# Convention 2019 Resolutions Committee Report

Resolutions and constitutional amendments passed by delegates to CFT Convention held March 22-24 in Los Angeles



## CFT Convention 2019

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### **Amendment 1**

## Per Capitas and Staff Funding Program

Article II: Finance, Sections 1 and 7 of the CFT Bylaws are amended to read:

#### Section 1. Per Capitas

- a. Per Capita
  - 1. Effective September 1, 2018 2019, the per capitas for active members and non-member fee payers of the CFT will be \$526.14 (12 monthly payments of \$43.84) for regular rate members and regular rate agency fee non-members earning \$50,000 or more.
  - 2. Effective September 1, 2020, the per capitas for active members and non-member fee payers of the CFT will be \$537.74 (12 monthly payments of \$44.81) for regular rate members and regular rate agency fee non-members earning \$50,000 or more.
  - 3. Non-bargaining agent members and members-at-large will be AFT and CLF per capita tax plus 40% of CFT full-time per capita tax.
  - 4. Any Special Assessments described in Article II, Section 6 are added to the per capita rates described in this section.

#### Section 7. Staff Funding Program

- a. The purpose of the CFT Staff Funding Program is to reimburse those locals that have paid for professional staff in order to minimize the use of CFT field representatives for negotiations, grievances, or other locally specific services. All other general CFT services such as training, publications, member database management, research, communications assistance, legal defense grants, governmental relations, etc. are available to all CFT locals.
- b. Upon application to the CFT, on or before September 1 preceding the CFT budget year for which the staff funding program is to commence, any local or council of locals that directly employs and compensates or pays out of local funds for reassigned time for one or more professional staff persons shall receive, after payment of monthly per capitas, a payment for staff funding assistance from the CFT equal to the following formula:

#### 1) Staff Funding Base

- a. Effective September 2019, the Staff Funding Base shall be \$19.70.
- b. Effective September 2020, the Staff Funding Base shall be \$20.13.
- 42) Unit size 1000 or fewer: Locals and councils of locals with a total unit or units of 1000 or fewer shall receive a staff funding program from the CFT equal to seventy percent (70%) of \$19.70 staff funding base of the full-time equivalency (FTE) of per capitas paid to the CFT by the local or council of locals on a monthly basis.
- 23) Unit size above 1000: Locals and councils of locals with a total unit or units above 1000 shall receive a staff funding program from the CFT equal to sixty percent (60%) of \$19.70 staff funding base of the FTE of per capitas paid to the CFT by the local or council of locals on a monthly basis.
- All locals and councils of locals that have non-certificated employees in their unit or are a unit of classified employees and that qualify for the CFT Staff Funding Program, shall receive staff funding from the CFT equal to seventy percent (70%) of \$19.70 staff funding base of the FTE of per capitas paid for non-certificated employees of the unit.

## "CFT: A Union of Educators and Classified Professionals" branding

Whereas, the CFT Convention in 2016 passed Resolution 30 "Promote and support Classified School Employee Week" which stated, "that the CFT create a task force to look into a name change for the California Federation of Teachers"; and

Whereas, several meetings were held with members from the various constituency groups to discuss all of the possibilities of a name change; and

Whereas, because of our name, the CFT is known as a teachers' union; and

Whereas, as a union we are proud of CFT classified members; and

Whereas, we are equally proud that we represent a broad spectrum of educational workers; and

Whereas, a name tells the public who we are; and

Whereas, CFT classified members have long wanted a name that reflects their membership in the union; and

Whereas, at this convention we are celebrating the 100th year of the CFT;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT be known, henceforth, as the "CFT: A Union of Educators and Classified Professionals"; and

**Be it further resolved**, that, in addition to this change, there be an internal campaign that reaffirms the value of all our members, particularly our classified members.

## Adopt CFT Policy and Positions Handbook, Version 2019

Whereas, the CFT represents members who work in education from early childhood through the University of California system, in public and private schools, both in and out of the classroom; and Whereas, the mission of the CFT states that we will represent its members' interests and the interests of the communities they serve through collective bargaining, legislative advocacy, political action, and organizing; and

Whereas, having a document that enumerates CFT's positions and policies helps formalize and keeps consistent the work we are charged to do within our mission statement; and

**Whereas**, the CFT adopted a living *Policies and Positions Handbook* at the 2018 Convention; and **Whereas**, CFT has 13 standing committees that meet regularly for the purpose of reviewing and suggesting CFT policies and positions; and

Whereas, the CFT has three different governing bodies that adopt policies and positions: the Convention, the State Council, and the Executive Council; and

Whereas, the *Policy and Positions Handbook* should be used to inform members, leaders, staff and the general public on our positions on issues on education issues and the world around us, and the *Constitution and Bylaws* should be used for internal structure and policies; and

Whereas, there have been some policy changes adopted by the State Council and Executive Council since the handbook was adopted, and there are additional changes regarding the process defined in the handbook for updating the handbook;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT adopt the new *Policies & Positions Handbook* (Version 2019) with the following changes:

- New section IV. Process for Changes to Handbook;
- Addition of sections: 2.1.8 and 4.7.6;
- Changes to section 4.7.4;
- Reaffirming prior adoption of changes to sections 2.11.1, 2.11.2, 2.11.7, and 2.11.8.

## **Expand retiree participation in Council of Retired Members**

Whereas retired member activists have had their talents enriched by decades of effective dedicated service and productive labor activism; and

Whereas retired members are often a more readily available, invaluable resource to locals for their institutional memory, their understanding of issues affecting the working conditions of bargaining unit members, their organizational experience and expertise, and their dedication to the interests of working people; and

Whereas retired members are well situated to assist their parent locals with membership recruitment, bargaining and strike support, other organizing activities and political action; and

Whereas the CFT's Council of Retired Members (CRM) was established pursuant to a CFT constitutional amendment in 2014; and

Whereas the CRM's objectives include encouraging activities of retirees in support of local, state, and national union endeavors, relating the concerns of retired members to CFT and AFT governing bodies, facilitating concerted action, and supporting public education and equal opportunity; and

Whereas the CRM in pursuit of these objectives offers a statewide forum for networking, information exchange, best practices, and continuing education on union issues; and

Whereas retiree chapter dues are minimal in accordance with AFT policy and in recognition of the long-term support and investment retirees have made in the union, the level of these dues being insufficient, for all but the largest chapters, to support retiree travel expenses to CRM meetings; and

Whereas, currently, travel expenses for retiree attendance at CRM meetings are only reimbursable by CFT in the following circumstances: (1) for CRM officers; (2) if the attendance coincides with a committee member's attendance at a committee meeting; (3) if the attendance coincides with a chapter president or designee's attendance at a State Council meeting; and

Whereas the CRM can offer partial travel grants to delegates to CRM meetings, but lacks the budget to provide for travel from all 145 CFT locals;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT encourages locals without established retiree chapters to select at least one retiree representative to attend meetings of the CRM, and support such attendance with travel expense reimbursement, in situations where travel funding is not already covered by CFT.

**Be it further resolved**, that CFT encourages locals with established retiree chapters to assist their chapters with funding for at least one chapter representative's attendance at CRM meetings, in situations where travel funding is not already covered by CFT.

Submitted by the Council of Retired Members

## Require Economic and Environmental Impact Reports before charter schools are approved

Whereas, the proliferation of charter schools has caused many public and charter schools to be underenrolled; and

Whereas, many neighborhoods are saturated with schools; and

Whereas, traffic and safety concerns are often ignored when new charter schools are built; and Whereas, renters and homeowners are being pushed out of neighborhoods they've lived in for decades through gentrification; and

Whereas, resources and money should be used to support existing schools;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that new charter schools shall not negatively impact the enrollment of already established schools in the neighborhood; and

**Be it further resolved**, that CFT will support or sponsor legislation and local municipal policies that would require an Economic Impact Report, Facility Impact Report, and a California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) Impact Report prior to a charter school being authorized and/or built and/or colocated on present district campuses.

Submitted by the EC/TK-12 Council

## Limit student assessments not mandated by the state

Whereas, the CFT recognizes that student testing, when not misused, is one tool that informs teaching; and Whereas, the purpose of education is to educate a populace of critical thinkers who can shape a just and equitable society in order to lead good and purpose-filled lives, not solely teaching to a standardized test; and Whereas, all students should have access to full, rich learning experiences that prepare them for life, citizenship, career and college, and for the resources to make that vision a reality; and

Whereas, parents, teachers and communities have seen high-stakes, low-quality tests not mandated by the state unfairly label students of color, students with disabilities, and English language learners as failing; and Whereas, the Every Student Succeeds Act provides an opportunity—but no requirement—for states and districts to end misuse of tests; and

Whereas, since the failed test-and-punish accountability system created by the No Child Left Behind Act has expired, unions continue to fight to give schools and educators the latitude to teach rather than simply require them to test; and

Whereas, every good educator knows that fewer and better assessments of student learning, including the use of a wide variety of types of assessments including performance-based assessments, authentic tasks and other competency-based assessments, is preferable to a regimen of standardized tests; and

Whereas, the state of California currently mandates some testing, but many school districts force teachers and schools to administer many unnecessary tests that take away valuable teaching time;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT will support limitations to state-mandated student assessments; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT finds that too much teaching time is being lost to district-created assessments that are not mandated by the state; and

**Be it finally resolved**, that the CFT sponsor legislation that would make non-state-mandated assessment a subject of collective bargaining so that locals can reduce the amount of teaching time being lost to non-state-mandated testing.

Submitted by the PreK-12 Educational Issues Committee

## Restore school site budget authority to site councils

Whereas, school budgets are a representation of values; and

Whereas, school budgets should be under the purview of all stakeholders; and

Whereas, some administrators abuse their authority when developing and implementing budgets; and

Whereas, there is more buy-in with a decision-making body over an advisory body; and

Whereas, prior to the Local Control Funding Formula and Local Control Accountability Plan process, school site councils had authority over the school site budget;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the California Federation of Teachers support or sponsor legislation restoring the authority of the school site budget to the school site council.

## Oppose portfolio schools and privatization

Whereas, the drive to privatize public education continues to escalate through a multitude of new maneuvers; and

Whereas, Austin Beutner, superintendent of the Los Angeles Unified School District, unveiled a plan to subdivide the school district into 32 networks using a portfolio model, while Oakland and 24 other districts across the country are part of a national network already using a portfolio model to reorganize their schools; and

Whereas, the portfolio model "posits treating schools like stock holdings and trimming the failures by privatizing them or closing them. The instrument for measuring failure is the wholly inappropriate standardized test. Testing and the portfolio model inevitably lead to an even more privatized system—especially in poor communities—that strips parents and taxpayers of their democratic rights." (Tom Ultican); and

Whereas, portfolio districts can include public schools, charter schools, corporate service providers and "educational partners" that lead directly to school vouchers, and commercialize students and financialize schools; and

Whereas, a plethora of corporate and billionaire-funded, non-profit organizations such as The Cities for Educational Entrepreneurship Trust that defines itself as "a network of city-based education reform organizations, initiatives and foundations dedicated to accelerating the growth of entrepreneurial ventures" are heavily investing in reorganizing school districts and profiting as well from software programs that make it easy to attract parents to the portfolio model; and

Whereas, software programs that track personal and academic information about students throughout their entire education history such as the Hero K12 behavior modification platform that documents students' entire discipline records, the use of which Oakland parents protested because this information would be shared with a non-profit charter school group and be potentially available to data mining; and Whereas, as seen with the historic UTLA strike, teachers and communities are increasingly ready to move beyond contract issues and fight against privatization;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT both oppose the use of portfolio schools to reorganize school districts and support those locals and communities that are already doing so; and

**Be it further resolved**, that a CFT task force be created by June 15 to research, analyze, and prepare information for our members about portfolio districts and other new schemes to privatize education, and that materials be made available to our members on social media, and also for use in workshops on an ongoing basis.

Submitted by the Civil, Human, and Women's Rights Committee

## Support part-time faculty participation in shared governance

Whereas, community colleges regularly hire temporary part-time faculty; and

Whereas, temporary part-time faculty are required to hold the same academic qualifications and credentials as their full-time colleagues; and

Whereas, qualified temporary part-time faculty are rehired for years; and

Whereas, part-time faculty already working in the institution have significant familiarity with the academic standards, curriculum, personnel, and culture of the institution thereby aiding in student success initiatives and other institutional goals; and

Whereas, the concept of shared governance is continually challenged by administrations; and Whereas, there are not enough full-time faculty to serve on shared governance committees; and Whereas, due to the increased workload of faculty due to increased mandated requirements and accreditation standards; and

Whereas, since decisions made in shared governance also affect part-time faculty, part-time faculty should be considered, with respect to equity and inclusivity, an equal participant in the decision-making; and

Whereas, documents from the Academic Senate of California Community Colleges support full participation, full voting rights and compensation in shared governance;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT support legislation for part-time faculty to be included and enfranchised without regard to their part-time status and compensated in shared governance work.

Submitted by the Part-Time Faculty Committee

## Support compensation for educational employees during lockdown

Whereas, the community colleges regularly hire temporary part-time educators to fulfill teaching and counseling needs; and

Whereas, temporary part-time educators are required to hold the same academic qualifications and credentials as their full-time colleagues; and

**Whereas**, in the event of an emergency or lockdown, educators become disaster service workers (California Education Code, Sections 3100-3109) and are expected to serve the institution and students; and

Whereas, many educators are employed in a prison facility where lockdowns often occur; and

Whereas, the recent events of January 15, 2019, when the educators of Citrus College where locked down and not allowed to leave their classrooms for over five hours; and

Whereas, temporary part-time educators do not have a contract and are paid hourly and full-time educators are salaried; and

Whereas, part-time educators may lose the opportunity for other employment or may not be able to report to other employment during a lockdown or emergency;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT support legislation that would compensate all affected employees during the period of a lockdown of an institution where the person is employed; and

**Be it further resolved,** that the educator shall be held harmless and compensated for lost income from missing other employment during the lockdown.

Submitted by the Part-Time Faculty Committee

## Amend HEERA to permit contract faculty inclusion in the UC Academic Senate

Whereas, the current text of Section 3579.e of the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act (HEERA) reads: "the only appropriate representation units including members of the academic senate of the University of California shall be either a single statewide unit consisting of all eligible members of the senate, or divisional units consisting of all eligible members of a division of the senate;" and Whereas, the above language functions to exclude faculty who are currently represented by the University Council-AFT (UC-AFT) from membership and participation in the UC Academic Senate; and Whereas, the UC has used this HEERA provision to attempt to remove job titles from UC-AFT's faculty bargaining unit simply by placing them in the Academic Senate and, using this logic, could unilaterally dissolve the entire bargaining unit; and

Whereas, UC-AFT faculty teach approximately one-third of undergraduate student credit hours at the UC; yet have no voice in curricular or policy decisions that are voted on by the Academic Senate; and Whereas, the inability to participate in the decision and policy-making of the UC Academic Senate disadvantages faculty represented by UC-AFT; and

Whereas, the disadvantages described above perpetuate discrimination, because UC-AFT faculty are more likely than Senate faculty to be women and scholars of color, whose exclusion from the Academic Senate is unjustifiable;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT shall sponsor legislation to amend Section 3579.e of HEERA to add the following similar language: "The preceding provision does not apply to non-tenure-track faculty, who may simultaneously have exclusive representation and membership in the academic senate of the University of California."

Submitted by the University Council-AFT

## Vote of no confidence of the community college chancellor

**Whereas**, the principle of participatory governance in the California Community Colleges has been established and codified in law (AB 1725); and

Whereas, participatory governance only functions when it is practiced at all levels of the administration and faculty governing bodies; and

**Whereas**, confidence in the leadership of the chief executive of a college system is integral to the effective administration of the California Community College mission; and

Whereas, the faculty of the Los Rios College Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2279, recognize that participatory governance has ceased to function at the state level where the state Chancellor's Office has closed the normal channels of communication with the faculty organizations such as the Academic Senate, the Community College Council of the California Federation of Teachers, the Community College Association of the California Teachers Association, the California Community College Independents, and the Faculty Association of California Community Colleges; and

Whereas, the state Chancellor's Office has demonstrated a lack of transparency and collegial consultations which includes, but is not limited to:

- Introducing legislation and state budget for Guided Pathways;
- Introducing language into AB 19 that requires districts and colleges participate in Guided Pathways in order to receive funding;
- Reducing the meetings to consult with stakeholders on the budget change proposal and legislation to a single meeting;
- Making Consultation Council a reporting of state Chancellor's Office activities rather than a forum where consensus can be achieved on critical issues facing community colleges;
- Failing to engage in consultation and consensus building with stakeholders concerning AB 705. There was a lack of discussion and preparation of the college districts for the changes required in AB 705. There was a lack of funding for the workload required for the mandated activity for AB 705 and none has been planned in the future. There has been no discussion on the unintended consequences of AB705 implementation. The state Chancellor's Office has announced that reading programs will be eliminated based on AB 705 even though the bill contains no language to that effect;
- Failing to consult with any stakeholders before the introduction of the online college in the governor's budget in January 2018. Alterations in the online college proposal have been made when testifying before the budget and higher education committees without consultation with faculty. New programs such as medical coding have been proposed by the state chancellor without a functioning local Academic Senate (no faculty have been hired yet) and as a consequence no participatory governance. In addition, an online medical coding program will directly compete with the current program at Cosumnes River College. The online college will be subscription-based and competency-based without discussion with a local Academic Senate and another example of a lack of participatory governance. These academic and professional matters could have been at least discussed and possibly resolved with the State Academic Senate, but that did not occur. The new faculty for the online college will not be represented by a union, will not have a collectively bargained contract, and will be on a meet-and-confer basis. The state chancellor has not engaged with the faculty unions about the parameters of contract for the online college faculty;

Failing to consult with any stakeholders before the introduction of the new funding formula in the
governor's budget in January 2018. There were virtually no simulations run to test the viability of
such a funding formula or to determine unintended consequences. The Chancellor's Office convened
a task force of chief executive officers to seek alternative proposals from which faculty were
excluded;

Whereas, these and other examples have illustrated that the state chancellor has demonstrated a lack of transparency and collegial consultation with the faculty organizations, has actively blocked faculty leadership access to meetings in which decisions have been made, and exhibits a general lack of acknowledgement of the concerns of faculty;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the California Federation of Teachers has no confidence in the California Community College Chancellor, Eloy Ortiz Oakley;

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT send this resolution with a letter stating our vote of no confidence to the California Community College Board of Governors and to Gov. Gavin Newsom.

## Call for California to tax all income subject to the federal carried interest tax break

Whereas, private equity firms, hedge funds, and other financial entities make exorbitant fees for investing other people's money; and

Whereas, the owners of these firms receive up to 20 percent of the profits on these investments of other people's money as "carried interest"; and

Whereas, the federal government taxes carried interest at only 20 percent; and

Whereas, regular income received by high-income private equity and hedge fund managers would face a tax rate of 37 percent; and

Whereas, many financial experts and working Americans agree that millionaires and billionaires should not receive preferential treatment on their taxes; and

Whereas, this preferential treatment of carried interest costs the federal government an estimated \$18 billion per year; and

Whereas, the GOP tax legislation passed in 2017 expands even further the tax breaks available to those with incomes greater than \$1 million; and

**Whereas**, education at all levels in the state of California is underfunded as a result of a lack of tax revenues; and

Whereas, the legislature in the state of New York has introduced legislation to tax all carried interest income at a rate of 17 percent, which is the difference between the 20 percent and 37 percent federal rates; and

**Whereas**, if the state of California were to join with the state of New York and implement this same type of tax it would generate an estimated \$1.62 billion in revenue;

**Therefore, be it resolved,** that the CFT call for the state Legislature to join with the state of New York and a coalition of other states to implement a statewide carried interest tax of the percentage difference between the federal capital gains tax rate and federal tax rate on ordinary income.

Submitted by the Retirement Policy Committee

## Support free public transportation for students, early childhood through college

Whereas, students may struggle financially and/or with safety issues to get to school; and Whereas, helping students get to school increases student achievement and reduces absences; and Whereas, getting students to school increases Average Daily Attendance (ADA) revenue; and Whereas, districts across the state have reduced or eliminated school transportation services at the peril of ADA revenue; and

Whereas, during the UTLA strike the city of Los Angeles allowed students free public transportation; and Whereas, increasing the use of public transportation cuts down on pollution and traffic;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the California Federation of Teachers sponsor or support legislation that would allow students, from early childhood through college, to use public transportation for free.

## Fully fund higher education in California

Whereas, the California Master Plan for Higher Education promises a tuition-free, high-quality college education to any and all Californians who can benefit from a college education; and

**Whereas,** since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 the California community colleges have been chronically and structurally underfunded, including the California Master Plan for Higher Education, AB 1725, and SB 361; and

Whereas, many of our community college students are underrepresented, underprepared, low income, homeless, food insecure, and struggling to stay in college; and

Whereas, the vast majority of students of color enrolled in public higher education in California are attending our community colleges; and

Whereas, the new performance-based funding formula—the Student Centered Funding Formula—was developed hastily, without transparency, excluding input from faculty, staff, administrators or students; and

Whereas, the SCFF is based on assumptions which are unproven and lack well-vetted simulations and projections; and

Whereas, research shows a significant risk that performance funding such as the SCFF will inadvertently hurt students of color and low-income students; and

Whereas, the SCFF pits colleges/districts against each other and risks spurring a diploma mill to compete; and

Whereas, the SCFF ignores the needs of part-time students (about two-thirds of our students) including those working full-time and workers returning seeking new skills to adapt to changing technology;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that in order to promote proven ways of helping students, the California Federation of Teachers will advocate to:

- 1) Increase base funding as top budget priority; and
- 2) Eliminate the 10 percent performance part of SCFF and reallocate that funding to the base; and
- 3) Keep the "hold harmless" policy in place as long as SCFF is in effect.

## Craft model resolution for Schools and Communities First initiative

**Whereas**, the CFT endorsed the Schools and Communities First ballot initiative for the November 2020 ballot; and

Whereas, there is momentum around funding in the nationwide public education movement; and Whereas, the CFT needs to organize and mobilize at the grassroots level in every community to pass this initiative;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT craft model resolution language for the Schools and Communities First initiative that can be passed by governing boards throughout the state to build support.

Submitted by the EC/TK-12 Council

## Support creation of national speculation reduction tax for U.S. financial markets

Whereas, the stock markets do not accurately reflect the underlying health of the U.S. economy, but rather are primarily driven by the speculative bets made by ultrawealthy speculators; and

**Whereas**, the daily shifts in the values of corporate stocks have almost no impact on the lives of most Americans; and

Whereas, less than half of all Americans directly own shares of corporate stock, and less than a third own more than \$5,000 worth of stock; and

Whereas, those who do own stock trade their shares very rarely; and

Whereas, the only situation in which purchasing a share of stock puts new money into the real, productive economy is during an initial public offering (IPO); and

Whereas, IPOs represent less than 0.15 percent of all stock traded annually; and

Whereas, the prices of stock primarily reflects the sentiments of speculators betting on the profitability of firms; and

Whereas, the richest 10 percent of the population own 91 percent of all stock and 94 percent of all other financial assets; and

**Whereas**, the gambling by these speculators in the financial markets was one of the primary causes of the 2007-08 financial collapse; and

**Whereas**, gambling in Atlantic City is taxed at 8 percent and gambling in Las Vegas is taxed at 6.25 percent; and

Whereas, a progressive speculation reduction tax would reduce the volatility of financial markets; and Whereas, a progressive tax could tax trades held for less than a week at 5 percent, trades held less than a month at 2 percent and trades held for more than a year at 0 percent; and

Whereas, as progressive tax would have almost no impact on the assets or returns of the CalSTRS or CalPERS retirement funds; and

**Whereas**, several European countries have successfully introduced these types of financial transactions taxes; and

Whereas, multiple bills have been introduced in the U.S. Congress to create a financial transaction tax, **Therefore, be it resolved**, that the California Federation of Teachers call on our elected officials to propose legislation to create a speculation reduction tax, or what is often called a financial transactions tax at the federal level.

## Support statewide movement for public education funding, charter school reform, and class size reduction

**Whereas**, PreK-14 per pupil spending, which relies on state funding, has since 1978 declined from the top 10 in the nation to the bottom 10; and

**Whereas**, school funding in California is \$3,400 per pupil below the national average, while California's cost of living is among the highest in the nation; and

Whereas, the discrepancies between salary and the cost of living prevent many teachers and staff from living in the communities they serve and prevent school districts from retaining high-quality educators; and Whereas, California faces a teacher shortage that threatens the quality of public education throughout the state; and

Whereas, public schools in California face significant challenges to provide an equitable, quality education for a student population with vast differences in language, income, parental education level, and other social, economic, and educational factors; and

Whereas, special education services have not been fully-funded in school districts due to the growing number of students requiring special education services, along with the rising costs associated with those services, and the lack of mandated federal and state financial support for those services; and

Whereas, all schools and students deserve fully funded support, including but not limited to quality early childhood education programs, lower class size, lower special education caseloads, additional support staff, after-school tutoring, counselors, nurses, certificated librarians, and other resources to address our students' academic, emotional, and social needs, schools and students with the highest need should receive additional funding and support; and

Whereas, research has proven that investments in high-needs students raise achievement levels, reduce poverty, and support human development; and

Whereas, Proposition 13 contains a loophole that for decades has undertaxed commercial property, resulting in the drastic underfunding of public education and social services; and

Whereas, the California Schools and Local Communities Funding Act initiative would close this loophole and provide at least \$4.5 billion annually for K-14 schools and another \$5.5 billion to needed social services; and

Whereas, the California Schools and Local Communities Funding Act would provide funding to all school districts, over and above Proposition 98 funding, following the Local Control Funding Formula to support all students in all districts with unduplicated students; and

Whereas, the California Schools and Local Communities Funding Act will also provide billions in funding yearly for cities, counties, and special districts in locally controlled revenues for parks, public safety, housing, infrastructure, health and human services, libraries and the environment; and

Whereas, inadequately regulated charter schools, privately run increasingly by for-profit management organizations, drain needed resources from neighborhood schools, are not fully transparent in their operations, and fail to provide equal access to all students; and

**Whereas**, California Education Code Sections 41376 and 41378 prescribe the maximum class sizes and penalties for districts with any classes that exceed these limits:

- Kindergarten—average class size not to exceed 31 students; no class larger than 33 students;
- Grades 1 through 3—average class size not to exceed 30 students; no class larger than 32 students;

• Grades 4 through 8—in the current fiscal year, the average number of students per teacher not to exceed the greater of 29.9; and

Whereas, quality instruction for all students depends on limiting the number of students in a class and lowering class sizes improves teaching and learning conditions leading to growth in student achievement and positive social interactions;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action including participation in the May 22<sup>nd</sup> rally in Sacramento for the California Schools and Local Communities Funding Act ballot measure in 2020; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate for the funding of public education at a rate of \$20,000 per pupil, and to support wages that address California's high cost of living for all workers serving students in order to address our state's teacher and support personnel shortage; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate for significant increases in federal special education funding to fully fund California's portion of the special education mandate; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate for a system of effective oversight and accountability measures for existing California charter schools; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to enact a temporary ban on charter schools to create the time and space to investigate and root out issues of private gain, conflict of interest, lack of financial transparency, inequity in service to students, civil rights, and more; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate, for enacting measures to limit the average class size in every district of California to 24:1 in grades K-8, with no class larger than 26, and 26:1, with no class larger than 28 in all classes other than physical education and music as of 2019-20; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges its locals to mobilize members with community allies in vibrant campaigns, combined with non-violent direct action, and urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate for adequate support, including training, for restorative justice programs in schools as an alternative to punitive disciplinary programs; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT reaffirm its endorsement of the California Schools and Local Communities Funding Act ballot measure in 2020; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT affirms that supporting the full funding of public education must be a top priority of the California Legislature and of the governor; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges the governor and Legislature to strenuously advocate for significant increases in federal special education funding, to fully fund California's portion of the special education mandate, and to make meaningful special education reforms; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges the governor and Legislature to support wages that address California's high cost of living for all workers serving California students to address this state's teacher and support personnel shortage; and

**Be it finally resolved**, that the CFT will report to locals in writing on the progress of this resolution every six months through the end of 2020.

Submitted by the Special Education Committee and Berkeley Federation of Teachers, Local 1078

## Close the UC wage theft loophole

Whereas, public sector workers are currently exempt from California wage and hour law under §220 of the Labor Code, and when workers are not paid for regular or overtime work, employers are not subject to penalty by the State Department of Labor Standards and Enforcement; and

**Whereas**, University Council-AFT faculty regularly perform research and service work that the University of California deems "voluntary" and refuses to adequately compensate for; and

Whereas, such putatively voluntary work is often required, clearly expected, and/or the only path to reappointment, advancement, and promotion; and

Whereas, the UC benefits from the fruit of this labor and the distinction, prestige, and institutional excellence it generates; and

**Whereas**, UC-AFT members are the victims of other forms of wage theft, for example, receiving only 0.33 of a full-time salary for an appointment at one-third of full-time; and

Whereas, in the wake of UC's transition to a centralized personnel and human resources system (UC PATH), the UC has failed to issue paychecks to and/or deduct union dues from many workers represented by UC-AFT and other UC unions, thus depriving them of fair wages, and the current law has failed to provide any recourse for these victims of wage theft; and

Whereas, UC-AFT is combatting UC PATH wage theft in coalition with UAW, Local 2865, which represents academic student employees, and other UC unions because all UC workers need enhanced legal protections in light of UC's egregious failure to comply with wage and hour law; and

Whereas, UAW 2865 has sponsored AB 673 (Carrillo) and SB 698 (Leyva) to address these issues; Therefore, be it resolved, that the CFT join with other UC unions in coalition to support, AB 673 (Carrillo) and SB 698 (Leyva) and lobby for an end to exempting the UC from California's wage and hour protections; and

**Be it further resolved,** to support these two bills in the current session and pursue further additional steps at a later time.

Submitted by the University Council-AFT

## School safety: Include lockdown kits in classrooms

Whereas, the safety of the faculty, staff and students is of utmost importance; and Whereas, lockdowns are becoming more common and can last for hours with no facilities for sanitation; and Whereas, in the event of an emergency or lockdown, educators become disaster service workers (California Education Code, Sections 3100-3109) and are expected to serve the institution and students; and Whereas, the recent events of December 18, 2018, when two Orange County schools were locked down and January 15, 2019, when Citrus College was locked down and no one could leave their classroom for over five hours:

**Therefore, be it resolved,** that the CFT support an amendment to the California Education Code to include lockdown kits with enough supplies for each student and each adult in the classroom to last at least twelve hours as well as for all offices located on the campus where instruction takes place. These supplies must address both sanitation and nutritional needs in every EC/TK–14 classroom and office where there is instruction.

Submitted by the Part-Time Faculty Committee

## Support affordable housing for educators and classified professionals

Whereas, educator and classified professional pay has not kept pace with inflation and the cost of living; and

Whereas, there are school closures and schools far below capacity; and

Whereas, there are school districts with a surplus of property; and

Whereas, districts statewide are experiencing a teacher shortage; and

Whereas, educators and classified professionals often cannot afford to live in the communities in which they work; and

Whereas, educators and classified professionals that live in the communities they serve are more apt to build relationships with families, continue their employment in the community, and become members of the community;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the CFT support or sponsor legislation that would ease restrictive permitting processes and offer incentives to school districts to convert district-owned surplus property into one hundred percent affordable housing specified for educators and classified professionals.

Submitted by the EC/TK-12 Council

## In support of a Green New Deal

Whereas, the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has determined humanity has 12 years to act to avert the worst effects of a climate catastrophe; and

Whereas, climate change poses an immediate and long-term threat to all working people, our communities and our economic security; and

Whereas, workers, communities of color and low-income people suffer disproportionately from environmental degradation and climate change; and

Whereas, climate change is already harming working families and vulnerable populations through extreme hurricanes, wildfire, drought and flooding, increased stress on the agricultural sector, health impacts like heat stroke and the spread of infectious diseases; and

Whereas, without taking concrete action now to address the climate crisis, the well-being and economic future of generations of people will be severely and irreversibly jeopardized; and

Whereas, young climate activists in the Sunrise Movement, Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and other members of Congress have successfully put the Green New Deal at the center of national discussion about how to address both the climate crisis and our historic level of economic inequality; and Whereas, if climate action is to address inequality, the labor movement must be at the center of shaping climate policies to include just transition for workers, expand collective bargaining rights and create green union careers, particularly in disadvantaged communities; and

Whereas, workers in existing jobs, including firefighters, nurses, construction workers, public transit workers, many in the public sector, and many more are already mitigating the health and environmental effects of climate change, preparing our infrastructure for sea level rise, and advancing California's clean energy economy through a variety of ways; and

**Whereas**, with the support of the State Building and Construction Trades Council of California, AFL-CIO, California has adopted a goal of 100 percent renewable and zero-carbon electricity and has demonstrated that clean energy industries can create good, middle class jobs when linked with collective bargaining agreements; and

Whereas, the AFT, the Service Employees International Union, the California Nurses Association, the Labor Network for Sustainability, the Blue Green Alliance, and other labor organizations and their community allies have passed resolutions and/or supported bold policies to address the climate crisis and other pressing environmental issues; and

Whereas, the CFT climate justice resolution committing CFT to a "Climate Justice Agenda" commits CFT to "Push for bold new political and policy initiatives that move beyond lip service to effectively address the two great issues of our age—historic economic inequality and climate change"; and Whereas, our students will be living in a world that we are leaving them, we as educators bear a direct responsibility to help them understand that world and its challenges, especially climate change and economic inequality, and conceptualizing a Green New Deal can be an important part of their education; Therefore, be it resolved, that the CFT work with local school districts and other organizations as appropriate to educate students about climate change, economic inequality, and potential solutions to these problems such as a Green New Deal; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports a Green New Deal funded by progressive taxes on the rich such as the wealth tax proposed by Sen. Elizabeth Warren and the increase on top marginal tax rates for the wealthy to 70-80 percent as advocated by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports a Green New Deal that expands collective bargaining and ensures the creation of union jobs through card check neutrality agreements, prevailing wages, project labor agreements, enacting the provisions of the Employee Free Choice Act and requiring direct partnerships with joint labor-management apprenticeship programs; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports the climate jobs guarantee as part of the Green New Deal; and **Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports a Green New Deal prioritizing projects, union career opportunities and investments in working class, low-income and communities of color historically and disproportionate impacted by pollution, high unemployment, poverty and environmental injustice; and **Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports a Green New Deal that includes a fair and equitable Just Transition for workers impacted by a transitioning economy including a fund to provide severance packages, lifetime income, free education, and family healthcare; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports a Green New Deal that includes Buy America provisions; and **Be it finally resolved**, that the CFT will advocate for a Green New Deal in concert with our environmental allies, community partners, and elected representatives.

Submitted by the Labor and Climate Justice Education Committee

## Oppose attack on transgender and intersex people

Whereas, the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) recently leaked a memo that indicates an attempt to deny transgender people protection under the law; and

Whereas, the memo sends a chilling message that the existence and identity of transgender people is not recognized by the government, and deepens ongoing attacks on the civil rights of all citizens, documented immigrants, and undocumented people; and

Whereas, the memo may have further negative impacts on the rights of other groups, including intersex people; and

**Whereas**, the memo compounds the threats already facing unions and union members in the form expansion of right to work laws and the recent *Janus v. AFSCME* Supreme Court ruling; and **Whereas**, CFT membership includes a broad cross section of members representing diverse gender identities; and

Whereas, as educators, we seek to provide an inclusive educational experience for our students, and so it is imperative that we stand for the well-being and rights of transgender, intersex, and gender non-conforming members of our communities; and

Whereas, standing by transgender communities impacted by the recent announcement is aligned with our aims to promote the welfare of students and educators and the advancement of public education in the public interest; and

Whereas, the DHHS proposal represents a challenge to the central principle of the labor movement: that unions stand for dignity, rights and equality for all workers; and

Whereas, the memo promotes a broader context of transphobia and a climate of fear that makes our tasks of organizing and building power with our members even more difficult; and

Whereas, the memo is a threat to worker solidarity across job categories, between unions and for all genders, ethnicities, races and abilities;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the California Federation of Teachers condemns in the strongest terms the leaked Department of Health and Human Services memo targeting transgender communities; and Be it further resolved, that as union members who fight to protect our coworkers, our families and our communities, we oppose threats to transgender people expressed in the leaked memo, and we stand in solidarity with all LGBTQ people who may be experiencing heightened stress and forms of harassment and discrimination at this time; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT asserts it is up to us as unionized educators to make a clear statement that the rights, safety, and well-being of transgender people is a labor rights issue, and one to which the labor movement needs to swiftly respond; and

**Be it finally resolved**, that the CFT will request and recommend that the AFT take a position affirming the rights of transgender people and condemning the federal government's ongoing attacks on the civil rights of transgender people and communities.

## Support statewide movement for student equity: End stigma of lifelong labels by using People First Language

Whereas, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) states that "Special Education is a service, not a place;" and

Whereas, as their Project Based Learning (PBL) project, students from El Rancho High School in Pico Rivera have requested the removal of any special education label, while increasing rigorous A-G curriculum coursework, academic awards upon graduation, and preparation for continuing education; and

Whereas, El Rancho High School students exposed their true selves only to be told that speaking from the heart was good but not enough, and they needed to go back and learn how many students supported through the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) or Individual Education Programs (IEPs) have been helped and why services were created; and

Whereas, El Rancho High School students were not asked how the label has limited their education or social existence but they explored this topic with their peers through their PBL project; and

Whereas, Parker Palmer states in his book, A Hidden Wholeness: The Journey Toward An Undivided Life, Welcoming the Soul and Weaving Community in a Wounded World (2004): "...individuals hide behind a wall in order for others not to see their true self"; and

Whereas, students supported through the ADA or IEP have been told by teachers, peers, and family members they are dumb, lazy, or stupid, succumbing to the belief they are special; and

Whereas, students supported through the ADA or IEP have not only been segregated or isolated from the general education population in classes and campus locations including separate schools or wings, but also from social circles due to their special label; and

Whereas, labels have become a stigma that identify an individual as less than normal, not only during their K-12 education, but the stigma can also last a lifetime, altering an individual's self-image and future possibilities; and

Whereas, students who are labeled experience limited future options due to classes offered, low expectations, socio-emotional mindset, and the failure to self-advocate; and

Whereas, intellectual disability labels such as mentally retarded, moron, idiot, imbecile, cretin, and mentally challenged have been eliminated; and

Whereas, according to Office of Special Education, Rosa's Law (<u>Pub. L. 111-256</u>), signed in 2010, amended sections of the IDEA, and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended (Rehabilitation Act), by removing the words "mental retardation" and replacing them with the words "intellectual disability" or "intellectual disabilities"; and

Whereas, many students who have been labeled due to behaviors have average or above average IQs; and Whereas, many students with undiagnosed dyslexia have average or above average IQs are supported through the ADA or IEP not as a result of their diverse abilities and/or unique needs but as a result of the educational system's failure to provide appropriate curriculum instruction; and

Whereas, many schools focus on trying to remediate a student's perceived deficits instead of strengthening the student's abilities; and

Whereas, all students need support throughout their K-12 educational journey and all students have a right to educational equity; and

Whereas, students should not be defined by their diverse abilities and/or unique needs, medical diagnoses, or physical or socio-emotional barriers; and

Whereas, the "special needs" descriptor is used as an insult and creates a stigma and with the realization that any word used to label can lead to negative consequences; and

Whereas, according to the Texas Council for Developmental Disabilities "in an effort to end discrimination and segregation—in employment, education and our communities at large…it is important to eliminate prejudicial language"; and

Whereas, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reports that "People First Language is used to speak appropriately and respectfully about an individual with a disability. People First Language emphasizes the person first not the disability"; and

Whereas, the use of People First Language originated in the early 1970s by adults with developmental disabilities in the People First/Self-Advocacy Movement and reflects the belief that people with disabilities are not their disabilities, but each is a person first, and People First Language is more than a fad or political correctness; and

Whereas, according to Kathie Snow, considered the gold standard on this topic, "People First Language is not political correctness; instead, it demonstrates good manners, respect, the Golden Rule, and more—it can change the way we see a person, and it can change the way a people sees themselves!"; and Whereas, Snow supports the El Rancho High School students and the CFT to remove labels, and Whereas, the CFT acknowledges and supports the removal of the labeling; of students, teachers, and classrooms with the adoption and promotion of educational equity through the use of People First Language;

**Therefore, be it resolved**, that the California Federation of Teachers adopt the use of People First Language in all documents, departments, and identification of students, teachers, and classrooms thus supporting the removal of stigmas and lifelong labels for individuals supported through the ADA or an IEP; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT urges other organizations to adopt similar verbiage supporting the removal of stigmas and lifelong labels for all individuals; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT will continuously challenge any derogatory associations that describe a disability before the person; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports the El Rancho High School students for their self-advocacy in eliminating stigmas and lifelong labels associated with special education verbiage; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT believes the ultimate goal is for all individuals to live in a society where no wall divides and where no one needs to hide behind their true self. Living in the shadows of others can hinder a person's full potential; and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT believes in the right of all individuals to define who they are; and **Be it further resolved**, that the CFT supports educational equity for all students; and **Be it finally resolved**, that the CFT supports the removal of labels that do not alter in any way federal funding or accommodated services through the ADA or IEPs.

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## Oppose Trump administration's "Zero Tolerance" immigration policy that separates families at U.S.-Mexico border

Whereas, the U.S. Department of Justice has adopted a "Zero Tolerance" policy toward individuals apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border, which calls for the criminal prosecution of all migrants entering the U.S. outside of ports of entry; and

Whereas, this "prosecution-first" mentality is costly, unnecessarily punitive, and is harming family units; and Whereas, on June 19, 2018, Trump administration officials confirmed that 2,342 children have been separated from their parents at the U.S.-Mexico border between May 5 and June 9, 2018 (an average of 65 children each day) in compliance with this policy; and

Whereas, a January 2019 report found that thousands more unreported immigrant children were separated from their families in 2017 in which inadequate records prevent these children from being returned to their families; and

Whereas, "forced family segregation" and the intentional infliction of injury to children are reprehensible and contrary to American values; and

Whereas, the Trump administration's far-reaching "Zero Tolerance" policy which separates children and their families is threatening the moral core of our nation; and

Whereas, many of the affected families are fleeing violence in their home countries and it is inhumane to punish them for seeking asylum in the U.S.; and

Whereas, immigrants claiming refugee status have a right under U.S. law to due process; and Whereas, the United Nations has taken a position that the "Zero Tolerance" policy violates international law; and

**Whereas**, although on June 20, 2018, President Donald Trump signed an executive order that stops separating families at the U.S.-Mexico border, the order does not reunite families who have already been separated, and allows for the indefinite detention of children with their parents; and

Whereas, the federal government has deemed the reunification of separated children are too costly and burdensome; and

Therefore, be it resolved, that the California Federation of Teachers urges Congress to take action immediately to ensure that the Department of Justice and the Department of Homeland Security are prohibited from separating children from their families at the border and from the indefinite detention of children with their parents, and to immediately appropriate the necessary funds to unify those children who have been separated with their parent(s); and

**Be it further resolved**, that the CFT forward a copy of this resolution to the AFT Convention, President Trump, acting U.S. Attorney General Mathew Whitaker, and U.S. Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen.

## Oppose Trump's transgender military ban

**Whereas**, it is estimated that there are over 15,000 members of our armed forces who are transgender, and a RAND study concluded that allowing members of the transgender community to serve would not impact unit cohesion, operational effectiveness, or readiness; and

Whereas, notwithstanding the willingness of these transgender troops to voluntarily serve in the military, President Donald Trump decided, on the 69th anniversary of President Truman's order to integrate the military, that these soldiers can no longer serve in our armed forces; and

Whereas, in January 2019 the Supreme Court ruled that the transgender military ban would go into effect; Therefore, be it resolved, that the California Federation of Teachers condemn the arbitrary, divisive, and discriminatory decision by President Donald Trump to ban members of the transgender community from serving in the United States military; and

**Be it further resolved**, that copies of this resolution be delivered to President Donald Trump, current Secretary of Defense, current Senate Armed Forces Chair, current House Armed Forces Chair, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Roberts.

## Support migrant refugee caravans and end "Remain in Mexico" asylum policy

Whereas, for decades, Central American migrants have been forced to leave their countries of origin, refugees of wars, natural disasters, extreme poverty, lack of jobs and opportunities, and rampant gang violence. These conditions have become even more acute over the past few years, and have been fostered by a history of extremist and repressive right-wing militarist regimes supported or managed by the U.S. government; and Whereas, the numbers of refugees granted asylum are extremely low for Central American and Mexican immigrants, and Trump's policies have made qualifying for asylum even more difficult. However, this has not and will not deter countless people from seeking asylum for their opportunity to live in the United States in relative safety while seeking asylum in U.S. courts; and

Whereas, in the past year, "migrant caravans" or mass marches of refugees walking collectively from Central America across Mexico to the United States have become larger and gained more attention. These caravans are and will continue to be a popular, reasonable, option at a low cost to more safely and successfully make the journey to the United States. Millions of people across the world have followed the caravans' marches with overwhelming support; and

Whereas, when he took office, the recently elected President of Mexico, Manuel Lopez Obrador, accepted Trump's unilateral "Remain in Mexico" policy. This policy is aimed at holding immigrants seeking asylum in the United States back in Mexico while their asylum claims are "processed" by the U.S. government. This policy is an illegal and unprecedented change from contemporary international human rights practices; and

Whereas, the "Remain in Mexico" policy will make it virtually impossible for refugees to be granted asylum in the United States. They will be forced to remain in border cities or communities in Mexico while awaiting their asylum-seeking process in court rather than with family or other sponsors in the United States; and Whereas, since spring of 2018, when caravans from Central America arrived at the Mexico-U.S. border, U.S. border officials and Immigration Customs Enforcement have maintained the bottleneck policy of processing only 40-100 applicants a day. With thousands of migrants seeking asylum at the border, it will take months, or even years, for many migrants to even apply for asylum, much less wait for their applications to be heard in court. They could end up waiting in Mexico for even more years; and Whereas, this new policy will also increase the creation of a number of permanent immigrant refugee camps across the border from Baja California-California in the west, to the Tamaulipas-Texas section in the east, leaving thousands and thousands of immigrants vulnerable to all the adversities and lack of resources that are so commonly known along the border;

Whereas, the CFT has stood unequivocally in opposition to Trump's anti-immigrant attacks and in support of immigrant students, families, and communities.

**Therefore, be it resolved,** the California Federation of Teachers supports the migrant refugee caravans and calls for the right of all in the caravans to be quickly admitted into the United States to apply for and process their asylum claims; and

**Be it further resolved,** the CFT opposes the "Remain in Mexico" policy and the creation of immigrant concentration camps on the Mexico-U.S. border.