



Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity by Micah Uetricht Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity by Micah Uetricht Review by: William C. Brehm Comparative Education Review, Vol. 59, No. 1 (February 2015), pp. 177-179 Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Comparative and International Education Society Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/679296 Accessed: 12/02/2015 14:34

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form of external review. Nevertheless, change in higher education in general, and accreditation in particular, is not as straightforward as Desha and Hargroves imply. Their discussion of the role of accreditation in engineering presents examples mainly from Global North anglophone countries. Research on quality in higher education reveals that accreditation not only is a technical exercise but involves symbolic and performative elements. Modifying accreditation standards may not lead to the exact desired outcomes in a seamless fashion.

Given the audience of this review, namely, the readership of the *Comparative Education Review*, it is necessary to address with a critical mind-set some elements of *Higher Education and Sustainable Development*. First, the very notion of development is controversial. International educators are well aware that, all too often, the idea of development is rooted in Western assumptions of linear progress.¹ Likewise, the notions of sustainable development and education for sustainability require further problematizing.² These contestations do not detract from Desha and Hargroves' argument but present opportunities for dialogue across disciplinary and professional fields. Such a discussion is crucial given that an all-hands-on-deck approach is needed to curve the negative consequences of the ongoing impacts on the environment. If there is a single conclusion that readers in the field of international education can take from reading *Higher Education and Sustainable Development*, that lesson should be the need for their active participation in educating a citizenry with skills and dispositions that promote sustainability.

In sum, *Higher Education and Sustainable Development* constitutes a valuable read and presents a timely call for action. The book serves as a reminder of the importance of the curricular choices educators make. This call for action comes as a breath of fresh air at a time when the public is saturated with contradictory information.

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Strike for America: Chicago Teachers Against Austerity by Micah Uetricht. New York: Verso, 2014. 128 pp. \$14.95. ISBN 978-1-78168-325-5.

The march toward austerity in the United States hit a road bump in Chicago's Public Schools when successful actions promoted by the Chicago Teachers Union in September 2012 slowed the pace of school privatization and marketization. These actions marked a decisive change in the union's strategy, which can be characterized as a move from business unionism to social movement unionism. Exactly how this happened is the subject of Micah Uetricht's first book.

Chicago's Public School system is an epicenter of neoliberal educational reforms. It started in 1995 when Mayor Richard Daley was given power by the state legislator to

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¹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed, 2012).

² Lesley L. Le Grange, "Sustainability and Higher Education: From Arborescent to Rhizomatic Thinking," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 43 (2011): 742–54.

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take direct control of city schools. He appointed a new school board and installed a chief executive officer to reengineer the education system using market reforms. The 2002 federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act gave Arne Duncan, then chief executive of Chicago Public Schools, more power to ensure schools reached "adequate yearly progress" (AYP), a key student performance measurement of NCLB. Schools that failed to meet AYP could be closed.

Since 2001, the city has closed more than 125 schools for various reasons, ranging from low performance to underattendance. Families are always affected by school closings, but a disproportionate number of Chicago school closings have affected majority black neighborhoods in the city's south and west sides. As part of Duncan's "Renaissance 2010" program, charter schools replaced most of the "failed" schools despite clear evidence of their efficacy, and the city redistributed millions of dollars in public funding to catalyze private providers in what was labeled a "turnaround."

In the wake of these monumental changes, the Chicago Teachers Union barely responded, accepting reforms in an attempt to weather the neoliberal storm. The union continued its historic strategy: a top-down approach based on acquiescence and negotiations instead of strikes. The United Progressive Caucus (UPC), the group holding union leadership from 1972 until 2010, first implemented this strategy as a conservative response to the militant union actions of the 1960s. This "business unionism" left a handful of union leaders in charge to negotiate teacher contracts with the school board. Uetricht likens this type of union to an insurance company where members file claims instead of participating in mutual struggle. With union power concentrated, the rank and file became disillusioned. Charter schools increased in number, which meant an increase in nonunion labor, and the value of education was reduced to simply training students for the job market. The neoliberal rhetoric was largely anti-union, anti-teacher, and pro choice (in the sense of allowing parents to choose schools for their children); the contract concessions slowly chipped away at labor's position; and leadership was more concerned with managing politics than teachers' working conditions.

This all changed with the rise of the Caucus of Rank-and-File Educators (CORE). CORE formed in 2001 to challenge UPC. CORE opposed school closures and turnarounds in poor neighborhoods. It worked with the community where the ostensible "turnaround" schools were located. CORE also built a grassroots coalition of teachers and focused on educating its members about the problems of neoliberal reforms. Uetricht calls this "social movement unionism," where power derives from the membership, not the leadership's ability to negotiate.

CORE won union leadership in 2010. In June 2012, a vote was held to authorize a strike during contract negotiations. In this unprecedented moment, 90 percent of the union's members voted to authorize the strike. Three months later the strike began.

The grassroots nature of CORE's ascendance to power over 10 years meant that nonleadership members felt empowered to hold their own demonstrations during the September 2012 strike. It did not matter that the union historically supported the Democratic Party. That Democratic Mayor Rahm Emanuel, a close ally to President Obama, proposed the biggest one-time school closing in American history meant he became a target. The global capitalist class was also targeted. Even

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the home of school board member Penny Pritzker (whose family owns the famous Hyatt hotel chain) was a site of protest because she supported charter schools.

In the end, the teacher strike achieved fending off the introduction of merit pay, a guarantee that all students receive textbooks, larger teacher supply budgets, teacher evaluations that used student examination scores to their legal minimum, annual raises with the introduction of longer school days, and minimal increases in health-care costs.

More than these contractual achievements, however, the strike changed the public's perceptions of teachers and their union. The union offered a vision for the future of public schools that found broad community support, they organized using participatory democracy in order to include all members, and they demanded racial equality. The Chicago teacher strike offers an example of successful social movement unionism that used militant actions, relied on a broad base of support, and changed the banal rhetoric of anti-unionism prevalent since the 1970s.

Uetricht is a young Chicago journalist who writes about education and the labor movement for outlets like *Slate* and *Jacobin*. He makes a compelling case that it is high time the labor movement try social movement unionism instead of business unionism. His background and profession make the book accessible to a wide readership, but it is also the locus of the book's main problem: by writing for an American audience, Uetricht commits methodological nationalism writ large. He thereby inadvertently diminishes the role of the Chicago teacher strike within global movements resisting the neoliberal order, which emerged at the end of the Cold War.

The Chicago teacher strike is a continuation of global social movements against neoliberalism that have shocked the world since 2011. The Chilean student movement is an obvious example of protests against similar education reforms. So too, however, are the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations that rippled throughout the world (not just in the United States) in protest against financial capitalism, the Arab Spring that shocked the Sunni-dominated geopolitical order of the Middle East, and the England riots that highlighted the socioeconomic plight of the lower classes from austerity. These events point to diverse instances of a crumbling post–Cold War order.

When these moments of resistance are compared, it is the protests in education where success is clearly visible. In Chile, leaders of the protests have been elected to public office; in Chicago, a new form of unionism galvanized teachers and the public alike. The value of this book is therefore its in-depth, micropolitical case study of successful resistance to the neoliberal order marked by privatization and austerity. If taught in conjunction with authors connecting these events globally, this book can be contextualized into the nascent post–post–Cold War order, or what philosopher Alain Badiou calls the rebirth of history.

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