offer a context for the development of national and state legislation, AFT policy and local school board policy that support our aspirations for racial equity.

Our aspiration for equity in education:

- Guarantee world-class public schools in every neighborhood so that young black male students have equal opportunity to achieve. Ensure our schools provide safe, welcoming and caring spaces for students and educators to guarantee effective teaching and learning.
- Reduce suspension rates and break the school-to-prison pipeline for young black males.

**Actions:**
- Increase access to mentoring and counseling services for young black males—both inside and outside school, starting in preschool.
- Incorporate inclusive restorative justice into discipline policies.
- Zero-tolerance policies were an attempt to make schools safe and orderly, but that approach has not worked. We need policies that will help ensure that our schools truly do provide safe and welcoming spaces for students.
- Push for professional development that helps educators become aware of their own personal biases, as well as training for school safety and security personnel.
- Build partnerships with parents and community to provide wraparound services for young black males.

**Radically increase the percentage of college- and career-ready young black males.**

**Actions:**
- Push for increased access to high-quality universal pre-kindergarten.
- Advocate for and help educate parents around special education identification issues.
- Provide more supports and information for parents of young black males around college entry requirements.
- Build support services to help reduce the attrition rates of young black males in colleges.

**Develop culturally competent educators, students and education systems.**

(Definition of cultural competence: The capacity to understand, respect and respond effectively to different students’ cultures, communities and power dynamics across social groups; integrating personal awareness with a systematic change orientation.)

**Increase access to and preparation for higher-paying jobs.**

**Actions:**
- Lead the fight for livable wages.
- Support existing efforts by advocates for ex-offenders to persuade employers to remove from their hiring applications the check box that asks if applicants have a criminal record.
- Ensure all curricula are culturally inclusive, accurate and relevant.
- Develop and implement programs to identify, recruit, develop and retain black male educators.
- Engage with the community to provide resources that meet the specific needs of young black males.

**Our aspiration for equity in economics:**

- Ensure black men have equal access to and opportunity for jobs with good wages, security and dignity.
- Increase access to educational opportunity—particularly early childhood education, career and technical education, and higher education.

**Actions:**
- Increase investments in community colleges.
- Develop model legislation aimed at improving access to high-quality education at every level (for example, through community schools).
- Advocate for robust career and technical education opportunities through public high schools, community colleges, apprenticeship programs, internships and mentoring.

- **Increase access to and preparation for higher-paying jobs.**

**Actions:**
- Lead the fight for livable wages.
- Support existing efforts by advocates for ex-offenders to persuade employers to remove from their hiring applications the check box that asks if applicants have a criminal record.
- Ensure all curricula are culturally inclusive, accurate and relevant.
- Develop and implement programs to identify, recruit, develop and retain black male educators.
- Engage with the community to provide resources that meet the specific needs of young black males.

**Our aspiration for equity in criminal justice:**

- Ensure fair and equal treatment of black men and boys, and end institutionalized racism in the criminal justice system.
- Advocate for fair policing through greater transparency and accountability, which will lead to safer communities.

**Actions:**
- Support community policing as a way to rebuild relationships between law enforcement and the communities they serve.
- End programs that put military weapons in the hands of local police, and encourage police forces to discontinue using this equipment.
- Advocate for cultural competency training for police to encourage a better understanding between police and the members of the communities where they work.

**Work to combat factors that lead to the mass incarceration of young black males.**

**Actions:**
- Work with organizations to educate the public around the harmful toxic and traumatic effects of incarceration on families, communities and the nation.
- Advocate for alternative sentencing and options to incarceration, like treatment and support—especially for minors.
- End mandatory minimum prison sentences for nonviolent drug crimes.
- Push for decriminalization of nonviolent drug offenses.
- Eliminate private and for-profit prisons.

- **Encourage policies aimed at reforming monetary bail requirements that lead to the unjust imprisonment of underprivileged offenders who can’t afford payment.**
- **Remove criminal records (particularly for nonviolent drug offenses) as disqualifying factors for educational funding and employment opportunities.**
- **Push for full funding for social services—like mental health and addiction treatment—as a way to stem the mass incarceration of young black men.**
Reclaiming the Promise of Racial Equity

The AFT’s work in the area of racial equity represents a momentous renewal of our commitment to the values that have inspired and sustained our union for nearly 100 years. It builds on the fights we have waged for fairness in public education, including our support of the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This important education legislation, which was a centerpiece of President Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty, was crafted to address poverty and educational inequities. The AFT has developed a number of policies and programs over the years that have focused on improving outcomes for students of color. And while this work is not new to our union, we recognize that the work is not finished.

As we forge a path for the future, our fight for racial equity offers a unique opportunity to engage with our members and community partners in new ways. The starting point, however, is reflection and internal examination—as a union at every level and as individuals. We must ensure that our union—at the national, state and local levels—is working to create opportunities for black males in leadership and employment in workplaces throughout our society, including in our union.

Our fight for racial justice remains the unfinished business of our union and the country. While our commitment to end racial discrimination and bias, poverty, lack of affordable housing and an appalling lack of opportunity for African-American men is informed by our past, we feel, in the immortal words of Martin Luther King Jr., “the fierce urgency of now.” We have a moral obligation to act and to begin having the tough conversations inside our union about how we will work together to confront the racial and economic barriers that are preventing millions of our citizens from enjoying a full and free life. In the end, we must be the change—and we must do everything we can to accelerate it.

The success of our efforts depends on our willingness to take the time to educate and engage our members—at the national, state and local levels—and on the systemic and individual barriers to racial equity, including our own personal biases, privilege and microaggressions. Our success also hinges on the broad engagement of every segment in our union and members of every race and ethnicity, particularly white members. Nearly 60 years ago, a number of progressive white and black AFT leaders stood together and took bold action by expelling local affiliates that refused to integrate after the landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision. Today, we implore everyone in our union—white and people of color—to stand with us in the fight forward.

With this report, the members of the Racial Equity Task Force are issuing an urgent call to action. We believe our union can and must take a lead in fulfilling the shared moral obligation to fight for a just society. As Gandhi said more than a century ago, we must be the change we wish to see in the world. The task force urges our national union and affiliates to hold tough, honest racial equity conversations and workshops to expand awareness, deepen understanding and build a widely shared commitment to act. Conferences and conventions, regional meetings and other gatherings of our union provide racial equity educational opportunities that can uncover ways to operationalize the policy recommendations outlined in this report and combat racism at the cultural, institutional and individual levels that it is expressed.

A Commitment to Fairness

Over the years, the AFT has led the fight for fairness in education for students of color by working to:

- Break the school-to-prison pipeline by addressing disparities in how school discipline codes are enforced. Through a grant program, we are working with local affiliates to make changes at the school and district level to school discipline codes of conduct and to improve school climates.
- Incorporate restorative justice practices into school discipline codes through our efforts with a working group that includes educators, administrators and community advocates, who have completed a restorative practices guide for educators.
- Combat the culture of low expectations by fighting for academic standards that define what all students should know and be able to do. We also have fought for curricula and pathways to engage the whole child through art, music, and social and emotional learning, and have advocated for academic interventions for students who are struggling as an alternative to retention and social promotion practices.
- Keep neighborhood schools intact and make them the focal point and heart of their communities, particularly in high-poverty neighborhoods. Through partnerships with labor, management and the community, schools can become places that provide valuable services that help lift students and their families.
- Ensure robust teaching environments by fighting the culture where testing replaces quality instruction.
- Maintain public funding for public schools, especially those that serve the students in greatest need, by fighting for equitable funding.
- Support struggling students by advocating for smaller class sizes and quality early childhood education programs with properly trained staff. We’ve pushed for Kindergarten-Plus programs to provide additional instruction time for kindergartners and schoolwide initiatives to target at-risk students.
- Ensure there is a qualified teacher in every classroom by supporting the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and contract language and legislation opposing out-of-field placements for teachers.
- Keep schools safe by ensuring that discipline codes are published and known, as well as by providing professional development for teachers on classroom management.

The task force urges our national union and affiliates to hold tough, honest racial equity conversations and workshops to expand awareness, deepen understanding and build a widely shared commitment to act. Conferences and conventions, regional meetings and other gatherings of our union provide racial equity educational opportunities that can uncover ways to operationalize the policy recommendations outlined in this report and combat racism at the cultural, institutional and individual levels that it is expressed.

Three Expressions of Racism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual Level</th>
<th>Structural Level</th>
<th>Cultural (Beliefs, Norms, Values)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Validate</td>
<td>“If the culture does not change, the progress toward equity will be easy to undo.”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Resource</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Underserve</td>
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Figure 6
Therefore, as we move closer to our 100th anniversary as a union and our convention in July 2016, the time has come for the AFT to take on this issue in a bold, decisive way that results in real change in our nation, our communities and our schools. We ask the AFT executive council to approve this report and the recommendations as a first step in our fight forward. We believe the following recommendations provide a framework for the development of policy—in national and state legislation, at the local school board level and inside the AFT:

- Fund programs that provide alternatives to out-of-school suspensions that offer meaningful educational opportunities for black male students.
- Change school discipline policies to include restorative justice and fairer enforcement.
- Develop and implement programs to intentionally help identify, recruit, develop and retain black male educators and staff.
- Provide professional development and cultural competency training that helps teachers and other school staff understand their own personal biases.
- Create review processes in schools to ensure that black male students are treated fairly.
- Develop funding, mentoring and counseling to create greater opportunity for black males to attend college.
- Establish partnerships with trade unions to develop apprenticeship programs that provide job training and placement in trade careers that open the door to economic opportunity and independence for black men.
- Continue and expand our work with the Conferences of Chief Justices to help establish engagement strategies to bridge the gap between minority and low-income communities and court leadership through collaborative efforts that will increase public trust and confidence in the states’ courts.

“The term ‘microaggression’ was used by Columbia professor Derald Sue to refer to ‘brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color.’ Sue borrowed the term from psychiatrist Dr. Chester Pierce, who coined the term in the ’70s.”

—HEBEN NIGATU, BuzzFeed
Appendix I

AFT Racial Equity Task Force Members

Lorretta Johnson, AFT Secretary-Treasurer

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Paul Washington
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Carl Williams
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Cynthia Wynn
WISCONSIN STATE PUBLIC DEFENDER ASSOCIATION

Katie Zaman
TA'S ASSOCIATION UN-MADISON
Appendix II

Recommended Readings

**Educational Justice**
- Partners for Each and Every Child. [www.foreachandeverychild.org](http://www.foreachandeverychild.org)

**Economic Justice**
- “Justice System is Failing Young Black Men.” Lawrence Steinberg. CNN, March 11, 2014. [http://cnn.it/1NhG3B4](http://cnn.it/1NhG3B4)

**Criminal Justice**
- Partners for Each and Every Child. [www.foreachandeverychild.org](http://www.foreachandeverychild.org)