



Retired Power to Win: Foundations of Organizing



Participant Handouts

Participants will develop the skills and learn the methods of planning and coaching campaigns that win. They will work in teams with colleagues to plan, evaluate, and discuss issue campaigns.

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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-awareness 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. While engaging with peers and content, make space for others to engage as well.

Listening for Understanding

Be an active listener. Active listening involves paying full and careful attention to the other person, looking them 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.

Lean into Discomfort

Leaning into 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 into 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?

The Intersection of Our Core Values and Union Values

Core values are the fundamental beliefs of a person or an organization. These guiding principles dictate behavior and can help people understand the difference between right and wrong. These can often be expressed in one or two words. We are taking a moment to consider our core values because they can provide a basis for solidarity in the midst of struggles.

What are some of your core values expressed in one or two words?

<i>Your Personal Core Values</i>

Where do your core values intersect with some of the Union Core Values listed below?

<i>Union Core Values</i>
Fairness, honesty/integrity, responsibility, compassion/empathy, safety, health, generosity, hard work/responsibility, community, freedom, democracy, binding contracts, equality, opportunity, respect, stability/security, unity, quality work, justice, collective action, dignity/respect, charity/community service, and due process. <i>Ideally:</i> Unions advance the welfare of all workers. They are based on the idea of justice, progress, and betterment of self and of society. They embody the universal ideal of human rights and the need to aspire to become more complete human beings. By becoming an active participant in the labor movement, members become part of something larger than themselves.

Three Theories of Change

Organizing, Mobilizing, and Advocacy

BY ELENI SCHIRMER

Why have unions gotten so weak, and how can they strengthen? In her book *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age* (Oxford, 2016), labor organizer and strategist Jane McAlevey argues that a major factor in labor's decline has been that unions have abandoned the work of organizing, relying instead on the more superficial methods of building power, namely mobilizing and advocacy. What are these three different methods of union strength, and what path toward power does each build?

To organize is to build mass support and strength among ordinary people. Organizing draws its power from working people's biggest strength: our numbers. Working people may or may not see themselves as activists or politically active or even in political agreement, but through organizing, they come together to act in common cause. The work of organizing is systematic and rigorous: It requires connecting with every single worker in a shop, every educator in a building, every building in a district. At its core, it asks people to understand their own agency and to make choices about how they will exercise it. The work of organizing is difficult; ordinary people are seldom confronted by their own agency nor asked to make choices that recognize their own power. As McAlevey notes in her first book, *Raising Expectations (and Raising Hell): My Decade Fighting for the Labor Movement* (Verso, 2012), a memoir of her organizing work: "In the normal course of human events, workers don't expect much from their jobs, government, or unions, because the reality is they don't get much. The job of the organizer is to fundamentally change this." The work of organizing is difficult, but as McAlevey argues, it is essential: There are no shortcuts.

Mobilizing, by contrast, activates an already-convinced membership. Mobilizing encourages those who already support a cause or a mission to take action to defend their belief—for example, by attending a protest, wearing a button, or signing a petition. Mobilizing is a very important step for building movements, but it is not the same thing as organizing. The crucial difference between mobilizing and organizing is that mobilizing relies on the actions of people who have already been brought on board; organizing is the work bringing ever more people on board, having a stake in the direction and outcomes of the actions (mobilizing can be an important component of organizing). McAlevey distinguishes mobilizing as



BRIAN STAUFFER

relying on the participation of a “self-selecting” group—people who have chosen to participate in something due to personal preferences or beliefs, such as environmental protection groups, the ACLU, or Planned Parenthood. Organizing, by contrast, relies on “structure-based” groups, groups determined by a predefined, often structural, relationship, such as working for the same employer, living in the same housing complex, or attending the same place of worship. Membership in a structure-based group, unlike a self-selecting group, is not a result of personal

affinity. In a structure-based group, the number of possible members—and therefore people to organize—is finite and knowable: the number of workers in a firm, residents in a housing building, or members in a church, for example. Whereas mobilizing relies on participation from a self-selecting group, organizing builds high participation among all eligible individuals.

Advocacy is the work of creating change through the actions of professionals or technical experts—lobbyists, pollsters, lawyers, communication specialists, researchers. Advocacy relies on the expertise, status, and know-how of these groups of people to make change. Advocacy usually happens in a closed-door room; ordinary people play a small to nonexistent role in its efficacy. Advocacy has become a dominant strategy for unions and liberals. But its efficiency comes at a cost; it disables the masses of ordinary people who have a stake in the issues under scrutiny by advocates.

These three forms of making change do not exist in isolation; a successful campaign may very well rely on all three strategies. Yet organizing, McAlevey argues, is the most fundamental: The base of any campaign should come from its organizational capacity above all. Yet in reality, according to McAlevey, it's often the strategy most avoided or shortchanged. After all, it is often hard, slow work that requires building connections with mass numbers of people. As a result, it's often sidestepped for quicker grabs for power—mobilizing or advocating support, rather than organizing for it.

McAlevey's framework rests on a more fundamental argument about power. In an age of massive inequality, many see power as the province of the elite—the small, powerful minority who run the courts, the banks, and the media in the U.S. and around the world. From this perspective, forging change is the process of altering who occupies those powerful institutions: voting in new leaders, appointing new judges, securing better regulators who can safeguard the system with an eye toward fairness. In McAlevey's words, this belief is little more than replacing one set of elites with another, better set of elites. It relies on advocacy and, to a certain extent, mobilizing to get the job done.

Yet exclusively focusing on the undemocratic hyper-concentration of elites obscures the power of ordinary people. Ordinary people have two major forms of power: our numbers—there are more of us than them—and our ability to withhold our participation in a system that denies us fairness, dignity, and health: They need us to keep working. Organizing, especially organizing with an eye toward building strikes, activates both forms of power. Successful labor movements and social movements often use a combination of advocacy, mobilizing, and organizing. But as McAlevey argues, organizing is the most important of those tasks—yet often the most overlooked. Her work aims to bring the movement back into labor, and winning back into the movement. 📖

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	ADVOCACY	MOBILIZING	ORGANIZING
Theory of Power	Elite. Advocacy groups tend to seek one-time wins or narrow policy changes, often through courts or backroom negotiations that do not permanently alter the relations of power.	Primarily elites. Staff or activists set goals with low to medium concession costs or, more typically, set an ambitious goal and declare a win, even when the “win” has no, or only weak, enforcement provisions. Backroom, secret deal making by paid professionals is common.	Mass, inclusive, and collective. Organizing groups transform the power structure to favor constituents and diminish the power of their opposition. Specific campaigns fit into a larger power-building strategy. They prioritize power analysis, involve ordinary people in it, and decipher the often hidden relationship between economic, social, and political power. Settlement typically comes from mass negotiations with large numbers involved.
Strategy	Litigation; heavy spending on polling, advertising, and other paid media.	Campaigns, run by professional staff, or volunteer activists with no base of actual, measurable supporters, that prioritize frames and messaging over base power. Staff-selected “authentic messengers” represent the constituency to the media and policymakers, but they have little or no real say in strategy or running the campaign.	Recruitment and involvement of specific, large numbers of people whose power is derived from their ability to withdraw labor or other cooperation from those who rely on them. Majority strikes, sustained and strategic nonviolent direct action, electoral majorities. Frames matter, but the numbers involved are sufficiently compelling to create a significant earned media strategy. Mobilizing is seen as a tactic, not a strategy.
People Focus	None	Grassroots activists. People already committed to the cause, who show up over and over. When they burn out, new, also previously committed activists are recruited. And so on. Social media are over-relied on.	Organic leaders. The base is expanded through developing the skills of organic leaders who are key influencers of the constituency, and who can then, independent of staff, recruit new people never before involved. Individual, face-to-face interactions are key.

Reprinted with permission of Jane McAlevey from her book No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age (Oxford University Press, reprint edition: April 1, 2018).



Campaign Planning

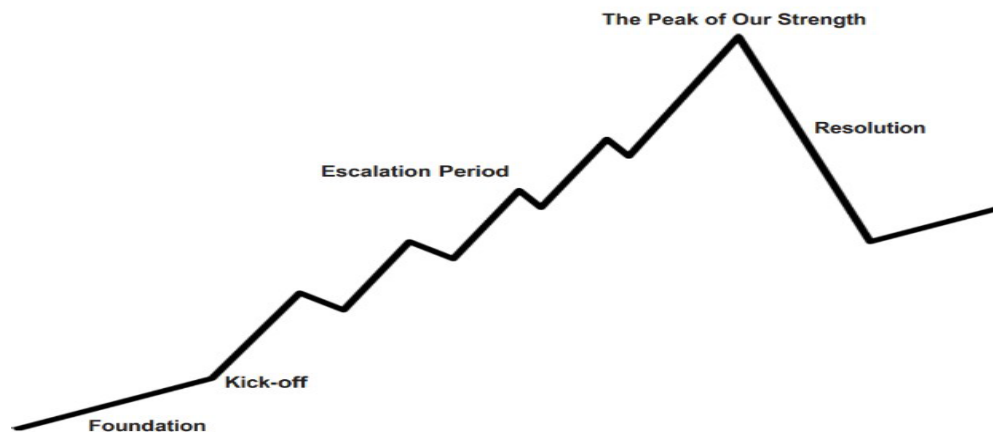


Campaign Mountain
Issues
Power Analysis
Targets
Demands
Tactics

Problem (<i>Big Issue, no clear solution</i>)	
Issue (<i>personal, manageable, specific to the problem needing to be solved with a tangible solution</i>)	
Demand (<i>What is it that we want in order to solve the issue</i>)	
Target (<i>Who has the decision making or resources to solve your problem</i>)	
Allies (<i>supporters on this issue</i>)	
Opposition (<i>do not support you on this issue</i>)	
Competition (<i>want similar resources you are asking for, may share your values</i>)	

CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

Phases of a Campaign



Timeline

Tactics (in order) of escalation

Benchmarks for each tactic

Data (*what will you collect and how*)

Campaign Team and Roles (*consider distributing responsibilities*)

Resources to support the campaign

CAMPAIGN PLANNING WORKSHEET

PROBLEM AND ISSUE

Who are my people (constituency)? What change do they need? Why is this important to my people (constituency)?

What is the problem we are trying to address?

What is a concrete solution to one part of this problem? This is our issue.

Is the issue..

- Widely felt and/or deeply felt?
- Winnable?
- Aligned with our values?

Does the issue..

- Build the union and builds leaders?

LEADERSHIP TEAM

Who is currently on the leadership team for the campaign? What are our roles and responsibilities?

Is this team representative of the membership/impacted community? If not, who else should be recruited?

Who else needs to be involved in campaign planning and at which points?

Problems vs. Issues:

Problems are statements of the world as it is. **“There is no respect for educators in this building.”**

Issues are a diagnosis of the problem that almost indicates what the solution is. **“There are no recognized structures in this building that allow educators to be part of decision making.”**

Take some time to first brainstorm the pain and/or problems our people are feeling. Then work to identify the issues within that problem that are causing the pain. Asking, “why do you think this is the way it is?” can move you into an analysis of issues that make up the problem.

Problem/Pain		
Issue	Issue	Issue



A GOOD ORGANIZING ISSUE

- **Is widely felt.** How common is the problem? How many workers face this situation? Many people must feel that this is a real problem and agree with the solution you're pursuing.
- **Is deeply felt.** Is this an issue that people feel strongly enough about to actually do something? It's not enough that many people agree, if none are really hot under the collar.
- **Is winnable.** It's hard to know for sure whether you *will* win, but it's possible to have a good idea whether you *can*. Your group should match your demand to the power you've already got.

To win, you'll need to make it harder for the decision-maker to keep saying no than to say yes. The more pressure you can bring to bear, the more issues will become winnable.

- **Builds the union and builds leaders.** Consider how this fight will build your capacity for future fights. Will the issue attract leaders or groups who haven't been very involved? Will it build solidarity between groups? Will it give you the chance to try an action that's one step beyond what you've done before? Will the solution lay the groundwork for future improvements?

Each fight should build off the last. It often happens that we don't win the concrete gain wanted, but we do come out smarter and better organized—which makes it more likely we can win next time.

- **Has a connection to students and the public.** If the issue affects students, parents and community, it grows your potential group of activists and the potential support.



Issue Criteria Check List:

Score each Issue from 1 to 3 (1 = No, 2 = Unsure, 3 = Yes) on the specific criteria then total your scores and compare with your team.

Will the Issue...	Issue #1	Issue #2	Issue #3
1. Result in a real improvement in people's lives?			
2. Give people a sense of their own power?			
3. Alter the relations of power?			
4. Be worthwhile?			
5. Be winnable?			
6. Be widely felt?			
7. Be deeply felt?			
8. Be easy to understand?			
9. Have a clear target?			
10. Have a clear timeframe that works for you?			
11. Be non-divisive?			
12. Build leadership?			
13. Set your organization up for the next campaign?			
14. Increase membership?			
15. Be consistent with your values and vision?			
16.			
TOTALS			

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POWER ANALYSIS

Issue Background

What is the history and current status of the issue?

What are the competing agendas or positions on the issue?

What are the narratives surrounding the issue?

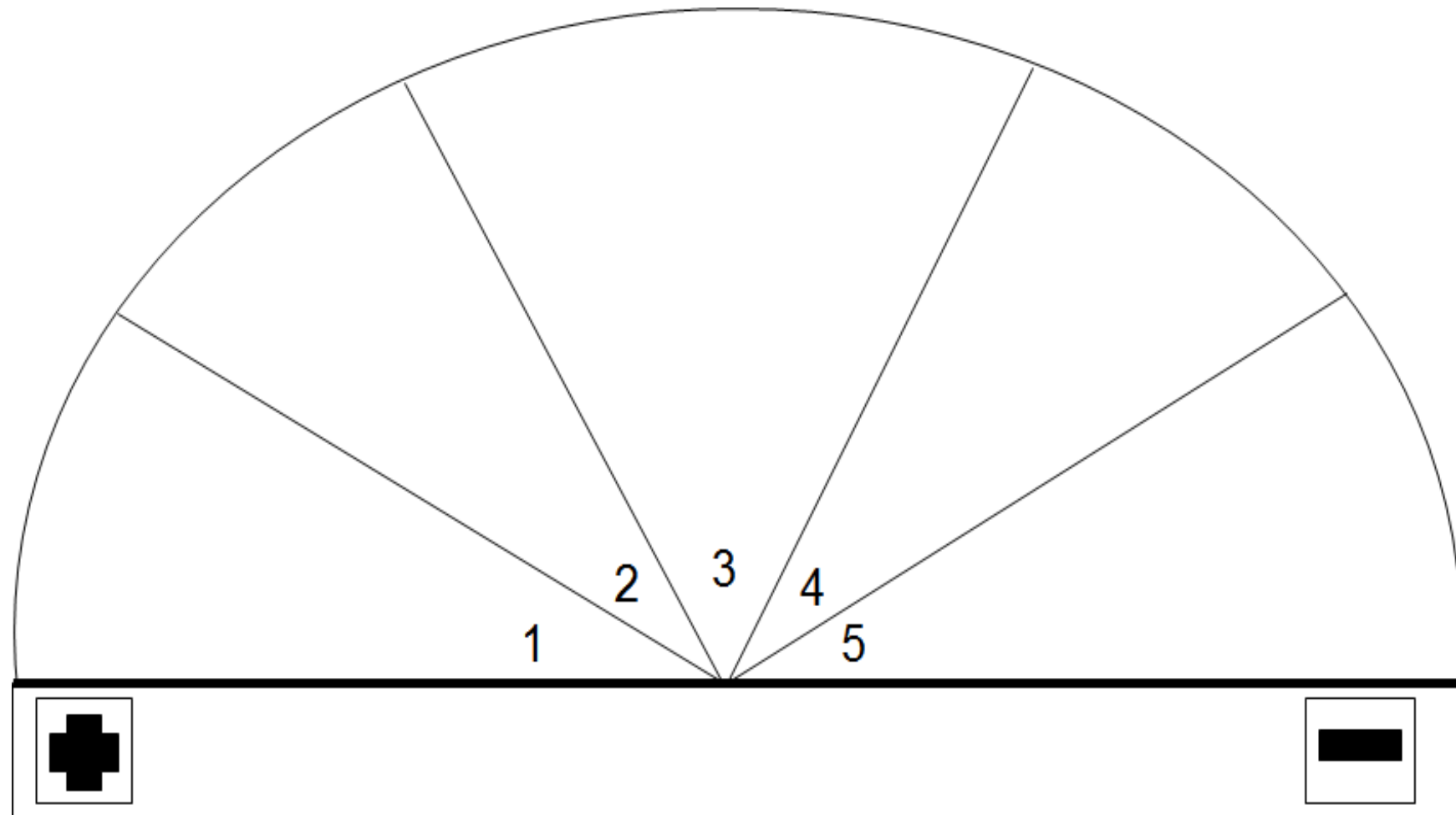
Who are allies on the issue? Who are opponents on the issue?

System Landscape

What are the decision making processes on this issue?

Who is involved in each step of the decision making process?

Problem Statement:



Source: Original Source – Training for Change (www.trainingforchange.org) and adapted into five segments by New Tactics in Human Rights.

New Tactics in Human Rights is a program of **The Center for Victims of Torture**

www.newtactics.org • www.cvt.org

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Worksheet: Spectrum of Allies Segments

1. Active Allies:

You believe you can **already** count on them to help you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – your tactics will need to find ways to engage your allies even more actively in working with you toward your goal.

2. Passive Allies:

You think they have the same interest, investment or need to solve the problem as you do, and may be close to agreeing with you about your vision, but perhaps may not be able or willing to actively or overtly support you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum - your tactics will need to help move them to the “*active ally*” position; increasing their interest and willingness to be active.

3. Neutral:

These are people, organizations, institutions that may not know about the problem; may not know about you and your work; have no particular investment in the problem.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – your tactics will need to find ways to inform or educate them about the problem and your position in order to move them to a “*passive ally*” position. Examine your tactics to be sure you will not move them toward your opponent’s position.

4. Passive Opponents:

These are people, organizations, institutions that you think have some interests that would be opposed to your vision; they may have relationships with people who are actively opposed to you.

If your target falls in this area of the spectrum – your tactics will need to create doubt about their position, raise fears that their position may be “costly” to them in some way. You want your tactics to move them to a “neutral” position and NOT to an active opponent position.

5. Active Opponents:

These are people, organizations, institutions that have a big investment in opposing your position (related to power, position, finances, relationships, etc.). If your target is located in this area of the spectrum – your tactic goal would need to put them into a great dilemma, that any action they would take against you would be very “costly” to them. Your tactic goal would be to move them into a “*passive opponent*” position.



TARGET(S)

Primary Target

- Based on the power analysis, who is the primary target? Who can give us what we want?
- Be specific. A target has a name, a face and an address.

Primary Target Power Analysis

Position • What is the target's position on the issue? • Why is the target taking this position? • What is the target's history on the issue?	Self-Interest • What does the target care about? • What motivates the target to act? • What are the target's goals?
Relationships • What relationship do we have with the target? • Who influences the target? Do we (or our allies) have a relationship with any of them? • Who are the target's allies and opponents? • To whom is the target accountable? Is the target elected or appointed? • Who are the target's base of support?	Power • What power does the target have and where does their power derive from? • How do they organize people? • How do they organize money and resources?

Draft your Demand - What is the win that we want?

What is our demand? How will we know if we've won or not (it needs to be something we can see or touch that makes our lives better)? Remember – it's concrete. The win of this demand will result in visible, significant change in your constituent's daily lives.

1. Is it concrete (measurable)?
2. Does it make a visible impact in people's lives (meaningful)?
3. Does it leverage YOUR resources creatively and make for a good story (motivational)?
4. Must you organize and distribute leadership in order to accomplish?

Ex. LEA wants to secure a fully funded budget by demanding a 1-penny increase in the property tax formula by April 1st 2018.

Our Demand – Our Win is...

Identify the Target – Who can give you what you want?

Who is the target of your campaign efforts? A target has a name, a face, and an address. Who has the power to prevent you from getting your demand?

Our Target – Has the power to give us...

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Brainstorm tactics that will put pressure on the target(s).

Name how each tactic would disrupt the target(s)'s self-interest, relationships, or power.

List the tactics above which meet the criteria below:

- Put pressure on the target (push them out of their comfort zone)
- Build our power (develop our leaders and bring more people into the campaign)
- Are strategic (make good use of our resources to put pressure on target)



CHECKLIST: CHOOSE TACTICS THAT FIT

Your escalating campaign is made up of many tactics. A tactic could be mild, like a survey, or militant, like a work slowdown. It could be traditional, like a picket, or it could be a creative stunt a member just dreamed up. When your group is weighing what tactic to try next, here are some factors to consider:

- Does the action relate to your issue?
- Will it increase the pressure on the decision-maker?
- Is it simple?
- Is it visible?
- Is it timed for effect?
- Is it new and different—or tried and true?
- Are enough people ready to do it?
- How will others react?
- Will it unify people?
- How will management react?
- Could it backfire?
- Does it violate the law or the contract?
- If so, are you prepared for the consequences?
- Will it be fun?

Sample Tactics⁵ — To be used by a local union or a regional or statewide campaign with localized actions.

Basic	Moderate	Advanced
➤ Coordinated buttons in the worksite or armbands (cheaper option) ➤ Hand out information at school events ➤ Sign employee petitions ➤ Coordinated visibility (clothing, union shirts, signs in cars or classrooms, etc.) ➤ Basic education with members on bargaining process and unsettled issues via 10 minute meetings, smart and concise written communications, short videos, etc. ➤ #RedforEd Days to repeat coordinated actions and use the color of red – national solidarity color for educators ➤ Regular worksite meetings that are well publicized ➤ Request financial information from employer or state on budget, management salaries and benefits, outside lawyers, etc. ➤ Membership drive to build member density ➤ One on one campaigns to assess member readiness and educate/agitate members to take action ➤ Small member delegations to board meetings or legislative committees to speak to the outstanding issues ➤ Phone bank members and other bargaining unit members to address questions and educate/agitate for solidarity ➤ Power map board members or key regional or state leaders and community to understand their interests and pressure points ➤ Coordinate member postcards or letters to targets (publish their contact information) ➤ Use the #RedForEd hashtag ➤ Encourage members to share photos of actions on their social media platforms	➤ Solidarity buttons in the community ➤ Create songs about our issue ➤ Informational picketing as large groups in public or at specific events with the employer such as bargaining or board meetings, including a "gauntlet" style layout where the employer must walk past members ➤ Votes of no confidence in the employer/decision-maker ➤ Votes of confidence in the union bargaining team ➤ Phone bank and letters to community members and parents to educate/agitate around the issues ➤ Phone bank and letters to fellow NEA members in area who do not work for the employer, other unions and ally organizations. ➤ Flood board members home mailboxes with postcards – one per member with a unified message ➤ Encourage community members to write messages to board members ➤ ArtBuild ➤ Picket sign creation ➤ Hold more frequent press conferences and press worthy events (highly visible activities) ➤ Create a community e-newsletter to send updates ➤ Organize coffee klatches ➤ Post lawn signs in the community ➤ Place ads in the school athletic programs and parent newsletters ➤ Keep track of the employer's spending on anti-union activities, outside lawyers, etc. and make it public. ➤ Go door to door with leaflets in the community ➤ Consider a boycott of key businesses owned by board members or supporting management. ➤ Larger delegations of members at board members ➤ Organize building-based solidarity events such as walk-ins before work begins ➤ Create a community petition and/or pledge cards ➤ Create community flyers and share them at supportive businesses (on counter) or leaflet popular community events such as farmers' markets, recycling centers, etc. ➤ Launch social media channels and post regularly to update the community ➤ Put floats in local parades sponsored by the union ➤ Hold press conferences ➤ Create shareable social media graphics ➤ Leaflet large school events like athletic games ➤ Set up informational booths at local events such as fairs, farmers markets, etc. ("truth booths") ➤ Launch a landing page website ➤ Meet with community organizations with an interest in students ➤ Encourage other unions in the area to picket and act in solidarity ➤ Consider work-to-rule tactics that impact management, but not students. These tactics include leaving or arriving at work when the day begins, resigning from voluntary committees, passive participation in faculty/staff meetings, etc.	➤ Large community or regional or state rallies ➤ Organize and participate in parades ➤ Organize a speakers' bureau to go to community events ➤ Marches on the employer/decision makers ➤ Occupying a decision-maker meeting ➤ Member and community delegations to speak at board meetings ➤ Show collective resistance at staff meetings through passive participation ➤ Pack up personal property from classrooms and offices ➤ Picket board members' houses/work ➤ Organize coordinated walk-ins on the same day across a region ➤ Banner drops ➤ Civil disobedience (be sure to consult with your union's legal counsel) ➤ Take over board meetings ➤ Hold "sleep ins" during bargaining sessions ➤ Hold large membership rally prior to school board meeting, then pack the room ➤ Attend critical bargaining meetings such as mediation or fact finding hearings and make sure board members see/hear us ➤ Find and open a strike HQ ➤ Hold a strike informational meeting for potential striking unit and other employees potentially impacted by a strike ➤ Train picket captains ➤ Ask athletic coaches to suspend games and work if there is a strike ➤ Reach out to area colleges to ask student teachers not to come to work if there is a strike ➤ Phonebank area substitutes to ask them not to take work at the school in the event of a strike ➤ Hold a strike authorization vote ➤ Hold community forums in-person or virtual town halls ➤ Hold neighborhood based meetings with parents and concerned community members ➤ Translate community outreach materials and go to communities with translators to meet with non-English speaking communities ➤ Work with community organizations to develop proactive plans to support vulnerable students in the event of a strike ➤ Consider a Facebook live to update the community on actions.

⁵ See Tactics Manual WEAC.doc in resource section.

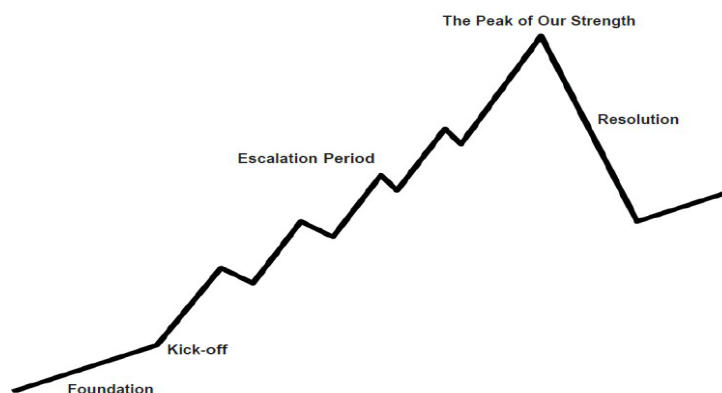
Number the tactics above in order of escalation:

Think about how much participation, resources, and risk each tactic requires, as well as how much pressure it will put on the target(s).

Keep reviewing this list throughout the campaign. Remember that each implemented tactic gives us more information about the readiness of our members for the next step and how much pressure the target(s) can sustain. Use this information to inform the next tactic.

CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

Phases of a Campaign



COMPRESSION POINTS

What are the key dates to plan the campaign around?

This can be either externally set dates (board meetings, breaks, etc) or internally set dates (deadlines we give to the target).

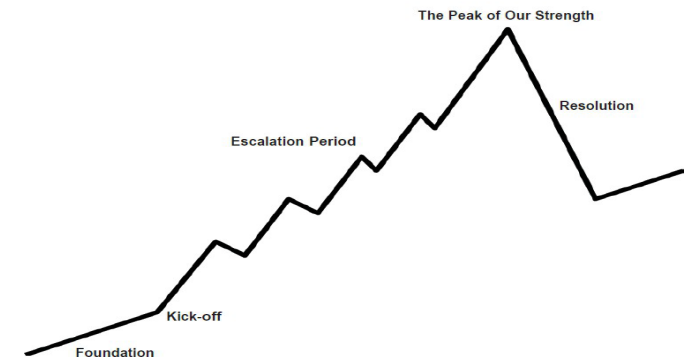
Campaign Assessment Tool: After Action Review

Rating	1	2	3	4
Widely Felt	We thought the issue would resonate, but it didn't.	The issue resonated with some workers.	The issue resonated with a majority of workers.	The issue resonated with a strong majority of workers.
Deeply Felt	The issue did not feel urgent to the workers.	Some workers felt urgency, but most would not engage in any but the least demanding tactics.	A strong majority of workers were motivated to take at least one action, but we lost steam as we escalated.	A strong majority were willing to take multiple escalating actions in order to win.
Winnable	We did not identify a winning strategy (or the issue turned out to be winnable without collective action).	We identified a strategy that led to a partial victory.	We identified a strategy that led to victory.	We identified a strategy that led to a victory even beyond what we had expected.
Builds the union and builds leaders	We are not any stronger as a result of this issue fight, and may even be weaker.	Some leaders engaged with the campaign, including a handful new to the cause. The union's reputation and credibility was not significantly enhanced.	Most leaders in the relevant constituency group for the action engaged with the campaign, including ones new to the cause. The union's reputation and credibility increased as a result of the issue fight.	Most leaders in the relevant constituency group for the action participated robustly in the effort, including ones new to the cause. The union's reputation and credibility increased significantly as a result of the issue fight.

CAMPAIGN PLAN TEMPLATE

CAMPAIGN MOUNTAIN

Phases of a Campaign



Issue:	Target(s):
Demand:	Goals:

	Foundation	Kick-Off	Escalating Peaks				The Peak	Resolution
Timeline								
Milestone (Name the important phases of the campaign)								
Key Tactics								
Benchmarks (How do we measure success? Specific and measurable)								
Key Tasks (What do we need to do in order to achieve the benchmarks?)								