



Bargaining for All



Participant Handouts

Collective Bargaining allows working people to directly confront their employers to shape their own social and economic futures. Like voting, collective bargaining is a way to exercise power in a healthy democracy. In the NEA system of affiliates, there are many locals that are already organized in states where they could have a collective bargaining agreement, but they have not yet done so. Moving a local from a non-bargaining entity to one that ratifies a strong contract requires a solid campaign plan. This Academy will focus on the skills and **mindset** required to agitate and build support for collective bargaining internally while also cultivating community support. Tools, resources, and timelines associated with strong initial contract campaigns is provided.

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Community Agreements for Our Time

Awareness and Self-Knowledge

This requires self-knowledge and self-awareness. Self-knowledge allows you to see what causes you pain and conflict and enables you to embrace your contradictions and inconsistencies. It allows the space to work on things about yourself that you are not happy with. In turn, self-knowledge helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a positive attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others.

Listening for Understanding

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, looking him or her in the eye, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. Remember that most people need time to open up and might not be willing to immediately share their personal stories, hopes, fears and/or concerns.

Being Gracious

Being kind is a vital way of bringing meaning to our own lives, as well as the lives of others. Kindness is about caring genuinely for others around you, wanting the best for them and recognizing in them the same wants, needs, aspirations and even fears that you may have. Being kind and generous allows us to communicate better with others, to be more self-compassionate and to be a positive force in other people's lives. We are gracious when we accept and genuinely work to use the pronouns that others ask us to use. Being gracious includes following the COVID protocols that are in place to protect the health of this learning community.

Staying Engaged

Staying engaged requires you to be morally, emotionally, intellectually and socially involved in the conversation. Staying engaged means that you are listening with curiosity and willing to deepen your understanding. Staying engaged might also require you to sustain the conversation even when it gets uncomfortable or diverted. This means a commitment to keeping your electronic communications to a minimum with folks not present in this learning community. This also means being present for all portions of the learning agenda.

Being Open and Suspending Judgment

Listening with an open mind includes being receptive to the influence of others. You can suspend judgment by becoming aware of preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. Most importantly, suspending judgment also means listening to what the speaker has to say for understanding, not just to determine whether the speaker is right or wrong. This means that we recognize each of us will make mistakes and that we have the capacity to grow. We should expect imperfections.

Saying "I" - tell your truth

Speaking your truth in authentic and courageous conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours requires a willingness to take risks. It means that you will be absolutely honest and candid about your own thoughts, feelings, experiences and opinions and not just saying what you perceive others want to hear. Speaking your truth will require you to speak from the "first person" and use "I" statements.

Seeking Discomfort

Leaning in to discomfort will require you to let go of understandings and stereotypes that you may be holding onto in order to move forward. Leaning in means that you will avoid pre-judgment and be open to the kernel of wisdom in each individual's experiences. Leaning in to discomfort will require you to sit through moments of embarrassment, confusion, anxiety, and/or fear.

Reaching Empathy

Empathy and compassion allow you to understand the other person's point of view. When you are empathetic, you are more understanding, patient and kind. Expanding your capacity to feel empathy will also allow others to enter your circle of human concern. Sharing, using, and respecting pronouns is a very simple form of empathy.

Expecting Non-Resolution and Non-Closure

Expect and accept that there may not be closure. It is not likely that you will resolve your personal understanding about race or another person's racial experience in a single conversation. The more you talk about race or other issues with another person, the more you learn and the more they will learn. Authentic and productive conversations about race and other issues where experiences/perspectives may differ widely from yours are continuous and always evolving. This means that sometimes we will have unfinished, unexplored, and shortened conversations about some concepts.

**Adapted from "Embracing equity and inclusion", Annie E. Casey Foundation*

What questions do you want to ask about any of the ideas in these agreements?

What additional agreements do you need in order to be a fully participating member of our learning community?

Can you commit to these agreements? IF not, what would it take for you to be able to commit?



Why Collective Bargaining Matters

Writing The Next Chapter
Urgent and Important
Benefits of Collective Bargaining
Why Unions Matter
Dominant Narrative

Writing the Next Chapter

The Center for Organizing and Affiliate Support

Executive Summary

This paper reviews our membership trends over the last 10 years, the current work of the Center, and the external and internal challenges and opportunities we face. It outlines **a plan for a more coordinated and strategic approach to strengthening and growing our state and local affiliates; along with a re-organization of the Center.**

THEORY ON THE CASE: Educator voice depends on union strength. Union strength is directly correlated to union density. We will align C4OAS programs, staff, and resources within a **Coordinated Organizing Plan to build union density. We will do this through a three-pronged focus on *member organizers, member organizing committees, and worksite leaders.***

- **Expand and develop the YRO Member Organizers program** to maximize affiliate capacity to recruit new hires and potential members across all affiliates
 - **Continue to drive innovation** in digital engagement, social media, telephonic, data and in membership systems processing
- **Prioritize majority status campaigns in bargaining states, led by member organizing committees,** to win exclusive recognition and first contracts in locals without them – thereby driving measurable increases in union density
- **Build affiliate sustainability in prohibited bargaining states:**
 - **through a focus on worksite leadership:** expanding the ranks of building reps helps build the bench – building future capacity. It puts trusted and respected worksite level leaders at the forefront of member engagement.
 - **by supporting affiliates in moving from payroll deduction of dues, to direct eDues,** to gain independence from hostile politicians.

Introduction

Fundamentally, the charge of the Center for Organizing and Affiliate Support (C4OAS) is to support the growth and strength of NEA's state and local affiliates. This work is grounded in NEA's vision, mission and [Strategic Plan and Budget](#). Most of the Center's work is enhancing organizational capacity.

[President Pringle's priorities for 2022-2023](#) include advancing our strategic vision, uniting our members, securing the environment and creating safe, just and equitable schools. C4OAS's work touches all of those priorities. In November, at our virtual Center-wide staff meeting, we reviewed the Strategic Plan and Budget and where all of C4OAS's activities and work fit in.

Since its founding, the Center has worked to build a culture of organizing across our affiliates. A culture of organizing prioritizes member recruitment, engagement and growth. As we begin the next chapter in the Center's development, this is an opportunity to reflect on what we have accomplished, what the union's challenges and opportunities are today, and how we can continue to advance our work and get to even greater scale.

There's no single definition of organizing. It means different things to different people and in different contexts.¹ **I gravitate to the definition that organizing means *empowering workers and changing lives*.** At the end of the day, it is about enabling members and potential members to exercise their voice and collective strength to make change.

Fred Ross Sr., an icon to many organizers, once said “*the duty of the organizer is to provide people with the opportunity to work for what they believe in*”². Our job is to create those opportunities. The members will build their union.

I have learned important lessons about organizing from a wide range of mentors and earlier efforts: the UFW, IAF, SNCC, ACORN, SEIU, the Highlander Center. We need a wide range of skills, strategies, and tools in the fight for justice.

There is no one right way to organize. But there are best practices; things we can learn. As organizers we must reflect and engage in constant discussion about what works and what doesn't, in order to improve our skill, our craft, our effectiveness and our success. That is the meaning of continuous improvement, of being a learning organization, and of good organizing practice. In everything we do we must ask: how are we empowering members – and changing lives?

There is widespread agreement inside the Center that we are driving good work in lots of different places; but that it can be challenging because it feels isolated, siloed, and uncoordinated.

¹ *Glossary of Terms*, [On the Meanings of Organizing](#).

² *Axioms for Organizers*, by Fred Ross Sr., www.FredRossSr.com.

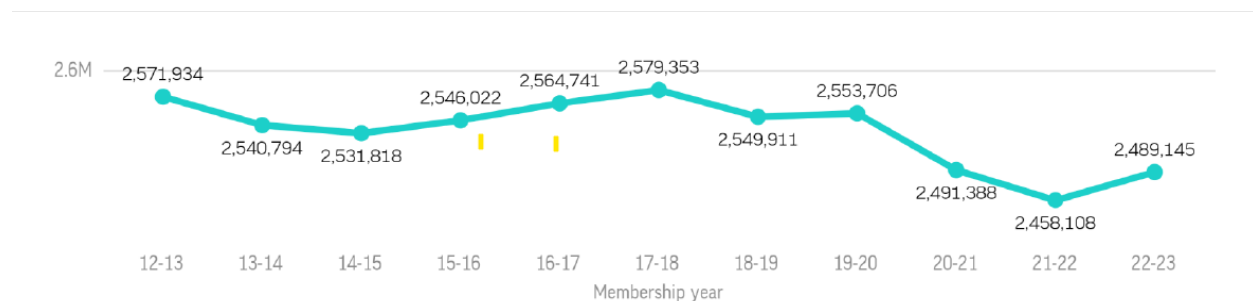
The environment in which we operate radically changed five years ago. The Janus decision creates a completely new world and a different set of challenges than we faced back when the majority of our affiliates had the security of agency fee protections. How we operated in earlier years is not the answer. *“Let us not return to what was normal, but reach toward what is next”³.*

To address these new challenges, and build upon the progress that has been made over the last ten years, this paper outlines a **plan for the Center that aligns the various C4OAS organizing programs and activities into a coordinated and strategic approach to strengthening and growing our state and local affiliates.**

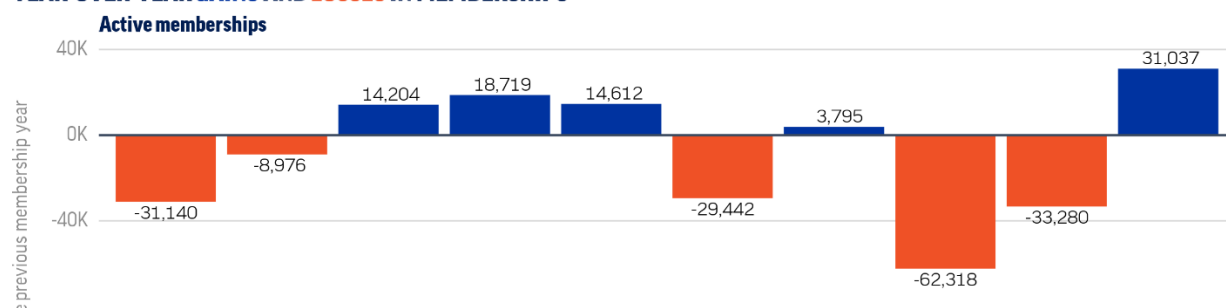
*Tom Israel, Senior Director
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Membership Trends: the Last 10 Years

TRENDS IN ACTIVE MEMBERSHIPS



YEAR-OVER-YEAR GAINS AND LOSSES IN MEMBERSHIPS



The Great Recession that started in 2008-2009 led to a sizeable loss of public sector jobs and ultimately NEA active members. C4OAS began its work in 2012, helping affiliates stop the

³ [New Day Lyric](#), Amanda Gorman, January 1, 2022.

bleeding of members and return to net growth. Then we faced the exigent threats from the U.S. Supreme Court in the twin cases challenging agency fee dues, *Friedrichs vs. CTA* and later *Janus v. AFSCME*. We survived the Janus decision far stronger than many feared, and our opponents had hoped for. The pandemic caused a greater drop in membership, as education employment numbers across the country decreased sharply (2.4% loss in year 1). This year we are beginning to see a recovery in our membership as we emerge from the worst years of the pandemic.

Throughout, C4OAS has understood that our most immediate challenge was to expand affiliates' practices of membership recruitment, which too many took for granted under the protection of agency fee laws and contracts.

We understood that recruitment needed to be planful, needed to occur throughout the year, and that development of best practices in the habits and mechanics of recruitment could significantly increase member density. This was especially important at a time when the vast majority of our affiliates were losing agency fee, turnover was increasing in our professions, and retention of members was suffering.

The loss of agency fee protections has transformed the relationship between the union and most of our members. We are a voluntary organization of 2,880,290 members (*total*). Each member now has to make an active decision to join, and they are free to leave. That new relationship underscores the union's need to engage, involve and listen to its members. To not do so is at the union's peril.

The effort to reverse membership loss drove C4OAS to develop recruitment projects through the seasonal organizing campaigns of Ed Summer, New Ed, Winter Worksite and Early Enrollment, which have evolved into the current Year-Round Organizing and Member Organizers program. After seven years, C4OAS has done what few thought we could do – build a nationally coordinated program with the voluntary buy-in across virtually all state affiliates. We have made significant progress in assisting affiliates to develop and execute recruitment campaigns throughout the calendar year.

The Member Organizers program is a core element of the overall strategy. No one is better positioned to recruit new members than a trusted and respected educator who already works at that worksite.

The fact that we now have 48 state affiliates participating, and that participating locals are showing significantly greater membership growth than the rest of the union, is a testament to that success. And the capacity to recruit, train and support 1,200 member organizers a year is an awesome accomplishment.

At the same time, we have continued to support state and local affiliates in a myriad of other ways: including training, strike support, contract campaigns, scratch organizing campaigns, legislative campaign field support, issue organizing campaigns, member GOTV, constituency organizing, grant support, conferences, and even hurricane recovery.

NATIONAL	ACTIVE PROF.		ACTIVE ESP	
	# of Mbrs.	Difference from Prior Year/ Week	# of Mbrs.	Difference from Prior Year/ Week
2009-2010	2,318,746	(33,903)	502,279	(697)
2010-2011	2,265,618	(53,128)	497,326	(4,953)
2011-2012	2,184,205	(81,413)	478,358	(18,968)
2012-2013	2,131,700	(52,505)	464,376	(13,982)
2013-2014	2,097,456	(34,244)	455,373	(9,003)
2014-2015	2,091,828	(5,628)	450,781	(4,592)
2015-2016	2,098,771	6,943	456,322	5,541
2016-2017	2,112,899	14,128	459,804	3,482
2017-2018	2,121,532	8,633	466,214	6,410
2018-2019	2,092,457	(29,075)	463,219	(2,995)
2019-2020	2,095,460	3,003	458,902	(4,317)
2020-2021	2,057,967	(37,493)	434,013	(24,889)
2021-2022	2,039,690	(18,277)	418,472	(15,541)
2023 # of Mbrs. total as of this report; Difference is from last year	2,069,514	29,824	419,669	1,197
2023 # of Mbrs. total from last week; Difference is from this week	2,069,414	100	419,486	183
2022 # of Mbrs. total from same point in time last year; Difference is from 2022 as of today	2,069,527	(13)	428,361	(8,692)

During this past September and October, we have taken time to reflect on what we are accomplishing, what challenges we face today, and what the opportunities are to increase our effectiveness. All C4OAS staff were also invited to provide feedback via an anonymous online survey. Virtual meetings were held with each of the seven staff teams in the Center for discussions of those questions.

What We Are Accomplishing

- * The Year-Round Organizing program is running what may well be the largest Member Organizer Program in the labor movement: currently tracking 1,190 member organizers working in 43 states. The program is running in 48 states and 552 locals, recruiting 33,689 new members a year in targeted locals. *(by members, for members)*
- * We are developing an Innovative Strategies Lab to test new uses of digital communications in membership recruitment and engagement, as well as identifying opportunities to improve the mechanics, work flows, and efficiency of our membership processing systems.

- * We are expanding a Telephonic Join program that is successfully enhancing affiliates recruitment, along with promising pilots to increase PAC contributions.
- * We are winning issue organizing campaigns in places like New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Hawaii, California and Idaho; winning things like pay scale compression, student supports, and special ed investments. In New Mexico, we helped win a statewide \$15/hr. minimum wage for all school employees and a 7% raise for all public-school employees and higher education faculty; in Austin - a \$16/hr. district minimum wage, a \$21/hr. starting wage for bus drivers, and a \$2.50/hr. pay raise for all ESPs; and in Las Vegas, an increase of \$6.6 million in the districts contribution to ESP healthcare costs, preventing healthcare costs from rising during the 22-23 SY.
- * We are training 120 new local presidents a year in partnership with NCUEA
- * We are supporting majority status recognition campaigns in Virginia and Colorado.
- * We are supporting scratch organizing campaigns in Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Mexico.
- * We are providing support to Aspiring Educator chapters across the country.
- * We are coordinating Advocacy Training Programs in partnership with 12 state affiliates.
- * We are partnering with the Center for Racial and Social Justice and We Make the Future, to build professional learning communities for leaders and staff in state affiliates around race/class narrative.
- * We are assisting a local rebuild and emerge from a voluntary trusteeship.
- * We are training 300+ affiliate field staff a year in basic organizing skills, along with Advancing Racial Justice in UniServ Work, Teacher Unions and Social Justice, and Organizing Strategies for ESPs.
- * We are building grow-our-own programs to help affiliates to hire a more diverse field staff to better reflect our members and our students; through both the National Organizing Fellows Academy (*a yearlong fellowship*) and the Pre-UniServ Academy (*a 12 week, job-embedded professional development course*).
- * We are supporting multiple state affiliates in transitioning from payroll deduction to direct eDues payment systems.
- * We are supporting affiliates on issue campaigns in Mississippi around safe drinking water in Jackson, and in South Carolina on a tax abatement campaign.

- * We have been supporting our Lee County Florida regain ESP local to increase density and leader identification, in order to majority status and preserve recognition⁴.
- * We've been assisting seven states across the southeast in rebuilding dormant local affiliates.
- * We are assisting six state affiliates in increasing retiree engagement in the work of the union.
- * We are supporting Wisconsin in rebuilding a statewide field program, following its transition from a fully local-option state to one with the ability to coordinate centrally.
- * We are supporting higher education affiliates in Florida, Rhode Island, Michigan, Alabama, Maryland, New Mexico, Montana, and Nebraska.
- * We have staff on loan to state affiliates to fill in as interim state executive directors during transitions.
- * We provide crisis support to locals on strike: most recently in places like Seattle, Kent and Columbus.
- * We support our affiliates on the campuses of HBCUs and MSIs, in Alabama, Florida, California, the District of Columbia, and New Mexico.
- * We partner with state affiliates to support state board capacity through strategic planning and training.
- * We provide in excess of \$5 million a year to affiliates to support member recruitment and engagement organizing projects, across a range of grant programs.
- * We have responsibility for executing multiple NEA conferences each year, including the Higher Ed Conference, the Retired Conference, the UniServ Managers Conference, and the two NCUEA conferences.
- * We administer a range of programs to support affiliates, including the Shared Staffing Program for mutual affiliate assistance, the Solidary Loan Program for strike loans for members, the Small States Grant Program to support small state affiliates, as well as the UniServ Program.

The Current Moment

⁴ At the start of October, Lee County took the brunt of Hurricane Ida's landfall. 50,000 residential and commercial buildings were destroyed and damaged. Schools throughout the Ft. Meyers region included. An estimated \$5 billion in losses in Lee County itself.

The resurgence of a fascist movement threatening our democracy looms large. There has long been a white, racist sub-culture on the fringes, and at times in the halls of power, in American society. 60,000 KKK members marched in Washington DC in 1925. Emmett Till's lynching in 1955 was just one of thousands⁵ in a very long history of white nationalist political violence. Today we witness **Charlottesville** and the **January 6th insurrection**. There is a lot at stake.

Our mission - to unite our members and the nation to fulfill the promise of public education – is an essential part of the fight to defend democracy. There is a reason they ban books, try to whitewash the teaching of American history and the history of race, attack publicly elected school board members, and seek to privatize and undermine public education. Public education is indeed a bulwark of democracy.

Unions – organizations of working people – have long been the backbone of civil society movements to defend democracy around the world. Public education unions can and must play an especially critical role, not only in the defense of democracy but also in the advancement of racial justice for our students and their families. Universal, quality public education is essential for both.

Just before the pandemic hit, **the Red for Ed movement** swept the nation with walkouts by educators in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arizona, as well as Colorado, Kentucky, North Carolina, Indiana, Oregon, South Carolina, Denver, Little Rock and Los Angeles). Tens of thousands of educators willing to strike and walk out to defend our schools, our students and their families.

In 2018, our enemies and our friends thought **the Janus decision** would be a crushing setback for teacher unions. We have lost some members, but far less than anticipated. We survived Janus and we have survived a **pandemic** that disrupted our work, our schools, our communities, and the lives of our members.

More harmful than the Janus decision has been the **loss of payroll deduction** of dues in specific states – devastating membership density. These affiliates are adapting to new ways of collecting dues and staying connected to members, while a growing number of state affiliates face this existential threat.

Confidence in institutions is eroding across the spectrum: from government to the media, churches, business, political parties, banks and corporations. Yet ***“nationwide support for organized labor has reached a high-water mark not achieved since the 1960s”***⁶. Support is

⁵ 4,400 documented lynchings, by the Equal Justice Institute, www.eji.org

⁶ *The Closing Gender, Education, and Ideological Divides Behind Gen Z's Union Movement*, Aurella Glass, Center for American Progress, 10/5/2022.

highest among Gen Z and Millennial women – our core constituencies. Even young Republican women support unions at a higher rate than their predecessors ever have - now a majority.

There are **ambitious new union drives** in the service sector (*Starbucks*), warehousing (*Amazon*), retail (*REI*), in the white-collar private sector (*Vox Media, etc.*) and in non-profits.

As we emerge from the worst years of the pandemic, with historically low employment and an infusion of federal dollars into the economy, there is an upsurge in union organizing drives. We are seeing a spike in union elections overall (*2,510 NLRB election petitions alone in FY22, a 53% increase over the prior year*).

Just this year, we have seen educator strikes in **Minnesota** (*Minneapolis*), **Washington** (*Seattle, Kent, etc.*), **Ohio** (*Columbus*), and **Massachusetts** (*Brookline, Dedham, Malden, Haverhill*). In Massachusetts, the striking educators faced off against court injunctions.

All of these strikes, like the RedforEd walkouts before them, included student-centered demands – bargaining for the common good as well as our own.

“Organized labor has never been able to predict or trigger the developments that have led to its revival and reinvention over the course of two centuries... It has had to be opportunistic, acting boldly at the right time by using the best ideas, models, and language at its disposal to build new forms of power for those who lack it.

But it has had to be decisive when these windows of opportunity have opened, for they have never stayed open for long. Confronted as they are by enemies, unions must seize the opportunities that these recent teachers’ mobilizations have presented”.⁷

There must be a sense of urgency to our work. The times demand it. It is our responsibility to act boldly – to seize the moment as best we can. Complacency is not an option.

Our members, our students, our schools, our communities, and indeed today - in 2022 - our nation and democracy itself, depend on it.

As the anthropologist Margaret Mead once commented,

**Never doubt
that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world.
Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.**

⁷ *Before the Chalk Dust Settles: Building on the 2018 Teachers’ Mobilization*. Maurice BP-Weeks, Stephen Lerner, Joseph A. McCartin & Marilyn Sneiderman. *The American Prospect*, April 24, 2018

STRATEGIC BUILDING BLOCKS OF C4OAS

1. Align programs, staff and resources within a C4OAS Coordinated Organizing Plan

Focus on increasing union density in order to increase the power of our affiliates and the voice of our members. We will advance this goal by:

- A) Maximizing member recruitment across all affiliates
 - B) Prioritizing majority status campaigns to win bargaining rights
 - C) Building worksite leadership networks and protecting threats to density from loss of payroll deduction of dues, in prohibited and weak bargaining states
 - D) Targeting 'deep dive' states for coordinated support
- A. **Maximize affiliate capacity to recruit new hires and potential members across all affiliates**
 - i. expand and develop the Year-Round Organizing **member organizers program**
 - ii. **drive innovation** in digital engagement, social media, telephonic, data and in membership systems processing
 - B. Focus on opportunities across **bargaining states** to run **majority status campaigns to win exclusive representation and first contracts**. *(in both permissive and mandatory bargaining states)*. Expansion of majority status bargaining rights directly correlates with increased member density and thereby increased member voice and power. Recognition campaigns expand the union.
 - C. Focus in **prohibited and weak bargaining states** on building sustainable capacity:
 - i. **Worksite leadership systems**: helping state affiliates expand and train building rep networks for locals and regions – building the bench
 - ii. **eDues transition**: for independence from threats from hostile politicians
 - D. Develop a set of **targeting criteria** to identify '**deep dive**' states where we align resources to qualitatively move the needle on growth, engagement and expansion.

Over the last ten years, a primary goal has been persuading affiliates that recruitment was not just done during the Back to School season and at new employee orientations, but rather should happen throughout the entire calendar year. The various C4OAS teams (GLUE, MSMV, Zones) developed organizing programs and tools to help build an organizing culture of member and potential member engagement among our affiliates.

A laser-like focus on recruitment is essential. We must continue to coach and support affiliates in running robust and larger member organizer programs, and building them in to their own program funding. We must continue to innovate and take advantage of new tools and strategies. It is essential. We have to recruit 250,000 new members a year just to maintain current levels of union density.

We also know that union density and strength are correlated with exclusive representation and collective bargaining. States with near universal contracts have higher density than states with permissive bargaining laws, almost all of whom have higher density than states where collective bargaining is prohibited. The more widespread collective bargaining is, the higher our membership density. Among our certificated membership:

- we are at 61% density across all the mandatory bargaining states
 - 10 states are above 80%
- We are at 39% density across permissive bargaining states
- We are at 12% density across prohibited bargaining states

We have hundreds, if not thousands, of local affiliates in permissive and in mandatory bargaining states that do not have exclusive recognition and bargaining rights. Winning recognition and bargaining rights inevitably result in increased membership, density and strength.

Members and potential members are rarely more engaged than during campaigns for recognition and first contracts. These can be critical compression points for increasing membership, engagement, and strength.

Leaders are developed through action. Campaigns for recognition and first contracts are powerful crucibles for the identification, testing and validation of trusted and respected worksite leaders. Successful recognition campaigns are led by effective *member organizing committees*. And they build effective worksite leadership networks.

Our ability to assist locals without bargaining rights, to win exclusive recognition and first contracts can qualitatively expand and strengthen the union.

Our 500 largest locals (>900 members) represent 41% of our overall active membership. Systemically expanding collective bargaining in those locals can increase our membership and our density in both permissive and mandatory bargaining states.

Help more of our members win the right to bargain collectively, and they will advance their own self-interest, bargain for the common good, and fight for the safe, just and equitable schools our students deserve. Winning the right to bargain empowers workers and changes lives. Focusing on that, makes everything else possible.

States where collective bargaining is prohibited, by their very nature, call for a different strategy. The good news is that we are seeing record-breaking membership growth in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas and Mississippi⁸. But prohibited bargaining states also have the highest membership turnover rates.

The need in prohibited bargaining states to improve retention demands a ‘high-touch’ approach to existing member engagement, from across the enterprise. Member-led professional development can be an important part of the value proposition in these states. For C4OAS, our ability to help states scale up more robust worksite leadership systems will build sustainable capacity. The goal is a distributive leadership model of teams of building reps in individual schools and worksites, with differentiated roles and responsibilities. Expanding the ranks of building reps/teams helps build the bench – building future capacity. And it puts trusted and respected worksite level leaders at the forefront of member engagement.

In addition, many of our states face existential threats from conservative politicians to kneecap them through loss of payroll deduction of dues. Building financial independence from hostile politicians is a critical priority for the future sustainability of affiliates in states with ultra-conservative Republican legislatures. Failure to do so risks their very survival.

⁸ SC, GA, AR & MS – Increases of 15%, 8%, 9% and 10% respectively over the end of last year (8/31/22).

Is Collective Bargaining Important and/or Urgent?

In the book, “The Future We Need,” there are a number of definitions for collective bargaining.

P. 13 Traditional **Collective Bargaining**, at its best, is a system by which working people can exercise collective power and directly confront the owners of capital in a way that reclaims portions of that capital for working people and their communities. This type of collective bargaining has served as a direct mechanism to fight for a fair return on the labor working people invest in building, operating, servicing, or moving something. In this way collective bargaining allows everyday people to practice democracy – directly engaging in the decisions and choices that affect their lives.

P 14 **Collective bargaining**: the process whereby employees, identified as a bargaining unit, negotiate as a group, often through an elected bargaining committee, with their employer to determine wages, hours, and other permissible conditions of employment, resulting in a written agreement or contract that defines policy either for all employees of that employer or for those specifically represented by the bargaining committee.

P. 15 **Collective Bargaining** is the formal process of negotiation between an employer and a group of employees – often with their union representative – that sets the terms and conditions of work. Collective bargaining results in a collective bargaining agreement, a legally binding agreement that lays out policies agreed to by management and labor. Because of its role in governing the actions of both management and labor, a CBA is often referred to as the “law of the workplace.” While every CBA is unique to a given labor-management relationship, most include provisions that address pay, scheduling, promotions, discipline, and job standards. CBAs also usually contain a grievance procedure, which provides a process for resolving disputes between management and labor over the interpretation of the contract or regarding employee discipline or termination.

P. 19 To fulfill its true potential, **collective bargaining** should be seen as a gateway to democracy in the entire economic arena. ... We need to not only ensure that collective bargaining is accessible to workers in this climate but also deepens its effect if it is to become an impetus to the revival of democracy.

Discussion Questions:

Which of these is closest to your definition of collective bargaining as you CURRENTLY think about it?

You already have the “right” to bargain collectively, why don’t you?

What would you have to stop doing in order to make this happen?

Who would you have to convince that this was both important and urgent?

The Urgent/Important Matrix - Using Time Strategically, Not Just Efficiently

We've all been there: The project is due for today's meeting and we are only three quarters done. Our anxiety is at its peak, we can't concentrate, everything is a distraction, and then, finally, we blow. Time stressors are the most pervasive source of pressure and stress in the workplace and they happen as a result of having too much to do in too little time.

With this kind of pressure all too common, effective time management is an absolute necessity. You probably use calendar and to-do list to manage your time. These tools are certainly helpful, but they don't allow you to drill down to one of the most essential elements of strategic time management: **Distinguishing between what is important and what is urgent.**

Strategic time management means being effective as well as efficient. Managing time strategically, and achieving the things that you want to achieve, means spending your time on things that are important and not just urgent. To do this, and to minimize the stress of having too many tight deadlines, you need to distinguish clearly between what is urgent and what is important:

- **Important** activities have an outcome that leads to the achievement of your goals. These are the activities that we know would help us out in the "long term" and we "intend" to them when the "timing is right" but the consequences of not doing them are not immediate so we put off acting on them.
- **Urgent** activities demand immediate attention, and are usually associated with the achievement of someone else's goals, or with an uncomfortable problem or situation that needs to be resolved. Urgent activities are often the ones we concentrate on. These are the "squeaky wheels that get the grease." They demand attention because the consequences of not dealing with them are immediate.

Urgent and Important Matrix Setting Priorities

Step 1 – On your own

Brainstorm a list of all the things that you have to do in your job right now.

Step 2 – Working with your team

Use the Urgent and Important Matrix to decide which items you might be able to stop doing

Step 3 – Working with your team

Where does achieving collective bargaining fall on this matrix? Why

Urgent/Important Matrix

	Not Urgent ----- Urgent	
Important ----- Not Important	PLAN TO DO - planning, preparation, scheduling - research, investigation, designing, testing - relationship building (members, teams and leaders) - thinking, creating, modelling, designing - systems and process development - anticipation and prevention - developing change, direction, strategy Critical to success: planning, strategic thinking, deciding direction and aims, etc. Plan time-slots and personal space for these tasks. Will doing this ultimately improve a number of urgent and important conditions?	DO NOW - emergencies, complaints, and crisis issues - demands from managers - planned tasks or project work now due - required meetings and appointments - reports and other submissions - member issues or needs that they can not be coached to solve on their own - problem resolution, fire-fighting, fixes - issues of safety – emotional, physical, etc. - building public relationship Subject to confirming the importance and the urgency of these tasks, do these tasks now. When it is determined you must do this and not someone else, do the thing. Prioritize according to their relative urgency.
	RESIST AND CEASE 'comfort' activities, social media scrolling and posting - Participation in "ritual" events without outcomes, social communication - daydreaming, doodling, meetings that you don't need to attend - doing work that belongs to someone else - unnecessary perfectionism - embellishment and over-production of basic items - tasks that you do because it is easier but that really belong to someone else Habitual routines – why are we doing this? - not true tasks. Non-productive, de-motivational. Minimize or cease altogether. Plan to avoid them.	REJECT AND EXPLAIN - trivial requests and apparent emergencies from others - tasks that others can learn to do - ad-hoc interruptions and distractions - misunderstandings appearing as complaints - pointless routines or activities - accumulated unresolved trivia - work that can be delegated and shared - immediate email, text, phone responses Scrutinize and probe demands. Take a moment to think before acting. What can they do themselves? Help originators to re-assess. Wherever possible reject and avoid these tasks sensitively and immediately.
	Not Urgent ----- Urgent	



The Benefits of
**COLLECTIVE
BARGAINING**
in Public Education





NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The National Education Association is the nation's largest professional employee organization, representing more than 3 million elementary and secondary teachers, higher education faculty, education support professionals, school administrators, retired educators and students preparing to become teachers.

NEA EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

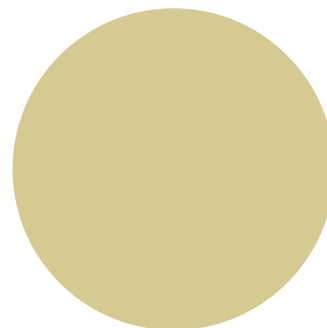
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OVERVIEW

The National Education Association believes that securing robust collective bargaining rights—and enforcement mechanisms to ensure that all educators can exercise those rights free from unlawful interference—is essential to the success of our students and educators alike.

Providing education employees with the right to engage in collective bargaining ensures that they will have a legally guaranteed seat at the table and a voice in the terms and conditions of their employment. In exercising that right, educators can improve the conditions under which they teach and their students learn. Educators who have the right to bargain can also negotiate better teaching and learning conditions for their students. Collective bargaining is good public policy. When educators and management can come to an agreement on salary, benefits, and working conditions—while improving teaching and learning conditions—everyone benefits.

Unfortunately, today, educators in many states lack these basic rights and protections. Here we present three important elements:

- (1) a brief history of public-sector bargaining;
- (2) why collective bargaining is important and how it benefits educators, students, and the wider community; and
- (3) key elements of a strong public-sector collective bargaining law.



1. HISTORY OF PUBLIC-SECTOR BARGAINING

Collective bargaining and labor rights in the United States were added in a piecemeal and sector-based fashion since the passage of the 1926 Railway Labor Act, which only covered railroad workers. When the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) was enacted in 1935, most private-sector employees gained the right to collectively bargain. However, public-sector workers, including teachers, were excluded.

Though the nation's first public-sector bargaining law was enacted in Wisconsin in 1959, it was President Kennedy's 1962 executive order granting federal employees the right to bargain that set the stage for the NEA and other public-sector unions to pursue collective bargaining for teachers and other educators, state by state. The result was a patchwork of widely varying laws—developed in different political climates—that still exists today. And we still have states that have not extended collective bargaining rights to their employees and several that prohibit bargaining.

Anti-union forces have worked to erode those rights in recent decades. Some states have gutted their public-sector collective bargaining laws and have severely restricted bargaining rights for educators and other public employees. In 2011, the Wisconsin legislature passed legislation that severely limited bargaining for most public-sector workers, including education employees. Those employees are now prohibited from bargaining any factor or condition of employment except base wages. The Wisconsin law also made it much more difficult for workers to choose to be represented by a union, because it requires unions to obtain 51 percent of the votes of all employees in the bargaining unit—including counting as “no” votes those who do not vote. Inspired by Wisconsin, other states have taken similar measures to either curtail or eliminate collective bargaining rights, including Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan.

The NEA is working to reverse this trend in statehouses around the country, not only to benefit our members and their students, but also to strengthen the economy, help working families get ahead, and help to end racial and socioeconomic inequity.

Only 34 states, plus the District of Columbia, guarantee K-12 teachers some right to organize and collectively bargain. In the other six states (Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and most recently, Arkansas), public-employee collective bargaining is expressly prohibited by law. In 2011, Tennessee replaced collective bargaining with a process called “Collaborative Conferencing.”¹ In the remaining nine states (Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Kentucky, Louisiana, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming), there is no statewide bargaining framework but local jurisdictions may grant recognition and bargaining rights if employers choose to do so.

¹“Collaborative conferencing” is distinct from collective bargaining. Employees no longer have the right to collective bargaining in Tennessee. Non-binding “conferencing” is now the only method through which professional educators may negotiate with their employers in Tennessee.

The situation for education support professionals (ESPs) is similar. Thirty-one states, along with the District of Columbia, provide for the right to organize and bargain. Seven states prohibit it. While 12 states have no explicit bargaining framework for ESPs, local jurisdictions can choose to grant recognition and bargaining rights.

Educators at public, higher education institutions are in an even more precarious position. Only 25 states guarantee bargaining rights for faculty at community colleges and four-year institutions. Nine states prohibit it. Three states, plus the District of Columbia, grant the right to bargain to some, but not all, higher education faculty. Finally, 13 states have no statewide bargaining framework nor any ban; as a result, individual institutions can choose to grant recognition and bargaining rights.

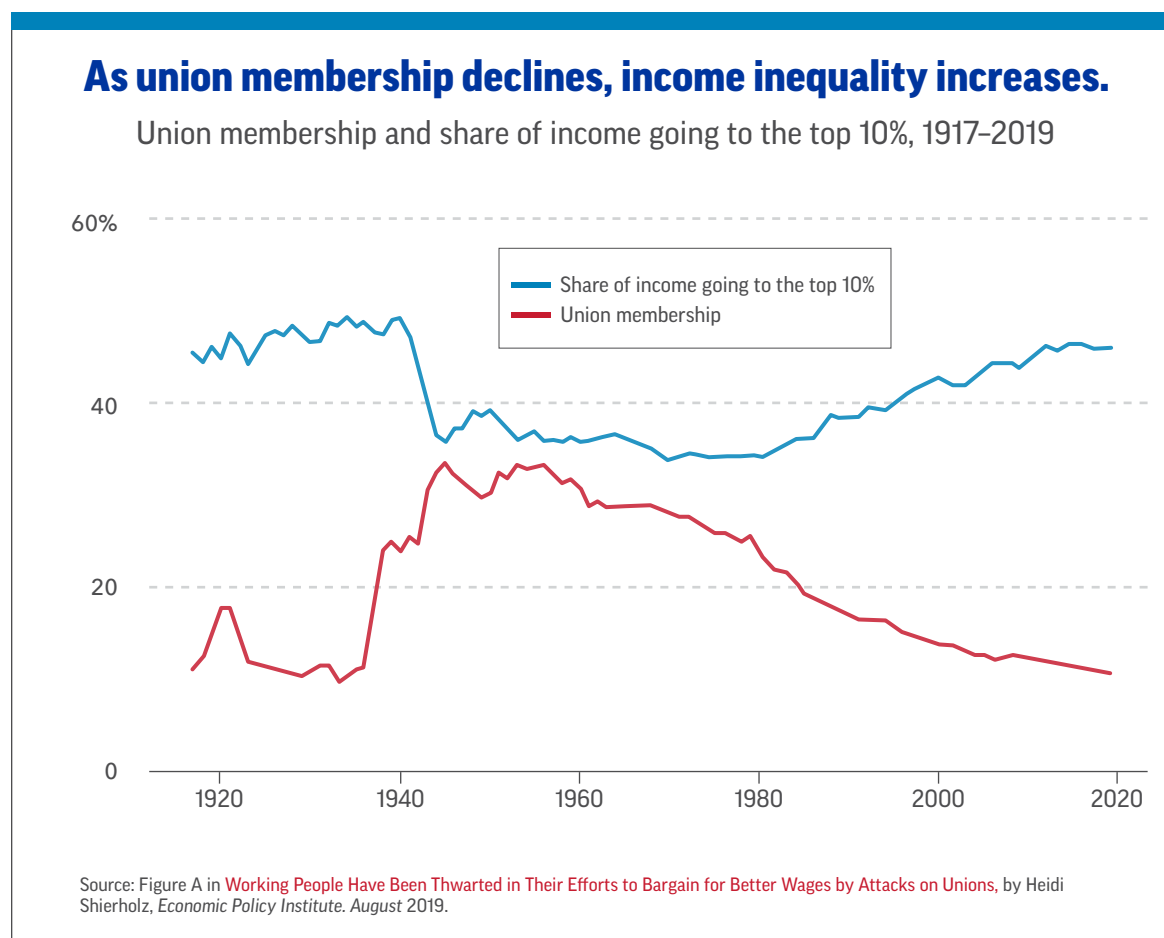
This means that hundreds of thousands of public, K-12 and higher education employees are denied the right to organize and bargain for better compensation, benefits, improved working conditions, and more effective student learning environments.

See the [Appendix](#) for U.S. maps showing the status of K-12 and higher education employee bargaining rights in each state.



2. THE BENEFITS OF UNIONIZATION

The Economic Policy Institute has long documented the positive effects of unionization on workers in general and union members in particular. Union members earn better pay, health insurance, and other benefits. Women and people of color especially gain from collective bargaining because it reduces wage inequities. Moreover, unions and their members tend to be more engaged in civic involvement and support progressive policies including increased education funding. All these elements reduce inequality and provide more opportunity for workers and their families.²



The Benefits of Collective Bargaining in Public Education

The benefits of unionization are crucial to those who choose to work in education. Through collective bargaining, NEA members negotiate for more than their own economic security. They also secure vital public resources to help communities and improve education by reducing class size, and increasing student learning time while reducing unnecessary testing.

²<https://www.epi.org/publication/unions-help-reduce-disparities-and-strengthen-our-democracy>

In good or bad economic times, a collaborative public education employer can better serve students and the community by negotiating in good faith with its union(s).

NEA affiliates are also working with a broad group of stakeholders, including parents and other community partners during the negotiations process. Together they are developing proposals to secure critical resources for students and ensure that all students have the support they need, no matter where they live.

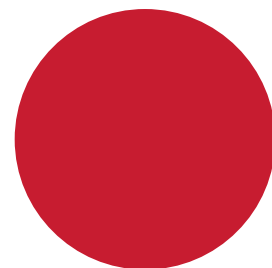
Bargaining improves student learning and teacher working conditions.

Teachers' working conditions are students' learning conditions. By addressing school and classroom issues, everyone gains. In negotiations, educators and their employers collaborate on student-centered issues such as setting limits on class size, identifying time for teachers and paraeducators to share effective classroom practices, addressing school health and safety issues, and ensuring teacher input into their own professional learning—all of which help students thrive.

The Learning Policy Institute's research supports the reality that better working conditions positively impact an educator's ability to teach in a particular school and to stay there.³

Many locals have successfully bargained student-centered issues such as:

- lowering class size limits;
- adding more specialized instructional support personnel (SISP) to address student needs; also known as non-classroom educators, these staff include social workers, occupational therapists, library media specialists, and many other positions; and
- increasing the amount of recess time or arts curriculum offered to students.



Bargaining can help attract and retain the highest quality employees.

Teacher shortages were an issue prior to the pandemic, with declining enrollments in teacher preparation programs. The Learning Policy Institute projects annual shortfalls of over 100,000 teachers as fewer people are entering the profession compounded by an increase in retirements/resignations due to low pay, high stress, and challenging working conditions.⁴ Since the pandemic began, the educator shortage problem is not limited to teachers. In the 2021-22 school year, finding trained bus drivers to safely transport students has become a crisis.⁵

The historic stresses of the pandemic (e.g., virtual/hybrid teaching and learning, technology challenges, personal safety concerns) have exacerbated shortages in many districts as never before, particularly for hard-to-staff subjects such as math, science, special education, and

³teachingplaybook.org

⁴<https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/teacher-turnover-report>

⁵<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/16/us/school-shortages-bus-drivers-workers.html>

bilingual education, along with bus drivers, and other ESP career families.^{6,7,8}

Retirements and resignations are up in some—but not all—districts compared to the 2019–20 school year. Limited data so far suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic was a key factor in one-third to one-half of teacher departures over the past year.

The Learning Policy Institute spells out five major elements that affect a teacher's decision to enter and remain in the classroom, particularly at under-resourced schools: compensation, teacher preparation, hiring and other personnel systems, mentoring and induction support for new teachers, and working conditions.⁹ The Economic Policy Institute has also pointed to the negative influence that low compensation, poor working conditions, and lack of respect can play in exacerbating the teacher shortage—and that was before the pandemic.¹⁰

Unions, working with school districts and harnessing their members' input, can positively impact many of these factors.

Regarding compensation: [Research](#) by Economic Policy Institute determined that in states where public-sector employees (teachers, police, firefighters, and other local government workers) have stronger collective bargaining rights and higher union membership, smaller gaps exist between these workers' pay and the pay of private-sector employees with similar educational attainment and hours worked.

This is no surprise to teachers, given that our government at every level, has chronically underfunded education in general, depressing the wages of educators. The Economic Policy Institute has been tracking this issue for many years and has most recently revealed that teachers are paid, on average, nearly 20 percent less than other professionals with a comparable level of education.¹¹ Similarly, in states that have significantly restricted bargaining, EPI documented “significantly reduced average districts' spending on teacher compensation, including both teacher salaries and teacher benefits.”¹²

⁶<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/no-bus-drivers-custodians-or-subs-whats-really-behind-schools-staffing-shortages/2021/09>

⁷An ESP career family is a group of ESP professions that share similar core job skills, responsibilities, education, and training. The nine NEA ESP career families are clerical services, custodial and maintenance services, food services, health and student services, paraeducators, security services, skilled trades, technical services, and transportation services.

⁸NEA Education Employment Update, NEA Research, September 2021.

⁹<https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/solving-teacher-shortage>

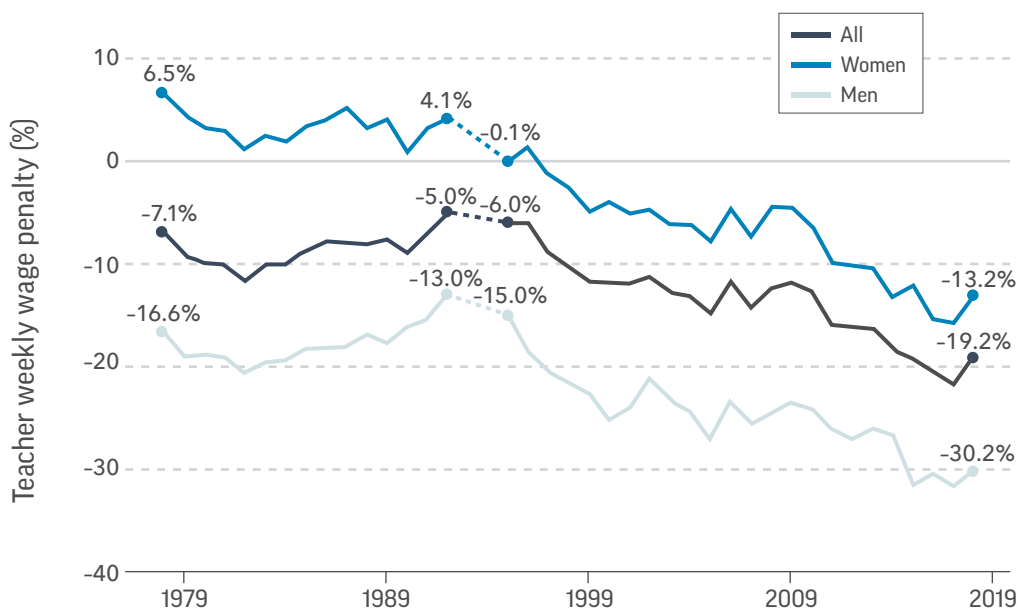
¹⁰<https://www.epi.org/publication/school-climate-challenges-affect-teachers-morale-more-so-in-high-poverty-schools-the-fourth-report-in-the-perfect-storm-in-the-teacher-labor-market-series/>

¹¹<https://www.epi.org/press/teachers-are-paid-almost-20-less-than-similar-workers-when-including-benefits-teachers-still-face-a-10-2-total-compensation-penalty/>

¹²<https://www.epi.org/publication/the-impact-of-changes-in-public-sector-bargaining-laws-on-districts-spending-on-teacher-compensation/>

Teachers earn 19.2% less than comparable college graduates.

Teacher weekly wage penalty (or premium) for all teachers and by gender, 1979–2019



Source: Economic Policy Institute.

New educators often find teaching to be challenging—and even veteran teachers need extra support if they are teaching unfamiliar subjects or curriculums. NEA locals have negotiated comprehensive mentoring or coaching systems so that first-time educators receive feedback and support about curriculum development, classroom management, parent communications, and other responsibilities. Unions and school districts have successfully bargained for programs in which they identify the roles and responsibilities of mentors and coaches, as well as the selection process, compensation, and other key elements.

NEA affiliates have long sought to improve educator working conditions, which are also student learning conditions. Affiliates have effectively bargained for provisions or policies such as reducing class size, providing planning/collaboration time and paid, duty-free breaks, and ensuring that students and educators are walking into healthy, safe buildings, are utilizing current textbooks and resources, and have consistent access to the internet.

During the pandemic, the need for the NEA to protect the health and safety of educators and members became even more crucial.

In early 2020, when the first wave of COVID-19 hit the United States and school buildings were closed across the nation, NEA locals responded by negotiating agreements to ensure continuity of learning for the remainder of the year. This included developing virtual learning capabilities and addressing a wide range of technology needs quickly.

Some locals negotiated with districts to engage education support professionals in providing food and emergency relief to students and families with additional pay. By late summer and fall of 2020, local associations were focused on forging agreements to address the safe return to in-person learning, and terms and conditions for remote or hybrid instruction.

In the spring and summer of 2021, negotiations continued over health and safety measures, student and educator supports, and the impact of reopening plans on educator jobs and workloads. In many places, school boards and local unions have negotiated multiple agreements to address evolving issues.

Bargaining supports the fight for social justice and racial equity.

Educators are driven by the higher purpose of helping to improve students' lives, especially for the growing number who battle poverty and attend under-resourced schools. Students of color are disproportionately saddled with those struggles.

Public-sector bargaining has evolved in recent years to have an even stronger community focus. Many NEA locals and their employers have opened the negotiation process to include community partners and parents, who develop proposals together to gain critical resources for students and schools. In many communities, educators, parents, and community allies have come together with the realization that unless they unite to address systemic racism head on, we can never live up to our belief that every student deserves to succeed no matter where they live or how much money their families have.

NEA affiliates are using negotiations to “[bargain for the common good](#)”—to organize local stakeholders around a set of issues that benefit not just our members in a building, but the wider community as a whole.

[Bargaining for the Common Good](#) (BCG) is an innovative approach to bargaining through which public-sector unions like the NEA use contract campaigns to organize local stakeholders around a set of demands that benefit not just the bargaining unit, but also students and the broader community. BCG is about expanding the continuum of bargaining and going on the offense in order to [fight for social and racial justice](#)—for our kids, for our schools, for the communities that we serve, and for the future.

As outlined by the [Bargaining for the Common Good Network](#), key elements of a BCG campaign include:

- expanding the scope of bargaining beyond wages and benefits;
- engaging community allies as partners in issue development and the bargaining campaign;
- centering racial justice in the union's demands;
- going on offense in the campaign by identifying, exposing, and challenging the unscrupulous players;
- strengthening internal organizing, membership, and member engagement; and
- assuring the campaign doesn't end once the union settles its contract.

3. KEY COMPONENTS OF A STRONG COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW

The fundamental purpose of a collective bargaining law is to guarantee the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employer. At its essence, a bargaining law institutes a public policy that acknowledges and affirms a basic human right.¹³ A bargaining law establishes the framework, processes, and mechanisms for exercising this right in an orderly and constructive manner.

The NEA believes that a strong collective bargaining law includes the following key components:

Uses a broad definition of employee and employer

A robust collective bargaining law provides comprehensive coverage and should not include arbitrary and unneeded exclusions based on things such as services rendered, hours worked, or categories of employment. A bargaining law should allow all types of employee groups (e.g., part-time employees, adjunct faculty, and graduate assistants) the opportunity for union representation and the right to negotiate.

Guarantees rights and protections

Collective bargaining legislation must give an employee the right to join a union. Employees should be able to engage in concerted activities without fear of retaliation for doing so. Unions and employers should be legally obligated to bargain in good faith. A strong bargaining law clearly delineates rights provided under the law and protects employees and employee organizations from unfair labor practices that interfere, restrain, or coerce them in the exercise of those rights.

Ensures clear dues deduction practices

Legislation should guarantee employee rights to payroll deduction of membership dues. Legislation should also require employers to implement payroll dues deductions in accordance with the terms of the authorization agreement between the union and their members. The terms of a member authorization may include a maintenance of payment provision in which employees agree to pay their full annual dues even if they choose to resign from union membership.



¹³<https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>

Broadly defines the scope of bargaining without arbitrary restrictions

A collective bargaining law gives employees a legitimate voice in the workplace by guaranteeing their ability to negotiate over wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment with working conditions broadly defined. Moreover, a tough bargaining law should include language that protects the provisions of the law from other statutes that would weaken or circumvent a bargaining obligation.

Promotes open and transparent processes and access

Since a union has the unique legal responsibility to represent all employees within the bargaining unit, it is critical that the union have the right of entry to and be able to meet and communicate with all employees. Therefore, legislation should guarantee admittance to new employee orientations and employees' contact information on a regular, consistent basis. This information should include details such as name, work location, home address, and personal phone numbers and/or email. In addition, a collective bargaining law must promote open and transparent procedures by granting unions reasonable and continued access to their members at the workplace, and allowing open or public negotiations with no communication restrictions during the bargaining process.

Requires a terminal step to dispute-resolution procedures

A strong collective bargaining law includes binding interest arbitration for resolving negotiation impasses.

Binding interest arbitration is a fair and equitable method to resolve contract disputes involving employers and the union employee representatives. Under binding interest arbitration, both parties agree to a neutral third party whose decisions are final and binding on both sides. The employee representative should have the right to determine the dispute-resolution method. Nevertheless, public-sector employees should also have the right to strike.

Concerns about widespread strikes by public employees are unfounded. For instance, prior to the enactment of its bargaining law in 1984, Ohio averaged 60 public-sector strikes a year, even though strikes were expressly illegal under the state's Ferguson Act and striking workers were subject to termination. Even though Ohio's law now permits strikes by public-sector employees in certain circumstances, according to the State Employment Relations Board, Ohio has averaged only two public employee strikes a year over the last 20 years.¹⁴

¹⁴https://serb.ohio.gov/static/PDF/Annual_Report/Annual_Report_2021.pdf

An effective bargaining law must also require a grievance procedure culminating in binding grievance arbitration to enforce the terms of collective bargaining agreements. Otherwise, contractual disputes fall on either employers or the courts to decide; neither of these options is desirable. It is unreasonable to expect employers to be able to impartially settle disagreements with their unionized employees. Relying on the courts to decide grievances creates a lengthy and expensive dispute-resolution process.

Establishes a labor relations agency to administer and enforce the law

It is essential that a collective bargaining law includes the creation of an independent, neutral labor relations agency, board, or commission to determine matters of representation—free from practices or tactics that delay or interfere with organizing campaigns—and the election of an exclusive representative.

Among other primary responsibilities of a labor relations agency is the authority to:

- conduct representation elections and certify election results;
- confirm a show of interest when a union seeks to represent employees or when employees no longer want union representation;
- resolve a situation when a rival employee organization challenges an incumbent union for the right to represent a unit of employees;
- determine appropriate bargaining units;
- decide election challenges; and
- investigate and put an end to unfair labor practices.



On the Ground

The following examples demonstrate how NEA affiliates have united with parents, students, and community activists to fight for essential elements from smaller class sizes and mental health support systems to school safety, racial justice, fair wages, and more. Some wins have made a major media splash and reaped huge gains, while many others created subtle, yet significant, ripple effects. Some are big wins, while others represent important building blocks toward change. Yet they all illustrate the benefits of our members having won the legal right to bargain with employers as equal partners.

Columbus Education Association (OH)

The 4,000-member Columbus Education Association (CEA) in Ohio built an impressive student-centered campaign called “Schools Columbus Students Deserve” before they headed to the bargaining table in 2019.

The campaign was built on a platform of six major components:

- reduced class sizes and caseloads;
- adequate staffing of Specialized Instructional Support Personnel (SISP);
- dedicated space for art, music, and P.E.;
- expanded alternative programs for discipline;
- reduced turnover by compensating educators as professionals and funding schools; and
- save taxpayers’ money by ending handouts for wealthy corporations that don’t need them.

After extensive negotiations, CEA signed an agreement providing for the first reductions in the class size cap for grades K–3 in 25 years; 60 additional CEA SISP positions, such as school nurses, social workers, and social emotional learning practitioners; new contract language requiring educator input before an art or music room is repurposed; a commitment for each building with any combination of grades 7 through 12 to provide space and staffing for a trauma-informed, in-school discipline program as an alternative to out-of-school suspension; and raises for all educators in each year of the contract.

CEA and Columbus City Schools continue to bargain around challenging issues. Since March 2020, CEA and the school district agreed to a series of memorandums of understanding (MOUs) to address changing circumstances.

Most recently, the parties negotiated an MOU for the 2021–22 school year, emphasizing COVID-19 protocols, the use of public health data, and a renewed focus on health and safety by the existing labor-management committee structure.

The MOU includes language regarding the use of federal American Rescue Plan funds, stating that the funding “provides the district with a unique opportunity to meet the many critical needs of students facing increased challenges as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.” Notably, the MOU codifies the hiring of 33 school counselors, 88 literacy specialists, and other SISP. As part of this agreement, the school district will provide professional development for CEA members on racial disparity, equity, diversity, and inclusion.



San Juan Teachers Association (CA)

Years ago, the San Juan Teachers Association (SJTA) and San Juan Unified School District bargained for language creating and promoting joint labor-management committees. These committees address a variety of issues, which proved invaluable during the pandemic.

The result? The union helped ensure the safety of returning staff and students, and elevated the voices of their school nurse members.

“It was really important that nurses were included on the district Health and Safety Committee,” said NEA member and school nurse Sarah Roycroft. “And that’s thanks to SJTA.”

Roycroft and her fellow nurses gave presentations at their school sites to help educators understand how CDC and state health department guidelines applied to their classrooms and schools. The nurses also spearheaded follow-up efforts when COVID cases were reported—and their union negotiated extra compensation for that work.

But even before the pandemic, SJTA and the school district used labor-management committees to solve complex problems. Notably, over 20 years ago, the union and district negotiated the parameters of comprehensive peer assistance (PA) and peer assistance and review (PAR) programs, which are still providing crucial supports to new and veteran teachers. The system is overseen by a union-management Governance Board. The guiding principles for the program are:

- ensure high quality teaching and learning for all students in the district;
- collaboration and partnership built upon trust and transparency between the district and the union; and
- support for veteran teachers by teacher leaders.

These strategies have helped retain teachers and improve their practice and serve as an exemplar of using the bargaining process to provide crucial professional supports to teachers.

United Teachers Los Angeles (CA)

In Los Angeles, educators and parents joined together in 2019 to demand more resources for the nearly 600,000 kids in L.A.’s public schools. Some class sizes were out of control – with 45 or more students per class. There was inadequate funding for special education, and 40 percent of schools had a nurse only one day a week.

After months of negotiations, educators went on strike for six days to secure meaningful changes—and thousands of community members showed up to support them. More than 10,000 parents, students, and community members joined the picket lines. On another day, close to 2,000 students and parents put on red shirts to show solidarity with the Red for Ed movement—creating a chain that stretched nearly a mile.

In the end, the union reached an agreement securing a 6-percent pay raise and many student-focused supports, including:

- a nurse in every school five days a week;
- lower class sizes, including an immediate reduction of seven students in secondary math and English classes;
- counselor-student ratios of 1:500;
- a commitment to reduce testing by 50 percent;
- a teacher-librarian in every secondary school five days a week;
- investment in community schools;
- a resolution calling on the state to establish a charter school cap and create a Governor's committee on charter schools; and
- hard caps on special education caseloads.

For the 2021-2022 school year, the United Teachers Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Unified School District reached an accord guaranteeing full in-person learning and return to school. The agreement included provisions for COVID screening and virtual learning for students forced to quarantine.

Prince George's County Educators' Association (MD)

When the Prince George's County Educators' Association (PGCEA) sat down at the bargaining table in 2019, it invited all 10,000 union members, plus local parents and students, to attend. "Open bargaining," as it's known, was a change for PGCEA, but President Theresa Dudley believed it made sense for her community.



Prince George's County educators, parents, and students display art they made for a massive school-funding demonstration.

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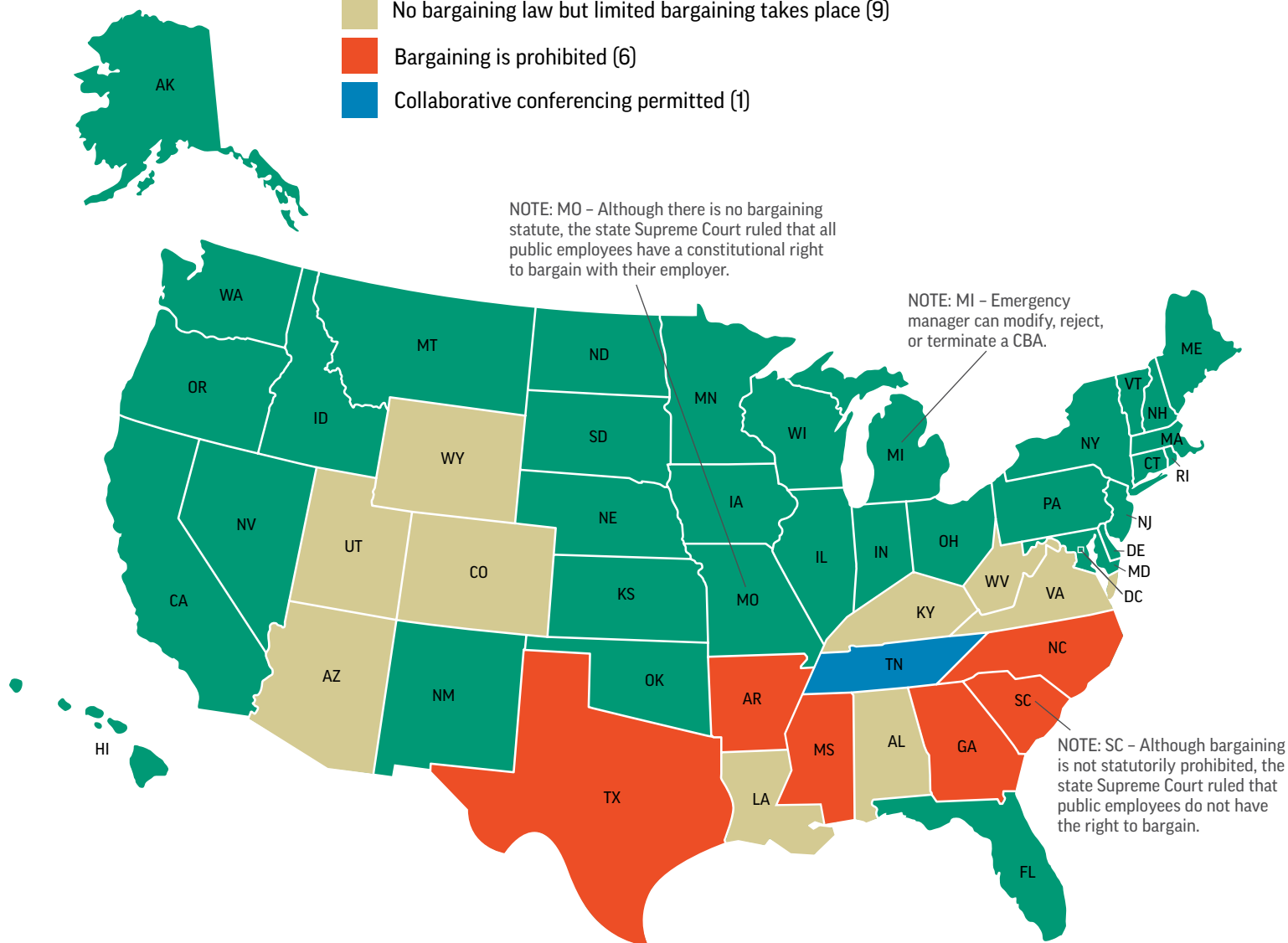
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APPENDIX

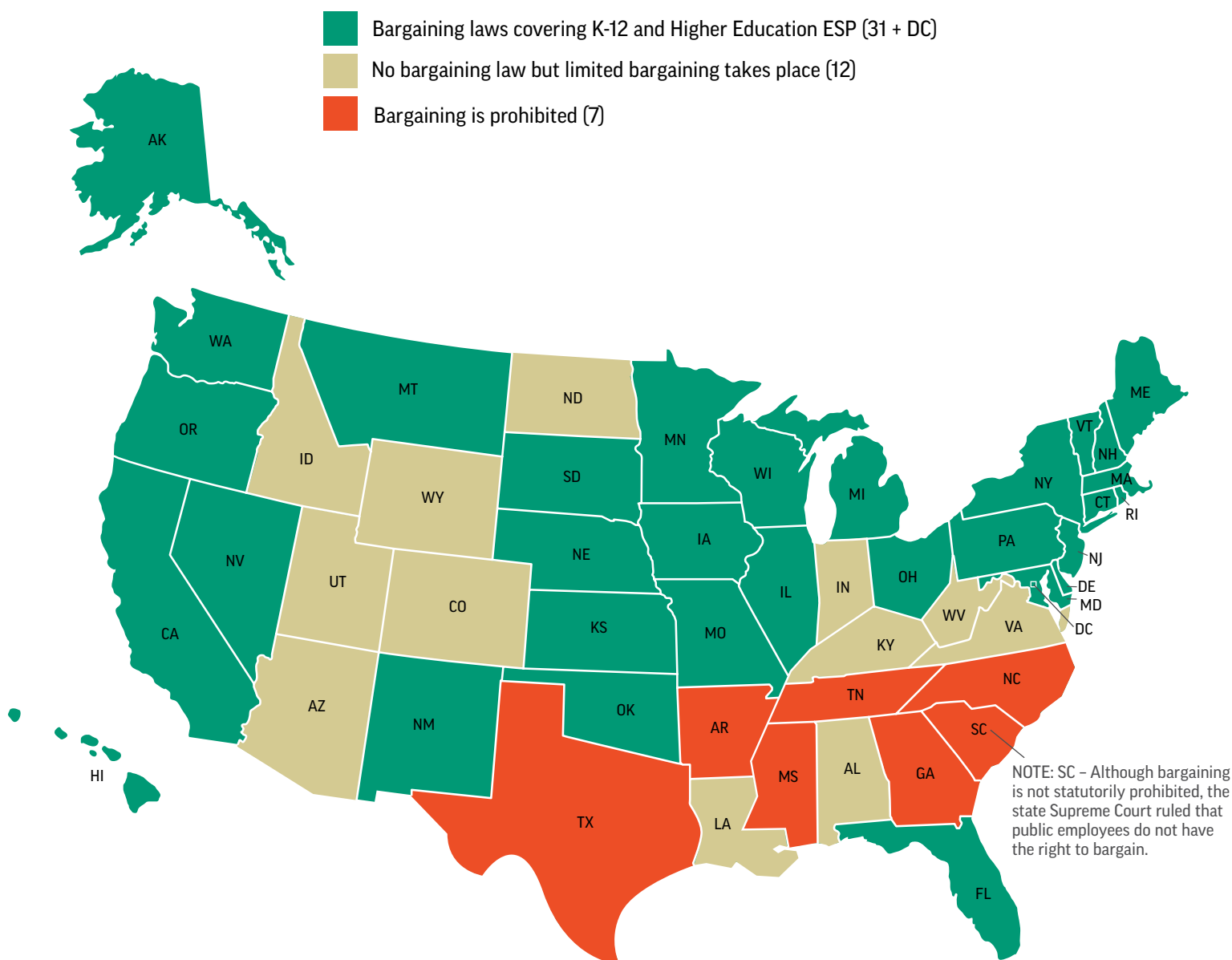
STATUS OF K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER BARGAINING

- Bargaining laws covering K-12 teachers (34 + DC)
- No bargaining law but limited bargaining takes place (9)
- Bargaining is prohibited (6)
- Collaborative conferencing permitted (1)



NEA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND MEMBER ADVOCACY (MAP CURRENT AS OF JULY 2021)

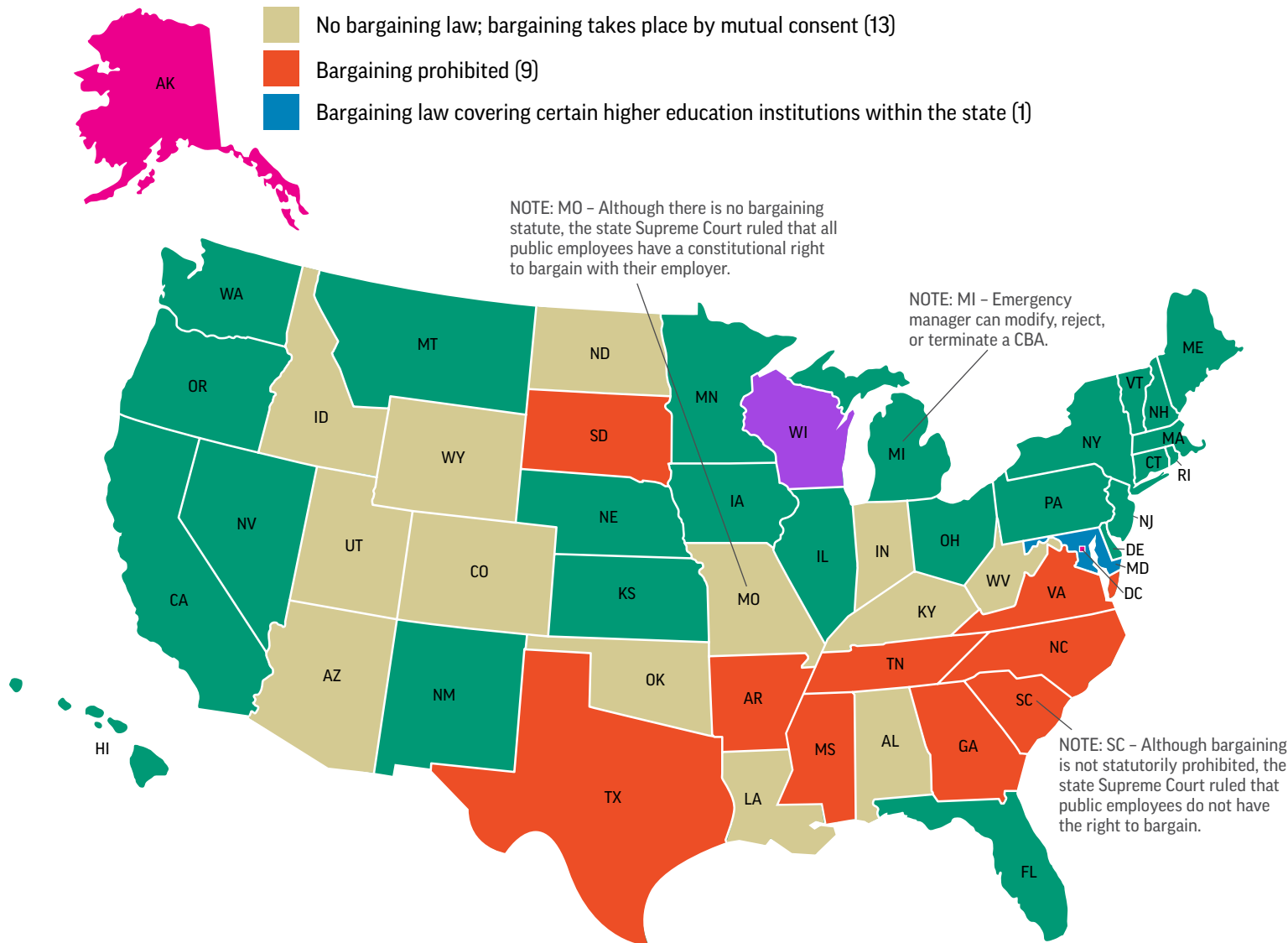
STATUS OF ESP BARGAINING LAWS FOR K-12 AND HIGHER EDUCATION ESP



NEA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND MEMBER ADVOCACY (MAP CURRENT AS OF JULY 2021)

STATUS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION FACULTY AT COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS

- Bargaining laws covering faculty at 4-year public education institutions and community colleges (25)
- Bargaining law covering community college faculty but not faculty at 4-year institutions (1)
- Bargaining law covering faculty at 4-year institutions but not community colleges (1 + DC)
- No bargaining law; bargaining takes place by mutual consent (13)
- Bargaining prohibited (9)
- Bargaining law covering certain higher education institutions within the state (1)



NEA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND MEMBER ADVOCACY (MAP CURRENT AS OF JULY 2021)

Why Unions Matter - Excerpt from *A Collective Bargain: Unions, Organizing, and the Fight for Democracy*

Unions, we may finally be coming to realize, are absolutely essential to democracy.

<https://janemcalevey.com/writing/why-unions-matter-excerpt-from-a-collective-bargain-unions-organizing-and-the-fight-for-democracy/>

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A Collective Bargain
Unions,
Organizing,
and the
Fight for
Democracy
Jane
McAlevey

Unions are such a pain in the ass really. Anyone who has dealt with a union understands. Then again, so is trying to get through to customer service at your bank, or the warranty division of a company that made one of your household appliances. Unions can be bureaucratic and hard to navigate in the same way dealing with the permit process to build a house or a building, or opening a childcare centre is. Paying union dues can feel as exciting as paying taxes.

But unions, we may finally be coming to realise, are absolutely essential to democracy. Wild levels of income inequality have led to wild levels of political inequality. Turns out that when you destroy the most effective tool that ordinary people have to challenge the powerful elite in their workplaces, you destroy democracy itself.

Chapter 2 of Timothy Snyder's bestselling 2017 book, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, is a directive titled 'Defend Institutions'. It

begins with his summary of why institutions matter to ward against tyranny:

'It is institutions that help us to preserve decency. They need our help as well. Do not speak of "our institutions" unless you make them yours by acting on their behalf. Institutions do not protect themselves. They fall one after the other unless each is defended from the beginning. So choose an institution you care about — a court, a newspaper, a law, a labour union — and take its side.'

In a world of widening income inequality, the foundering of the democratic electoral process, and rampant sexual and racial inequality, I take the side of unions. Despite their numerous problems, unions alone have the potential to match the power of giant corporations and massive wealth and solve the many social problems we face now.

But most workers who are unionised today have no idea how their workplace became unionised. They showed up, got hired, and found a union card or a horrifically outdated union membership form in triplicate, still layered with carbon paper, buried in their folder of paperwork at new employee orientation. The carbon paper alone tells most younger workers that union means 'last century'.

Today, the odds of a successful organisation drive are stacked against workers, in spite of the fact that polls show strong support for trade unions amongst the public. It is vital to understand what kind of campaigning on the part of unions is needed to close the gap between those favourably viewing unions and those having unions. Union organising, and for that matter, most organising, is a craft, and the knowledge that wins a campaign is founded on experience. Workers who have never been through that experience — and most haven't — need an experienced, skilled union organiser. This wouldn't be true if the rules for unionisation were fair, but the rules are heavily stacked in favour of employers.

How do union organisers help workers beat those odds? There are two key methods that animate two key principles behind any successful union drive and any union development. The methods are leader identification and structure tests, and the principles are democracy and participation. Leadership identification is grounded in the belief that natural leaders already exist among workers, long before organisers or activists get involved. These natural, or organic, leaders have no title, but they are people whom other workers trust, whom they turn to for help when they aren't sure how to get something done. Structure tests are mini-campaigns designed to help assess the level of worker participation by work area, be it a unit in a hospital or a shift at a fast-food restaurant.

A good organiser must be able to recognise organic leaders. Fortunately, there is a tried-and-true method for identifying these leaders, and though it's not complicated, it does require good listening skills and a lot of patience and discipline. To identify leaders effectively, an organiser has to ask most of the workers by work area variations of the same question, which is: Who is the worker you turn to when you need help understanding something? There are more questions, but they are all a variation of this single question. Once an organiser hears the same name over and over, they will then use a structure test to assess whether this worker really is the worker that most everyone else relies upon and trusts.

If the identified informal leader can get everyone in their own work area to do something, like sign a petition to management, then it's likely they are the natural leader among their peers. Structure tests are always done by hand and face-to-face, not using online tools, because, in addition to assessing the capacity of workers to get their co-workers to do something, they also help build solidarity because they force workers to engage in face-to-face conversations. This was already important before the advent of social media, but it's even more important today because chatting late at night on social media is very different than when a worker looks another worker in the eyes and helps them work through fear, ambivalence, and all the normal things that happen when a union buster shows up.

Identifying worker leaders is one method of ensuring high participation in a collective effort, which is one of the key principles in helping workers win. High participation is defined by successful union organisers as a supermajority of 80 per cent or more of any given constituency engaging with one another in a collective effort (for a strike, no less than 90 per cent). The other key principle is a commitment to democracy, which means breaking down the barriers — including directly confronting racism and sexism — that divide workers and weaken them in the fight for their common good.

Given this, there are two ways the battle to unionise is fought today: in either what is called a hot shop, or as part of a strategic industrial or geographic campaign. The difference is significant. In a 'hot shop', the employer did something horribly wrong, which enraged a majority of workers, and they rushed into a drive to organise. Most hot shop efforts in our current climate fail, despite the agitation ('heat') for a union.

Building unity quickly when a boss does something bad is very different from sustaining a super-majority of workers who are united, and also equipped to remain so, when the union busters show up. The conditions in the second type of unionisation fight, strategic sectoral or geographic organising, are different. This involves organising workers in a region or industry that workers, through their union or set of unions, decide to target for strategic reasons.

Strategic organising campaigns, unlike hot shop battles, tend to be fought by experienced organisers, drawing on workers already in the same union but in a different unionised facility. The non-union workers in these kinds of targeted industries or specific locations are likely to be dealing with a union that is actively trying to improve collective bargaining standards in their sector or region. More workers in a collective bargaining relationship to the employer, and in relationship to the sector, means more power for those workers, and this

generally suggests that the union not only has a vision for workers' futures, but also the resources and staff competencies to back that vision.

A strategic campaign usually begins with strategic research. Which industries can't be offshored? Within these industries, which employers are expanding and flush with cash, so that if the workers win, they can pull up to negotiations knowing there's money to make real improvements? Which industries and employers have groups of workers who are skilled enough that their employers can't easily replace them? Do the workers have some kind of other important campaign asset — for example high public prestige?

Both of the multi-year strategic campaigns I was hired to direct early in my union organising years had two equally important motivations. First, the state or region was key for emerging geopolitical reasons: the industries involved were in a red or Republican state, and the national unions I worked for had a long-term goal to shift the politics of the area to pro-worker and pro-union, that is to say, blue.

Second, the industries and employers involved were making a killing financially and were not unionised at all. In each case, in southern Connecticut in the late 1990s and in Nevada in the mid-2000s, we achieved both goals: We unionised thousands of workers and shifted the regional politics from Republican to Democrat. The former victory is the truly hard one to achieve; the latter happens quite naturally after successful unionisation or a great contract win. Why? Good unionisation or contract campaigns, and certainly strikes, help clarify whose side the employer class is on; it becomes easy to see this when your employer is forced out from behind the curtains into showing their overtly anti-worker side.

Real-life struggle reaffirms the idea that workers can still win and overcome all sorts of obstacles. Unions prove that in today's strategic sectors — chiefly the service sector, where schools, universities, hospitals, and health care systems are growth industries — workers still have power. Of course, there are many sectors of workers where using the strike weapon is not as reliable, where there are many low-wage workers who are instantly replaceable, like small grocery stores — but that was also true a hundred years ago. The key to rebuilding working-class power is a more intense focus on questions of strategy — the strategy of which workers to focus on, and why, when, where, and how.

The mostly female workers who dominate the service sector of the economy — sectors increasingly under attack from accounting firms, hedge funds, and investors who attempt to suck the life out of education and health care, to turn students and patients into profit centres — have the capacity to hold the line on corporate greed. Building strong, democratic unions in strategic sectors made up of enough workers who are hard to replace, and workers who have a kind of moral authority in mission-driven work, is a strategic choice of leadership, not something dictated by the constraints of global trade deals.

WHAT IS A DOMINANT NARRATIVE?

A dominant narrative is an explanation or story that is told in service of the dominant social group's interests and ideologies. It usually achieves dominance through repetition, the apparent authority of the speaker (often accorded to speakers who represent the dominant social groups), and the silencing of alternative accounts. Because dominant narratives are so normalized through their repetition and authority, they have the illusion of being objective and apolitical, when in fact they are neither.

In almost any topic you explore as a leader, there will likely be dominant narratives that others – or yourself- have encountered and may believe uncritically. The difficulty in dealing with Dominant Narratives is that they are often supported by “perfectly logical explanations.” This means that simply providing your own “perfectly logical explanation” will not shift the narrative. What follows are some guidelines for helping shift a dominant narrative towards your narrative.

GUIDELINES FOR SHIFTING THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE

DO

- **UNMASK**

- Name the dominant narrative when you see it at work.
- Point out that what you just saw on the news or heard from a friend, or the law that was just passed, was based on particular values and beliefs.
- *“The way you are talking about the recent contract settlement sounds like you think teachers are pretty greedy and we’re only looking out for ourselves.”*

- **ELEVATE**

- Name the values and beliefs from our new narrative that you want to see lived out in the world.
- Connect it to places where your audience may see that happening already.
- *“I really like it when parents come in and express their appreciation – especially when they acknowledge they don’t now how we do it – it helps me feel valued and respected”*

- **CONTRAST**

- Lay out what might be different if your values/convictions were the ones shaping what happens in the world.
- Be specific about how we have the choice to approach situations through a different belief system.
- Invite a rethinking of the situation.
- *“I guess we have to decide if we want to scapegoat teachers for the many challenges we face or accept teachers as willing and able partners in educating all kids.”*

- **DRAW ON YOUR OWN JOURNEY**

- While it’s important to personalize this, it’s also important to do it in a way that anyone can see themselves in it. Describing your own realizations and shifts will help others find their own way in the conversation.
- *“I can understand your reaction, there are times when I realize that I’ve been reacting to what others say and not putting forth my own beliefs – it gets discouraging – but I realize now I’ve only been making it worse.”*

- **SUSTAIN YOUR EFFORTS AND CONNECT WITH OTHERS**

- Shifting a dominant narrative does not happen quickly – it takes sustained effort, over time, with many people working at it.
- **DEMONSTRATE YOUR WORLDVIEW, DON'T JUST WRITE AND TALK ABOUT IT.**
 - Our actions say as much or more about our values and beliefs as our words.

DON'T

- **FOCUS ON CHALLENGING FACTS OR INTERPRETATIONS OF INFORMATION**
 - This will not shift the narrative. Your arguments, as convincing as they may be, will ultimately lose out to the dominant narrative.
- **ATTACK PEOPLE FOR THEIR WORLDVIEW**
 - Many people operate out of the dominant narrative, even if unconsciously. Shifting public narratives will take personal conversion and transformation. You cannot move people if you attack them.
- **NAME THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE AS “WRONG”**
 - Our assumption is that competing values & beliefs live within people. We want to provide people a chance to choose the ones they want to live out of and/or balance those competing narratives (e.g. accountability of and respect for teachers).
- **TRY TO CONVERT OR CONVINCE PEOPLE**
 - We are trying to bring out the best of what is already in people, help them find the resonance for themselves. This is, in part, an emotional journey and our usual approaches to argument and logic don't work so well in this arena.

Scenario #1

Consider the following scenario:

You are sitting in the audience of a large staff meeting waiting for it to begin, when rather outspoken colleague says, “I can’t believe these Union members! They don’t know how good we have it in this district. We have a great relationship with our superintendent. We get all of the same benefits and pay as the members in that other district who have to go through collective bargaining. Do they think that we are going to raise a ruckus and get more from the district? Besides, all that union activity does not seem very professional to me!”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

Scenario #2

Consider the following scenario:

While at a local, political fundraiser, a school board member, who you respect greatly, says, “I’m a strong labor supporter, but these new workers in the “teachers union” are sure a different breed from the teachers like you. Their demands to have a collective bargaining agreement are going to get in the way of real educational investment in our schools. The costs for the process is a lot and we are doing just fine without it. The cost of employing lawyers and the time to bargain could be going to provide real benefits to kids. If we are ever going to have great schools, the union is going to have to stop being so focused on wages and collective bargaining. Why are they always complaining about the amount money they make! Isn’t serving kids a calling? Why can’t they just be content with what is given them? ”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

Scenario #3

Consider the following scenario:

You are sitting at a local school board meeting with some members. A community member over hears you talking, comes over and says, “Why are you folks wanting a collective bargaining agreement? Why are you always asking for more from this community? Isn’t this just a way to go on strike if you don’t get your way? Our schools already take the biggest portion of our taxes and they still don’t turn out graduates that can work or participate positively in our society. We have real community problems of food insecurity, unsafe housing, and over-policing – why can’t you focus on that? Employees at that school have more benefits and make more money than most of us here in this room with the most days off already – imagine if you go on strike? I mean you knew you were not going to get rich working at a school and it must be rough to summers have off. I’d love to be able to sit back all summer, get paid, and relax.”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

Scenario #4

Consider the following scenario:

At a local community meeting, a neighbor who is discouraged about the increasing cost of property taxes says, “Collective bargaining can improve our schools? I will tell you what can improve our schools. They should just get rid of all those extra folks at that school. I mean the superintendent and principals have too many secretaries, kids could eat in their classroom with their teachers, and the way those buildings look, we sure aren’t getting our money’s worth out of all those folks who work there. It is clear that we just need to spend our tax dollars on learning. Maybe it should just be a charter school and run all that non learning stuff like a business. Collective bargaining is just another way to prevent tax payers from getting the most out of our public schools”

- 1) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 2) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 3) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 4) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?

Scenario #5

Consider the following scenario:

At a union board of directors meeting, the leaders are looking at membership data and the decline in membership over the past few years since Janus. One leader says, “You know what we need to do to bring in more members? We need to get back to the way we used to do it – provide a real newsletter, give out bonuses to building reps who sign up folks, and focus on professional development. That is why people join this union. All this talk of getting a collective bargaining agreement is just going to cause more people to drop their membership. They are already frightened to have their principals know that they are members. I think more TShirts with a better logo will definitely raise our membership numbers.”

- 2) How will you respond to **unmask** the dominant narrative?

- 3) What will you say to **elevate** our new narrative? What kind of **connections** can you draw your audience in?

- 4) How can you **contrast** what was said? What can be said to point out how things might be different if the new narrative was shaping education discussions?

- 5) What can you say to **draw on your own journey** with this world view? How can you draw on your own experience?



Readiness



NATIONAL
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION

Club to Fighting Union
Levels of Organizing
Local Self-Assessment
Assessing Resources
Readiness to Bargain Tiers
Cohort Commitments
Roadmap to Bargaining

Club or Union?

	Unorganized	Club	Union	Fighting Union
Budgeting	Little or no local funding	Funding used to recognize activists -- stipends, meals	Funding used to recognize activists and also to reach out to members: stickers, buttons, tee shirts, picket signs.	Funding used to release activists to do work, to communicate with members, and to open opportunities to the newly active. Funding supports coalition work and socially focused issues
Roles	A few officers, risk of vacancy	Proliferation of titles and stipends to Presidential allies	Titles and roles generally tied to actual activities; if there's a treasurer, there is a budget; if there's a newsletter chair, there's actually a newsletter	Titles rotate regularly, or are even dropped when no longer needed
Bargaining	No bargaining, or done by a single expert (UD, President)	Small group of the usual folks on the bargaining team that the president trusts	Team represents all major job categories. Criteria is whether or not the president trusts them and they are recognized by members	Team represents all major job categories; criteria is whether they are trusted by the members
Leaders	Volunteers if any	Tends to be the same small group of folks that populate other teams. Little to no risks are taken.	Elections are regularly held and there are sometimes contested positions. Leaders can move others to act. However, their focus is on activism and mobilizing instead of term organizing.	Are trusted and respected by members, and there is a healthy election process with a number of good candidates. Leaders routinely deliver on persuading large groups to take public collective action; the and actively seeks other trusted and respected leaders. Leaders use their agency to take risks that result in growth.
Advocacy	None, or done by staff and/or local president Used as one of the few justifications to pay dues	Few members may help with advocacy with much support from staff. Advocacy is solely viewed as a service to single members.	Intentional identification and training of member advocates who conduct low-level meetings with support of higher levels from staff. Most advocacy is still viewed as a service to individuals with some understanding that protecting the work standards are in everyone's interest.	Advocacy is primarily viewed as way to build worker solidarity and ways to exercise collective action in response to poor work standards. Issues to organize around.
Activity	None, or led by the union, the staff, or by union members. No ownership.	Programs for individual interest with little risk in participating. Led by one person, and focus of change is on personal practice.	Works to have leaders design and lead the programs. Focus is on change of relationship with the union from rank and file to leader. Mobilizing and activism are the norms focused on traditional worker issues.	Organizing is the norm focused on the solidarity of the group and the work is to apply pressure on a system of oppression. Issues are broad and include social movement thinking.

This is a draft framework designed to help you think about your role as staff with your affiliate. This is in no way complete and is only designed to be used as a starting point for assessing your next steps with affiliates. Each level from Survival to Advanced is dependent on the previous level.

Levels (Staff Focus)	Membership	Structure Development	Identification and Protection of Rights	Agenda Setting	Visibility and Credibility
Advanced Organizing (Member-led with Staff Advisory and Coaching)	Leaders (elected and not elected) are driving membership recruitment and engagement. Coaching leaders who are committed to the contact and engagement work. One on ones are limited to those who are identified as emerging leaders by other leaders. Exploration of options to expand “belonging” beyond traditional dues paying members. Dues are seen as a positive and an investment in the members.	There are well-defined, member-led, leadership and communication structures in which there is competition for positions. Structures are formed around various issues, are led by members, and come and go. Participation in these structures are for members to collectively use their agency for change. Structures extend beyond the affiliate and work with other organizations around common values, issues and goal. Participation is expected by the rank and file and participation data is shared widely.	Members lead on all aspects of the identification and protection of worker rights. Staff expertise is reserved for legal services and consultation. Members are the visible and credible source for workplace rights attainment and protection. Identification and protection of rights expands beyond membership and affiliate. Local is able to wield power to demand ‘wins’ that are not within their contract but align with their interests outside of bargaining.	Leaders work with all levels of the organization (rank and file, issue structures, leaders, staff) to set agenda. Leaders work with other organizations on shared agendas in which resources, risks, and decisions are shared. Organizational data and issue research are used to drive and evaluate the agendas. Members are given lists and learn how to map their own buildings. There are multiple agendas that are focused both internally and externally.	The affiliate is recognized as long term partner with multiple organizations. It shares values, interests, risks, and resources beyond its own membership. Members view their union as the primary way that they participate in creating the society they want to live in. The reputation of the union is known broadly throughout the community as a good one or one that advocates for its’ community interests. Members have confidence enough to participate in risky, visible actions.

Levels (Staff Focus)	Membership	Structure Development	Identification and Protection of Rights	Agenda Setting	Visibility and Credibility Page 54
Basic Organizing (Member - Staff Partners w /Staff Growth -Coaching)	Staff and Leaders are building capacity to grow, maintain, and engage membership. Focus is on member recruitment AND retention. Engagement of members in actions that encourage ownership and build leadership. Staff and leaders are focused on Identifying potential leaders, ensuring worksite structures, and connecting leaders. One on ones focus on values based relationship and leadership ID. Dues are seen both as an investment in themselves and a transaction for support.	Staff are working to ensure building rep structures exist and local affiliate structures are functioning in ways that support and sustain the affiliate. Structures are coached to move closer and closer to ownership of collective decisions and actions. Coaching the structure to consider leadership pipeline. Participation in these structures is beginning to result in planning and action.	At the worksite level there are leaders and structures for addressing worker rights. There are affiliate level structures and leaders who work alongside staff to support worksites and are beginning to lead on district level issues. Members are part of the problem solving process. There are well established worker rights and processes that the union successfully enforces. Local is able to demand the basics that are guaranteed in their contract.	Staff and Leaders work to gather information about issues workers report from their worksites. Staff and Leaders determine short term and long term goals for both growth and strength. Focus is mostly on organizing to achieve worker wins and build internal capacity. Data is used to help support and evaluate agenda.	The affiliate is recognized as a credible and respected organization capable of achieving wins on issues important to members. The reputation of the affiliate is best known within the school district and its worksites. Members have a positive view of their union and are willing to participate in some public actions.
Beginning Organizing (Staff lead with a focus on growth and engagement)	Signing up members, maintaining lists, ensuring dues collection, providing information about the benefits of belonging. Staff mostly do this work and some locally elected leaders. One to ones are used to survey members. Some non-members are engaged. Staff are engaging members in very transactional or social actions and looking for people to fill existing leadership roles. Dues are seen as a transaction for services.	Ensuring basic structures required for affiliation with state and national are in good order. Focus on finding local leaders and on building a building rep system with at least one person per worksite. Leading effective meetings and modeling collective decision making and planning. Participation in structures is more about process than problem solving.	Reliance on union staff and staff relationships with employer. Members not engaged in problem solving beyond reporting issues to local leadership. Staff drive and lead bargaining, work place policy, and grievance processes. Rights and processes are somewhat known understood by the workers or some policies are worked out with the employer.	Staff help newly identified leaders understand how a union uses a values driven mission to achieve change. Staff develop a plan typically focused on membership growth and basic affiliate functions. Focus is on effective service delivery. Data is used to track members, non-members, and leaders.	The affiliate is somewhat recognized. Members and non-members are clear about membership status. The effectiveness of the union in regards to worker issues is limited. Only a group of activists participate in union activities outside of socializing. Rank and file participation is low and engagement of non-members does not happen.

Survival Organizing (Staff-led with a Focus on Growth)	Signing up members, maintaining lists, ensuring dues collection, providing information about the benefits of belonging. One on Ones focused on recruiting and education of union member value. Staff are engaging members in very transactional or social actions and looking for people to fill existing leadership roles.	Ensuring basic core leadership roles required for affiliation with state and national are filled. Focus on finding local leaders and some worksites have building reps. Participation in structures is focused on monthly meetings and socializing.	Reliance on union staff and staff relationships with employer. Member is not engaged in the problem solving process. Staff drive and lead bargaining, work place policy, and grievance processes. Rights and processes are not widely understood by the workers or clearly established with the employer. Focus is on ‘asking’ employer and ensuring good relationship with key employer personnel.	Staff help newly identified leaders or established leaders to develop basic agendas focused on process for basic affiliate functions. Staff develop a plan typically focused on membership growth and basic affiliate functions. Focus of staff is almost exclusively on service delivery. Data is on members is tracked and information on non-members is noted, but not followed up on.	The affiliate is not yet widely recognized. Page 55 Members and non-members may be equally confused about their membership status. The effectiveness of the union in regards to worker issues is not a part of the locals work or anticipated work. Members are not likely to participate in public actions beyond social activities. Member participation is low to non-existent and non-members are have no recognition or a negative recognition with the union.
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Organizing to Bargain Campaign Readiness Assessment

To determine readiness for an Organizing to Bargain Campaign, locals should assess and reflect on four categories: general readiness and landscape, internal organizing capacity, community relationships, and bargaining policy. For each of the four categories below rate each readiness descriptors with a 1-4 in the small boxes, then use the larger box to do a brief SWOT reflection.

1 – Not yet

2 – Basic Understanding and Planning

3 – Emerging Implementation

4 – In Place and Proven

1. General Readiness and Landscape:

- ☐ How interested is your affiliate in achieving a collective bargaining agreement? Is there buy-in from the key players (Leadership, board, staff)?
- ☐ Has the affiliate addressed the change in this structure and workload with the UD staff?
- ☐ What is the local public sentiment towards unions and worker issues?
- ☐ What is the relationship like with the local administration? School Board? Elected officials? Business? Community?
- ☐ *In what ways does the local currently frame collective bargaining in their work?*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

2. Internal organizing capacity:

- ☐ How many members and potential members?
- ☐ What are membership trends?
- ☐ Who are the decision-makers in the affiliate? State leadership, board, local leadership, UDs, bargaining team?

- ☐ What distributive leadership structures does the affiliate currently use? Building reps, building action teams, community liaisons, bargaining team, social justice teams, etc. (Refer to Dunbar's Number as you do an honest assessment of your leader to member ratios in each worksite)
- ☐ How has the affiliate sought buy-in from the membership for focusing on collective bargaining?
- ☐ Do members readily take action as part of their union?
- ☐ Are members participating in all levels of organizing not just the actions? (planning, designing, leading, etc)
- ☐ Are individual buildings, or the local as a whole, running issue campaigns around worksite issues?
- ☐ Have leaders and staff in the affiliate been trained in organizing conversations/relational organizing?
- ☐ Have leaders and staff in the affiliate been trained in bargaining processes and methods?
- ☐ *Does the local or state affiliate have an advertising budget for the campaign?*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

3. Bargaining Policy:

- ☐ What is the process for achieving recognition to bargain in your state?
- ☐ What are the timelines, if any, that are indicated in policies about bargaining?
- ☐ Do the laws in this state facilitate open bargaining, or have any other limits to flexibility with bargaining teams? (not necessarily a deal-breaker, but helpful to know).
- ☐ Does the law allow for the ability to strike upon contract expiration? If not, what possibilities do exist for potential job action?
- ☐ How much does the affiliate know about moved towards student-centered advocacy?
- ☐ *How will you determine bargaining priorities?*

- ☐ *Do you have anyone focused on the communications for bargaining effort? Staff or volunteer comms coordinators? Does this person work on media outreach, member materials, spokespeople training, community outreach?*

For this category – what are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

4. Community/parent relationships:

- ☐ Is the affiliate part of a coalition? (Is this ALREADY formed and do you support those partners in their actions?)
- ☐ Has the affiliate mapped their local community organizations and ties?
- ☐ What is the nature of their parent and community relationships and coalitions? (Informal or formal, designated liaisons, etc.)
- ☐ Are the community partners interested in collective bargaining?
- ☐ *Are community partner spokespeople identified? Media trained and/or experienced with media?*

For this category – what are your strengths, weaknesses, opportunities or threats?

Assessing Resources

For any campaign to be effective, the leadership team needs to assess the constituents' resources and capabilities. What resources are currently available to the group? What resources is the group lacking? What resources does the boss have? What is the boss lacking? In this assessment, be certain to consider all types of resources – those that deplete as you use them and those that grow. Resources that deplete: facilities, money, materials, time, volunteers. Resources that grow: skills, trust, hope, relationship, allies, reputation, volunteers.

Our Resources	The Boss' Resources

Grow as you use them.

Deplete as you use them.

Key Point – the bigger the win you are trying to achieve, the more resource you need.

SAMPLE FROM VEA Readiness to Bargain Tiers, Descriptors, and Focused Work

Cohorts	Descriptors	NOTES!
1 File in Fall 2022	Ready to Bargain – those EAs sufficiently organized and with enough authorization cards to consider filing for representation status in 2021; (75 to 85 % Ready) Readiness Metrics: - Local has at least 40% or more membership in the designated bargaining unit and is ready (as defined by the local). - Local has an understanding/knowledge of their school board power dynamic. - Local have 75-80% of the building rep structures in worksite locations in place and ready. - Local governance endorses Collective Bargaining via a signed resolution or commitment statement. - Understands their local community and its needs. Others?	Structures! Can you get 65% of the people in a unit to show they support collective bargaining? Structure- this training has to be focused on bringing more people into the work. TOC: If we can invite people authentically into the work of the union, engage them authentically and earnestly, give them meaningful roles and tasks, we can build the relationships and power to change our working conditions. First Step is - Create a core organizing team (set up a nomination form and welcome people in). - LISTS!!! - Recruit people at each worksite to lead and engage their colleagues. COHORT 1: - Files in fall of 2022. - Has a core organizing team that represents 90% of each worksite. - AND has structure (people committed and trained in CB, committed to engaging colleagues, has a building list that is accurate and updated, ID-ed other leaders) and are actively helping move structure tests- 90% of worksites. 2 Successful Structure tests

					-
2. Leadership Locals		Working on Bargaining Readiness – those EAs requiring additional infrastructure work Readiness Metrics: - Three of the above four, in Tier One, are completed Others?			COHORT 2: - Files in Winter of 22-23 (Leadership locals) - Build interdependent teams - Share a different vision of CB - Communicating a pro-CB Message to the membership.
3. List Locals		Not Ready to Bargain – locals with low membership density and incomplete leadership structures. - Two of the above four, in Tier One, are completed (Local governance endorsement must be one of the two completed) Others?			COHORT 3: - Spring 2023 or Fall 2023 (Lists) - Basics- how to get people visible more than the president. - How to bring new people into the union and activities. Rebuild with purpose.
4. Latent Locals		Non Bargaining at This Time - local not organized and/or not interested Readiness Metrics: - One or none of the above four, in Tier One, is completed; not interested Others?			You’re not at this meeting 😊
Tier 1 Local Names (Or worksites)	What is membership density? (Growth) What is leadership density? and How many well organized worksites do you have? (Strength)	What is the current narrative about the union in these locals?	How do you know your people? What are the values, interests, strengths, challenges?	What type of leadership structures exist in these locals?	
Tier 2 Local Names (Or worksites)	What is membership density? (Growth) What is leadership density? and How many well organized worksites do you have? (Strength)	What is the current narrative about the union in these locals?	How do you know your people? What are the values, interests, strengths, challenges?	What type of leadership structures exist in these locals?	

Tier 3 Local Names (Or worksites)	What is membership density? (Growth) What is leadership density? and How many well organized worksites do you have? (Strength)	What is the current narrative about the union in these locals?	How do you know your people? What are the values, interests, strengths, challenges?	What type of leadership structures exist in these locals?
Tier 4 Local Names (Or worksites)	What is membership density? (Growth) What is leadership density? and How many well organized worksites do you have? (Strength)	What is the current narrative about the union in these locals?	How do you know your people? What are the values, interests, strengths, challenges?	What type of leadership structures exist in these locals?

EXAMPLE FROM VEA - Cohort Commitment

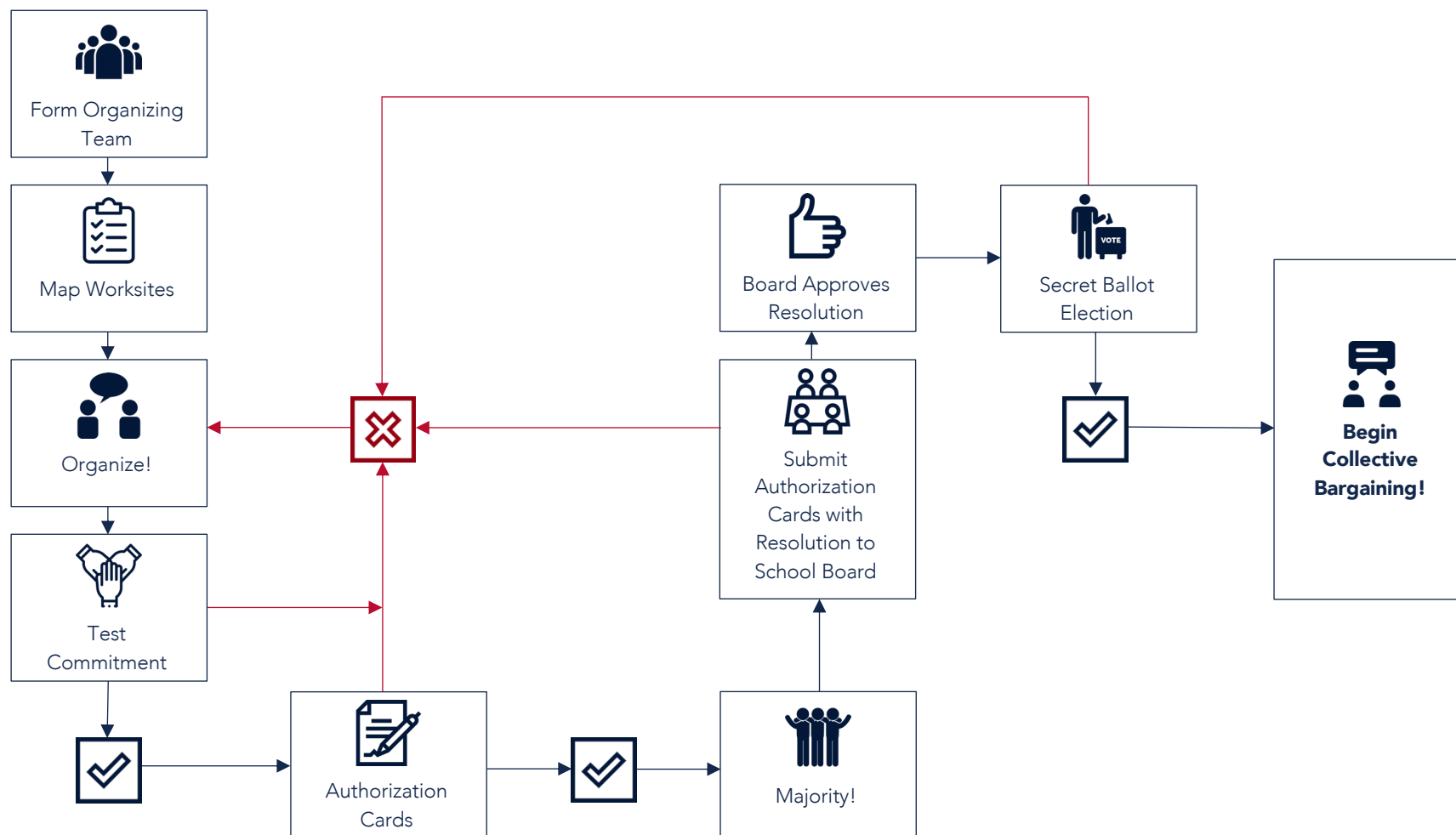
The goal is to commit to a cohort based on your local's readiness metrics and evidenced capacity to achieve the timeline for the cohort. It is important to commit to a cohort that you believe is realistic based on your metrics and capacity.

Cohort 1: Files in Fall of 2022 for Representation Status	
Readiness Metrics (all of these)	Evidence
Local has at least 40% or more membership in the designated bargaining unit and is ready (as defined by the local)	
Local has an understanding/knowledge of their school board power dynamic	
Local has 75-80% of the building rep. structures in worksite locations in place and ready.	
Local governance endorses Collective Bargaining via a signed resolution or commitment statement.	
Understands their local community and its needs	
Keys to Success	
Local has a core organizing team that represents 90% of each worksite	
Local also has a structure with people committed and trained in bargaining, committed to engaging colleagues, accurate/updated building lists, and actively ID-ing other leaders	
Local utilizes their structure to move structure tests at 90% of worksites, including at least 2 successful structure tests	

Cohort 2: Files in Winter of 2022-2023 for Representation Status	
Readiness Metrics (has 3-4 of these metrics)	Evidence
Local has at least 40% or more membership in the designated bargaining unit and is ready (as defined by the local)	
Local has an understanding/knowledge of their school board power dynamic	
Local has 75-80% of the building rep. structures in worksite locations in place and ready.	
Local governance endorses Collective Bargaining via a signed resolution or commitment statement.	
Understands their local community and its needs	
Keys to Success	
Building interdependent teams	
Actively sharing a different vision of collective bargaining	
Communicating a pro-collective bargaining message to the membership	

Cohort 3: Files in Spring 2023 or Fall 2023 for Representation Status	
Readiness Metrics (has 2 of these metrics*)	Evidence
Local has at least 40% or more membership in the designated bargaining unit and is ready (as defined by the local)	
Local has an understanding/knowledge of their school board power dynamic	
Local has 75-80% of the building rep. structures in worksite locations in place and ready.	
* Local governance endorses Collective Bargaining via a signed resolution or commitment statement. (must be one of the 2 completed)	
Understands their local community and its needs	
Keys to Success	
Basics-how to gain more visibility of members beyond the president	
Bringing new people into the union and activities	
Rebuilding with purpose	

Roadmap to Collective Bargaining





Planning for Power

- Power Analysis
- Strategy Steps – Power Phases
- Structure Tests
- Plan Your Tactics

Steps in a Power Analysis/Mapping

Identify the decision-makers (Power Actors) who can affect change. Do they support or oppose your goal(s)? Are they neutral? What is their interest in your goal? Rank them by power with 10 being most power and 1 being least amount of power.

Internal Power Actors

[illegible]

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Community Power Actors

Name	Power Rank 1-10	Position or Interest
<i>Supporting Forces</i>		
<i>Opposing Forces</i>		

At-Large Power Actors

Name	Power Rank 1-10	Position or Interest
<i>Supporting Forces</i>		
<i>Opposing Forces</i>		

Now,

- Map the decision makers, allies and opposition, on the power grid based on their position/support of our issue and their degree of influence on our issue/goal.
- Use the map to develop a strategy to achieve our goal. Analyze what the decision makers care about and what will move the decision makers to support our goal.
 - Who should we engage that will positively influence the decision maker on our goal (allies)?
 - Who do we need to neutralize that may negatively influence the decision maker on our goal (opponents)?

Our Campaign Goal/Objective

10
Decisive
decision making
Power

8
Has influence on
decision-making

6
Taken into
account

4
Can get
attention

3
Ignored

1 Actively
disregarded

Strategies Steps to Win a Collective Bargaining Agreement

Keep it simple!

Step 1

- **Get your initial organizing team together and identified.**
- Someone from each building, if possible. (More if the building is big).

Step 2

- **Map Your Sites**
- Have a rep or someone you know map the building or worksite.
 - o Assess their support of collective bargaining, who does or does not support CB? (Add a notation if they are a member or not).
 - o Who is trusted and respected? Just ask people.

Step 3

- **Build Your Team**
- Continue to build your team, pull more people into the team,
- Once your organizing team is established have them establish:
 - o Benchmarks to win recognition.
 - o Goals.
 - o Tactics to build density of support for collective bargaining.
 - o Identify community stakeholders.

Step 4

- **Test**
- Run a test to see if your team can get people to move.
 - o Sticker up (how many schools will wear a sticker and report back on the number that wear a sticker).
 - o Petition that your leads circulate.
 - o Whole group pictures.

Step 5

- **Cards**
 - o If you have a majority that have/can act, then run them move to get cards filled out.

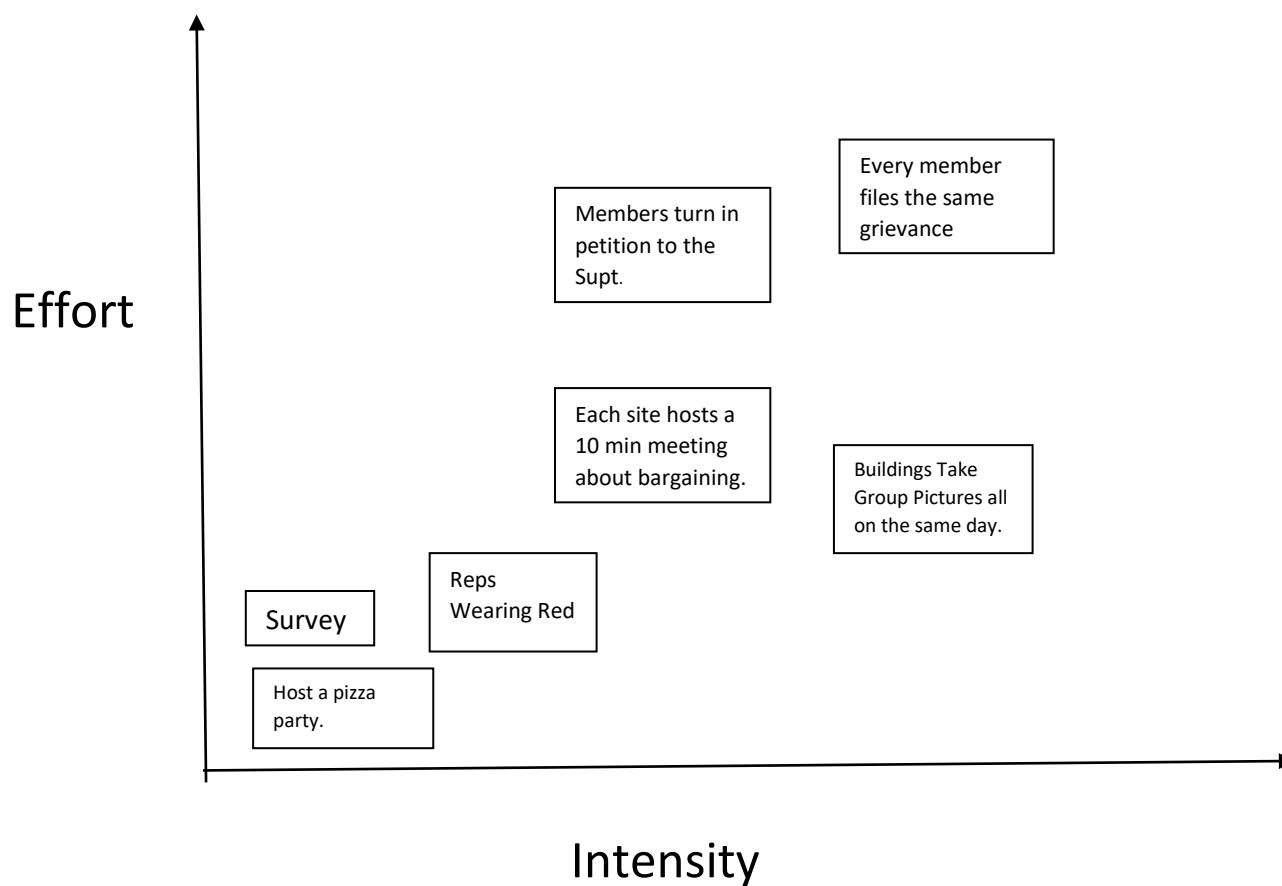
Step 6

- **School Board**
- How to get your school board to vote on collective bargaining.
 - o Have your organizing team lobby your board members.
 - SB can vote to approve an ordinance outlining the local CB process.
 - If the school board has not moved to approve an ordinance, you can file authorization cards. This gives the district 120 days to consider the employee request.

What does power actually look like?



$$\begin{aligned} &\text{Effort (\# of members involved) +} \\ &\text{Intensity (how difficult is the task)} \\ &= \text{Amount of Power} \end{aligned}$$





Phases of Bargain Readiness

Phase 1 is the lowest metrics of readiness.

The steps above will help you make the jump from Phase 3 to Phase 4.

BARGAINING RUBRICS

PHASE I

- ☐ Has no formal meetings
- ☐ Occasionally sends new bargaining team members to training
- ☐ Files and maintains research information on neighboring districts data regarding salary, benefits and working conditions
- ☐ Occasionally communicates research data to members
- ☐ Association president deals with complaints
- ☐ Occasionally attends school board meetings

PHASE II

- ☐ Presents salary proposals and other ideas to board and superintendent
- ☐ Informally talks to the building reps to determine recommendations from the members
- ☐ Communicates to members recommendations made to the board
- ☐ Association president presents problems to board or superintendent
- ☐ Building res or other designated person(s) attends board meetings. Makes occasional presentation to the board.
- ☐ Has occasional training sessions in bargaining

PHASE III

- ☐ Has board policy which allows meet and confer sessions in which recommendations by the association are discussed.
- ☐ Attends regional informational training sessions (negotiations surveying, listening campaigns, budget, research)
- ☐ Surveys members on locally developed form.
- ☐ Publishes annual recommendations and reports results of bargaining survey
- ☐ Has a grievance procedure in board policy that allows a grievance to go all the way to the board.
- ☐ Has a Professional Rights and Responsibilities Committee
- ☐ Attends board meetings

- ☐ Addresses board as needed
- ☐ Reports on board meetings to members

Phases of Bargain Readiness



PHASE IV

___Bargains in formal meetings as the exclusive representative with a team from the board and administration.

___Association team has been trained on the various styles of bargaining and is able to negotiate the style they use, i.e., positional vs. interest based.

___Association team is organized with a notetaker, presenter/specialists, chief negotiator and observer(s)

___The team engages in annual bargaining training complete with verbal skills, contract language writing, bargaining behaviors, crisis training

___Surveys members and conducts listening campaigns to address the issues of members

___Uses budget analysis comparative data (salary rankings, school calendar information from other districts, etc)

___Costs out proposals by using current scattergram information provided by the district.

___Begins bargaining with district by January or February at the latest even if salary issues are delayed.

___Reports on status of negotiations and contract by some means of communication.

___Is developing some language to go into a first bargained contract.

___Has developed a grievance committee to become educated and watchdog contract violations.

___Attends board meetings

___Has option of inclusion on board agenda; reports to members.

___Communicates with local political officials as needed (letters, calls, visits).

___Has acquired everything in layer one of the bargaining pyramid in a first contract.

PHASE V

___Bargains as exclusive rep in regularly scheduled meetings.

___Conducts ongoing training in bargaining and contract maintenance.

___Association team is sophisticated and trained with a mix of new and veteran members.

___Association actively seeks and recruits potential bargaining team members

___Association team routinely surveys and gathers information from members in buildings well before bargaining begins.

___Association team routinely uses varied means of communication to inform the

members of the current issues and the association's progress on them.

___Acquires and uses budget analysis comparative data.

___Has a way and means to cost the proposals that the association makes and the district's counter proposals.

___Has a written rationale for each proposal and can make a solid argument based as trained in argumentation training.

___Has a fully trained and ready to jump into action crisis team that works in conjunction with the bargaining team.

___Publishes a communiqué after every bargaining session about the general movement on proposals.

___Has all components of the Layer one in the bargaining pyramid and is working to acquire items in layer 2

Structure Tests

From Jane McAlevey’s *A Collective Bargain: Unions, Organizing, and the Fight for Democracy* (2020). Reprinted with permission from the author. (See Inouye, p. 252 and Schirmer, p. 227.)

UNIONWIDE STRUCTURE TEST	DATE	IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURE TEST
Each of these was done by hand, face-to-face, across 900 schools. They were carried out by teacher leaders under the guidance of staff organizers. Each test helps the leadership understand where they are strong and where they are weak, which helps to prioritize their efforts.		
Regional rallies in the contract that had expired in 2011	November 2014	Used an “I’ll be there” sign-up sheet in the weeks before these smaller regional rallies, as they planned their first big citywide rally set for early 2015. This was the contract the new leadership inherited: the people who lost the election had been negotiating it for more than three years.
Organizing for February 2016 Stand Up citywide rally for the 2011 contract	January 2015	Launched a campaign-commitment card with check boxes of what people were willing to do: school-site picketing, parent outreach, attend a downtown rally in February 2015, boycott faculty meetings, protest testing, and strike if necessary.
Stand Up rally at Grand Park, escalating to citywide	February 2015	15,000 union members attended, making it the largest action since the 1989 strike

The teachers win big, a 10 percent raise (the first raise in 10 years), finally settling the 2011 contract and demonstrating to members that the new methods of organizing work.

UNIONWIDE STRUCTURE TEST	DATE	IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURE TEST
Launch I'll Vote Yes to Build the Future, Fund the Fight	Fall 2015	More than half of the members of the union signed a public petition saying they would vote yes to increase their dues, which they framed as Build the Future, Fund the Fight.
Membership-wide union election to allow the rank-and-file members to vote to increase dues	February 2016	A majority of members actually participate in the ballot, with 83 percent voting yes. Like most union elections, as with most American elections, traditionally only a minority vote. But UTLA was determined to have real union democracy, with an important question going to the members, and they achieved more than 50 percent turnout.
School site-based rallies for health insurance	Fall 2017	Health benefit negotiations took place parallel to the overall contract bargaining (with a coalition of LAUSD unions), because nonteachers and teachers alike negotiate insurance benefits at the same time.
All In launches and ratification of healthcare contract	February 2018	Because the union anticipated that the right wing would prevail in the <i>Janus</i> Supreme Court case, it planned ahead and had the entire membership sign new cards with language the court would stipulate.
4 Questions petition launch	April 2018	This petition asked members about their willingness to take four actions, indicated by hand checks on boxes and their signature.
All-In for Respect rally	May 2018	12,000 members turn out at Grand Park rally
Strike vote	August 2018	84 percent turn out and participate, 98 percent vote yes.
I Will Strike petition	Fall 2018	More than 75 percent sign.

Plan Out Your Tactics

Tactic This is your action. Note: is this for solidarity or for escalation.	
Objective What do you hope to achieve?	
Target Who are you wanting to target or move?	
Lead Who in your union will oversee this tactic? Is there a co-lead?	
When Day/time?	
Where What's your location? Do you need to get permission? Are there regulations?	
Turnout Goal How many will participate? How will you confirm attendance prior? How will you check to see who participated the day of?	
Did It Work How will you know if you were successful? What's your plan to debrief?	



Coaching Your Teams



Team Development
Structure
Organizing Communities in Action
Action
Coaching 101
Coaching Scenarios
Consultancy Protocol
Coaching Stems
Cross Race Coaching
Task Design

Team Development

Think about the following as we proceed:

1. Who is on your team?
2. Who do you want on your team?
3. Is there a difference between #1 and #2?
4. What happens when your team changes?

Characteristics of an Effective Team

- ✓ Inclusive
- ✓ Diverse
- ✓ Respectful of its members
- ✓ Facilitating decision-making
- ✓ Creative and responsive
- ✓ Shared responsibility across team
- ✓ Safe space
- ✓ Honest

Resolving Conflict within a Team

1. Accept.
While you need not agree with the criticism of your idea, you do need to accept it is offered with sincerity.
Avoid making statements that appear to be put-downs or ridicule.
2. Make it a group issue.
If you hang back from defending your idea, you may be pleasantly surprised to hear someone else take up the defense.
3. Answer.
If group discussion of your idea misses key points, you may want to respond to some of the disagreement.
Do this by addressing the group, not your critic.
4. Relax.
When you are relaxed, you listen and think more clearly. Breathe.
5. Listen.
Listen without judging or assuming.

Positive Behaviors for Teams		Behaviors that Don't Work within Teams	
Supporting	Providing support and encouragement for another team member even when you don't agree with him/her. Realize encouragement of another member results in more and better contributions, as that member comes to realize his/her comments will be considered and not put down or discounted.	Shutting Off	When a member changes the subject, uses derisive humor, or just ignores another speaker, s/he is shutting off the other members of team.
Confronting	Confronting is constructive when it is confined to people's ideas. Keep it about the ideas, not the personalities or attitudes.	Yes-butting	The yes-but technique displays hypocrisy and a personal discounting of the other person. What the other person hears is, "I hear you, but your idea is dumb."
Mediating	When disputes become so intense or long that individuals aren't listening to each other, an uninvolved member needs to illuminate the issue. Ask for permission to interpret each position. Allow arguer to revise or correct. This provides a chance for other to discuss disputed points.	Naysaying	"Devil's advocate" makes sure we always know what is wrong with another person's idea. Focusing solely on what is wrong, can bury what is right.
Gatekeeping	The gatekeeper opens discussion to members who have been silent, to prevent certain individuals from monopolizing the discussion.	Dominating	Heavy handed grab for influence. This often stems from focus on a personal agenda and not the goals of the group.
Intervening	Summarizing various views presented in a dispute to show how close they are. Then, invite the other members of the team to help build on items of consensus.	Analyzing or Labeling	This is a quick way for things to get personal and to get sidetracked.
Summarizing	When we get stuck due to too many pieces of a puzzle before us, summarize. The summary can help bring us back on track.		
Observing Process	Step back as a group to observe how you are functioning as a group. Don't lose sight of the forest for the trees.		
Listening to the Speaker	At all times, every member needs to listen to what is being said. This takes concentration and commitment, but will result in a better team outcome.		

STRUCTURE: BUILDING A CULTURE OF COMMITMENT & TEAMWORK

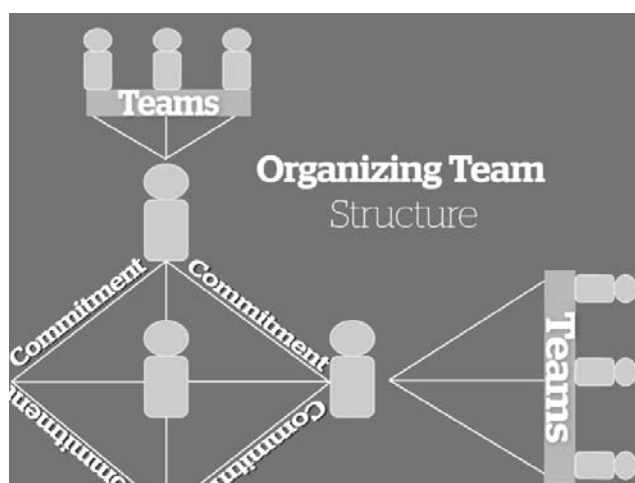
“How can we work together interdependently to achieve shared purpose?”

OBJECTIVES:

- Understand the core conditions of successful leadership teams
- Begin practicing building and refining those conditions in your leadership team: developing a shared purpose, clarifying team roles and responsibilities, creating shared norms and practices of coordination

WHY DO ORGANIZING TEAMS MATTER?

The most effective leaders have always created teams to work with them and to lead with them. Take for example Moses, Aaron and Miriam in the story of Exodus, or Jesus and the twelve disciples in the New Testament, or Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy, Rosa Parks, Jo Ann Robinson and E.D. Nixon during the Montgomery Bus Boycott or Alice Paul and Lucy Burns in their fight for women’s suffrage.



Leadership teams offer a structural model for working together that fosters interdependent leadership, where individuals can work toward goals together, with each person taking leadership on part of the team’s activity. At their best leadership teams recognize and put to productive use the unique talents of the individuals who make up the team.

WHY DOES TEAM STRUCTURE MATTER?

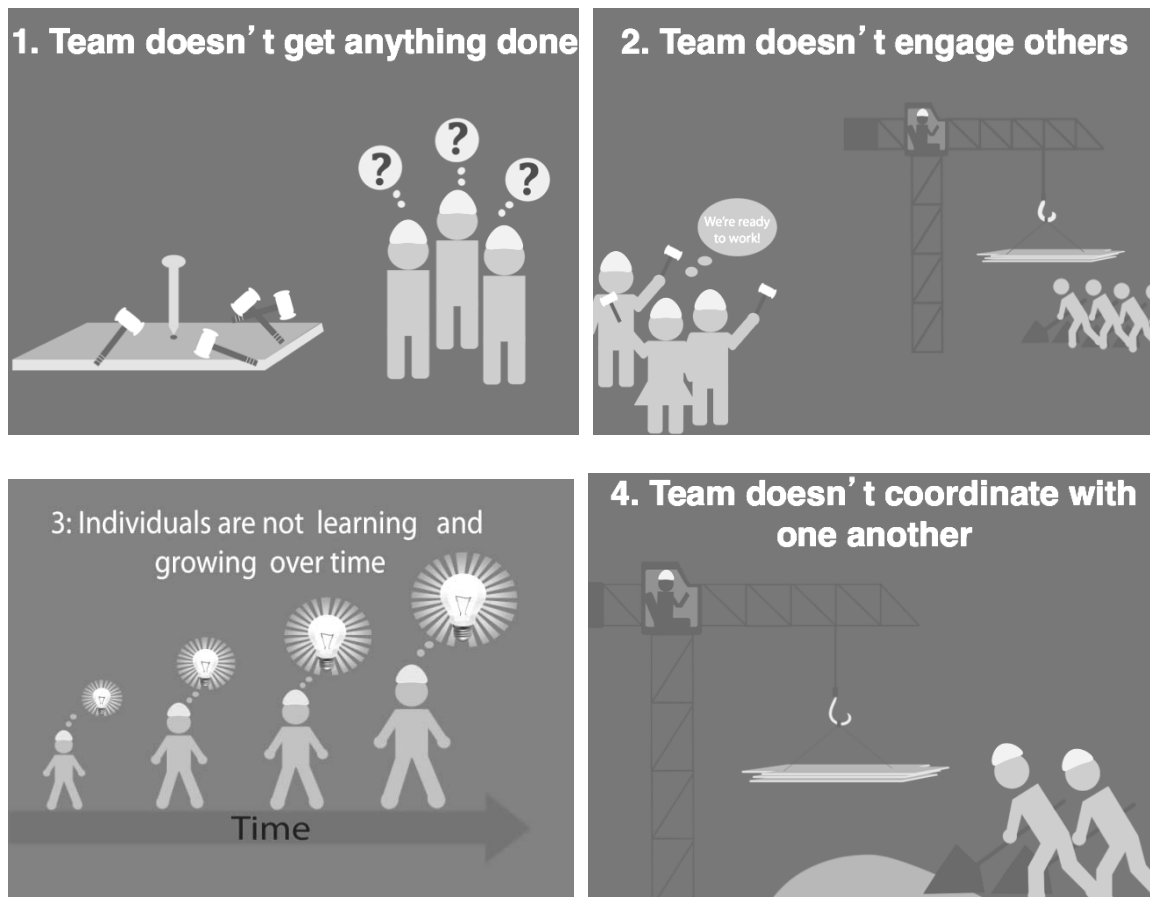
Team structures create strategic capacity—the ability to strategize creatively together in ways that produce more vibrant, engaging strategy than any individual could create alone. Movements are not built on command and control authority structures. But they can also be ineffective beyond the local level if there is no structure for coordination and no venue for creating shared purpose.

Strong movement structures enable local decision-making and strategizing by local leadership teams that are supported by regional or national leadership teams who provide strategic focus, common purpose and shared resources—our snowflake model of interdependent leadership. At every level, leadership teams require a clear mission with clear goals and the ability to strategize creatively together about how to carry out their mission and meet their goals. This

structure creates multiple points of entry for leaders at local, regional, national and international levels, and multiple opportunities to learn and to exercise leadership.

Leadership teams provide a foundation from which an organization can expand its reach. Once a team is formed, systems can be created to establish a rhythm of regular meetings, clear decisions and visible accountability, increasing the organization's effectiveness. An organization of 500 people is not created by one person alone. It is built by finding people willing and able to commit to helping build it, and creating relationships and a solid, transparent structure from which it can be built.

WHY DON'T PEOPLE ALWAYS WORK IN TEAMS?



We have all been part of teams that have not worked well. They fall into factions, they alienate each other, or all the work falls on one person. So many of us come to the conclusion: I'll just do it on my own; I hate meetings, just tell me what to do; I don't want any responsibility; just give me stamps to lick. There's just one problem: we can't become powerful enough to do what we need to do if we can't work together to build campaigns and take action.

The challenge is to create conditions for our leadership teams that are more likely to generate successful collaboration and strategic action. When groups of people come together, conflict is always present. Effective teams are structured to channel that conflict in productive ways, allowing the team to achieve the goals it needs to win.

What do good teams do?

1. Meet goals
2. Engage others
3. Learn and Improve
4. Coordinate

FIVE CONDITIONS FOR TEAM SUCCESS

Strong teams are deliberate about setting up conditions for success from the very beginning. Ruth Wageman and her colleagues at Harvard have studied leadership teams in many settings and have found that strong teams share 5 conditions for success:

ONE Diverse People

Your team is made of diverse people. A highly effective team is made up of people from different economic backgrounds, race, ethnicity, political ideology, skills, and opinions. When there is diversity amongst your team members it can inspire robust conversation during decision-making, pushing your team to better thought-out outcomes. A good team will have a diversity of identities, experiences and opinions, ensuring that everyone is bringing the most possible to the table.

TWO Common Purpose

Your shared purpose is clear and it points you in an engaging direction. The work you have to do is readily understood, it's challenging, it matters to your constituency and you know why it matters. Team members should be able to articulate for others the "purpose" of your team. This is a brief statement that includes who the team is, what they do together and how they plan to do it.

Three Clear Boundaries

Your team is stable, with clear boundaries. You can name the people on it, and they meet regularly. It's not a different, random group of people every time. Highly effective teams have 4 - 8 members. Membership of the team remains constant long enough that the team learns to work together better and better; each member is fully committed to be on the team and commits consistent time and effort to it.

FOUR Clear Roles

Your team works interdependently. Everyone should have a roughly equal share of the work based on the unique skills & resources they bring to the team, understanding that each part is necessary to adequately reach the ultimate goal. Thus, the success or failure of one will have an effect on all. One way to encourage interdependence is to have clear roles based on the work that the team needs to do to succeed. Interdependent teamwork includes: making decisions together, coordinating work together, serving as a consultative team, and sharing information. Good teams will coordinate and help each other accomplish collective goals. Good team members will communicate well when they need assistance. No one is carrying out activity in a silo that is secretive to others.

FIVE Ground Rules

Your team has explicit expectations. Your team sets clear expectations, community agreements or ground rules, for how to govern yourselves in your work together. How will you manage meetings, regularly communicate, make decisions, and maintain commitments? And, most importantly, how will you correct violations of your shared ground rules so they remain real and help you work as a team?

Teams with explicit shared expectations of each other have a much higher likelihood of achieving the results they are aiming for. Some team expectations are operational such as “how often will we meet?” “How will we share and store documents?” “Communicate with others outside the team?” Others address expectations for member interaction with each other. Initial group ground rules guide your team in its early stages as members learn how to work together as a team. They are set by the team, not one person, and can be refined through regular group review of how well the team is doing.

Without being explicit about creating these ground rules, you will find that habitual ways of interacting will form on their own, and it will be much more difficult for your team to address those habits that are not helpful to your team’s effectiveness.

THREE CRITERIA TO MEASURE YOUR TEAM’S EFFECTIVENESS

- **ACTION:** The action work of your team matches the goals you need to meet in order to win on your campaign.
- **CAPACITY:** The team is engaging others outside the team in action. The team’s capacity is growing, as you work better together over time.
- **LEARNING:** Teamwork supports individual growth and learning.

In short, the team is meeting the campaign’s interests by achieving goals, growing the community of people and resources it will take to meet the goals, and meeting each participant’s interests by giving them opportunities and support to learn and develop.

*Note: If your team isn’t meeting these criteria, return to the foundational blocks to re-evaluate and refocus.

Organizing Notes

**Organization:
Communities in Action**

Week 8

This week we look at communities in action -- organizations through which we mobilize common resources on behalf of common interests. Last week we discussed how relational, interpretive and action tactics could be strategically and motivationally woven together as campaigns. This week we look at how to structure organizations - formalizing our relationships, our methods of interpretation, and our action routines - to make ongoing effective collaboration possible.

Organizations do just three things: they meet, they act, and they celebrate. Although the concept of organization is simple, working as a social change organization in practice is not easy. As collective enterprises that express individual and common purposes, organizations entail inherent tensions or dilemmas.¹ We cannot eliminate these tensions, nor should we try to because they are vital sources of energy and renewal. We must learn to manage them. The first step to doing this is to recognize the tensions that exist. In this chapter we focus on four key tensions in membership associations: inclusion vs. exclusion, stability vs. change, unity and diversity, and part vs. whole.

**Inclusion vs. Exclusion:
Bounding the Organization**

Who is “in” and who is “out”? And who decides who is “in” and who is “out”? Because every inclusion is also exclusion, as soon as we define the “we” that makes up our group, we have defined a “not-we” outside of the boundaries of our group.² On the one hand, this may limit our capacity for collaboration. On the other hand, a community without boundaries – or, for the matter, a marriage, a family, or any other kind of group – can’t exist. So it is not a question of whether or not we bound an organization, but rather how we bound it that gives it an identity – an identity that those of us who participate in it share.

Although he is writing about small groups, Richard Hackman, in *Leading Teams*, observes:

To work well together, team members need to know who they are. Members are sure to run into difficulties if there is so much ambiguity about who is actually on the team that they cannot reliably distinguish between the people who share responsibility and accountability for the collective outcome and others who may help out in various ways but are not team members.³

A community we can enter any time we want (when it is convenient, when it is doing what we want) and exit any time we want (when it is inconvenient, when we disagree) is a community of rights but no obligations. Without obligations, however, it never becomes a community. Obligations give us an interest in making the community work, even when it is difficult and we disagree with it. Communities without obligations – or commitment – can never generate social capital because we never know if there is “a there really there.” Consumers enter a marketplace at will, exercise their preferences, and exit. Constituents, on the other hand, are responsible for governance of their community. Acceptance of obligations entitles one to voice within it.

Furthermore, it is necessary for groups to be bounded in order that trust can be built among the members of a group, as Smith and Berg articulate:

For a group to develop the critical internal relationships so that it can become an entity worthy of being trusted, it needs to have the trust of its members and the assurance they will stand by the group through the bad times and the good. The paradox of trust can be represented by the conundrum of a cycle that depends on itself to get started: for trust to develop in a group, members must trust the group and the group must trust its members, for it is only through trusting that trust is built.⁴

Without knowing who is in a group, the cycle of trust – difficult to begin, even with organizational boundaries in place – is even more difficult to set in motion.

Bounding an organization also entails setting norms for the organization. While norms will develop naturally whether or not we set them explicitly, we are better off being explicit. As Hackman explains, we must set norms explicitly in order to counter human tendencies that actually lead to unproductive organizational work:

The first ordinary tendency is our disposition to react to whatever captures our attention and demands a response, rather than to actively scan our environment for less obvious problems and opportunities that may call for nonstandard actions... A second human tendency... is our understandable impulse to have harmonious interactions with others, to be approved rather than rejected by our teammates, and generally to keep anxieties as low as possible.⁵

As a group sets explicit norms to approach its work proactively, and agrees on “the outer-limit boundaries of what behaviors are acceptable,” it can effectively counter these tendencies.

Change vs. Continuity Maintaining an Interest in Change

If the purpose of an organizing campaign is to create lasting change, doesn't that set up a paradox? We create structure to create continuity but we challenge it to create change.

As a membership association develops and becomes more successful, it will tend to grow larger, become more geographically diffuse, acquire more assets, engage in tasks of greater complexity, try to preserve more lessons from their pasts, and try to extend their horizons farther into the future. This development both requires and facilitates greater complexity in authority structures, routines of practice, and resource configurations. Seeing to the operation of the organization itself takes the commitment of more – and different - resources, energy, and leadership.

Initiating an organization requires commitment of resources, energy, and leadership as well, but they are used in ways closely linked to the organization's purposes – especially if experience of the organization itself is one such purpose (the purpose of a church, for example, is largely realized through participation in its core organizational activity, shared worship). As more resources are devoted to the organization itself, the goals of the organization may become confused with the organization itself as a goal. This is especially problematic if, as it grows, the organization's work becomes more specialized, requires more full time elected or appointed staff. Such a staff begins to compete for organizational resources and can use its control over resources to insulate itself from membership accountability.⁶

Further, a kind of “elective affinity” may come into play as this organizational tension reflects conflicts in our own feelings about stability and change. On the one hand, our curiosity, sense of adventure, desire to learn may draw us to innovate. On the other hand, our need for

predictability, proficiency and stability, may cause us to fear innovation. Although most of us experience both kinds of pull, some us are drawn more to the innovative, evangelical, and experimental and others to the stable, predictable, and proficient. And since people with one disposition converge on different parts of an organization than those of the other, the possibility of constructive synergy or organizational fragmentation are both created.⁷ This challenge can become acute in membership associations because their success growing their membership creates the constituency most inclined to resist investment of organizational resources in further growth. And it becomes particularly acute in that control over organizational resources falls naturally into the hands of those stabilizing the organization to a greater degree than those growing it – into the hands of bishops, in other words, rather than missionaries. Because of the way this works, it is very important to build in strong accountability mechanisms – at both the individual and the organizational level - from the beginning.

Unity vs. Diversity Organizational Creativity

Unity is the source of a membership association's power because it is through combination that it acquires the resources that it has to deploy. On the other hand, diversity is often the most critical source of an association's creativity, accountability, and ability to learn. As social psychologists have learned, the more homogeneous a group, the better it can be at "taking the hill"; but the more diverse a group, the better the decisions it will make about *whether* to "take the hill" or not.⁸ Dissent, in other words, can be associated with better decisions, but poorer performance. Unanimity can be associated with better performance, but poorer decisions.

Hackman writes, "A well-composed team strikes a balance between having members who are too similar to one another on the one hand and too different on the other."⁹ Again, this is a concept that is simple and yet not easy. For one, we tend to self-select into groups with people who share many of our characteristics; we tend to seek harmony. Diverse groups often begin less harmoniously, often experiencing rough sledding early in their lives as members struggle to figure out how to work together (and *interpersonal* conflict definitely is not a boon to performance). But if members make it through their early difficulties, they are likely to come up with products that are significantly more creative than those generated by more homogeneous teams whose interactions are smoother from start to finish.¹⁰

Too much unity (such as Janis's "groupthink") can stifle an organization by destroying its responsiveness to its constituency and its capacity for renewal. If an association fragments into factions, each of which views its interests as the interests of the whole, it loses the capacity to discern the common interests that make combination possible, let alone the capacity to translate those interests into the effective mobilization and deployment of resources. Furthermore, while dissent is critical for decision-making processes, dissent on its own can be divisive and lead to scapegoating within an organization.

A group may need to be able to receive negative feedback about its processes in order to learn and grow; however, the message may feel like an assault on the group's norms.... the carrier of such messages is often dealt with as a deviant which, in turn, helps to strengthen those norms, or as a scapegoat which provides some internal catharsis enabling the group to remain unchanged. The bind is that the group may elect not to listen to the very things it needs to hear. Instead, it may choose to reject the carrier of the message so that it does not have to deal with the message, treating the concerns as 'belonging' to the person expressing them rather than seeing this as an integral part of the group itself.¹¹

The challenge, then, is to design an organization in which interests and resources are concentrated enough to assure effective action, but diffuse enough to assure a capacity for change.

The Part vs. the Whole: National Purpose, Local Action

Much of our discussion has assumed associations consist of a single organizational entity. Although groups that are exclusively local do operate as single entities, most successful membership associations combine local units in broader, often three tiered, federated structures that span the distance between local, state, national and, in some cases, transnational. And although it is the fashion to contrast the local, democratic, and responsive with the national, oligarchic and unresponsive, it is more often the case that it is the local that becomes oligarchic and unresponsive.

Political scientist E. E. Schattschneider, writing about political conflict, argues that widening participation by linking groups across localities is a way to amass the power one needs to accomplish organizational goals (it pools resources, creates a broader strategic venue).¹² Additionally, it facilitates accountability – both to one's constituency and to the broader goals on behalf of which one organized in the first place. Schattschneider claims that elites try to localize

conflict, while insurgents try to broaden the arena of conflict – they can access more allies, more diverse resources, more observers who can be mobilized for support. Federated organizations can create venues within which local elites can be held more accountable as well.

This argument didn't begin with Schattschneider, of course, but was made by James Madison in Federalist Paper # 10, when he argued that large democracy is preferable to small democracy because it is harder for a single faction to take control, turning the "common interest" into factional interest. We seem to have forgotten this idea with our more recent focus on the virtues of direct democracy over those of representative democracy.

The greater the exclusivity of local control and organization, the more vulnerable it is to oligarchy, not at the top, but at the bottom. Not only does this stop the democratic process where it must be rooted, it contributes to the fragmentation of organizational resources as each local group becomes a Madisonian 'faction', seeing its own interest as the interest of the whole. In organizations of this type, the "whole" is reduced to the lowest common denominator, becoming less than the sum of the parts, rather than more.

There is another argument as well that relates to the ways in which associational members come to understand their interests. Each of us has multiple levels of interest. For example, a person who works as a carpenter in commercial construction in San Francisco, with an organizational affiliation that is similarly local, will come to understand his or her interest in that way. On the other hand, if s/he also belongs to an organization that links all San Francisco building trades, s/he may come to see his or her interest more as a "building tradesperson", rather than simply a carpenter. And if, that unit, in turn, links people who work in the building trades with other working people in the area, it may emerge that there are working people's interests – such as transportation costs, access to health benefits, etc. – that are far more broadly shared and which make broader mobilization possible. And if they are also affiliated with a political party or other political grouping that links working people with others in a similar economic situation, but who earn their incomes differently, interests may emerge in public schools, parks, and other public facilities. In other words, the associations with which we affiliate are not merely a "reflection" of our interests; they construct our understanding of those interests as well.

One example of the relationship among local control, accountability, and broader mission is in the labor movement. Unions structure themselves in a variety of ways, one of which is their degree of decentralization and centralization. Examples of highly decentralized unions are drawn from the building trades, craft unions, and others that operated in local labor markets in which they could assert control by organizing highly skilled workers. These unions typically had very large locals, they operated autonomously, and they paid a very small per capita to their national

organizations, which were typically governed by a national board dominated by the leaders of the large local unions. Examples include the Teamsters and the Operating Engineers.

At the other extreme were the highly centralized unions. These typically were industrial unions that organized employees of companies operating across multiple localities such as autos, rubber, or steel. They could often only assert control in local labor markets by leveraging the influence that they had in some places where they often enjoyed political support, on other places where they did not. In the auto industry, for example, the UAW was able to use leverage it held in Michigan, where it had conducted effective sit-down strikes without interference from a friendly Governor, to organize other states where the politics or labor market conditions were far less friendly. These unions typically had locals of diverse sizes, organized into districts or regions or departments within which they had to collaborate to arrive at common positions, paid large per capita to their national organizations, and were governed by a board dominated by leaders elected on a regional or national basis.

Which were more oligarchic? Which were more corrupt? And which are most resistant to change. The fact is that the more local, decentralized, and autonomous, the more oligarchic, corrupt, and conservative the organization. The more national, centralized, and integrated the organization is, the more democratic, honest, and progressive it will be. Today, for example, the most successful union organizing in the country is being carried out by SEIU, a union of some 1.6 million members, and one that had to utterly restructure itself internally to move from the old large autonomous local model to a newer more centralized, more focused, more effective, and, arguably, far more democratic model.

In sum, translocal structures can create a balance between part and whole that give insurgents room to maneuver, decreases the control of local elites, and draw members into broader strategic venues, creating the opportunity for them to develop broader understandings of interests they share with others in like circumstance.

Managing the Tensions

Other than the tension between inclusion and exclusion inherent in the bounding of an organization, the following are some ways to consider for managing the tensions of change and continuity, unity and diversity, and part and whole

Pushing Responsibility Down and Broadening Participation

An organization committed to leadership development and wide participation is better equipped to engage with change on an ongoing basis than an organization that walls its leadership off in a tight circle of control. Sustained commitment to identifying, recruiting and

developing new leaders and to finding new ways to engage one's members more broadly requires organizational leadership to respond to the new currents, new ideas, and new challenges that are out there. So, wide participation can also be viewed as a way to assure ongoing responsiveness to the need for change, albeit within a framework with substantial continuity.

Similarly, openness to bringing in new people and broadening participation confronts leaders with the challenge of how to engage different kinds of people, people with different backgrounds, and, at the same time, create venues within which they can express their concerns, be heard, and see evidence of organizational responsiveness.

And the more extensively responsibility is shared among the leadership and membership of an association, the more the "parts" come to understand – and play a part in – the "whole", and the more the "whole" has to understand about the interests and resources of the "parts."

This is all very good, but what are the consequences of taking this approach for organizational performance in general? In membership associations, the more widely we share responsibility for organizational results, the greater the interest we acquire in the common effort, and the more resources we will commit to its success. It may be more "efficient" to get 5 people to spend the whole day collecting signatures in a city, but it may be more "effective" to get 10 teams of 5 to spend one hour each getting signatures in their own neighborhoods. Similarly, scholars of work organization have shown that pushing responsibility down, or "vertically-loading" jobs, can increase motivation and – by extension – productivity.¹³

Second, pushing responsibility down not only empowers an association by engaging the resources of more people, but it empowers people within the organization because it provides them with access to the resources with which to exercise accountability. The more members share the responsibility for doing the work, the more getting the work done depends on their cooperation. And the more cooperation it requires, the more control over resources that can make accountability real are placed in more hands. If only five people can do the work, theirs is the only cooperation required - so they are also the only ones who can exercise real accountability. On the other hand, if it takes 50 people to get the work done, their cooperation is required.

When an organization's work depends not on resources generated by the efforts of many people, but on resources generated by a single fundraiser, who holds real power within the

organization? Have you ever been in a meeting where you start hearing about what the funders will support and won't support and why we need to do this or that so we can get the money – all, of course, interpreted by the person responsible for raising the money? No matter how democratic the formal structure of an organization, if one person's work drives it, that person will "have the say." This is why effective democratic leadership rests on a solid practice of delegation – a practice that we focused on during our discussion of leadership.

Action entails cost, but also holds promise of recognition. The more widely shared the cost – or sacrifice - the more people have a stake in the outcome. If one or two people do all the "sacrificing," they quickly become "burned out," while everyone else blames them for whatever goes wrong. Similarly, when many people have an opportunity to contribute, they can also claim a share in success. It is "their" victory, not someone else's. This, in turn, creates motivation and a sense of entitlement that facilitates accountability.

The beauty of the grape boycott was that it was an action in which everyone could play a part – from a person who shunned grapes in a Florida supermarket to a student who dropped out of school to come to work full time for the UFW, and everything in between. At one point in 1975, pollster Lou Harris found that 12% of the American public – some 17 million people – were boycotting grapes.¹⁴ The wider the opportunity to act is, the wider the participation, the responsibility, and the accountability on the leaders will be.

It might not be surprising, then, we sometimes resist pushing responsibility down or widening participation to the extent that it threatens our control.

Collaborative Organization: Diversity as an Asset

Establishing collaborative work practices within an organization - teams, group deliberation, evaluation, peer learning, etc. – can help address the change and continuity challenge. A key barrier to ongoing adaptive change is an isolated leadership, resistance to open evaluation, avoidance of the openness that teamwork requires, etc.

Similarly, we can manage the tension of unity and diversity more easily based on collaborative work practices. Leading a unified organization requires more than the defensive maneuver of "avoiding faction". It requires designing the organizations' work proactively so that it requires greater interdependence, thus enhancing collaboration. One of the dangers of "professionalizing," is that we may minimize interdependence. Instead of relying on a team of

volunteers (and their inefficiencies) we hire someone to do their job. But something is lost with this choice. Whom does this empower within the organization? Whom does it disempower?

Effective collaboration depends on skilled leadership, a chief art of which is learning to blend the unique capacities – and deficits – of different people. This, of course, goes to the tensions around part and whole as well. Work assignments are the result of a negotiation between the actual persons – their personalities, their experience, their talents, and their difficulties – and the "roles" they are needed to play. If everyone were the same age, race, gender, had the same skills, life experience, and so forth, their “power to” would remain limited because of so little opportunity for productive interdependence. We can't lift a table if we all lift the same corner at the same time. But if we each lift our own corner, we can. The trick is to match people and corners.

Effective collaboration also requires some continuity within an organization. Richard Hackman offers this anecdote:

NTSB (National Transportation Safety Board) staff combed the agency's database to identify the circumstances under which aircraft cockpit crews are most likely to get into trouble. They found that 73 percent of the incidents in the NTSB database occurred on the crew's first day of flying together, and 44 percent of those took place on a crew's very first flight.¹⁵

Hackman continues, “They learn who is especially knowledgeable or skilled about which aspects of the work and thereby build the team's capability to actually *use* what members know and know how to do.”¹⁶

Productive collaboration, then, is the result of harmony not homogeneity. This is what it means to learn how to construct community based on difference. The idea is to create a “star team,” not to be a “star player.” A coach begins with the common interest a team has in winning. But it only becomes a winning team if the coach learns how to combine the unique strengths and weaknesses of each player. The team then has an interest in remaining a team.

Dissent Is Not Disloyalty Organizational Accountability

The capacity of a democratic organization to respond to its constituency and to new conditions is based on accountability. Democracy grows out of a claim that leaders may lead in the public interest not because they are virtuous, but because the public has the power to hold

them accountable. Accountability (as in electoral competition) can also be a mechanism that requires democratic leaders to respond to new circumstances. For democratic organizations, then, responsiveness and renewal are directly tied to legitimacy of dissent. Accountability only works if it is linked to open debate of different points of view.

The contribution of a “loyal opposition” is not only to hold leaders accountable, but also to deal with the change and continuity challenge, by giving voice to alternatives that can stimulate adaptive response to change.

For this to work, however, requires engaging a full diversity of perspectives, meaning we have to learn to manage difference – neither denying it nor accepting it as absolute. To make “dissent” legitimate, we develop agreed upon ways to continue collaborating, even when we disagree. This requires “decision rules” – rules that allow us to make decisions, move forward, and get work done, even if everyone doesn’t agree. Formal procedures for debate, discussion, voting and evaluation can help by “depersonalizing” disagreements. *Roberts Rules of Order* did have its uses.

Leaders can also work to develop a culture which values difference by affirming the single voice that the rest of the group tries to drown out rather than joining the chorus. Learning to deliberate in ways that affirm our commonalities, while protecting dissent, can transform our diversity into an asset, which can aid us in realizing and acting upon our common interests. It is equally important to learn to celebrate in ways which both affirm the distinctiveness of our identities and the communality of our organizational undertaking.

Principles in Practice

How do the practices of pushing responsibility down, broadening participation, working collaboratively, and honoring dissent play out in the way an organization meets, acts, and celebrates?

Chart #1



Meetings

While many meetings can take place between two individuals or small groups (indeed, some must), one way an organization comes to life is as a group of people in a room deliberating about what they can do together.

How does pushing responsibility down and broadening participation work in a meeting? How much effort is made to turn people out? Who participates in the planning team for the meeting? Who speaks in the meeting and what do they have to report on?

How about working collaboratively? What is the role of committees? How are committee reports handled? Is any collaborative work done in the meeting, like brainstorming?

And how about understanding dissent is not disloyalty? Is there a role for a “devil’s advocate”? How is debate structured? Are there rules of respect in place?

Acting

The second thing organizations “do” is “act” – conduct programs, run campaigns, provide services, etc.

How does pushing responsibility down and broadening participation work in acting? How widely has the responsibility for mobilizing participants been spread? Has responsibility for turnout been pushed all the way down, or only for sharing information? Are there teams? Team captains?

How about working collaboratively? How was the action planned? Who participated? Are there regular evaluations? Who participates?

And how does one understand dissent as different from disloyalty? What procures exist for people with complaints to have them heard? Does the leadership look for opportunities to act on suggestions voiced as dissent?

Celebrating

Finally, organizations celebrate their narrative, their successes, their setbacks, and their milestones.

How does pushing responsibility down and broadening participation work in celebrations? Is it a catered meal, or a potluck? Are professional entertainers hired, or are members called upon to contribute? Who does the decorations?

How does working collaboratively come into play? The whole way a celebration is planned, the way committees do their work, and how the event itself is conducted can be an opportunity for widespread collaboration or, the opposite, professionalization.

And how does understanding that dissent is not disloyalty help? Think creatively about how to honor different points of view, different perspectives, and different angles on what is being celebrated.

Chart #2



CONCLUSION

In sum, building powerful civic associations poses important challenges that only come fully into play as we begin to succeed. The responsiveness, relevance, and continued vitality of our organizations depend in great part on how we learn to manage the dilemmas of change and continuity, unity and diversity, and part and whole. We have suggested three practices that can

help: pushing responsibility down and broadening participation, working collaboratively, and institutionally recognizing that dissent is not disloyalty.

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QUESTIONS

1. What are you doing in your organization to widen participation and deepen responsibility?
2. How do the meetings, actions and celebrations of the organization strengthen the organization? Could the organization conduct these actions better?
3. How do you and your organization manage the dilemmas of unity and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, responsibility and participation, and leadership and accountability? Does it work? Could it work better? How?

Action

We have been learning the work of leadership in organizing. We learned how to motivate people to translate their values into action with public narrative. We learned how relationship building could ground commitment to common interests. We learned how to strategize turning resources into power into goals. This week we focus on action – mobilizing and deploying resources to enact strategy in ways that can grow the motivation to participate even more. In an association, the most valuable resources are those its constituency can contribute - time, energy, effort - in a word, their commitment. This commitment of resources – volunteer resources in large measure – makes action possible. Whether holding a rally, conducting a delegation, or mounting a petition campaign, all action begins with a commitment. Action does not follow strategy; however, it unfolds together with it. We may learn what is possible only when taking action opens up new possibilities - as when Rosa Parks refused to get up out of her seat on a bus in Montgomery Alabama. Before getting to what it takes to make an action program work, organizers have key strategic choices to make about how to mobilize and deploy resources in general.

Resource Mobilization and Effective Action:

Paying the Piper and Calling the Tune

The way resources are mobilized affects how they can be deployed, and the way they are deployed affects how they can be mobilized, as illustrated in Action Chart #1. This helps clarify the relationship between action programs and resources. As Oliver and Marwell point out, resources mobilized from within a constituency can be deployed with accountability only to the constituency.¹ Outside resources, on the other hand, often entail accountability to those who contribute them - placing limits on how they can be used. When a number of foundations decided that the environment was a priority, for example, some inner city organizations dependent on foundation funding decided that the interests of their constituents could be served by focusing on environmental programs.

¹ P Oliver and G. Marwell, (1988), Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. A. Morris and C. M. Mueller. (New Haven, Yale University Press), 251-271.

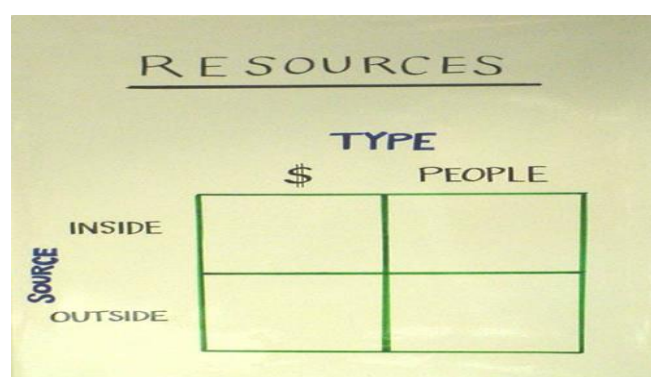
Chart #1



Similarly, devising tactics that require lots of money, if what you have is lots of people, can impose severe constraints on what you do. Basing your action program on tactics that require mobilizing people, on the other hand, can most directly empower your constituency, but it can constrain you to find tactics in which your people are willing to take part.

Although an organization can mobilize resources in a variety of ways, its center of gravity rests somewhere in the area described by Action Chart #2. If the center of gravity is in the inside/people box then it empowers the constituency, makes the organization accountable to the constituency, and limits the use of resources to the constituency's interest. One example is a union. On the other hand, if the center of gravity is in the outside/money box, then it can disempower the constituency (unless it is outside), make the organization accountable to its funders, and limit its tactics to those consistent with the interests of its funders. One example is a foundation funded service program.

Chart #2



Finally, action programs that generate resources must be distinguished from action programs that drain resources. In union organizing, for example, the more successful the union, the more members it gets, the larger the dues base, the more leadership it can develop, and the greater its human and financial resources. Similarly, as some community organizations conduct parish renewal work among member churches, their human and financial capacity grows. Grant-based action programs, in contrast, often fail to generate new resources from the work they do - and keep themselves in a state of perpetual dependency.

The beauty of the grape boycott was that it was an action in which everyone could play a part - from a person who shunned grapes in a Florida supermarket, to a student who dropped out of school to come to work full time for the UFW, and everything in between. At one point in 1975, pollster Lou Harris found that 12% of the American public - some 17 million people - were boycotting grapes. The wider the opportunity to act, the wider the participation and the responsibility.

Action entails cost -- time, effort, risk, and hard work. Sacrifice can also be widely shared. The more widely it is shared, the more people have a stake in the outcome. The boycott is a good example of this as well. When one or two people do all the "sacrificing," they quickly become "burned out," while everyone else blames them for whatever goes wrong.

The flip side of shared sacrifice is shared success. When many people have an opportunity to contribute to the effort, they also share in its success. It is "their" victory, not someone else's victory. This, in turn, creates motivation and a sense of entitlement that facilitates accountability. The day after we won the Pelosi for Congress campaign in San Francisco, 15 Filipina women who had served as precinct leaders showed up at the campaign headquarters looking for Nancy (Pelosi). They had turned out her vote very effectively and played an important role in the victory. They had won, they said, and now they had come to find "Nancy" to get help on the immigration problems they had. This was exactly as it should be. It had been their work, their victory, and now they were entitled to enjoy some of the fruits of success.

There is no right or wrong answer to what an appropriate relationship between resources and action should be. Understanding the relationship is essential, however, so you can make conscious choices about how to set up your organization so it has a chance to accomplish its purposes.

Creating a Culture of Commitment

Outcomes, Commitments, Time, Contingency, Coordination

Regardless of whether one mobilizes resources from the inside or the outside and regardless of whether they are used to promote collaboration or make claims, there is a big difference between making something actually happen, and hoping, wishing, or dreaming that it will happen. One of the most common hazards in organizing is dismissing a strategy or a tactic because “we tried that and it didn’t work” when, in reality, it was never tried – not really. We called the meeting, but hardly anyone came. Oh? What was your attendance goal? Did you make a list of the people you wanted to come? Did you get a commitment from each of those people to come? Did you learn from your successes and your failures what you had to do to get a commitment? Did you follow up with reminder calls, especially on the day of the meeting? Did you get a list of who did come? Did you find out who had invited them? Did you compare their performance to that of others? Did you learn what made the difference?

Engaging in effective collective action poses particular challenges that require greater craft than if you were a “lone ranger” operating off by yourself somewhere. Moving significant numbers of people into coordinated action requires doing detailed thinking, anticipating contingencies, providing accountability and support, conducting training – all “craft” activities that need to be viewed as being as central to the action as the action itself, or there’s likely to be no action.

Unless you can answer these questions not only about a meeting, but also about every link in the chain of contingencies that turns resources into action, there is no “craft” in your work. It becomes almost impossible to evaluate the quality of your strategy, because your “craft” – the excellence with which you do things – is so poor. In order to bring “craft” to your organizing work, it is important to focus on the following: measurable outcomes, numbers of specific commitments, deadlines, and responsibilities.

Measuring Outcomes

What are the **measurable outcomes** you will accomplish and by when? Without clear outcomes, your team doesn’t know if it succeeded or failed in doing what it committed to do. As Fred Ross once said, if you can’t count it, it didn’t happen. How many votes will it take to win the election? How much loss must a company suffer for our boycott to succeed? The ancient war strategist Sun Tzu speaks about the importance of measurement in the pursuit of one’s goals:

The rules of the military are five: measurement, assessment, calculation, comparison, and victory. The ground gives rise to measurements, measurements give rise to assessments,

assessments give rise to calculations, calculations give rise to comparisons, and comparisons give rise to victories.²

The measurement of outcomes allows a group to assess, concretely, what is happening. Assessment allows a group to calculate how it is doing over the course of time. Have we secured as many votes as we had planned to secure at this point in our work? Calculation, in turn, allows one to compare one's own outcomes with those of the opposition, or of previous efforts. If we continue at this rate, will we be victorious? What must we do in order to win? These sorts of comparisons, in turn, allow a group to continue or alter its course so as to ensure victory.

Measurement also allows us to learn by making visible who among us is succeeding, who is failing, and why. Who persuaded more people to sign up? Who was not able to persuade as many? What can we learn from this comparison? In other words, how can every organizer perform at the level of the most successful ones?

Similarly, concrete outcomes allow a group to focus clearly on the specific actions that it must take in order to produce these outcomes, and – in turn – what activities unrelated to the outcome can be eliminated. Without measurable outcome goals, it is easy for a group to lose focus, to be unclear about its goals and therefore, unclear about what actions it must take.

Creating measurable outcomes allows us to take control over our goals. Having measurable outcomes – turning out 25,000 votes, for example – lets us focus on something we can control. It becomes both a basis for evaluation and for learning. Was, indeed, 25,000 votes enough, as we thought? Or did the other candidate win despite our turning out 25,000? In the future, what should our outcome goal be?

As we discussed in the chapter on strategy, goals are embedded within goals. Measurements should thus be associated with each goal. Take the following example from a 1990 California campaign for two environmental propositions. Organizers recognized that they needed to secure approximately 75,000 votes statewide in addition to regular voters. This campaign divided their goals into phases:

- Phase I: Kickoffs – Turn out 500 people to 7 Kickoffs across the state on Saturday, October 20.
- Phase II: Voter ID – Recruit and train 1,000 Precinct Leaders to contact 300,000 Occasional Environmental Voters and identify 150,000 supporters among them—complete by 11/2 (14 days beginning with Kickoffs on 10/20)

² Tzu, Sun, *The Art of War*. 65.

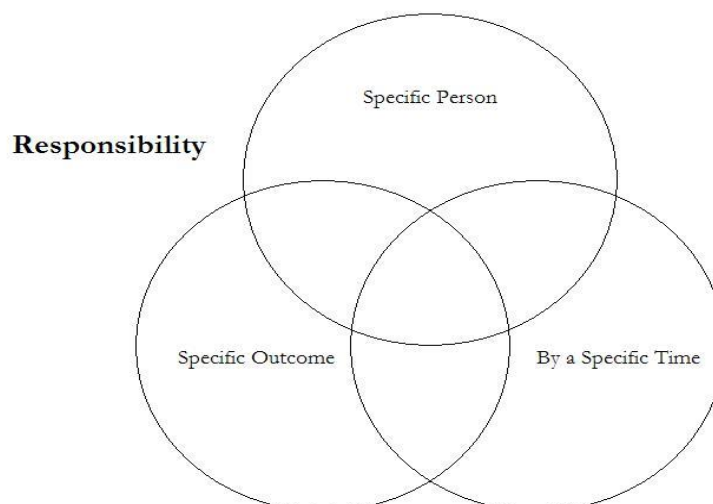
- Phase III: Turn out 75,000 additional environmental votes on Election Day, November 6.

Of course, each of these outcome goals had several layers of outcome goals embedded within them – For example, how many people needed to be recruited to help turn out the 500 people on October 20, how many of those 500 people needed to assume leadership roles to recruit Precinct Leaders, how many hours did each of the 1,000 precinct leaders need to work every day in order to identify their voters.

Securing Commitments

Once we decide on upon desired outcomes we must organize ourselves to produce them. We must decide on the specific action we will ask people to take – the commitment we will ask them to make - such as signing a pledge not to eat grapes, making your own salt, not riding the bus, etc. To secure the participation of a large number of people, we must delegate the responsibility of securing these commitments to a wide range of leaders or potential leaders. One of the greatest challenges organizers face is in learning to ask for – and get – commitments. A commitment is a specific pledge of time, money, or action. Even if we are asking for a commitment to future action, however, a commitment will be stronger if a pledge to take the action is signed now. “Can we count on you to be at our meeting at 7:00 PM? Great would you mind putting your name and phone number down on the list so we can be sure how many chairs to put out and so we can give you a reminder call? I’ll try, I’ll do my best, maybe I’ll be there don’t count as commitment. The genuine commitments we secure, then, become an indicator of the outcome we will achieve.

Chart #3



So there is a big difference between putting the word out about a meeting and getting commitments from people to attend. Unless organizers and volunteers ask for and obtain commitments to attend – in writing, if possible – meeting attendance will be a “crap shoot.” This is challenging because we fear being rejected, and we often fear placing others under obligation, because it obliges us as well. Whatever the reasons, it takes courage, training, and dedication to develop a team of leaders who are not afraid to ask for and get commitments. Without this, the “action” will remain always just a little out of reach.

Finally, there is also a big difference between making commitments and keeping them. Many of us have experienced saying we will arrive at 10, but instead we arrive at 10:15. We say we’ll get something done by Thursday, but don’t have it done until Friday. When we break commitments, even in small ways, the commitment itself begins to mean less for us and for others who are counting on us. We say we’re going to be somewhere by a certain time, while knowing we’ll likely be later. Within an organization, failure to honor commitments has a negative exponential effect. If commitment stops meaning very much for me, when I commit to organizing 2 house meetings per week with 15 people at each, am I really going to think that I’ll be able to? And if I don’t think I can, how hard will I work towards this goal?

Managing Time

The way we organize our time expresses our priorities. Whatever we say, how we spend our time is what we actually do. This is so because often time is our most valuable resource, especially collective time – time in a meeting, in an action, at a rally, etc. Gandhi is reported to have said that a “deal without a date is not a deal”. In other words, it is not only a question of what you will do, but the date by when you will do it. Deadlines are not only a way to coordinate; they are a way to create the urgency that it takes to give action the priority it requires to get done. Without deadlines, there is no urgency and, as a result, it is very unlikely that what you set out to do will happen.

How we prioritize time within a campaign affects the value organizers place on their work. In campaigns in which meetings never start on time, if they are held at all, in which some people’s needs trump everyone else’s, in which meetings people prepared for get cancelled, pretty soon, no one believes their work has any value, except for a few at the top. This can be

deadly for a volunteer effort, where organizers have to persuade volunteers of the value of their contribution, but themselves feel undervalued.

*Managing Contingency:
Reminder Calls*

The world of organizing is a world of contingency...everything can go wrong. Someone forgets to unlock the hall, the sound system is missing a cable, someone forgot to order the chairs, the map got printed backwards, half the flyers didn't get printed on time, someone's car has a flat tire, the date was mistranslated in the Spanish version, etc. etc. etc. Any human endeavor has to deal with contingency. But in a setting in which inexperienced people are trying to achieve major tasks, under pressure of time and with fewer resources than they need – typical of most organizing situations – the potential for disaster is always lurking just around the corner. And much of this we can't do anything about.

But there are forms of contingency that we can do a great deal about, and it is on those that we must concentrate. For example, asking a person for a specific commitment – and getting them to sign it – removes some of the contingency as to whether they'll show up at the meeting or not. In general, one of the most important aspects of the organizer's craft is finding ways to remove as much of the contingency as possible – there will still be plenty to go around.

For example, an organizer's responsibility does not end with securing a commitment. Organizer Larry Tramutola recounts learning this lesson from master organizer Fred Ross:

Pointing to the chart and handing me a colored marker, he told me, "Write down everything you have to do each day. Who are you meeting Monday?"

I went over to the butcher paper and wrote down the names and times of the three people that

I was supposed to meet that day.

Fred continued, "OK, now when are you calling these people to remind them that you are coming to see them?"

Remind them I was coming to see them? "I hadn't thought of that," I told Fred. "Well, write that down," he stated firmly. "Reminding is the essence of organizing."

He went over to [the] butcher paper and wrote in the Sunday column: 'Make reminder calls to:' Then, he listed the names and phone numbers of the people I was to visit the following Monday.

The lesson continued. "What time are you calling them?" he asked, and before I could answer, he instructed me, "Now write down the time." I did.

But he was not through with me yet. “OK, now on Monday, before you meet with them, you need to call them again, right?” Fred asked.

I just nodded quietly while privately thinking that all this reminding and writing down was a bit of overkill. It was only weeks later that I came to understand that these details, and the discipline to put them into practice, are absolutely essential to good organizing. At the time, though I had not learned that for myself, and I certainly did not want to challenge Fred, so I said nothing.

Fred went on. “Good. Now write on the butcher paper the time that you plan to call them, so you don’t forget. It is always good to call people right before you visit them, so you don’t waste time if they are not there.”

And by the way, he continued, “While you are at the house of one of the people on your list, ask if you can use their phone to call your next appointment. That way they’ll see how serious you are,” he said.

He goes on to reflect on Fred’s coaching:

When volunteers who had promised to come to help pass out leaflets did not show up, he would say, “I’ve *told* you that you need to remind people to come. When you are not successful organizing, *you* need to take the responsibility. It is not their fault they didn’t show up. It’s *yours*. You either didn’t do a good enough job inspiring them, or you didn’t follow up and let them off the hook. Either way it’s your fault.”

Of course, Fred practiced what he preached, holding himself responsible for ensuring Larry’s success as he held Larry responsible for ensuring that others made good on their commitments. Tramutola recalls being coached at the end of each day by Ross:

We started every call with what I had accomplished during the day. He peppered me with probing questions that demanded thoughtful answers and accountability: “Why did you do that?” “What did you say when he said that?” The interrogation went on for two hours and often longer, as I had to report and relive my successes and failures of the day. Fred asked me one question after another, and unless I was prepared to simply hang up and walk away from what I was doing, there was no escape or relief. But I endured the torment, partly out of pride and partly because I knew Fred was teaching me invaluable lessons about the importance of follow-through and disciplined work.³

Good coaches know what questions to ask, and know when they are not getting complete answers from those they are coaching. In different organizing situations, there are different

³ L. Tramutola, (2003), Sidewalk Strategies: Seven Winning Steps for Candidates, Causes and Communities, (Turnkey Press), 39

questions that are important to ask, and different ways of recognizing when people are bullshitting.

Coordination

Bringing all these elements of collective action craft together – outcomes, commitments, responsibility, time, and coaching all takes coordination. And coordination requires coordinators, a schedule, and measures. Those responsible for providing leadership must make the time to meeting before and action, during an action if need be, and afterwards to evaluate the action. Managing an effective team means scheduling time for the team to meet, to receive training, and for its members to receive one on one coaching as needed.

Coordination also requires benchmarks to evaluate – and adapt to – results. Where are we, in terms of our goals? How might we need to adjust our behavior in order to achieve our measurable outcomes? Who is doing well? Who is doing poorly? How might we need to adjust our measurable outcomes given what has happened over the last period of time?

This also means organizing space to reflect the goals of the group. Paul Milne discusses the importance of organizing physical space in such a way that the focus of the organization is on outcomes – for example, the number of votes secured through phone calls and house meetings is turned into a large chart that hangs in the line of sight of anyone who enters headquarters: “When you walk through an organizing office, it ought to remind people of what needs to be done, what’s important, what things should happen next. The place should have an orienting effect.”⁴

Perhaps most important for coordination, however, is a regularly scheduled coordination meeting that can serve as an “eye” in the hurricane, the order at the core of what can feel like a chaotic enterprise. For this to work, however, it must be sacred. When I was coordinating Nancy Pelosi’s first campaign for Congress in 1987, I was looking for an opportunity to establish this practice. We had just begun our daily coordinators meeting when someone came running into the room shouting, “Nancy’s on the phone! Nancy’s on the phone! She’s got to talk to you right away!” All eyes turned to me. Was our time really sacred or not? “Please tell Nancy that we’re in our coordinators meeting”, I said. “I’ll call her as soon as we’re done.” A big sigh of relief. From that point on, we never had any problem sticking to our daily meeting.

Motivating Engagement *(Commitment, Effort, Learning)*

⁴ Interview with Paul Milne, (2005), July.

Since action is ultimately what organizing is all about – changing the world – it’s remarkable how often we turn the work of action into a test of how committed we are rather than an opportunity to enhance motivation, deepen commitment, and create opportunities for leadership development.

- You’ve been doing well at recruiting new volunteers but they only show up to phone bank once or twice and you never hear from them again? How can you keep them coming back?
- You have one person who “always” runs the tabling operation but they’re gone for the year. How do you replace them? And, come to think of it, they and a couple of their close friends are the only ones who ever show up to do tabling. Could this be an opportunity?
- It gets pretty tiring, having to tell everyone exactly how to do their work – whether it’s the check-ins for a conference, getting the food lined up for a celebration, planning for a hearing. How come I always have to tell everyone exactly how to do these jobs when they ought to know how to do it? People just don’t care, do they?

You can meet these challenges by making your leadership team learns how to design tasks that insure high quality work by making full use of your resources that motivate those who perform them, and that create more opportunities for leadership development.

How does motivational task design work?

Social scientists have found that tasks designed to yield “intrinsic” rewards (inherently satisfying) produces greater motivation, commitment, and adaptive learning than tasks that only yield financial, recognition, or status rewards.⁵ When designing tasks for volunteers this is even more important.

All three conditions that make for motivational task design must be present:

- Experienced meaningfulness: the task is important in the overall scheme of things.
- Experienced responsibility: how well the task gets done is up to me.
- Experiences results: as I do the work I can see whether or not I’m doing it well.

These conditions can be established by designing tasks in the following ways:

- Task significance – understanding and recognizing the impact of the work on the world.

⁵ Hackman and Oldham, 1980

- Task identity – one’s own contribution, from start to finish, is clear in the final result.
- Skill variety – engaging a variety of skills, including heart, hands, and head.
- Autonomy – having the space to make competent choices about how to do the work.
- Feedback – results visible to the person performing the task as they perform it.

Using this guide as a diagnostic we can evaluate tasks to determine how motivational they are, redesign them to make them more motivational, and construct them so as to create a leadership ladder, opportunity for people to earn greater responsibilities.

Evaluating an Action Program

Finally, we can evaluate the efficacy of our “action” program in three ways:⁶

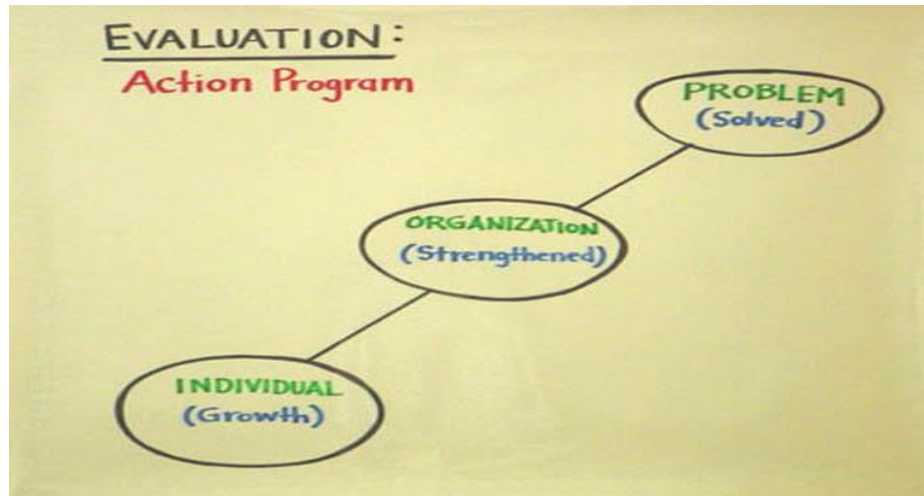
• *First, does it solve the problem at hand?* Did you get done what you set out to do? Are there more books in the school, for example? Did more money get allocated for environmental protection?

• *Second, does it strengthen the organization?* Did it deepen understanding, build relational commitment, and generate new resources?

• *Third, does it facilitate the growth of individuals who take part in the action?* Did people learn, did they gain confidence, were they energized - or were they completely burned out?

Chart #4

⁶ Hackman, Leading Teams. 22-25.



Conclusion

Returning to Cesar's house meeting, an event at the beginning of his efforts to build the UFW, let's reexamine the tactics. What were the relational tactics he used? What kind of interpretive tactics did he use? And what kind of action tactics did he use? The goal of the work we have done over the last three weeks is to see how these three kinds of tactics can be woven together in effective organizational strategies - of which this house meeting is an excellent example.

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QUESTIONS

1. What is the “action program” of your project? Be very specific. What are new participants asked to do?
2. Where does your organization get the resources it needs to carry out its action program? Does it draw more heavily on people, money or both? What impact does this have?
3. How are you creating a “culture of commitment” in your action program?
4. Using the diagnostic checklist, how motivational is your action program? Does it create opportunities for leadership development?
5. Evaluate your action program using the three questions from Hackman: Does it solve the problem at hand? Does it strengthen the organization? Does it facilitate the growth of individuals who take part?

COACHING 101

“How do I enable others to find purpose in the face of challenge?”



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We welcome your suggestions for improving this guide further for future trainings. We also welcome you to use it and adapt it for your own trainings, subject to the restrictions below.

The coaching framework is from the work of Ruth Wageman and Richard Hackman, and the full framework can be found in Wageman, 2010 "Toward a framework for coaching" Working Paper, Harvard University, and in Hackman and Wageman, (2005). "Toward a theory of team coaching," Academy of Management Review, 30, 269-287. Adapted here by Hope Wood, New Organizing Institute.

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COACHING: FROM EXTERNAL CONTROL TO GROWTH

OBJECTIVES:

By the end of this training, you will...

- Learn a simple diagnostic framework and a 5-step process for coaching others in organizing efforts
- Practice the coaching process through role-plays and reflective discussion
- Learn to build a culture of coaching into your team

Why is coaching an important organizing practice?

Leadership in organizing is about enabling others to achieve purpose in the face of uncertainty. Coaching, put simply, is the act of enabling others.

Organizing campaigns are rich with challenges and learning opportunities, but sometimes we are fish in our own water and we cannot see the challenges we are swimming in. Coaching in organizing helps to alleviate this problem. Coaching helps individuals to overcome motivational, strategic, and informational challenges that might otherwise hinder the progress of the individual, and or the team, and thus the campaign or training.

What is coaching in organizing?

Coaching is a direct intervention in an individual or team's work process to help them improve their effectiveness.

Coaching is a leadership practice that is useful in a variety of contexts in organizing campaigns. Some examples of when coaching skills are necessary:

- Preparing leaders to get over the anxiety that most of us feel when we ask other adults to do tasks that might not be enjoyable.
- Facilitating the goal setting of a leadership team struggling with common understanding of the goals
- Debriefing with a leader who has not kept a commitment
- Helping a leader overcome motivational challenges with managing volunteer teams in the field
- Assisting a leadership team in creating strategy for their organizing campaign

Coaching is useful whenever we are working to enable others to build their own capacity to act, and though the contexts vary, the process is very similar throughout.

Effective Coaching Is	Effective Coaching Is Not
- Showing up and being present to another person's experience and listening, with both your head and heart	- Being so prepared that you figure out all the answers for the coaches before you even hear or observe their challenges
- Helping the coaches explore and make sense of their challenges and successes and what they learned from it all	- False praising of the coaches or only focusing on their strengths because you do not want to hurt their feelings
- Helping the coaches to find solutions to challenges	- Solely criticizing the coaches for their weaknesses
- Asking questions that both support and challenge the person you are coaching.	- Telling the coaches what to do

How do I practice coaching in organizing?

Good coaching requires learning how to identify a person's or team's strengths and weaknesses in order to find ways to help them mobilize their strengths to overcome their weaknesses. People often know what they "should" do, but a fresh set of eyes is helpful in diagnosing the specific challenges they're facing and initiating a brainstorm of solutions to maneuver through them. There are three basic practices of coaching:

Basic Practices of Coaching:

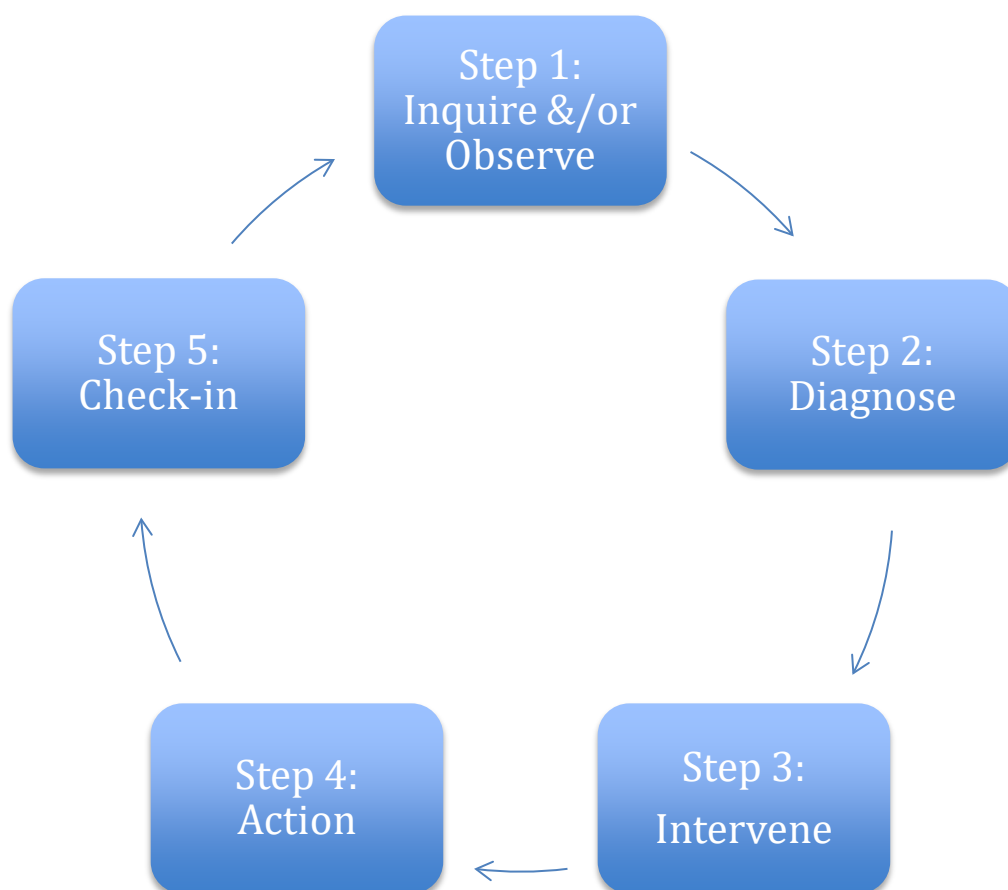
- **Motivational (heart) coaching** is aimed at enhancing *effort*.
- **Strategic (head) coaching** is aimed at helping the team or individual plan, evaluate, or think about its *strategic or structural approach*.
- **Skills-based (hands) coaching** is aimed at helping the team or individual *execute with skill* (and learn from execution).

The first part of effective coaching is diagnosing which coaching practice is most needed in any given moment. For example, if an organizer is struggling with strategy but you try using motivational coaching, it is likely to frustrate them further.

As is true for the other practices of leadership, coaching is a practice that only gets honed by DOING, and then reflecting on what works and what doesn't.

Following this simple, 5 step coaching process can help you dive in and begin your coaching practice:

5 Step Coaching Process



1. Inquire &/or Observe - What do I see and hear?

When you are observing a person's actions in the field or someone comes to you for help, your first inclination may be to draw conclusions from the initial observations you make. As a coach, you need to take time to dig deeper. Are you seeing all the angles here? What information is missing? Think about the "who, what, why, how, where, when" questions.

- **Motivational (heart):** Is the individual struggling because s/he is not putting forth enough effort? Is she not trying hard enough because she's embarrassed? Is he quitting too soon because of frustration or fear?
- **Strategic (head):** Is the individual struggling because the goals are not achievable? Or because they're not thinking creatively enough about how to use the resources they have to meet goals? Or because the overall strategy doesn't make sense and needs to be clarified or adapted to their situation?
- **Skills-based (hands):** Is the individual struggling because of not being able to muster the behavioral skill to execute effectively? Does he not have the skill in his repertoire? Is he getting interference from other habits and behaviors (like someone well-versed in marketing speak may think that skill set is a substitute for authentic story-telling skills)? Is there something you could model, or that this person that just needs more help practicing and debriefing?

2. Diagnose & 3. Intervene: Which form of coaching does this require? How will I intervene?

		
If your diagnosis is that the individual needs to put in more intense effort, choose a <i>motivational</i> intervention, – for example:	If your diagnosis is that the individual is not <i>understanding</i> the focal practice adequately, or thinking about it appropriately, choose a <i>strategic</i> intervention – for example:	If your diagnosis is that the individual lacks <i>execution skill</i>, choose an <i>educational</i> intervention – for example:
○ Encouragement and enthusiasm—you can do it! ○ Helping the individual understand and confront fear, embarrassment, or other emotions that get in the way of the willingness to try harder or persist in the face of setback ○ Incentivizing, rewarding and praising courage ○ Modeling courage and emotional maturity in your own behavior, confessing fear and explaining how you move toward it rather than away ○ Kick in the pants (offered with love) ○ What else?	○ Asking good questions about how the individual is thinking about the key leadership practice – “Why did you choose to do this and not that?” – Based on where you are now what resources could you draw on to take this story/team/strategy to the next level? ○ Offering your assertions about what you are observing and how you think the individual might fruitfully think about the practice differently – “When you stop at that angry point in the story, I think you may be forgetting that your listeners need a reason to hope in order to be called to action.” ○ Offering the opportunity for silent reflection and self-diagnosis – “Why don’t you take a moment to think through what you believe is working and not working and let’s talk about that?”	○ Model the behavior and invite the coaches to imitate you or work side by side with you to get the “feel” of the activity ○ Break it down into smaller parts and invite the individual to try one at a time ○ Practice, feedback, repeat ○ Offer three or four different practice exercises and observe which ones “take” for that person ○ Repetition, repetition, repetition ○ What else?

4. Action: How can I allow the coaches to develop their leadership skills? What action will they take that would allow them to move forward?

- Avoid the urge to do it for them.
- Allow the coaches to try the intervention.
- Observe them in action and note observations for your debrief.

5. Check-in and Debrief: What do I ask the coaches to help them reflect on their experience?

- What went well?
- What are you challenged by?
- What are some possible solutions?
- What are your goals/next steps?
- Schedule periodic check-ins to support your coaches in integrating this new or revised solution into their regular practice.
- Find out from the coaches how the situation has changed.
- Assess whether the diagnosis and intervention was successful. Celebrate success!

WORKSHEET:

REFLECT ON COACHING

How does this way of COACHING compare with other types of COACHING you have experienced?

What is most challenging and most new or interesting about this way of supporting others' development?

How could this type of coaching be used to help you support other organizers (volunteer and staff) out in the field? What are some of the practices that you will use next time you work with another organizer?

Coaching Cycle Scenarios – For Use with Coaching 101 Package

Below are 4 scenarios, you have been provided enough information for **Step 1: Inquire and/or Observe - What do I see and hear?** of the coaching cycle – and you are free to use a little imagination to round out the scenario. Your task is to determine what kind of coaching they need – **Motivational, Strategic, Skills-based.**

Scenario 1: The context – You are preparing leaders to get over the anxiety that most of us feel when we ask other adults to do tasks that might not be enjoyable.

This is a group of local leaders that have secured member volunteers to run a phone bank asking for campaign contributions for a school board candidate's campaign. The leaders are scared of hearing no's from their colleagues on the phones and are a little by the growing "clarifying questions" coming from their volunteers. Ultimately, they feel they should just scrap the whole thing because they are not confident that the volunteers will show up and they are sure they won't raise much money.

Type of Coaching: _____

Scenario 2: The context – You are facilitating the goal setting of a leadership team struggling with common understanding of what their campaign should be able to achieve.

The team members have a wildly divergent notions of what the outcomes should be and they keep shying away from setting a goal and straying into thinking about "cool" actions they could plan. It appears to you that they may not have run this kind of meeting before and they may not understand how to develop a plan for action.

Type of Coaching: _____

Scenario 3: The context – You are debriefing with a leader who has not kept a commitment.

The leader is relatively new and quite a bit younger than others at the worksite – but has good relationships and is well respected. The commitment was a relatively small one that was dependent on using already established relationships – a.k.a. "ask five friends to..." You get the sense that this leader has not taken this commitment seriously at all.

Type of Coaching: _____

Scenario 4: The context - Helping a leader overcome motivational challenges with managing other members across several worksites who are supposed to be making a face to face contact with each employee in the worksite to update contact information and establish a basic presence in each worksite.

The leader is having difficulty keeping the teams to following the protocol of relationship building – various teams are reverting to – "place a notice in the mailbox" – send a broadcast email – or are leaving it to one person at the worksite to do alone – or are not doing it at all. The leader has been shy to redirect the teams to the protocol of face to face contact and feels that it is "not their place" to question if other adults have kept up their end of the work.

Type of Coaching: _____

The Consultancy Coaching Protocol

15 mins	What	How
	Opening by Lead Facilitator	<i>Facilitator reviews protocol and adjusts time as desired by presenter or as fits the group. The group may decide to spend more time on the preparation section, or in the discussion. Timing also depends on how many are in the group.</i>
5	Presenter Shares	1. <i>Presenter shares the dilemma—this can be verbally shared or presenter can offer a written document. If a written description is shared, presenter can also verbally add anything he'd like before or after the group reads the document. It's appropriate for the group members to take notes about what they're hearing. Presenter might also share an artifact such as a transcript of a coaching conversation, an email, a plan for a conversation, etc.</i> 2. <i>Presenter can ask for feedback or input in one area or around one key question. Asking for specific feedback or support can help a discussion stay focused and useful.</i>
3	Clarifying Questions NOT Probing	<i>Group asks presenter clarifying questions. Clarifying questions are yes/no or require very short answers.</i> <i>The facilitator needs to interrupt if probing questions are asked and can remind the group that probing questions can be raised during the discussion.</i>
5	Group Fishbowl Discussion	1. <i>Presenter moves his/her chair outside of the circle and can take notes if desired.</i> 2. <i>The presenter can remind the group of the presenter's key question.</i> 3. <i>Group members can raise probing questions, share the insights they gained, and share any other comments or reflections they came up with. The facilitator can open this section by suggesting that each group member briefly (in about one minute) share his/her initial thoughts on the dilemma and the group can whip around so that all can share a thought before opening into a less structured discussion.</i> 4. <i>Group needs to ensure that discussion stays focused on the presenter's dilemma and if requested, on his/her key question. Group may also take actions to ensure equity of participation.</i>
2	Closing	<i>Presenter shares any reactions, insights, feelings about protocol or what was said; he/she doesn't need to respond to questions that were raised in the group discussion. If time permits, group can share reflections on process.</i>

General Coaching Sentence Stems

Active Listening Stems	Nonjudgmental Responses
• So... • In other words... • What I'm hearing, then... Is that correct? • What I hear you saying is... Am I missing anything? • I'm hearing many things... • As I listen to you, I'm hearing... Is there anything else you feel I should know?	• I noticed how when you...the students really... (to identify something that worked and why it worked) • I'm interested in learning (or hearing) more about... • I'd love to hear more about... • Thank you for sharing your thoughts. Can you tell me more about...?
Clarifying Stems	Probing Stems
• Let me see if I understand... • I'd be interested in hearing more about... • It would help me understand if you'd give me an example of... • So, are you saying/suggesting...? • Tell me what you mean when you... • Tell me how that idea is like (or different from)... • To what extent is...? • I'm curious to know more about... • I'm intrigued by... • I'm interested in... • I wonder...	• What's another way you might...? • What would it look like if...? • What do you think would happen if...? • How was...different from (or similar to)...? • What's another way you might...? • What sort of an impact do you think...? • What criteria do you use to...? • When have you done something like...before? • What do you think...? • How did you decide...(come to that conclusion?)? • I'm curious to know more about... • I'm intrigued by... • I'm interested in... • I wonder...



Facilitative & Directive Coaching Stems*

FACILITATIVE	DIRECTIVE
Cathartic Stems - I'm noticing that you're experiencing some feelings. Would it be OK to explore those for a few minutes? - What's coming up for you right now? Would you like to talk about your feelings? - Wow. I imagine I'd have some emotions if that happened to me. Are you experiencing strong feelings?	Informative Stems - There's a useful book on that topic by... - An effective strategy to teach ____ is... - You can contact ____ in ____ department for that resource... - Your principal will be in touch about that. _____ is very effective at teaching that skill; maybe you could observe him.
Catalytic Stems - Tell me about a previous time when you... How did you deal with that? - I hear you're really struggling with... How do you intend to start? - It sounds like you're unsatisfied with... What would you do differently next time? - You've just talked about five different things you want to work on this week. The last thing you mentioned is... How important is this to you? - How do you want your students (or a particular student) to remember you? - How do you want to remember this time or situation in fifteen years? - Who do you want to be in this situation?	Prescriptive Stems - I would like you to discuss this issue with your supervisor. - You need to know that the school's policy is... - Have you talked to ____ about that yet? Last week you said you planned on doing so. - Would it be ok if I share some advice that I think might help you? You're welcome to take it or leave it, of course. - I'd like to suggest...
Supportive Stems - I noticed how when you...the students really... (To identify something that worked and why it worked) - It sounds like you have a number of ideas to try out! It'll be exciting to see which works best for you! - What did you do to make the lesson so successful? - I'm interested in learning (or hearing) more about... - Your commitment is really inspiring to me. - It sounds like you handled that in a very confident way. - You did a great job when you... - I'm confident that you'll be successful.	Confrontational (Interrupting) Stems - Would you be willing to explore your reasoning (or assumptions) about this? - I'd like to ask you about... Is that okay? - What's another way you might...? - What would it look like if...? Is there any other way to see this situation? - What do you think would happen if...? - What sort of an effect do you think...would have? - I'm noticing (some aspect of your behavior)...What do you think is going on? - What criteria do you use to...? - Who do you want to be in this situation? How do you want to show up? - How do you want others to see you in this situation?

* The labels for these categories—cathartic, catalytic, supportive, informative, directive, confrontational—are from the work of John Heron.



3 Strategies for Effective Coaching Across Difference

By Elena Aguilar — April 18, 2018

Elena Aguilar

Elena Aguilar, an experienced K-12 educator, trains individuals and teams to build resilient, just communities. She is the author of *The Art of Coaching*, (2013) *The Art of Coaching Teams*, (2016) and *Onward: Cultivating Emotional Resilience in Educators* (2018). She is also the founder of Bright Morning Consulting (brightmorningteam.com) and is active on social media.

This is part two of a series of blogs written by Noelle Apostol Colin, [Bright Morning Consulting](#) associate.

I've learned a lot since [that moment](#) I froze in front of my African-American client who said, "You wouldn't understand. You're not from this community." I was part of a team of coaches who had time each week to reflect and learn together, which was essential to my growth and commitment. I built up my own emotional intelligence, learned about systemic oppression, resistance, resilience, and developed a bank of strategies that have allowed me to be a more effective coach for my clients of color. While I know I won't be perfect—there is more to learn and more uncomfortable feelings ("done" is a long way off on this journey of undoing 300 years of racial oppression)—I have made progress and I want to share some of the strategies I've learned thus far.

#1: Curiosity and Compassion

In part I of this blog post, I talked about the importance of a curious and compassionate mindset to develop self-awareness. Now I'm suggesting it as a mindset or way of being in conversation with our clients. It's useful to ground our own feelings and thoughts, and it allows us to access expanded choices for responding. When we show up with curiosity and compassion, we help people feel seen, heard and cared for. This is a foundational condition for building trust and deep understanding. Let's go back to my difficult moment with a client and imagine the scenario with a coach grounded in a curious and compassionate mindset:

Client: You wouldn't understand. You're not from this community.

(Coach allows for a pause in the conversation. Within about ten seconds, the coach notices feelings of hurt and insecurity that pop up. Notices the urge to defend herself. Takes three breaths. Wonders what the client is feeling. Reminds herself that the client is most likely experiencing something uncomfortable or painful, too. Reminds herself of the role that schools have played in our 300 years of systemic, racial oppression. Feels sad. Feels empathy for client. Coach wants to connect.)

Coach: No, I'm not. But I really want to be here, working with you and within this community. I care about you. Would you be willing to tell me more about what's coming up for you right now? I'd like to understand.

In this scenario, the coach was guided by a curious and compassionate mindset. This way of being works like a filter that we move input through. It helps create more space inside ourselves and makes it more likely we'll respond in a way that aligns with our values and our purpose.

#2: Develop Your Own Emotional Intelligence

In a recent workshop, a table of white women said, “we noticed all of us felt shame about our whiteness when we thought about our identities and it’s really uncomfortable.” To have these conversations, we have to develop our own emotional intelligence, because they bring up feelings that make us want to turn away or defend ourselves. I told them, “that’s great. Naming the feelings is important. Now find compassion for yourself. Then remember your values.”

If I ever get stuck in guilt or shame about my unearned racial privilege, I take a deep breath and think about compassion and how systemic oppression dehumanizes all of us. Then remember that I value justice and connection. That helps me move through the feeling. Then I can more easily focus my whole being on the work of coaching, transformational change, and dismantling systems of oppression.

I have a [printed chart listing emotions](#) that I look at to help expand my vocabulary and awareness of what I’m feeling in different moments. Try printing this out and looking at it throughout the day and finding language to match your current emotions. It’s great practice and it’s fascinating to notice the range of feelings that we experience throughout a day.

Here’s a mind trick that helped me; the phrase “just feelings.” In moments when I’ve felt, triggered, sad, frustrated, or defensive - I say to myself, “just feelings. This works as a reminder that while feelings are uncomfortable, they can’t really hurt me. I don’t have to give into them, solve an immediate problem, fix anything, push anyone or anything away. “Just feelings.” Breathe. Stay present.

#3: Invite Conversations About Differences

Invite people to tell their stories about who they are, what they value, what makes them proud, what they struggle with, and how they experience the world. Don’t let the differences become the elephant in the room that leads your client to burst out like mine did with, “I shouldn’t be talking to you about this. This is just how it is for women of color in this district.” This client felt it wasn’t safe to share painful parts of her work experience with me, yet the experience was keeping her from becoming the leader she wanted to be. As a transformational coach, this was troubling. What I learned is that you can invite a client to talk, acknowledging differences, with prompts like:

- What do you need me to understand about your identity as your coach?
- What would you like to know about me that would help you to work with me?

- Tell me a story that will help me understand a part of your identity that you feel impacts you at work.
- What might be challenging about us working together? What can I do to support you when those challenges arise?

We can't ever make assumptions about someone's identity and experience. Questions like this let our clients know that we're comfortable acknowledging difference and we affirm who they are.

In writing these two blog posts, I realize there needs to be a Part III, possibly Part IV, and possibly more. There are more strategies I want to share! Please check back for more on this topic soon.

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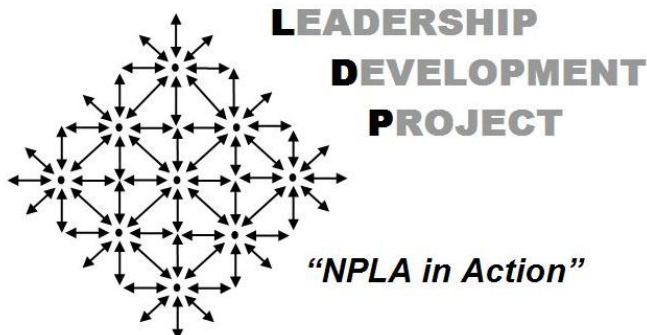


Coaching Your Leadership Team

Task Design

Participant Guide

Module Three,
Part 4



Leadership Development Project Skills Workshop: Motivational Task Design Learning Handout

Framing:

Why do we need to design tasks motivationally?

- You need to choose a new committee chair, but don't have any idea who would be most qualified except for their knowledge of the issue. But research skills are not the same kind of skills needed to lead a committee. What do you do?
- You've been doing well at recruiting new volunteers but they only show up to phone bank once or twice and you never hear from them again? How can you keep them coming back?
- You have one person who "always" runs the tabling operation but they're gone for the year. How do you replace them? And, come to think of it, they and a couple of their close friends are the only ones who ever show up to do tabling. Could this be an opportunity?
- It gets pretty tiring, having to tell everyone exactly how to do their work – whether it's the check-ins for a conference, getting the food lined up for a celebration, planning for a hearing. How come I always have to tell everyone exactly how to do these jobs when they ought to know how to do it? People just don't care, do they?

You can meet these challenges by making sure your ExCom members learn how to design tasks that insure high quality work by making full use of your resources that motivate those who perform them, and that create more opportunities for leadership development.

How does motivational task design work?

Remember the key components of motivational task design, all three of which must be present?

- Experienced meaningfulness: the task is important in the overall scheme of things.
- Experienced responsibility: how well the task gets done is up to me.
- Experiences results: as I do the work I can see whether or not I'm doing it well.

We also reviewed the way we had to design work so as to produce this kind of motivation:

- Task identity- getting to do the whole thing from start to finish.
- Task significance – understanding and seeing the direct impact of the work on the world.
- Skill variety – engaging a variety of skills, including heart, hands, and brain.
- Autonomy – having the space to make competent choices about how to do the work.
- Feedback – results that are visible to the person performing the task, even as they perform.

We can evaluate tasks to determine how motivational they are, redesign them to make them more motivational, and construct them so as to create a leadership ladder, opportunity for people to earn greater responsibilities.

When can we make good use of motivational task design?

- Whenever we initiate a new program, launch a campaign, or undertake a project so we design it “right” from the beginning.
- When the way we do the things we do the most of (phone banking, tabling, letter writing) could be made far more productive, could engage more people, and could create opportunity for more leadership to develop.

Practicum:

Demonstrate the Skill:

Trainer uses diagnostic check list to lead the group in evaluation of an agreed upon task, such as phone banking.

Practice the Skill:

Break out participants into teams of four. The use the task redesign ladder to redesign an agreed upon task of their own choosing, on which they report out.

How can task design be useful to your team?

- Whenever we initiate a new program, launch a campaign, or undertake a project so we design it “right” from the beginning.
- When the way we do the things we do the most of (phone banking, tabling, letter writing) could be made far more productive, could engage more people, and could create opportunity for more leadership to develop.

What are some examples of specific ways task design could be introduced into your team work?

- Schedule task design reviews of the most common tasks your ExCom mobilizes people to do, perhaps one every other month, but on a regular basis.
- Commit your ExCom to a work design evaluation of the ExCom itself, how work is divided up, etc.

- Commit your ExCom to turning to you to lead them in task design considerations of any new program they undertake.

What commitment is required of the coach?

- To take initiative in identifying opportunities for the team to make use of task design.
- To practice telling his or her own story to develop mastery of task design.
- To coach team members in doing task design.

What commitment is required of the team?

- To work with the coach to identify opportunities to use task design.
- To find ways to build task design into their work as a team.
- To create learning opportunities for team members to work with the coach.

Additional Materials

- Task Diagnostic Check List
- Task Redesign Ladder

For Further Reading:

1. Richard Hackman. “Redesigning Work for Individuals and Groups”, 2006.
2. “The Volunteer”, Sierra Club Case, 2006.

RIO GRANDE PHONE BANK TASK REDESIGN

	Level One	Level Two	Level 3
Task Identity	Give new volunteers responsibility for identifying the best targets to call, brainstorm ideas for the script as a team	They are in charge of Level 1 volunteers	They are responsible for the entire phone bank
Task Significance	Brief new volunteers on the importance of the phone bank, share polling data on the impact of calling with them, let them know that one vote makes a difference, share past successes, have the candidate you are phone banking for make an appearance at the phone bank	They are empowering new volunteers	They empower the Level 2 volunteers, meet with candidates
Skill Variety	Give new volunteers a role in writing the phone script	Level 2 volunteers recruit Level 1 volunteers, talk about their experience as a Level 1 volunteer, greet people, distribute phone lists, trouble shoot, and problem solve.	Level 3 volunteers will have additional tasks related to organizing rallies, working with the ExCom and canvassing
Autonomy	Let them brainstorm ideas for the script, give them latitude on what to say on the phone	In answering questions, they can draw upon their experience and use their judgment	They set the goals and plans for the phone bank
Feedback	Give each volunteer a phone bank sheet to complete as they go through their calls, draw a big thermometer on the wall and fill it in throughout the evening.	They act as conduit to both give and receive feedback, moves the thermometer up.	They hold regular meetings with the Level 2 volunteers, walk the floor and makes some calls

KEY LESSONS FROM THE EXERCISE

1. We can give Level 1 volunteers more responsibility and autonomy than we thought.
2. We now understand the possibilities for progression of volunteers by seeing it as a continuous process of brining volunteers up the ladder.
3. There is a link between redesigning volunteer tasks and improving phonebanking outcomes.

FLIPCHART SET-UP

Task Redesign/Ladder

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
TI			
TS			
SV			
A			
F			

Task Design Ratings: Diagnostic ChecklistSkill variety:

How much *skill variety* is there in the task this person is asked to do? That is, to what extent does the task require this person to do many different things, using a variety of skills and talents (including both hands and brain)?

- 1 Very little; the task requires the person to do the same routine things over and over again
- 2 A bit
- 3 Moderate variety
- 4 Significant variety
- 5 Very much; the task requires this person to do many different things, using a number of different skills and talents

Task identity:

To what extent does this task involve doing a "whole" and identifiable piece of work? That is, is the task a complete piece of work that has an obvious beginning and end, or is it only a small part of an overall task, which is finished by other people?

- 1 The task is only a tiny part of the overall piece of work; the results of this person's Activities cannot easily be identified in the final product or service
- 2 A very modest piece
- 3 The task is a moderate-sized "chunk" of the overall piece of work; this person's own Contribution can be seen in the final outcome
- 4 Almost a whole piece
- 5 The task involves doing the whole piece of work, from start to finish; the results of this Person's activities are essentially the final product or service

Task Significance:

In general, how significant or important is the task? That is, are the results of the task likely to significantly affect the lives or well-being or work of other people?

- 1 Not very significant; the outcomes of the work are not likely to have important effects on any one else
- 2 Some small significance can be seen
- 3 Moderately significant
- 4 Significant
- 5 Highly significant; the outcomes of the work obviously affect others in very important ways

Autonomy:

How much autonomy is there in the task? That is, to what extent does the task permit this person to make significant decisions about how to go about doing it?

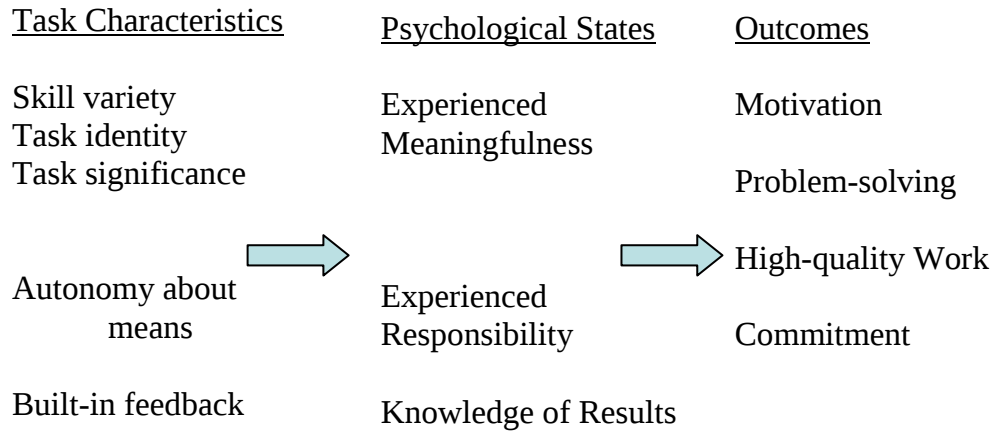
- 1 Very little; the task gives almost no personal "say" about how and when the work is done. Details are specified by others
- 2 A modest amount of autonomy
- 3 Moderate autonomy; many things are standardized and not under my control, but I can make some decisions
- 4 Significant autonomy but some detail specified by others
- 5 Very much; the task gives me almost complete responsibility for deciding how and when the work is done

Feedback:

To what extent does doing the task itself provide information about this person's performance? That is, does the actual task itself provide clues about how well one is doing - aside from any feedback other people may provide?

- 1 None; the task itself is set up so that someone could work at it forever without finding out how well he or she is doing
- 2 A small amount of information about progress or performance
- 3 Moderately; sometimes doing the work provides feedback; sometimes it does not
- 4 Significant but periodic feedback
- 5 Very much; the task is set up so that one can get almost constant feedback as one works about how well one is performance

Task Design and Motivation



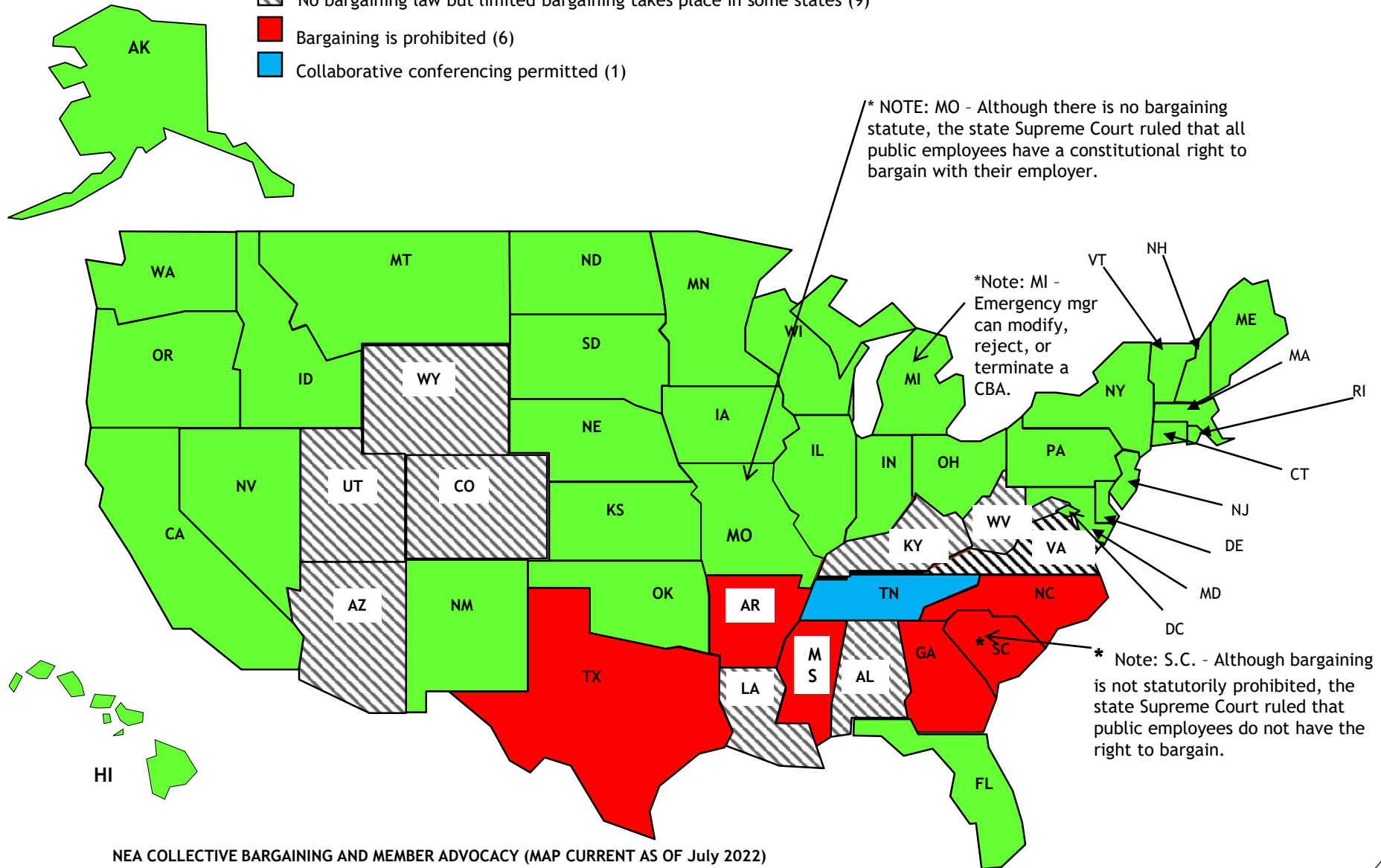


Basics of Bargaining

State by State Bargaining Status
What is in a Collective Bargaining Law
Rules for Writing Contract Language
Negotiations Prep Outline

Status of K-12 Public School Teacher Bargaining Page 140

- Bargaining laws covering K-12 teachers (34 + DC)
- No bargaining law but limited bargaining takes place in some states (9)
- Bargaining is prohibited (6)
- Collaborative conferencing permitted (1)



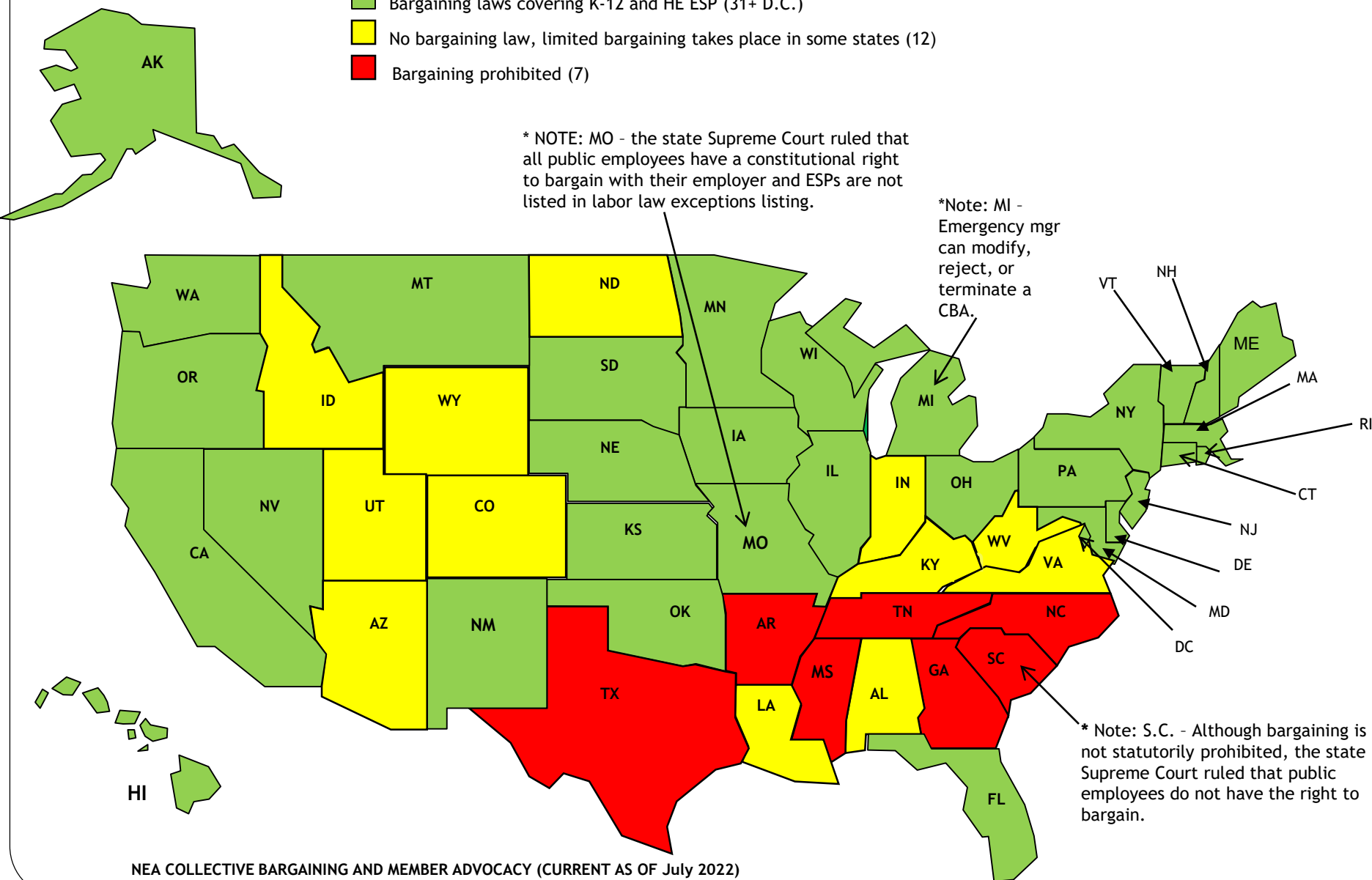
Status of ESP Bargaining Laws: ESP for K-12 & ESP for Higher Education Page 141

- Bargaining laws covering K-12 and HE ESP (31+ D.C.)
- No bargaining law, limited bargaining takes place in some states (12)
- Bargaining prohibited (7)

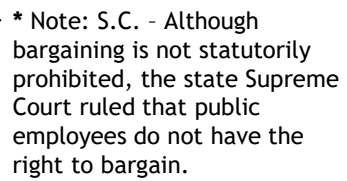
* NOTE: MO - the state Supreme Court ruled that all public employees have a constitutional right to bargain with their employer and ESPs are not listed in labor law exceptions listing.

*Note: MI - Emergency mgr can modify, reject, or terminate a CBA.

* Note: S.C. - Although bargaining is not statutorily prohibited, the state Supreme Court ruled that public employees do not have the right to bargain.



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WHAT'S IN A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAW?

Definitions

Right to organize

Employer prohibited practices (unfair labor practices, bad faith bargaining, interfering, coercing, reprisals against members/leaders, failure to implement arbitrator's award or Labor Board decision, refusal to negotiate)

Employee prohibited practices (unfair labor practices, coercing members, bargaining in bad faith, illegal strikes)

Obligation or right to bargain

Impasse processes

Mediation

Fact-finding

Arbitration

On limited issues

Last best offer (issue by issue, total package)

Advisory; and

Binding

Right to strike

Bargaining Unit Determination

Bargaining Unit Clarification or Modification

Bargaining Agent Election

Bargaining Agent Decertification

Jurisdiction of the Labor Board

Scope of Bargaining

Right to Appeal



Rules for Writing Contract Language (“four corners” standard vs. “intent of the parties” standard)

Rule #1

The contract is construed as a whole document; parts cannot be isolated for interpretation. The meaning of each sentence must be determined in relation to the whole document.

Rule #2

Clear and unambiguous (specific) language will prevail over intent or generalities.

Rule #3

Ordinary and commonly accepted meaning, in the absence of a qualifier, is the standard. The word “may” is given permissive meaning in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary (“will” or “shall”).

Rule #4

Technical meaning governs over ordinary meaning...when the document contains words that have both technical and ordinary meanings

Rule #5

To include one thing is to exclude another. Mean what you say; say what you mean. If you list something, it implies that other things are excluded. The exception is if you qualify the listing with language such as “including, but not limited to...”

Rule #6

The course of dealing. The concept of past practice is greatly misunderstood and difficult to prove. To establish past practice, it must be a clear, consistent practice that both sides were aware of and agreed (or acquiesced) to. It must be longstanding and cover a major condition of employment.

Rule #7

An interpretation may go against the party who proposed the language if the intent of the drafter is not clear in the language, because that party is considered to have the greater responsibility to make the language clear. Thus, avoid the “I wrote this, but I meant that” scenarios.

Negotiations Prep Outline

**When should preparation begin?*

- Review/Amend Constitution and Bylaws
 - Bargaining team/bargaining supports/tentative agreements/ratification/rejected TA
- Select Bargaining Chair
 - Assist with team selection/coordinate bargaining prep/liase with bargaining supports/may serve as chief spokesperson/lead advocate
 - President/board/executive committee appoint/members elect
- Determine Bargaining Process
 - Traditional/interest-based
- Identify/Establish Bargaining Supports
 - Manage communications/organizing/research
 - Association reps/organizing committee/action teams
 - External partners
- Collect/Confirm Member/Unit Contact Information
 - Cell numbers and personal email
- Identify Issues
 - Surveys/1:1s/facilitated conversations
 - Platform/facilitators (ARs/organizing committee/research action team)
 - Association priorities/CBA administration/grievances
 - Review current contract
 - Bargaining history
 - Other contracts with same employer, neighboring districts, nationally
 - Student/community/common good issues
 - Sharing results/cross tabulations
- Collect Financial Data
 - Operating budgets
 - Current and prior
 - Bargaining unit salaries
 - training and experience grid
 - Healthcare costs/utilization
 - State funding/local taxes/tax abatements
- Collect Other Data
 - Seniority lists
 - Classifications/departments
 - Hours of work

- Overtime
- Leave
- Pension benefits
- Turnover
- Field trips
- Licensure/certification requirements
- Legislative changes
- Subcontracting

**What rights do you have to data/information?*

- Create a Bargaining Platform
 - Short statement of 2-3 key issues/demands
 - Commitment cards
- Select Bargaining Team
 - President/board/executive committee/bargaining chair appoint/members elect
 - Size/composition
 - Alternates/Observers
- Team Education and Training
 - Process
 - Legal framework and terminology
- Establish Team Norms
 - Attendance/candor/full participation/mutual respect/swearing/smells
 - Decision making
 - Voting/consensus/deadlocks
 - Interest-based processes
- Team Roles and Responsibilities
 - Spokesperson/speaking
 - Issue leads
 - Note taking
 - Review existing CBA/board policies
 - Writing proposals/counter proposals
 - Members/supports communications/bargaining updates
 - Reaching tentative agreements
 - UD's
 - Outside experts
- Blue Printing Issues
 - Determine bargaining issues
 - Prioritize issues by level of importance and rank within level
 - Develop fallback positions
 - Usually done by the bargaining team

- Demand to bargain - notice requirements to employer and/or other governing body

How will bargaining be conducted – in-person or virtually? Prepare accordingly.

- Setting ground rules
 - Dates/time/place or platform
 - Exchanging proposals/TAs
 - Experts/observers
 - Caucuses
 - Team size/communications
 - Necessity/embedding ground rules into CBA
- Drafting Initial Proposals
 - Guarantees/protections/processes/responsibilities/commitments
 - Clear/concise/precise
 - Plain language/ambiguous language
 - May/shall/will
 - Four corners impact
 - Scrutinize and test
 - Cost out proposals
 - Prepare evidence and arguments (rationale) to support each proposal
 - Brainstorm likely management arguments/objections
 - Boldface and strikethrough
 - Open/unopen articles