Nancy Weiss Hanrahan (Orcid ID: 0000-0002-1993-0000)

"Who else is gonna do it if we don't?" Gender, education and the crisis of care in the 2018 West Virginia teachers' strike

Nancy Weiss Hanrahan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, George Mason University

Sarah Amsler, School of Education, University of Nottingham

Author Bios:
Nancy Weiss Hanrahan is Associate Professor of Sociology and former Director of Women and Gender Studies at George Mason University (USA). Her research specializations are in feminist theory and politics, and critical theories of culture.

Sarah Amsler's research and teaching focus on pedagogies of possibility and hope, problems of coloniality in knowledge and educational practice, and education and social movements. She is an Associate Professor of Education at the University of Nottingham (UK) and a member of the Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures collective.

Acknowledgements: We are grateful to the teachers who shared their time, experience and knowledge upon which this paper is grounded; to research assistants Samantha Retrosi for skillfully mapping the terrain and Leijia Hanrahan for astute theoretical and editorial contributions; and to George Mason University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences and the School of Education, University of Nottingham, for funding and supporting the research.

Research data for this study are not shared.

We have no known conflict of interest to disclose..

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Nancy Weiss Hanrahan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA. Email: nhanraha@gmu.edu

“Who else is gonna do it if we don’t?” Gender, education and the crisis of care in the 2018 West Virginia teachers’ strike

Nancy Weiss Hanrahan, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, George Mason University

Sarah Amsler, School of Education, University of Nottingham

Abstract: In 2018, a sequence of powerful education strikes and work stoppages across the United States sent shock waves through the country’s public education system. This eruption of collective workers’ organization was strongly led by women teachers responding to the current crisis of care, demanding resources, dignity and justice for themselves, the children they teach, and their communities. While mainstream reports often represent these actions as traditional labor and/or feminist struggles, our research demonstrates that they were sites of more nuanced response to “care extraction” in education, and for understanding how constructions of gender and gender injustice both gave rise to the strikes and shaped their unfolding. Drawing on in-depth interviews with ten teacher-activists who participated in the West Virginia strikes, we examine how teachers’ labor is being transformed in a context of post-industrial austerity, illustrate the complex political identity of the strike actions, and explore the relationship between specific constructions of gendered labor and collective organizing in US public education today.

Keywords: crisis of care; education strike; gender; West Virginia; women’s movements

Introduction

"Unpacking the concept of "care work"…challenges us to think critically about a number of broad social questions, and categories that are often taken for granted, such as state, family, economics, value, and even love." (Lagalisse, 2019)

"This movement was and is about respect, about quality of life, about love." (Salfia, 2018)

In 2018, a sequence of powerful strike actions and work stoppages by educators and school communities across the United States sent shock waves through the country's public education system. They were responses to a constellation of struggles that have been gripping public education since the 1980s, including the increasing imposition of educational privatization and corporatization, the defunding of education, repressive standardization, high-stakes professional accountability regimes and, as discussed in this paper, an intensifying 'crisis of care' (Fraser 2016; Fuller & Stevenson, 2019; Leachman, Masterson & Figuroa, 2017; Sahlberg, 2016). Fallout from the 2008 economic crisis increased the already considerable strain on teachers and schools, throwing public education into a state of emergency that has driven educators to the streets. Of the 485,000 workers who went on strike in the US in 2018, 370,000 (over 75%) were teachers demanding not only a living wage and affordable health care for themselves, but the provision of basic services for students, families and communities who are in psychological, economic and social crisis (Bouleanu, 2019). The national wave of education strikes began in West Virginia, followed by Arizona, Oklahoma and Kentucky, and in cities such as Oakland, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

While strikes and stoppages are regular features of US public education history, this "Education Spring" and its descendent actions have captured North American political imaginations. They demonstrated "an intensity and scale of self-activity and organization of workers we have not seen in the US in decades," as Lois Weiner (2018) argues, and reanimated hopes for the construction of a new cross-political-party "mass working-class politics" in education and beyond (Blanc, 2019). For some, the teacher walkouts are a clearly "feminist issue" (Klein, 2018; Lennard, 2018; Kelly, 2019; Gallagher, 2020) which suggest that "teachers and fed-up women are driving American politics" (Ball, 2018). Above all, the actions were personally and collectively significant for the educators – largely women who are teachers – who transgressed economic, emotional and physical "breaking points" to demand basic social care, dignity and justice for themselves, the children they teach, and their communities. In the words of one teacher-activist and writer, they were for everyone "who deserves better" and "can't be silent" about the violence of capitalist extraction, exploitation and privatization, and about intensifying relations of racial and gender injustice (Catte, 2018, p. 114).

In this paper, we examine what the West Virginia teachers' strike of 2018 reveals about the transformation of educational labor in a context of post-industrial austerity, illustrate the complex political identity of the strike actions, and explore the relationship between specific constructions of gender and collective labor organizing in US public education today. Our attention to the nuanced ways in which gender is experienced and woven into narratives about women's labor,

responsibility for the care of children and communities, and political forms of organizing and expression troubles singular definitions of the strikes as instances of either working class or anti-austerity politics. The West Virginia teachers' strike took place not in the factory, the terrain of traditional labor strikes, nor in the street, as have recent women's strikes against austerity and gender-based violence, but in a specific institutional setting with its own history of gendered labor, identity and power relations. In exploring the ways in which professional educators who do not simply identify as either 'feminist' or 'political' organized for their own dignity and for the care of others, the research broadens our view of the tapestry of women's struggles against the extraction of care.

Methodology

Our analysis is based on a qualitative interview-based study that we conducted with ten teachers and organizers in West Virginia in June 2019, all of whom identify as women, who were active in this struggle.

Sampling and recruitment

We recruited the participants through a two-stage process of first purposefully contacting individuals who had written about the strike in media and been interviewed or mentioned by journalists reporting on the strike, and then extending the invitation to contribute to networks they shared with us. Participants completed and returned a consent form prior to the interview. All participants wished to be personally identified in this paper; their full names and relevant professional roles are listed in Table 1 (see Appendix).

Design and data collection

We structured the research using a standard semi-structured interview framework containing a series of questions designed to facilitate conversation around three major themes: their experiences as teachers in relation to social reproduction and care, practices of political organizing and knowledge production, and gender. We also asked each participant at least one question related to their specific role, location or perspective. The in-person interviews lasted between ninety minutes and three hours and were held in places recommended by participants. With participants' written permission, we audio recorded, transcribed and annotated the interviews with contextual data using NVivo software for qualitative data analysis.

Data analysis

We analyzed the interviews using combined methods of immersive and iterative reading (reading each transcript as it was completed and then later as a body of data) and multi-coder inductive thematization. The latter process involved three stages. First, each author independently ascribed descriptive and interpretive codes to the interviews, using the original research questions as a guide while being open to emerging themes. Second, we discussed our individual coding decisions, cross-verified and modified our lists, and created a working

database of approximately fifty codes pertaining to economic, social and political context; educators' political practices; educators' roles and responsibilities; and educators' lived experiences. Finally, we collaboratively theorized the themes in relation to both our original research questions and existing research in the field, paying particular attention to the ways in which emergent insights from the interviews had refined or reoriented these questions. This interpretive methodology ultimately shifted our attention away from our original preoccupation with women's activism against patriarchal capitalism towards a more nuanced exploration of how women who do not explicitly identify as either 'feminist' or 'political' professionally organize to defend conditions of social reproduction and care in a context of neoliberal austerity.

This approach affirms the importance of listening to teachers' stories about what it feels like, requires and means to valorize the "all-encompassing work" of being an educator in the US state of West Virginia (Hilliard, 2018, p. 81), as women's experiential wisdom and reflection-in-practice sharpen our understanding of these issues.

This West Virginia-based research also specifically highlights the impact on organizing of local histories of capitalist extractivism (coal mining), labor struggle (of miners and educators), intergenerational class consciousness, and kinship and community relationships. West Virginia was the site of both the 1921 'Battle of Blair Mountain', the United States' largest post-Civil War miner-led labor insurrection, and a major state-wide teachers' strike in 1990. A sense of responsibility for this tradition of struggle played an active role in many of our participants' involvement in the 2018 strike. As one from Mingo County, WV remarked:

> "We were the first to go out. If we go out this time, other people are going to follow us. Like it's our responsibility. That word was used, like people over and over – people here felt like it was our responsibility to lead the way. And a lot of that came from our history, you know, and the 1990 strike […] My husband's father was a coal miner. Her [pointing to another woman] husband; you know, we all have history with somebody that went on strike in the coal mines. But on top of that, if you're a teacher, you have history with somebody that was on the line in 1990. So you have all of this history, Battle of Blair mountain, you know – like it's just in our DNA." [KE]

This history, as well as contextual factors such as rural poverty, addiction and the ongoing US opiod crisis, add nuance to the ways in which the 2018 West Virginia strike has often been represented in media and scholarship. They are also important in understanding teachers' resistance to having their experiences folded into theoretical narratives, movements and campaigns with which they do not identify. For example, as teacher Emily Comer writes, it has been particularly frustrating that "many well-meaning liberal and progressive folks around the country are so focused on party politics that they lose sight of real people and what's actually important to us" (2018, p. 102). In this light, we acknowledge that this paper is also an outsider's attempt to "better understand the mechanics of the strike and the issues that compelled it" through hearing the perspectives of the teachers themselves (Catte 2018, p. 114). In response to their critique and invitation to interpret the testimonies otherwise, we hope that this paper uplifts their experiences of defending the health, dignity and futures of their students while

struggling against their own exploitation and making the problem of *care extractivism* visible in US public education and political life.

The 2018 education strikes in public imagination

"*Dignity and respect are the root cause of every serious labor struggle. . . .This point seemed lost on much of the media that covered the [West Virginia education] strike. No matter how many times workers talked about defending public education and expanding quality schools, the press focused on just two issues: health insurance and a raise."* (McAlevey, 2018)

Despite the fact that education has been a political battleground for social and particularly racial equality throughout US history (Shelton, 2017, p.14), mainstream reports of the 2018 strikes tended to represent them as traditional labor struggles. Educators themselves often frame their own demands for improvements in pay, contractual duties, pensions and working conditions in compliance with narrow regulations governing the scope of collective bargaining. However, since 2010 there has been a noticeable shift in how strikes are discursively justified and organized, towards "bargaining for the common good" (Will, 2019). This was evident in reports from Chicago (2012) and West Virginia (2018), where striking teachers explicitly tied their demands for decent pay to the needs of children and communities whose lives have been disrupted, put at risk or damaged by market-based approaches to educational problems, claiming that it's "not just about the money" and that "teaching conditions are our students' learning conditions".

Such "narratives of care" which frame union demands not in terms of worker self-interest but the needs of children and communities date back to the social justice-oriented unionism of the 1960s and 1970s (Brickner, 2016, p. 19). Now often referred to as *social unionism*, such discourses have resurfaced in response to twenty-first century neoliberal education policies in the US. The 2012 Chicago teachers' strike that particularly inspired the new wave of educational activism across the US drew on the experiences of Black women educators who historically sustained "dual struggles - advocating for themselves as Black public service workers and on behalf of the predominantly Black students and communities they served" (Todd-Breland, 2018, 2019). Some were active in the Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE), a grassroots organization that assumed leadership of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) in 2010, launching a campaign to defend public education against privatization and the closing or defunding of Black neighborhood schools.

The CTU and CORE also organized the 2012 Chicago teachers' strike, making an effort to shift from a largely economic discourse towards a political one (Ashby & Bruno, 2016). Although legally they could not strike over learning conditions, "their primary message was never about money" but "for the soul of public education" (p. 202). Shuffelton (2014, p. 29) notes, "on the picket lines, I heard a distinct shift from the language of psychology to that of politics. Teachers who, in routine school-parent communications, had expressed their plans for children entirely in terms of emotional intelligence, learning styles, and other scientistic discourses, were suddenly talking about injustice."

This discursive shift lends weight to their interpretation as not only working-class politics (Blanc, 2019; Parfitt, 2018; French, 2019) but also broader struggles over 'social reproduction'. This concept is rooted in the work of Marxist-feminist scholars who argued in the 1970s that women's unwaged domestic labor typified in the figure of the 'housewife' (Dalla Costa & James, 1972) was not *outside* work but central to the production of value in capitalist systems and the reproduction of labor power. In this perspective, the activities of biological reproduction, preparing food, raising and educating children, maintaining households and communities are forms of labor which, although erased in much Marxist theory, make primary production and the extraction of surplus value possible.

This paper does not address debates in either autonomous Marxist-feminist or Marxian variants of social reproduction theory (see Griffiths, 2020 for a fuller treatment). However, the concept of social reproduction allows us to theorize educational work within a global context of neoliberal policies, austerity and environmental degradation that has eroded the capacities of working people to reproduce even their own subsistence. As Nancy Fraser (2016, p. 100) argues, "every form of capitalist society harbors a deep-seated social reproductive 'crisis tendency' or contradiction: on the one hand, social reproduction is a condition of possibility for sustained capital accumulation; on the other, capitalism's orientation to unlimited accumulation tends to destabilize the very processes of social reproduction on which it relies."

Some analysts situate the education strikes as part of this crisis of social reproduction and suggest that organizing around it has the potential to articulate a more grassroots, intersectional working-class women's politics. According to Griffiths (2018), for example,

> Women and others in education, in health and other paid sectors doing the work of social reproduction find themselves at an untenable crossroads. That is why they must be and are now leaders in working class struggle. The increasing demands of their jobs intersect with increasing pressures at home and in their communities in such a way that makes it evident to them that not only are their personal standards of living at stake, but so is their ability to educate, to heal, to parent and to participate in their families and communities.

Bhattacharya (2019) presents a similar analysis, seeing localized actions as threads in a "global tapestry of teachers strikes" against austerity politics and the social reproduction crisis generally, in which teachers "combine wage and workplace demands with calls for increased public spending on social services." (Arruzza, Bhattacharya, & Fraser, 2019, p. 116).

Yet just as a lens of working class politics cannot fully capture what was at stake in these strikes, neither do frameworks of women's activism or resistance to austerity and neoliberal restructuring wholly suffice (eg: Jenkins and Rondon, 2015; Fotaki and Daskalaki, 2020). Our interviewees returned again and again to the clarification that these were *education* struggles first and foremost and that they drew heavily on *local* traditions of both organized labor and community organizing. They were interested in, but did not make the connection between, their

strike actions and broader anti-austerity politics; nor were most comfortable assuming that they were participating in a 'women's' politics of any kind. As Bhattacharya (2018) also notes, many women educators striking in West Virginia distanced themselves from feminist theories and identities, while being aware that gender injustice both gave rise to the strikes and shaped their unfolding. In addition, while there was solidarity among educators as a professional group vis-à-vis their state employers, significant political differences among strike participants remained. Rather than fitting the strikes into existing paradigms, our analysis expands these frames and offers new interpretations of the complexities of women's identities and modes of political struggle.

Towards a more grounded framework for analyzing women's experiences of the 2018 US education strikes

We found that a more grounded framework was needed to understand the gendered and localized complexities of the caring, pedagogical and political labor that underpinned the strikes. Our analysis focused on three tasks, briefly outlined here and elaborated in a discussion of insights from our interviews below.

The first is to understand how the labor of teachers is being transformed in the context of post-industrial austerity. This requires our enlarging the lens of the social reproduction crisis to explore how it unfolds specifically in *educational* settings. For while schools and teachers are a ground zero where the effects of capitalist social policy, austerity budgeting and responsibilities for the care of children and communities meet, they remain poorly accounted for in social reproduction *theory* (see, e.g., Bhattacharya 2019). Little recent work in this field, for example, attends to education except either as one of various "public services" that keep a (welfare state) society's working-class alive and produce the "value of labor power" (Oran, 2019, p. 161), or a source of women's employment (Mohandesi & Teitelman, 2019, p. 61). Located at the intersection of state, community, economy and family, schools transgress a binary that social reproduction theory tends to impose between activities of primary production and social reproduction. The theory often struggles to account for institutions such as schools that have *public* functions in addition to being sites of capitalist labor. In addition, while it acknowledges the gendered nature of reproductive activities, the theory rarely analyzes the contradictory ways that gendered norms shape the thinking and practice of teachers who perform this labor. These omissions call for a fuller analysis of the gendered transformations of both labor and collective action within US public schools.

The second task is to find appropriate names for the political identity of the strike actions. Much reporting on the teachers' strikes as referenced above is enthusiastic about the strike as a mechanism for reviving working-class politics. The teachers we interviewed, however, were skeptical of attempts to interpret the strikes as elements of other political movements (working-class, socialist, anti-austerity, or feminist) – and at times actively refused such representations. Here, too, gender operates in complex ways to narrativize the nature and purposes of teachers' political identities and struggles.

Our third task is to understand the relationship between specific constructions of gendered labor and collective organizing in public education in the US today. The dominant framing of the 2018 "Education Spring" as a simple revival of working-class politics occludes a deeper question: did these strikes simply take place *on the terrain* of social reproduction, or do they provide openings to *re-envision how social reproduction could be differently and more sustainably organized*? Do they generate new imaginaries for making deeper structural changes to existing systems for organizing educational labor, the care of children and communities, relationships to state and market? We reflect on this question in our conclusion.

The transformation of teachers' labor in a context of austerity

Situated at the intersection of state and community, public schools trouble distinctions between public and private, and waged and unwaged caring labor. While places of learning, they are also sites of social, community and family services such as meal programs and medical and psychological assessment and treatment, and they provide safe spaces for community groups to meet, elections to occur, and adult education. Teachers and support staff in the US have become increasingly responsible for the hands-on care of kids and families, often providing direct material assistance not only for school supplies but also for groceries and other basic necessities. Educational labor is remunerated out of public budgets at the local, state and federal levels. But it also supports the private sector in that others cannot work if their children are not in school. The social location of schools thus makes for porous boundaries around teachers' responsibilities and challenges analytical frameworks that rest on theoretical distinctions between public and private, and economic production and social reproduction. The entanglement of these spaces and practices is illustrated in three examples below.

Schools as places of un-commodifiable care

In WV as elsewhere, public school teachers are assuming greater responsibilities for both the primary and urgent care of the young for which they are not paid, trained, prepared or recognized, and that they *"*didn't sign up for*"* [TT] [RE]. This not only extends the space of what was traditionally domestic and care work for their own children, but drains the physical and emotional resources upon which care depends, leaving them at times without capacity to care for or even be in relation to children and families at home. In other words, even though the state has withdrawn from providing basic levels of care and security, women have continued to assume the responsibilities they were assigned in other economic systems as carers, healers, social strategists, and anchors of family and community continuity. When they can no longer serve this function inside nuclear or extended families, they do it where children and young people show up most: in schools.

> *"*The biggest thing that I take care of right now is…the clothing closet and that has like snacks and extra food to take home….Right now, I feel like that's my biggest contribution – trying to take care of the babies more so than actual, you know, education.'' [HR]
>
> "My lesson planning has come secondary…I have all kinds of other things going that have to be tended to first." [TT]

> "The kid doesn't care about two plus two, or the civil war, or anything when mom's sitting in a hospital, or - or they're high all the time, and really these kids know it's a matter of time before something's gonna happen to my mom or dad. And then what's going to happen to me? What's going to happen to my little brother? Where are we gonna go? ….These issues are so big that they - they cannot think - I mean, let's - their stomachs are rumbling, they're so hungry, that they - they don't care what two plus two is." [LA]

These statements illustrate that teachers see, experience and embody multiple and intersecting dimensions of the crisis of care. "We see it on two fronts. We have it in our own personal lives, and we see it in our kids' lives, that we're with every single day. So we have both of these perspectives coming in and I think that's one of the reasons we're fighting" [TT]. They have first-hand knowledge of the consequences of capitalist accumulation for their own conditions of labor and life, and of its consequences for places and communities and the people – particularly the children – who are trying to live decent lives within them. As one special education teacher told us, "I deal with so many things during the day, and putting out so many fires, and being nurturer for twelve kids all day with such varied needs, that by the time I get home and pick up my own children from school and we're home, I almost can't anymore" [LA].

Through this imbricated experience, they also see the impact of capitalism on education; how it structurally transforms what it is and can be. Here, not their 'natural' capacity or propensity to care for others but their structurally feminized position in both labor and community gives them a unique perspective: "I think we're more connected to what's going on outside of our own little bubble than some of the other unions [electrical workers, coal miners] are" [TT].

Teachers' pressure is also increased, however, because education (schooling) is predominantly defined as an institution for formal learning (and, via high-stakes testing, social sorting) and the teacher's role is primarily understood as being to cognitively, behaviorally and sometimes morally socialize young people with whom they are not otherwise related as kin. Many dimensions of this work are not only unfunded and unpaid, but *invisible* to those observing from outside the gendered educational lifeworld, including the general public and the (many male but also female) politicians who shape, create and make decisions about educational and public policies. The discursive framing of the strikes as "not about the money" and the repeated demands for increased support services in the schools brought to light the degree to which these other forms of labor need to be seen and addressed:

> I still think it catches people off guard, that these are the concerns of teachers. We interviewed with [a person from a radio station], and she thought she was going to have a conversation about wages, like labor, negotiation. And we started talking about school safety and support services, and she even was put back on her heels. And the same thing happens with our law-makers.…I think they thought teachers would take their money and go away. They are continuously caught off guard by what we, teachers, truly care about in their field [JS].

For teachers working in areas and communities of social crisis, this work is difficult and extraordinary, and for some has become simply unsustainable, "at breaking point" [LA] and some financially "really couldn't survive" [KE]. It takes its toll not only on professions and emotions, but on their bodies as well; "we wear that heavily, I mean, on our faces, and on our bodies; it makes us weary" [AB]. Self-care is experienced as largely an impossibility or a "battle" [LA]; at the same time, some teachers' activism is motivated precisely by their sense of responsibility to their own children and future generations: "I've got kids. Do I have time for this? What are they going to have if I don't do it?" [HR]

Gender norms, unpaid labor and love: "we're the moms"

How is this labor, largely invisible and unremunerated, justified? Why do these teachers take it on? Not surprisingly, narratives about women's responsibilities for individual and community care are inflected with historical and prevailing conceptions of gender, gender roles, gender identities and gendered power relations. These include the belief that "as a whole, teachers are very caring individuals" [LA], "teachers are teachers for a reason, we care about people and the issues and you want change and you want better" [RE], and an acceptance that if women don't step up to this work "there isn't really anybody else around to do these things" [LA]. A number of women suggested that they are "hard-wired as caregivers and nurturers" [AB], that because they are mothers "we're nurturing but we also know how to adapt" [TT], or that they take on the role of mothers when both mothers and social services are unavailable.

> Well, why do I have a kid coming in that's in foster care that comes in crying after spring break because his dad died over break of an overdose. And my counsellor wasn't there that day, because she doesn't - she's not full time at our school, she's in another school, because we don't have full time counsellors in our school. So I'm having to navigate that, by myself, which I can to a certain extent, but I have 23 other kids. So that day I was just mom. And that's all I was. I was just mom, and we talked, and we worked through our feelings, and we talked about how we can cope when things don't go right, and when we're sad, because everybody can use those skills, but at the same time, that's not - that was not on my lesson plan, to talk about how we cope with these things. [AB]

It is not surprising that this construction of the teacher is female, given that women make up approximately three-quarters of the profession (Hussar et al., 2020, p. 58), or that some teachers feel the figure of the teacher positions them in an extension of their domestic roles. Yet we also heard something more specific in the interviews: a connection to a particular type of normative femininity that is hinged to motherhood and mothering. As one teacher argued, "mothers are the backbone of a family…and teachers are the backbone of a community. We are the glue, just like a mother is the glue that holds the family together, teachers are the glue that really and truly hold communities together… It just makes sense that we would be the ones to do that.… But the good thing is we are shedding a light on our role. People are now beginning to see, wow, really, you guys do all that" [RE]. Later, she suggested that making the mother-teacher 'political' is what makes her visible, in a society where teachers and education have been "swept under the rug" [KE]: "We're making teachers relevant again…we are on a platform

that people are running on.…And part of that is drawing attention to the fact of all these things that we do…these people are important, not just 'this is a large group and I want their vote'" [RE].

Yet this construction of the teacher is also a liability as it makes the work appear 'natural'. As another teacher said, "The profession is dominated by women. And as mothers, we extend ourselves and we do everything we can to take care of our children, to make ends meet, do all the things. And because we're women, in a classroom, I think…probably, whether it's acknowledged, unacknowledged, realized or unrealized, many of our male lawmakers probably somewhere…have the belief that we will continue to extend ourselves in all of the ways that we do as women for our students. Because that's what women do. And there has to come a point when we say, we have to be compensated for this work" [KH]. Here, we hear a call for an end to the extraction of loving care.

From loving invisibly to extracting care

Christa Wichterich (2019, p. 5) describes "care extractivism" as analogous to other forms of resource extraction that are based on "a reckless and careless exploitation and depletion of resources assuming that they are growing naturally and are endlessly available." There is no doubt that care extractivism is occurring in education. Just as in an earlier period women's bodies were a site of primitive accumulation (Federici, 2004), they are now also sites of the extraction of care, relieving the state of additional costs and social responsibilities.

With respect to childcare, nursing, and assistive biological reproduction technologies, Wichterich describes not only the devaluation and defunding of reproductive labor that have long anchored feminist critiques of capitalist systems but also "the current re-organization of social reproduction and of care work, which ends up in a new transnational accumulation regime, the making of new labor relations, even new types of labor, and respective labour struggles" (p. 5). Prominent features include the "professionalization for efficiency increase" that have been significant grounds for labor struggles on the part of nurses, and transnationalization based on the import of care workers to Europe and the US and use of the bodies of 'others' for biological reproduction.

When we apply the concept of care extractivism to education, however, different features are revealed. Professionalization for efficiency increase is reflected in teachers' resistance to standardized testing and other metrics of educational "success." Yet we also see *deprofessionalization* as teachers are asked to spend more time attending to young people's basic health and social care. This has the effect of *creating a surplus care labor force* (teachers in public schools) to do the work that women in traditional social reproductive roles can no longer do easily because they work outside the home, are exhausted, addicted, or otherwise unable to provide care. Finally, it results in the *displacement and impoverishment of education* as either a reproductive or a transformative process, to make space for child and community care.

Wichterich concludes by noting that care extractivism "ultimately leaves the burden to fix the contradiction between the care and market economy and to reconcile the public and private

sphere, paid and unpaid work to the individual care worker" (p. 24). The social location of public schools at the intersection of state, community, economy and family intensifies this burden for teachers who, despite their professional status as educators, are unwilling to turn away from the additional care work that has devolved to them in conditions of "market authoritarianism, neoliberal adjustment and austerity policies."

Naming the politics of the strikes

Teachers had strong responses to the experience of taking embodied collective action in the public political sphere, with one teacher arguing that it was a "game changer" [KE] and another that "I never realized until that moment that my voice mattered; that I had the power and the authority to voice that, to scream and yell and to say to those in a position of authority, 'you can't do this, that's not what the people want.' So that has changed me. And I don't think I was alone in realizing that. And that realization that yes, there is power. There is power." [RE].

Disavowing "the political" in a gendered context

While power is an asset that is potentially transformative as well as a capacity to get things done, politics is seen as partisan, immoral, or simply beside the point. There is a persistent tension in our interviews between teachers' detailed accounts of their political analyses and strategies, on the one hand, and an insistence that their demonstrations and strikes are somehow beyond the political; that they are "teacher issues" [KE] rather than political ones, where the political is defined primarily as power struggles between political parties. Not only has that kind of politics failed teachers and communities, but it now seems irrelevant: "when you've got kids in these conditions, it [party politics] doesn't matter" [RE/KE]. "At the core of it, we were just fed up…we just wanted to be able to go to the doctor's' [TT]; 'there's no agenda…we didn't start out to be recognized" [LA]. Others argued that "politics is local" and starts in and for communities [HR/CR]; or that "I feel like part of how we were able to be successful is that we kept the conversation focused on the issues and not on the politics" [NM].

Rather than an appeal to politics, then, striking teachers understood their motivation in moral terms, as a sense of responsibility to something larger than themselves "sort of like in a spiritual sense" [KE] or as simply doing what is right: "…like my mom says, right's right and wrong's wrong. It was wrong, what was happening to public teachers. And so I think a lot of people rallied around that idea, that sense of right / wrong really transcended political affiliation" [KH].

In some cases, teachers felt even more explicitly that politics itself is divisive, meaning that the strikes themselves can and should transcend differences and inequalities. In West Virginia, energy was instead channeled into finding common cause among school administration, staff, community groups, and parents, and building networks of mutual aid across the state. The interviews were filled with comments about the experience of solidarity; for example, "there's not enough gratitude where I could tell people, you know, thank you for standing with me… the second day was horrible. Like it was cold and wet and just raining sideways, and it was muddy but people hung in there…It's one thing to say solidarity, but it's totally different to have it" [AB].

This is consistent with social movement scholars' reports that in general, women activists "seem to distance themselves and their 'work for community' from what they call 'politics,' which they

frequently define as corrupt, self-serving, and male-dominated" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 589). Yet striking teachers engage in politics in a variety of forms. Christiansen-Ruffman's (1995, p. 382) conceptual map of "politics" is helpful in understanding this seeming contradiction. The Canadian women's groups she studied distinguished between politics as institutional involvement (political parties, bureaucracies, partisan); amoral power (back-room deals, unsavory, competitive, careerist); and social transformation (feminist), with the last reinforcing the notion of women's organizing as unselfish, about helping people or getting things done rather than trying to get ahead, as service-oriented and community-based. We see the same phenomenon here. Striking teachers in West Virginia were clearly engaged in multiple forms of politics - stomping at the State house, speaking at the legislature, taking to the streets, storytelling and writing, and organizing with their communities - blending institutional and transformational practices. Yet their aversion to a particular thing called "politics," and not wanting to be seen as being "political," were strong.

Just as it is important for teachers to not be branded as having political motives for striking, it also matters to them that they cannot be portrayed as "union thugs" [TT] or "greedy villains" [LA] who abandon and hurt children by striking. In West Virginia, striking teachers have been accused of being both: "try telling our second graders' moms that, after we bought their groceries, you know?" [TT]. Normative conceptions of gender also support claims that women have naturally non-violent dispositions or that there is something different about the way women lead. Speaking of one particularly intense moment of strikers' collective embodied resistance against a conservative union demand that they prematurely return to work, one teacher remarked that "this is a predominantly female, educated group of people…if it hadn't been such a female-driven, educated group, to where it's like, dude, you could lose your job if you get too crazy here, it was different; I said there would have been full-on riots, you know?" [HR].

There were other reasons that teachers were hesitant not only to strike but also to focus precisely on their own conditions of work: "when you are living with all these horror stories and you're doing the best job that you can for your kids [in the classroom], it's hard for you to say, 'I deserve more,' when you have kids coming without shoes on their feet [or] […] when the second-grade sister was responsible for getting the kid ready every morning because mom's passed out on drugs. […] It's really hard in the midst of all that to say 'I deserve more' when, well, we all do, our kids deserve more, everyone deserves more" [KE]. This is particularly difficult for women, who are supposed to be selfless and therefore experience guilt or shame putting their own needs first. "We carry a tremendous amount of guilt as educators and as women for, you know, not only should we not ask for a pay raise or better working conditions, but we should wait to be told when it's okay to ask…. So I feel that there's this kind of multilayer oppression that we, and we perpetuate that, you know, whenever we talk to each other – we can't it's about the kids" [NM]. Ultimately, this teacher said, she and her husband reached a point where they could barely pay their bills.

Organizing while woman

Notions of gender-specific capacities and skills also surfaced in discussion of strike organizing. Some teachers felt that women were naturally less egoistic and more concerned with getting the

work done than claiming the spotlight: "we're problem-solvers and fixers and we get the job done…" [RE] "And we know how to put our ego to the side… Cause we know, how many times we do something and then a man steps up and takes credit for it?" [KE]. "Yeah, I think women are…it's just, I think that's the way god designed us. That's why we're mothers. We put other people first and this situation we put the cause first" [RE].

It's important to note that in West Virginia, relationships to capitalist work and labor struggle are entangled with minework and cultures of extraction. Historically, miners' strikes here were primarily men's struggles that permeate the "living histories" [RE] of women, particularly as a resource for making sense of political identity, subjectivity, family roles, community commitments, and social and professional networks. The women we interviewed identified with and were politically informed by this local history of masculinist union politics in which women created conditions for reproducing both labor power and labor struggle. However, they also draw distinctions between this and the education strikes, which they recognize as primarily female in both body and logic. As one remarked,

> 'The difference is - is when we see it as women, you know, it was, it was our dads and our pawpaws and our great grandpas that did this. But right now you know who's doing it? It's us. It's the girls, you know, it's the girls - like I can't tell you how, I mean I'm just so proud of it cause it's just how I was raised.' [HR]

As activists, they are making visible the political work that women in mining and post-mining communities have always done in periods of struggle by placing the care of everyday life and economics of community at the center of the strike itself. In the 2018 WV educators' work stoppage, for example, the same communities that teachers are supporting made the stoppage more possible. "They were prepared; they were organizing as we were organizing. And that's what gets lost in some of the stories…as we were organizing and preparing, communities were preparing with us. Like our parents were preparing with us. We were not going to go without. […] We wouldn't have had to miss our bills, but even if we were, churches, different places around here, they would have come together and no one's electricity was going to get cut off. […] You don't have that necessarily in the northern panhandle [of the state] or in different places…it's part of our heritage here in this place" [KE]. Some recognized the value of playfulness for sustaining these relationships; of 'putting our witty teachery girly spin - our funky, cool, fresh spin - on the Labor movement' [HR].

We were initially surprised that there seemed to be so little influence from feminisms on this analysis, given that many of the teachers we spoke to felt that the problems and responses (strikes and other actions) were gendered. One group reflected on whether it was "our [women's] time" [CR], with "the girls"doing it [HR]. We also heard a real pride in the way women lead that dismantles the notion that women are too weak or too irrational to do so: "we've battled…women are emotional, women can't lead…well, screw that, we obviously can, and we obviously can be successful with it" [TT]. Yet statements that begin with "I don't wanna be sexist or anything, but…" [TT] typically end with assertions about the natural (or at least deeply

historically formed) capacities of women to nurture, care, heal, adapt, take responsibility for the needs of others, etc.

Yet here, too, no single story will do. Other teachers were critical of this framing, arguing that the male-dominated and capital-invested West Virginia state legislature positions women in *"*servant mode" [CR]. They also situated themselves within longer traditions of direct feminist action. *"*I'm channeling Mother Jones. I'm not Mother Theresa. I don't have that gentleness of spirit. Sometimes I wish I did, but I'm just tired of being run over by politicians who have sold their souls already" [CR] - though this teacher later said that she is *"*occasionally a Mother Theresa" to clarify that her radicalism is infused with care. As Jess Salfia (2019) writes,

> When West Virginia's education workers descended on our state capital, it quickly became clear to me that part of lawmakers' resistance and dismissiveness to teachers' requests were not just difference in policy opinion, but also rooted in sexism and misogyny. While meeting with lawmakers in the Capitol, I heard male lawmakers say things like "who can think with the shrill voices chanting in the halls?' and 'are the cheerleaders still here?" These comments were usually accompanied by an eyeroll or a dismissive hand gesture. I was laughed at, called "honey," handed a 4-inch-thick state budget binder and asked, "now do you think you could understand all that?"

However, the strikes also opened opportunities for the transformation of the women's relationship to their gendered labor. One, for example, shared that the biggest lesson she learned in relation to her work as both a teacher and a union officer was *"*personally, realizing that I own my labor. You know, I always felt like I owed somebody something. If I didn't do it, I was going to hurt my students, I was gonna hurt my coworkers. Shame on me.… For me, that's like realizing that I'm selling minutes of my life so I get to determine the value of it and how it's spent, and it's nobody else's to take or demand. I really hope that has been a lesson for other people, too, especially women – yes, you should demand better working conditions and wages" [NM].

Women's assumed 'nurturing side' and ability to care even or especially while being taken advantage of for doing so is regarded as a source of strength: "we do feel abused and sometimes taken advantage of because we're women…we want to step in…but at the end of the day, if we don't do it, who's gonna do it? And this is the empowering part about women, right? We have the ability to do it. Let's just do it, you know?" [TT] The feeling that the buck for social decency and survival stops with women was common; as another said, "the system needs to be redesigned to meet the need because right now we are the only people trying to meet the need and it's bigger than us" [RE]. Another teacher suggested that the womanliness of teachers was a critical resource for economic existence and resistance: *"*in times of economic downturn, we see women's equality in the workplace and women doing the most important work in a greater way, in greater capacity. That essentially, when things are at their worst, women have more opportunity to do really important work" [JS]. Most of the teachers we spoke to embraced this responsibility as a source of strength and pride, others just found it exhausting.

What kind of 'politics' are in play?

There is no single answer to this question. Teachers had various motivations for striking, and while many were initiated into labor activism by this movement, many others were seasoned activists [JS / KH]. Many teachers we spoke to were also resistant to being "explained"' within existing political frameworks. *"*Almost all the interviews that we've been doing recently have been…very political and not understanding, really not understanding that these were teacher issues. They were not Republican issues or Democrat issues.…Before any of that, we're teachers" [KE]. As another said, *"*there are a couple of books coming out now that I think are attempts to co-opt the narrative [of the strike] for political reasons" [JS]. Salfia (2019) suggests instead that the West Virginia strike drew on a particular kind of historical *hillbilly strength*, "developed from years of pushing back against oppression and extraction. It's the power to know that even when there are a multitude of odds stacked against you, you have the fortitude to push on and persevere."

This commitment to place-centered analysis extends to the relationship between the strikes and feminist politics as well. No teacher associated the strikes, or themselves, with other movements of women such as #MeToo or high-profile campaigns to elect women to public office. However, the latter is an emerging dimension of teachers' educational and social activism in WV (see Ball 2018 and the Mountain Mamas website: https://mtnmamawv.org/). Only a few teachers with whom we spoke were aware that their strikes were elsewhere being considered part of an international wave of education strikes or women's strikes over similar problems.

On the other hand, this crisis of care is fueling critical reflection on the nature and purpose of schools, with a re-emergence of the ideal of the school as *"*a community one-stop shop where you can get your counselling, your physical needs met, your food and your academic nourishment, too" [TT]. Yet this possibility does not resolve the underlying problem of care extractivism or the decentering of the educational mission of schools:

> TT: Well, in a perfect world...we would try to say, hey, we're here to teach. Um, but in a real world, we don't have a choice. We don't have a choice.
>
> NWH: Because the crisis is too immediate?
>
> AB: Well, and we're already doing it anyway
>
> LA: It's too immediate, there's not the resources, and –
>
> TT: Who else is gonna do it if we don't?

Conclusion

In response to the crisis, the teachers we interviewed were willing to withhold their paid labor and to defend their and other public sector workers' health insurance. They were not willing to stop working to connect with families and communities, and to care for the children in their schools. The state can walk away from care, can abandon children, families and communities. These teachers can't and won't.

This position is informed by gender norms that are seen as oppressive and disrespectful when imposed by others such as state legislators, and also as the root of particular capacities and strengths that underpin their self-understandings as women educators and organizers. Normative gender constructions thus function in contradictory ways to both valorize the caring labor teachers do across their personal, professional and political lives, and to undermine their collective power vis-à-vis their state employers. In a strike, the fundamental assumption is that a collective's labor power is so necessary and irreplaceable for capital that it is held as ransom or collateral. While that is true of educational labor, it does not hold with respect to the increasing burdens of unrecognized social and care work that women educators shoulder.

For these reasons, possibilities of a radical transformation of social reproduction and care seem far off. As long as teachers continue to do this work "because no one else will", or because refusing it would violate a trust they take on as both educators and women, the extraordinary burdens of care they have assumed will continue to be normalized. However, not satisfied with either party political systems or the traditional parameters of collective labor organization, their stories and experiences point towards the need to develop another form of politics that can address the specific dynamics of care extractivism in education.

What will this take? Can and must educators refuse care work? Should women in all reproductive sectors follow in the path of the Wages for Housework movement that called for the refusal of housework that was naturalized as women's labor and hid the true source of capitalist exploitation (Federici, 2017)? Or is a more aggressive working-class politics on the terrain of social reproduction an answer? In bringing education back into the analysis as more than a nodal point for the reproduction of the capitalist workforce, and gender as more than a social distinction that characterizes labor, our research leads to different conclusions regarding the political valence of the strikes than what can be seen through the lens of working-class politics or women's anti-austerity activism. While a revival of working-class politics is essential, without an intersectional sensibility about the complex and contextual relationships between gender, labor, and care it cannot revolutionize social reproduction. Such sensibility must go well beyond the recognition that social reproduction labor is largely women's work, which might ground arguments for healthier working conditions or better resourced schools but will not fundamentally transform how care is extracted from women's bodies and labor. Deepening this analysis is more urgent than ever as the coronavirus pandemic makes the crisis of care even more acute, and the burdens on women – who represent the majority of 'essential workers' as well as those most likely to lose their jobs because they have to care for children who cannot safely return to school - more intolerable.

Appendix

Table 1. Participants

Amber Brown [AB]	First grade; Secretary, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Putnam County
Carrena Rouse [CR]	High school English; President AFT Boone County
Heather Ritter [HR]	High school Librarian, Boone County
Jessica Salfia [JS]	High school English, Berkeley County
Karla Hilliard [KH]	High school English, Berkeley County
Katie Endicott [KE]	High school English, Mingo County
Lynneia Atkinson [LA]	Elementary special needs, Jefferson County
Nicole McCormick [NM]	Music; Vice President, West Virginia Education Association (WVEA); President, Mercer County Education Association
Robin Ellis [RE]	High school English, Mingo County
Tega Toney [TT]	Eleventh grade social studies; Vice President AFT West Virginia; President, AFT Fayette

References

Arruzza, C., Bhattacharya, T., & Fraser, N. (2019). *Feminism for the 99%: A manifesto.* Verso.

Ashby, S. K. & Bruno, R. (2016). *A fight for the soul of public education: The story of the Chicago teachers strike.* Cornell University Press.

Ball, K. (2018, July 27). West Virginia teachers strike inspires 20 women to run for state office. *The Hill.* https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/398371-krystal-clear-the-mountain-mamas-are-turning-west-virginia-blue

Ball, M. (2018, April 12). Fed-up women are changing American politics. *Time*. https://time.com/5237436/fed-up-women-are-changing-american-politics/

Bhattacharya, T. (Ed.). (2017). *Social reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentering oppression.* Pluto.

Bhattacharya, T. (2018, March 6). Bread and roses in West Virginia. *Verso*. https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3669-bread-and-roses-in-west-virginia

Bhattacharya, T. (2019, January 14). Caring enough to strike: US teachers strikes in perspective. *Rebel News*. http://www.rebelnews.ie/2019/01/14/american-teachers-striking-back/

Bhattacharya, T., Blanc, E., Griffiths, K. D., Weiner, L. & Webber, J. (2019). Return of the strike: a forum on the teachers rebellion in the United States. *Historical Materialism.* http://www.historicalmaterialism.org/articles/return-strike

Blanc, E. (2019). *Red state revolt: The teachers' strike wave and working-class politics.* Verso.

Bouleanu, A. (2019, October 31). US: A history of Chicago teacher strikes. *Al Jazeera*. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/history-chicago-teacher-strikes-191031222319933.html.

Brickner, R. K. (2016). Tweeting care: educators' dissent through social media in the US and Canada. *Labour / Le Travail,* 77(1), 11-36.

Catte, E. (2018) Conclusion. In E. Catte, E. Hilliard & J. Salfia (Eds.), *55 Strong: Inside the West Virginia Teachers' Strike* (pp. 110-114). Belt Publishing.

Christiansen-Ruffman, L. (1995). Women's conceptions of the political: Three Canadian women's organizations. In M. M. Ferree and P. Y. Martin (Eds.), *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women's movement* (pp. 372-394). Temple University Press.

Comer, E. (2018). Contribution to E. Catte, E. Hilliard & J. Salfia (Eds.), *55 Strong: Inside the West Virginia teachers' strike* (pp. 101-103). Belt Publishing.

Dalla Costa, M. & James, S. (1972). *The power of women and the subversion of the community.* Falling Wall Press.

Federici, S. (2004). *Caliban and the witch.* Autonomedia.

Federici, S. (2017). *The new wages for housework committee, 1972-1977: History, theory and documents*. Autonomedia.

Ferree, M. M. & Mueller, C. M. (2004). Feminism and the women's movement: A global perspective. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 576-607). Blackwell Publishing.

Fotaki, M., & Daskalaki, M. (2020). Politicizing the body in the anti-mining protest in Greece. *Organization Studies*, 0170840619882955.

Fraser, N. (2016). Contradictions of capital and care. *New Left Review,* (100), 99-117.

French, N. (2019, March 12). A different kind of teachers' strike wave. *Jacobin Magazine.* https://jacobinmag.com/2019/03/a-different-kind-of-teachers-strike-wave

Fuller, K. & Stevenson, H. (2019). Global education reform: understanding the movement. *Educational Review*, 71(1), 1-4.

Gallagher, B. (2020, February 28). Sexism is at the heart of why teachers are striking. *Daily Dot*. https://www.dailydot.com/irl/sexism-heart-teachers-striking/

Griffiths, K. D. (2018, March 13). Crossroads and country roads: wildcat West Virginia and the possibilities of a working class offensive. *Viewpoint Magazine.* https://www.viewpointmag.com/2018/03/13/crossroads-and-country-roads-wildcat-west-virginia-and-the-possibilities-of-a-working-class-offensive/

Griffiths, K. D. (2020). Labor valorization and social reproduction: what is valuable about the labor theory of value? *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 22(2), article 4. http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol22/iss2/4

Hilliard, E. (2018). Contribution to E. Catte, E. Hilliard & J. Salfia (Eds.), *55 Strong: Inside the West Virginia teachers' strike* (pp. 79-81). Belt Publishing.

Hussar, B., Zhang, J., Hein, S., Wang, K., Roberts, A., Cui, J., Smith, M., Bullock, F., Mann, A., Dilig, R., Nachazel, T., Barnett, M. & Purcell, S. (2020). *The condition of education 2020*. US Department of Education.

Jenkins, K, & Rondón, G. (2015). 'Eventually the mine will come': Women anti-mining activists' everyday resilience in opposing resource extraction in the Andes. *Gender & Development*, 23(3), 415-431.

Kelly, K. (2019, April 22). How women are transforming organized labor. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/04/22/how-women-are-transforming-organized-labor/

Klein, R. (2018, April 27). Why the teacher walkouts sweeping the country are a feminist issue. *Huffington Post.* https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/teacher-protests-women_n_5ae3440fe4b055fd7fcb8c30?ri18n=true.

Lagalisse, E. (2019). Care work, capitalism and the labour of love. *Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity (AFSEE) Program, London School of Economics.*

https://www.thesociologicalreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/LAGALISSE-care-booklet_April-20191.pdf

Leachman, M., Masterston, K. & Figuroa, E. (2017, November 29). *A punishing decade for school funding*. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. https://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/a-punishing-decade-for-school-funding

Lennard, N. (2018, March 13). West Virginia, not women's day, proved the power of a women's strike. *The Intercept*. https://theintercept.com/2018/03/13/west-virginia-teacher-strike-international-womens-day/

McAlevey, J. (2018, March 12). All hands on deck: the West Virginia teachers' strike. *The Nation.* https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-west-virginia-teachers-strike-shows-that-winning-big-requires-creating-a-crisis/

Mohandesi, S. & Teitelman, E. (2017). Without reserves. In T. Bhattacharya (Ed.), S*ocial reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentering oppression* (pp. 37-67). Pluto Press.

Oran, S. S. (2017). Pensions and social reproduction. In T. Bhattacharya (Ed.), S*ocial reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentering oppression* (pp. 148-170). Pluto Press.

Parfitt, S. (2018, May 1). The US teachers strike in historical perspective. *Open Democracy.* https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/us-teachers-strike-in-historical-perspective/

Sahlberg, P. (2016). The global education reform movement and its impact on schooling. In K. Mundy, A. Green, B. Lingard & A. Verger (Eds.), *The handbook of global education policy* (pp. 128-144). Wiley.

Salfia, J. (2018). Introduction. In E. Catte, E. Hilliard & J. Salfia (Eds.), *55 Strong: Inside the West Virginia teachers' strike* (pp. 6-15). Belt Publishing.

Salfia, J. (2019, February 12). Hillbilly strength. *WV United Caucus.* https://www.wvunitedcaucus.org/post/hillbilly-strength

Shelton, J. (2017). *Teacher strike!* University of Illinois Press.

Shuffelton, A. B. (2014). The Chicago teachers strike and its public. *Education and Culture,* 30(2), 21-33.

Todd-Breland, E. (2018, October 23). Serving the public: Black women at the center of labor struggle. *Gender Policy Report.* https://genderpolicyreport.umn.edu/serving-the-public-black-women-at-the-center-of-labor-struggle/

Todd-Breland, E. (2019, February 7). Teacher strikes and the history of Black teachers' protests. *Association of Black Women Historians.* http://abwh.org/2019/02/07/the-teacher-strikes-history-of-black-teachers-protest/

Weiner, L. (2018) Walkouts teach US labor a new grammar for struggle. *New Politics*, 17(1). https://newpol.org/walkouts-teach-us-labor-new-grammar-struggle/

Wichterich, C. (2019). Care extractivism and the reconfiguration of social reproduction in post-Fordist economies. *Kassel University Press.* https://www.uni-kassel.de/upress/online/OpenAccess/978-3-7376-0632-5.OpenAccess.pdf

Will, M. (2019, January 25). The new flavor of the teacher strike: More than just pay raises. *Education Week.* https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2019/01/25/the-new-flavor-of-teacher-strike-more.html