



Campaign Academy: Coaching and Leading Winning Campaigns



Participant Handouts

The Campaign Lab is a system of Affiliate Staff, Members, and Leaders networked to build power to win on issues that matter most by building a culture for organizing. A culture for organizing and continually campaigning includes a shared analysis of how to win, issue identification, goal setting, strategic actions, distributed leadership, and data that informs progress. This NEA Center for Organizing training is designed to build skills around coaching all aspects of a campaign cycle.

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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 them in the eye, avoiding interruptions, reflecting your understanding, clarifying information, summarizing the other person's perspectives and sharing your own. This does not mean re-explaining or reinterpreting another's words for others in the room. 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 direct and precise about your needs and thoughts is also kindness.

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 your preconceived notions and listening to everything someone has to say before jumping to conclusions. It requires some vulnerability, but not to the point of jeopardizing your personal safety. 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, class, gender, 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?

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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Place a check mark next to the descriptor that best matches your understanding of how your union works.

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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).

Regarding: The May Day Movement for NEA, A Draft

Date: May 2025

Introduction

There's an on-going need for a united pro-immigrant anti-racist working class politics in this country. Not only can workers and our communities stop the billionaire agenda, but we have the power to make a fair, just society.

We need to create a powerful connection among local, state, and national campaigns for the common good, transforming them into a [unified movement](#) that is greater than the sum of its parts. This need has always been present, but it is especially urgent now due to the influence of billionaire and authoritarian forces. There is also a growing awareness that we must act swiftly.

Some infrastructure already exists to support this effort, while other components will need to be developed. If we can mobilize a critical mass of participants, this campaign can influence the policy agenda for the 2028 presidential election and make an impact in cities, towns, and states across the country. Ultimately, our goal is to create a robust, interconnected, and supportive social justice movement that we can pass on to future generations.

Below are the Outcomes of the Campaign:

Common Good Outcomes

- District, County, and/or city level common good policy and union contract wins.
- We win governing majorities on District, County, city level, and state level.
- State level common good policy wins.
- National level common good policy wins.
- Various social justice movements support each other's common good demands.

Organizing and Mobilization Outcomes

- **Coordinated Action Muscle:** We exercise local, state, and national coordinated actions muscles.¹
 - **2026 National Day of Action:** 1500+ cities/towns join the May 2026 Day of Action (this would be a day of action for most of these places since most will not be May Day Movement Campaigns).² NEA will have 1000 locals join the May Day Movement's 2026 National Day of Action.

¹ It will be important to both include places that have energy for this and to build in strategically important places. We expect that we will have to actively recruit some places to be engaged in this effort due to their strategic importance (i.e. they are in a congressional district with a lawmaker that is key to our policy agenda).

² 2025 May Day Outcomes: Total Events 1344; Count of States 50; Count of Cities 1085.

- **2028 National Day of Action:** 5,000 cities/towns join the May 2028 Day of Action.³
 - UAW strike.
- **May Day Movement Local Campaigns:** 250 cities/towns have escalating common good campaigns that run from now through 2028.⁴ We can call these campaigns May Day Movement Campaigns. NEA will have at least 100 May Day Movement Local Campaigns (as defined on page 5) by 2028.
 - 2025: 15-30 NEA May Day Movement Local Campaigns
 - 2026: 40-80 NEA May Day Movement Local Campaigns
 - 2027: 100 NEA May Day Movement Local Campaigns
 - 2028: 100+ NEA May Day Movement Local Campaigns
- **Seed Campaigns in Strategic Places:** Locate May Day Movement campaigns in strategically important states and congressional districts to achieve common good policy victories. [Where? Why those states/districts?]
- **All Sectors and Groups:** Build a movement that includes all parts of the social justice movement. Within NEA, our campaigns must include students, educators, families/caregivers, and the community.
- **Depth and Breadth, Urban, Suburban, Rural:** Build May Day Movement campaigns in hundreds of places (250) and create onramps for thousands of places (5000 by 2028) to take part in visible actions. It is critical that we take action in urban, suburban, and rural locations.
 - By 2026, NEA will have 150 locals in our Campaign Lab Foundation cohort⁵ that will be aligned with the May Day Movement. The Campaign Lab Foundation cohort will have local campaigns and will join state and national actions. 20% of these locals will be in rural locations.
 - 1000 NEA locals to join the May Day Movement's 2026 National Day of Action.

Structural & Support Outcomes

³ There are 19500 cities and towns in the United States.

⁴ 250 is for the entire May Day movement; that number was not created in any scientific way.

⁵ The NEA Campaign Lab has two major sections - 1) Campaign Lab Foundation, where locals new to campaigns run campaigns cycles and build high participation locals. 2) Campaign Lab May Day Movement Locals that have high participation locals and are committed to the items on page 4, under '*What it means to be an NEA May Day Movement Local Campaign*'

- **Campaign Lab:** The Campaign Lab will support locals in our Campaign Lab Foundation cohort⁶ that will be aligned with the May Day Movement and the [Campaign Lab](#) will support May Day Movement Campaigns.
- **Breadth NEA Structure:** Structures will be created to support 1000 NEA locals to join the May Day Movement's 2026 National Day of Action.
- **Network:** Highly connected network of local and state leaders and staff that are leading May Day Movement Campaigns.
 - Two in-person convenings per year.
 - Every other month calls with May Day Movement Campaigns
 - Leader and staff network established and supported.
 - NEA leaders and staff are connected with other union and/or community leaders and staff.
- **Supports:** Strategic planning, funding, cohorts and connections, coaching, and training provided to the May Day Movement Campaigns.
- **Onramp Structure:** A strategy and structure will be created to support local union and community organizations without May Day Movement campaigns to have a way to support the May Day Movement via actions and beyond.

Synthesis of NEA's Vision for the May Day Movement

Like the workers' movement in 1886 that called for an eight-hour day, we have an opportunity to demonstrate our collective vision for a society that provides union rights, immigrant and civil rights, housing, healthcare and fully funded schools for all.⁷

- The spearhead of the May Day Movement within NEA will be a core set of locals and state affiliates that are committed to building May Day Local and statewide Campaigns (as defined below), with a deep emphasis on building high participation locals. These locals, together with their state affiliates, will recruit other affiliates to engage in state and national structure tests.
- We believe in democratic, grassroots, bottom up organizing led by labor and community organizations on the ground.⁸ We need to build a movement that includes all parts of the social justice movement. Within NEA, our campaigns must include students, educators, families/caregivers, and the community.

⁶ The NEA Campaign Lab has two major sections - 1) Campaign Lab Foundation, where locals new to campaigns run campaigns cycles and build high participation locals. 2) Campaign Lab May Day Movement Locals that have high participation locals and are committed to the items on page 4, under 'What it means to be an NEA May Day Movement Local Campaign'

⁷ Jackson Potter, <https://convergencemag.com/articles/may-day-2025/>

⁸ <https://maydaystrong.org/>

- Some of the locals will be part of the State affiliate May Day cohort that is committed to common good statewide campaigns.⁹
- Our May Day locals and state affiliates will be highly networked with other May Day NEA and non-NEA locals and community organizations that are part of the broader May Day Movement Campaign.
- Our affiliates will work to get labor councils and other such formations on the local and state level involved in this campaign.
- We will train our members within the NEA ecosystem and within the broader May Day ecosystem.
- The US needs a national organizing committee dedicated to accomplishing the above - the May Day Movement fills this void.

May Day State Affiliates Role to Achieve the Above:

1. Support a cohort of NEA state affiliates¹⁰ and key locals who are engaged with core worker justice campaigns designed to improve the lives of the working class, including our members. These campaigns will be determined by each state and/or large locals in their states, in conjunction with a broad community coalition. The campaigns will include:
 - a. Union (or “expanded”) rights/protections for every worker
 - b. Increased wages for all workers (including tipped workers), and living wages for educators
 - c. Universal paid sick days
 - d. Affordable housing
 - e. Paid family leave
 - f. Universal school meals
 - g. Debt-free, high-quality public higher education
2. All affiliates should pursue a progressive revenue strategy in their state to build greater equality and provide funds for investments in our communities.
3. All state affiliates involved in a ballot measure campaign will work with the NEA Legislative Crisis fund team to develop their strategy and help fund their campaign.
4. Develop and execute state and local level campaigns in our states to improve wages and benefits for our members and/or the working class (E.g. increase local wages, increase ESP wages, etc). At least half of these campaigns will use Bargaining for the Common Good.
5. Define what it means to be an “high participation local” and put in place steps to support involved locals to achieve it. As much as possible, we will collaborate together on trainings and other supports.
6. Support our local affiliates to learn from each other, build community together, and to support each other. This will be supported by the [Campaign Lab](#) and the [Strategic Campaign Institute](#).

⁹ Campaigns will include: Union (or “expanded”) rights/protections for every worker Increased wages for all workers (including tipped workers), and living wages for educators Universal paid sick days Affordable housing Paid family leave Universal school meals Debt-free, high-quality public higher education

¹⁰ These state affiliates have signaled a desire to join this cohort: NC, MA, MD, CA, AZ, CT, WI, and NJ.

7. We will align this work with the [May day 2028 campaign](#).
8. We will align this work with the [Alliance to Reclaim Our School's](#) (AROS) [Quality of Life Campaign](#).
9. Invest in deep political education with 20 percent of statewide membership.¹¹
10. Elect true friends of labor and education, from the local to the national level.

To ensure broad involvement and engage of our locals and our members, we will

1. Involve a critical mass of locals in this campaign. A critical mass shall mean at least 10 percent of total membership are represented in the locals engaged in the campaign.
2. Pass a state affiliate board resolution or the equivalent endorsing our affiliate's involvement in the campaign.
3. Commit to recruiting members to a basic organizing training, such as [Berkeley's Skills to Win](#).

To ensure adequate capacity and coordination, we will

1. Hire or appoint someone to coordinate the campaign on a state level. This will be their primary job (90% +). Those without the resources to hire someone will apply to the Campaign to Promote, Protect, and Strengthen Public Education or Strategic Campaign Institute for funds.
2. The campaign will form a coordinating committee. One or more state leader and their campaign lead will meet monthly to strategize and provide updates to each other. This meeting will be facilitated by a state leader using rotating facilitation.
3. The Coordinating Committee will utilize NCSEA meetings to conduct deeper strategy sessions.
4. This will be a project of the NEA's Campaign to Promote, Protect, and Strengthen Public Education campaign.

May Day Movement Local Affiliate Role:

For all locals in states with a state affiliate that do want to be part of the May Day State Cohort and for local in states that do not have the capacity or interest, locals can participate in the campaign by committing to the following within the Campaign Lab (i.e. **What it means to be an NEA May Day Movement Local Campaign**):

- Actions
 - Commitment to taking visible action.
 - Commitment to building an escalating campaign to win education demands and common good demands (E.g. housing, living wage, health care, etc).

¹¹ Examples of books: On Tyranny (Timothy Snyder), How Fascism Works (Jason Stanley), Democracy Awakening (Heather Cox Richardson), The Sum of Us (Heather McGee), Merge Left (Ian Lopez Haney).

- Commitment to taking part in national and statewide days of action with the other May Day Campaigns inside and outside of NEA (whenever possible/strategic).
- Commit to lining up your contract (if possible).
- Commitment to taking visible action on May Day each year.
- **Policy & Electoral**
 - Commitment to winning a local, state, and federal governing majority or make gains in that direction (Elect true friends of labor and education).¹²
 - Organize and Mobilize for the May Day Movement's national policy demands.
 - Organize and Mobilize for state policy demands (if in a state that has a May Day Movement Campaign).
- **Internal:**
 - Commitment to building a high participation local.
 - Commitment to structured member organizing (CAT teams, rep structures, Skills to Win, etc).
 - Commitment to working towards majority membership and building a high participation local.
 - Commit to build strike-ready locals with specific goals.
 - And beyond.¹³
 - Majority of your local's board supports joining and being actively involved in the May Day Movement.
 - Commitment to recruiting other local affiliates to join this effort.
 - Invest in deep political education with 20 percent of local membership.¹⁴
 - Commit to tracking engagement.
 - Commit to using research to help define campaign targets.
 - Encourage and train locals to engage in democratized bargaining – a range of approaches that start with members being involved in shaping proposals to having silent representatives in bargaining, to true “open bargaining” where we invite the entire community into bargaining.
- **Networking and Support**
 - Commitment to attend strategic planning and update meetings with other May Day campaigns (this is likely a BCG convened zoom and meeting).
 - Commitment to receive support and commitment to provide support to other May Day campaigns.

Role for the Other NEA Locals who are not ready or willing to do the above:

1. Participate in the Campaign Lab and learn to run a campaign or sharpen their campaigning skills. These Foundation Campaign Locals will work towards accomplishing the items listed above, ‘What it means to be an NEA May Day Movement Local Campaign’ with a particular emphasis on building a high participation local, and/or

¹² E.g Win Mayor seat (Brandon Johnson), win school board majority (e.g. Jackson Goldberg in LA), win county/city council majority, etc.

¹³ We need a consensus opinion on this - what does it mean to be a high participation local?

¹⁴ Examples of books: On Tyranny (Timothy Snyder), How Fascism Works (Jason Stanley), Democracy Awakening (Heather Cox Richardson), The Sum of Us (Heather McGee), Merge Left (Ian Lopez Haney).

2. Participate in national and state level days of action associated with the May Day campaign.

What NEA will need to do within the Campaign Lab to Support the Above

- **Funding:** Continue to fund organizing capacity for the May Day Movement Campaign Locals that have committed to the above.
- **Networking:**
 - Build and support a network of the elected NEA leaders and staff of May Day Movement Campaigns. We will track the health and consistency of these meetings.
 - Foster 1 on 1 relationships across May Day Movement local campaigns. These should be structured meetings and relational.
 - Foster regular group meetings across May Day Movement local campaigns.
 - Foster the above with other unions and community organizations that are part of the May Day Movement campaign.
- **Support the May Day Movement:** NEA will be a key designer and supporter of the overall May Day Movement with our allies.

NEA May Day Local Campaigns (Draft)

- California¹⁵
 - Los Angeles (UTLA)
 - Oakland (OEA)
 - San Francisco (UESF)
 - San Diego (SDEA)
 - Richmond (UTR)
 - Anaheim (Anaheim Secondary Teachers Association)
 - Sacramento (SCTA)
 - Twin Rivers (TRUE)
 - Natomas (NTA)
 - San Jose (SJTA)
- Hillsborough, FL (HSTA)
- Nashville, TN
- Columbus, OH
- Arizona

¹⁵ Other Affiliates involved in the We Can't Wait Campaign: Albany City USD Anaheim Union High School District Berkeley USD Dos Palos Oro Loma Joint USD Fairfield-Suisun USD Farmersville USD Hayward USD Lincoln USD Live Oak Elementary Livingston Union Elementary Los Angeles USD Los Banos USD Lynwood USD Madera USD National Elementary Natomas USD Nevada Joint Union High School District Oakland USD Riverside USD Sacramento City USD San Diego USD San Francisco USD San Jacinto USD San Jose USD Saugus Union Elementary Soquel Union Elementary Twin Rivers USD Ventura USD Washington USD West Contra Costa USD Whittier City Elementary Woodland Joint USD

- Tucson, AZ
 - Mesa, AZ
- Colorado
 - Pueblo
 - Aurora
 - Denver
- Lawrence, Kansas
- Maryland
 - Baltimore County
 - Montgomery County
 - Prince George's County
- Minnesota
 - Minneapolis
 - St. Paul
- North Carolina
 - Guilford
 - Wake
 - Asheville City/Buncombe
 - Durham
- Columbus, OH
- Oregon
 - Portland, OR
 - Beaverton, OR
- Nashville
- Texas
 - San Antonio
 - Austin
- Richmond, VA
- Wisconsin
 - Madison
 - Racine
 - Milwaukee
 - Kenosha

Timeline:

April

- Organize for May Day.

- Meetings to develop a campaign vision for the next three years with key locals and state affiliates. AROS organizations will do the same.

May

- May 1st Day of Action
- May 5th OC debrief of the day of action; develop vision for the next phase.
- Continued meetings to develop a campaign vision for the next three years with key locals and state affiliates. AROS organizations will do the same.
- Meeting with the May Day organizers to develop the strategy for the next 1, 2, and 3 years.

June

- AROS meeting to determine the May Day Movement vision, syncing with the AROS Quality of Life campaign.
- State Affiliate leaders from NC, MA, MD, CA, AZ, CT, WI, and NJ meet to discuss the Kicking Ass for the Working Class campaign (which is aligned with the May Day Movement work).
- BCG launches national structure to hold the local level part of the May Day Movement Campaign.
- BCG hosts a 500 person convening with locals and community organizations committed to the above definition.
- UAW convenes May 2028 labor unions that will be aligning contracts; co-constructs vision.

July



	Leadership	Structures	Action Focus	Win Focus	Campaign Lab Engagement
Foundations	Engagement is limited to a single leader or team. Leaders and team may not yet be known, trusted, or respected in a broad way. Not yet established a relationship with the community of workers. Little data beyond basic membership is gathered or used. Have not begun cultivate a shared vision beyond the team into the community of workers. Traditional “affiliate” titles and roles. Not able to move people to take action beyond basic union transactions or very routine mobilizations.	Beyond the leadership team there are limited structures. There is a need to identify trusted and respected leaders and move towards a 10:1 structure. Decision making is still centralized within the leadership team.	Focus is on building membership through Union Led Programs that require little to no risk. There is not yet a focus on Issue Campaigns. If actions are public they will be small and more for the building union presence within the community or workers (Buttons, T Shirts, Face Book, etc.)	Win focus is on building the internal strength of the community of workers.	Completed an application. Developed a team. Set a team purpose. Set a measurable organizing goal. Worked on centering justice. Developing a communication plan Meets routinely with coach and attends monthly all call. Ready to receive seed grant.
Coaching Considerations:					

	Leadership	Structures	Action Focus	Win Focus	Campaign Lab Engagement
Action Taking	Engagement is beginning to be distributed away from a single team or leader. There is a defined set of leaders across worksites that are in relationship with their members AND with the leadership team. Leaders are known and have followers that will take small, strategic actions requiring some risk. Trust is developing in the efficacy of the union. There is a recurring communication plan that involves a growing number of workers around a developing purpose. The system of data is expanding to track leaders, actions, and interests. The focus on leadership is within the union.	The team is known and has the relationship capital to be trusted and respected by most of the workers. Internal structures are sound (Basic 10:1, representation in most sites, multiple team structures) Structures have robust engagement and rank and file see these structures as ways for them to use their agency and make change.	Focus is mostly on single issue campaigns with a limited timeline and strategy. The actors and mobilization is mostly from the organization. Very little external participation or alignments with other organizations. Actions will be more public and more risky. They will be about building presence with the target and with possible allies. (Packing Public meetings, walk ins, public rallies, earned media, broad social media, etc)	Focus is on demanding a win on a worker issue. Typically the win is a solution to an issue identified by only the community of workers.	Expansion of Team based on data. Identification of organizing issue and a demand. Identification of Target Analysis of Power Strategy Identification Development of tactics Completes a small campaign cycle. Meets routinely with coach and attends monthly all call. Using the grant to support actions.
Coaching Considerations:					

	Leadership	Structures	Action Focus	Win Focus	Campaign Lab Engagement
Power Building	There is a well known, trusted, and respected leadership team. This team is in continuous relationship with multiple teams that may serve various roles and change based on the actions and shared purpose. There are multiple teams that are contributing and analyzing data. The data gathered is not only used for “people and issue” analysis but for research and strategy development. There are leaders who are also in relationship with allies and are working on alignments in purpose and actions that are beyond the internal interests.	Structures are beyond those required for effective internal organizing. There will be teams and committees that meet with allies and that are working to develop alignment of purpose and issue. There will be multiple levels of structures with various roles that can handle multiple issues.	Focus is on multiple issues. There will continue to be the smaller, worker issue campaigns AND there will be larger, more visible actions with external alliances. Actions will require more risk. They will be about building a presence in alliance with a number of groups seeking justice for a “common good” beyond the reach of any single organization. (Large rallies, economic strikes, coordinated strikes, large scale media campaigns)	Wins and targets are expanded beyond single issues that would be characterized as worker issues. There is an inclusion of wins that are aligned with the interests and issues of other constituencies outside of the worker community. The focus will be more towards a “common good”	Implementing actions and capturing data about them. Routinely debriefing and recalibrating. More refinement to issue, demand, target Analysis of Power that includes external allies and alignments. Might have more than 1 issue at a time with multiple teams. Will complete three campaign cycles. Meets routinely with coach and attends monthly all call. Using the grant to support actions.
Coaching Considerations:					

	Leadership	Structures	Action Focus	Win Focus	Campaign Lab Engagement
Strategic	Deeply trusted and widely respected Multiple teams that are elected to serve in a variety of roles and functions Leadership is present and aligned across a number of partnerships and coalitions Research and shared analysis within the local and across partnerships and coalitions	Continuous cycle of meeting new members, engagement and leadership tests, leadership development, multiple teams that are interdependent, flexible to meet the current issues and needs, solid representation across worksites, visible and trusted union presence Coalitions and alignments that are well connected and “managed”	Consistent cycles of internal organizing and local worker issues Expanded focus to work in alignment with other groups A range of public actions with the ability to escalate as needed Long term strategic actions	Multi-Issue Campaign Wins with Multi-Constituency Groups Connected with other groups and focused on systemic changes	Networked, consistently organizing internally and with alliances and alignments. Routinely running multiple issue campaigns with multiple allies. Meets routinely with other Strategic Campaign Leads, coach and participates in national movement calls. Eligible for Strategic Campaign Grant Using the grant to support a full time organizing lead.
Coaching Considerations:					



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

Organizational Assessment

In each of the sections below, there is a series of statements. Rate each of the statements on a scale of 1 to 5. You aren't ranking them compared to each other, but rating how closely each statement resembles your organization's current state. This is what each of the numbers 1 to 5 means.

1 = No, this does not describe our organization at all. We need a lot of work in this area.

2 = This describes our organization a little bit

3 = This describes our organization somewhat. We could stand to improve.

4 = This is a fairly accurate description of our organization

5 = This is a very accurate. We're strong in this area.

Section A: Theory of change (A document that articulates who your base is, what are the problems your organization exists to address, your analysis of the root causes of those problems, your vision of a better future, your strategies for getting there, the activities that allow you to carry out your strategies, and the allies you relate to along the way.)

#	Statement	Your rating
A1	Our organization has a clearly articulated theory of change.	
A2	Most people in the organization can easily explain our theory of change.	
A3	We use our theory of change to inform decisions around our programs and campaigns.	
A4	We use our theory of change to orient new members and staff.	
A5	Our theory of change includes an analysis that it is important to build a broad base.	
Comments:		



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

Section B: Researching our Base

#	Statement	Your rating
B1	We've done research (surveys, focus groups, field scan, regular outreach, etc.) that tells us about the conditions and needs of our communities.	
B2	We have analyzed the data we have collected.	
B3	We use the results of this research to inform decisions around our programs and campaigns.	
B4	We are confident that our programming accurately reflects the needs of our base.	
Comments:		

Section C. Membership Structure

#	Statement	Your rating
C1	We have a clear definition of membership.	
C2	We know how many members we have.	
C3	It's easy for people to become members of the organization.	
C4	Our membership structure includes opportunities for community members to take on greater leadership roles, and a clear system for how they will be able to do so.	
C5	Our members pay dues.	



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

C6	Our membership is growing.	
C7	We stay in touch with members, including those who are not currently active, in order to keep them connected with the organization.	
C8	We have specific, transparent, and democratic ways for members to make decisions about the work and priorities of the organization.	
Comments:		

Section D: Maximizing staff and leaders

#	Statement	Your rating
D2	Our organizing and program staff have job descriptions and work plans that reflect their current work with members and generally.	
D3	We provide good training and support for the staff who are dedicated to organizing.	
D4	There are clear and specific roles for member leaders to play on a volunteer basis in the organization.	
D5	We have good systems in place for member leaders to be trained to take on those roles.	
D6	Outreach and follow-up is mostly done by member leaders, not paid staff.	
D7	Member leaders play a central role in peer support responsibilities (like support groups, peer counseling and facilitation of membership meetings).	
D8	We have good systems in place for supervision of staff and member leaders.	



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

D9	Our staff and leaders stick around the organization for a long time. Their role is sustainable. People are not burned out or overly frustrated by internal dynamics.	
Comments:		

Section E: Outreach and follow-up

#	Statement	Your rating
E1	Our organization prioritizes building a large membership and a base of strong member-leaders.	
E2	There is consensus among our Board that growing our membership base is a priority.	
E3	There is consensus among staff that growing our membership base is a priority.	
E4	We have annual, quarterly and monthly outreach goals.	
E5	We generally reach the outreach goals we set.	
E6	We have resources (staffing and time and money) dedicated to bringing more community members into our organization.	
E7	Our programs are structured in a way that will allow us to grow and incorporate many new members into the organization.	
E8	Community members regularly come into contact with our organization.	



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

E9	We treat outreach and follow-up as a system, and dedicate time in our work schedules for both.	
E10	We've done mapping in our community that tells where and how to find people to grow our base.	
E11	We follow up with all new contacts within 48 hours of reaching them.	
E12	We have a trained Outreach Team made up of leaders	
E13	We have a strong and inspiring rap that we use to recruit new members.	
E14	We have a high retention rate when we succeed in bringing a new contact into the organization.	
E15	We have good systems for tracking data on our contacts and members, and the right people in the organization are trained to use that system.	
Comments:		

Section F: Program design

#	Statement	Your rating
F1	We have regular meetings held at the same time each month.	
F2	We feel confident that our campaigns and programs are the right mix to attract and retain members.	

This document is part of a set of organizing resources for affiliates of the National Domestic Workers Alliance.
The full set of resources can be found at <http://organizing.domesticworkers.org>



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

F3	Our members drive the campaigns and engage in actions that exercise their power (protest, testifying, media interviews, etc).	
F4	Our programs include political education related to systemic issues that impact our members.	
F5	Our programs include political education on intersections between different systems of oppression (sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, etc.).	
F6	Our organization is clear on what rights our base has in our state and city.	
F7	Our programs help our base know their rights on the job and feel more confident exercising them.	
F8	Our programs include leadership development trainings.	
F9	Our programs include opportunities for community members to connect with each other, provide peer support, and form community.	
F10	Our programs are transformative. Community members are able to see themselves, their potential and their own leadership in a new way as a result of their participation in our programs.	
F11	We have both programs that attract new people to the organization and programs that support leadership development of active members.	
F12	Community members who are recipients of the services our organization offers usually become members of the organization.	
F13	The services our organization offers generate revenue that supports our organizing. (Write in N/A if your organization doesn't provide direct services.)	



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

Comments:

Section G: Digital Organizing

Technology includes: mass texting, peer to peer texting, email, social media (like Twitter, Facebook, TikTok, etc), messaging apps (like WhatsApp) and other organizing platforms.

#	Statement	Your rating
G1	We have recognized that we need to use technology to communicate with more people than we are able to reach one-on-one.	
G2	We make use of social media to promote our organization and encourage people to get involved.	
G3	We use technology to communicate with our leaders in a way that's efficient and effective.	
G4	We use technology to communicate with our contacts and potential members in a way that's efficient and effective.	
G5	We have a digital organizing plan.	
G6	We have staff who are tasked with carrying out our digital organizing plan, and have the training and skills that they need to be able to do so.	



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

G7	Our members use technology to communicate with each other related to the work of the organization.	
G8	We use technology to build connection and community with our base.	
Comments:		

Overall Assessment

1. Has your organization set goals for growth of your membership? What is your organization's goal of how many members you'll have in one year? In five years?
2. What do you think are your organization's main strengths that will allow you to grow your base?
3. Overall, which of the areas above (letters A through G) do you think are the largest challenges for your organization?
4. In the areas that you've identified as your biggest challenges, what are the main barriers your organization faces?



Worksheet: Organizational Assessment

5. Which of the above areas (letters A through G) do you think should be the top three priorities for your organization to address?

Centering Equity in your Campaigns

What does it mean to center equity in your campaign?

Race, class, and gender dynamics, disparities, and divisions permeate our society, communities, schools, and classrooms. Systemic oppression is so deeply rooted in our history, culture, and institutions that there is no escaping it. Visible or not, the impacts are ever-present. Race, class, and gender justice is the systematic fair treatment of all people resulting in equitable opportunities and outcomes for all. Justice, or equity goes beyond being against the systematic use of oppressions like misogyny, racism, and classism. It is not just the absence of discrimination and inequities, but also the presence of deliberate systems and supports to achieve and sustain equity through proactive and preventative measures.

To engage in a systems analysis of a racial issue and develop solutions or to test if the campaign demands center race, class, and gender justice, good discussion questions to have with partners and union members include:	
Problems: What inequities are you noticing or experiencing? What are the impacts on different groups? Who benefits most and who is hurt most?	
Causes: What institutions, policies, or practices are causing or contributing to the inequities? What social norms, popular myths, or cultural biases may be contributing?	
History: How did things get this way and are things worsening or improving?	
Solutions: What solutions could address the root causes and eliminate the inequities? How would different racial groups be impacted by the proposed solutions?	
Strategies: What strategies and actions could be used to advance the solutions?	
Leadership: Who are the stakeholders most affected by the inequities? Are they involved in naming the issues and solutions? What kinds of active leadership roles could they take to advance the proposed solution?	
Additional Equity Tool Questions: Who is most directly impacted? Who has been left out? How can they be directly engaged? How do our demands center race, class, and gender justice?	

Creating Leadership Teams

What is our purpose and what are our norms and roles?



Acknowledgements

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

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Creating Leadership Teams

What is our purpose and what are our norms and roles?

Goals for this session

- To develop an understanding of the core practices of successful leadership teams
- To practice those skills by developing a shared purpose, clarifying team roles and responsibilities, and creating norms and practices of coordination

Why do leadership teams matter?

Most effective leaders create 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.

A leadership team offers a structured way to work together interdependently, each person taking leadership on during 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.

Team structures also help create strategic capacity—the ability to strategize creatively together in ways that produce more vibrant, engaging strategy than any individual could create alone. In the Obama campaign, the field structure created multiple layers of leadership teams to engage people creatively and strategically at all levels of the campaign. Each state had a state leadership team that coordinated regional leadership teams (of Regional Directors and Organizers), which coordinated local neighborhood leadership teams of volunteer leaders.

At every level the people on leadership teams had 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 created multiple points of entry for volunteers, 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. One person alone cannot organize 500 people. It is built by finding people willing and able to commit to helping build it, and creating relationships and a solid structure from which it can be built.

So why don't people always work in teams?

We have all been part of volunteer teams that have not worked well. They fall into factions, they alienate each other, or all the work falls on one person. Some aim to keep the pond small so they can feel like big fish. 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 even work together to build campaigns we can take action on.

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 in a way to channel that conflict in productive ways, allowing the team to achieve the goals it needs to win.

Three measures of an effective team:

1. **OUTPUT (WORLD):** The success of your team in taking the action required to achieve its valued goals – winning the game, winning the campaign, putting on the play, etc.
2. **CAPACITY (TEAM):** Over time your team is learning how to work more effectively as a team, and developing more leadership.
3. **LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT (INDIVIDUAL):** Individuals who participate on your team learn and grow as a result of their participation.

Three conditions that make for a “real” team:

1. **Your team is bounded.** You can name the people on it; they don't come and go, whoever shows up doesn't have the automatic right to participate in the team. Most highly effective teams have no more than 4 – 8 members.
2. **Your team is stable.** It meets regularly. It's not a different, random group of people every time. 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.
3. **Your team is interdependent.** As on an athletic team, a string quartet, or an airplane cabin crew, the contribution that each person makes is critical to the success of the whole. Team members have a vital interest in each other's success, looking for ways to offer support.

Three steps to launching an effective team:

1. **You have a shared – and engaging – purpose.** You are clear on what you have created your team to do (purpose), who you will be doing it with (constituency), and what kinds of activities your team will participate in. The work you have to do is readily understood, it's challenging, it matters and you know why it matters. Team members need to be able to articulate for themselves and others this “purpose”.

2. **You have created clear interdependent roles.** Each team member must have their own responsibility, their own “chunk” of the work, on which the success of the whole depends. No one is carrying out activity in a silo that’s secretive to others. A good team will have a diversity of identities, experiences and opinions, ensuring that everyone is bringing the most possible to the table.
3. **Your team has explicit ground rules.** Your team sets clear expectations for how to govern itself in your work together. How will you manage meetings, regular communication, decisions, and commitments? And, most importantly, how will you correct ground-rule violations so they remain real ground rules? Teams with explicit operating rules are more likely to achieve their goals. Some team norms are operational, such as how often will we meet? How will we share and store documents? Communicate with others outside the team? etc. Others address expectations for member interaction with each other. Initial norms guide your team in its early stages as members learn how to work together. Norms can be refined through regular group review of how well the team is doing.



TYPICAL TEAMWORK SESSION

Building your team

Goals for this session

- Develop your team purpose
- Identify the norms you will practice as a team, including a decision-making norm
- Define your leadership roles; then discuss the roles relative to the talents of those in your team
- Develop a team name and chant

Agenda:

Total time: **55 minutes** (5 min transition time)

- | | | |
|----|--|---------|
| 1. | Gather and review agenda. Choose a timekeeper for this session. | 2 min. |
| 2. | Review the simulation campaign context. | 5 min. |
| 2. | Develop your shared purpose using the worksheet that follows. Review your shared interests from the last session, and focus on how you as a team will work together on your campaign. | 20 min |
| 3. | Decide on collaborative norms that will enable you to function with shared commitment. Use the worksheet that follows. | 10 min. |
| 4. | Determine team roles . Brainstorm possible responsibilities as you work together beyond this workshop. For example, who will coordinate the meetings? Talk about how these roles might match up with the talents of those on your team. See an example of team roles below. | 8 min. |
| 5. | Create a team name and chant . | 5 min. |
| 6 | Wrap up: Share reflections and key learning. Choose a representative and bring in your team name, chant, and shared purpose! | 5 min. |

**WORKSHEET:****DEVELOPING SHARED PURPOSE****Agenda:** Total Time: **20 minutes**

1. In the first part, as individuals, you will take 5 minutes to clarify your own thinking about what the purpose of your team could be as you work on a campaign together.
2. In the second part, as a team, you will take 10 minutes to share your ideas, look for the common focus, and discern a purpose you can all support.
3. You then have 5 more minutes to write a new sentence that you think captures the sense of your team.
4. And finally, as a team, you will have 5 minutes to consider the second round of sentences and decide on one that best articulates your team's perspective.

Step 1: Individual Work (5 min.)

- In the first column, based on the work you did on common interests and values in the relationship session, write down the **unique purpose or purposes of your team**.
- In the second column, write down **whom your team serves**: What are the people like and what are their interests?
- In the third column, write down the kinds of activities that your team could engage in to fulfill its purpose by serving this community? What is the **unique work that your team could do**?

Chart your Individual Responses

WHAT?	WHO?	HOW?
Our team's shared purpose is to...	The constituency we organize is...	We will achieve our shared purpose by...
<i>(briefly describe your team's unique reason for coming together)</i>	<i>(briefly describe your constituency's characteristics)</i>	<i>(list the specific activities that your team would undertake)</i>

After brainstorming answers to all three questions, take a few moments to write a sentence that you think best describes your team's purpose, its constituency, and its activities. Draw on all three columns above.

Examples of a shared purpose sentence:

We share the purpose of educational justice by organizing high school students in Milwaukee to develop their capacity for collective action through providing them with coaching, training, and mentoring.

We share the purpose of gaining water access for organic farming by organizing farmers and community activists through holding 1:1 meetings, community meetings, proposing and passing legislation.

Step 2: Team Work (7 minutes)

As each person reads their sentence, the facilitator notes the key words on the wall poster under purpose, constituency, or work. Note specific words to which you respond, that spark your curiosity, or that give you energy. When you are done, your facilitator circles the words that seem to resonate most strongly with your team.

Our team's shared purpose is to:

Step 3: Individual Work (3 minutes)

In light of what you learned from the last session, write a new sentence that you think can articulate a shared purpose, using some of the key words and themes.

YOUR draft Our team's shared purpose is to:

Step 4: Team Work (5 minutes)

We will read our sentences again and choose—or combine—one that can best articulate the shared sense of your team.

Final Team draft Our team's shared purpose is to:



WORKSHEET: DEVELOPING TEAM NORMS

Agenda: Total Time: **10 minutes**

Review the sample team norms below. Add, subtract or modify to create norms for your team. Be sure to include group norms on each theme below and how you will self-correct if the norm is broken. (If you don't self-correct, the new norm will be breaking the norms.)

Decision-making: <i>What is the process by which we will make decisions?</i>	
• Majority rules: Whatever gets the most votes wins. • Consensus: Everyone must agree. • Delegation: Nominate one or two people on your team to be the ultimate decision-makers. ○ Coin flip: Leave the decision to fate! ○ Other:	
Discussion and Decision-making: <i>How we will discuss options and reach decisions as a team to ensure vigorous input and debate?</i>	
<u>Always Do</u> Engage in open, honest debate Ask open-ended questions Balance advocacy with inquiry	<u>Never Do</u> Engage in personal attacks Fail to listen to what others say Jump to conclusions
Meeting Management: <i>How will we manage meetings to respect each other's time?</i>	
<u>Always Do</u> Start on time; stay on time Be fully present throughout the meeting	<u>Never Do</u> Come to meetings unprepared Answer cell phones or do email
Accountability: <i>How we will delegate responsibilities for actions and activities? How will we follow through on commitments?</i>	
<u>Always Do</u> Clarify understanding Provide follow-up on action items Ask for/offer support when there is a need Weekly check-in	<u>Never Do</u> Assume you have agreement Assume tasks are getting done Commit to a task that you know you won't do
How will you "self-correct" if norms are not followed? Teams work best when you have a regular, reliable time to coordinate together. What will your team's regular meeting time and place be?	



WORKSHEET:
DEVELOPING TEAM ROLES

Agenda: Total Time: **8 minutes**

Review the Team Coordinator role below as an example of what roles might look like in your individual campaigns. Thinking about how you should organize the next event/meeting, discuss how your roles would fit together to create an interdependent leadership team that supports one another in your individual projects. What would each role have to be good at?

Based on the discussion about the roles, **go around the circle** and ask each person to tell others:

1. What experience and talents they have that might contribute to the leadership team
(30 sec.)
2. What specifically they want to learn in more detail (30 sec.)

How might these talents match up to particular roles? Are there any clear “fits?” Note: These team roles should not be seen as permanent. For the team to be strong, all leaders should have to earn leadership by carrying out responsibilities relevant to the role they seek.

ROLE	RESPONSIBILITIES	YOU WOULD BE GOOD FOR THIS ROLE IF YOU...	INTERESTED TEAM MEMBERS & RELATED SKILLS/TALENTS
Ex. Team Lead	Coordinate the work of the leadership team. Prepare for meetings; give support and coaching to the team.	Organized, experienced, good people skills, can make good snacks	Jesse, Queenie, Vera
Ex. Communications	Coordinates the messages sent out to other people in the campaign.	Access to technology, good design skills, attention to detail	Jorge, Mia, Jack

Your Team Workspace

ROLE	RESPONSIBILITIES	YOU WOULD BE GOOD FOR THIS ROLE IF YOU...	INTERESTED TEAM MEMBERS & RELATED SKILLS/TALENTS

Team Name & Chant (5 min.)

Team Roster:

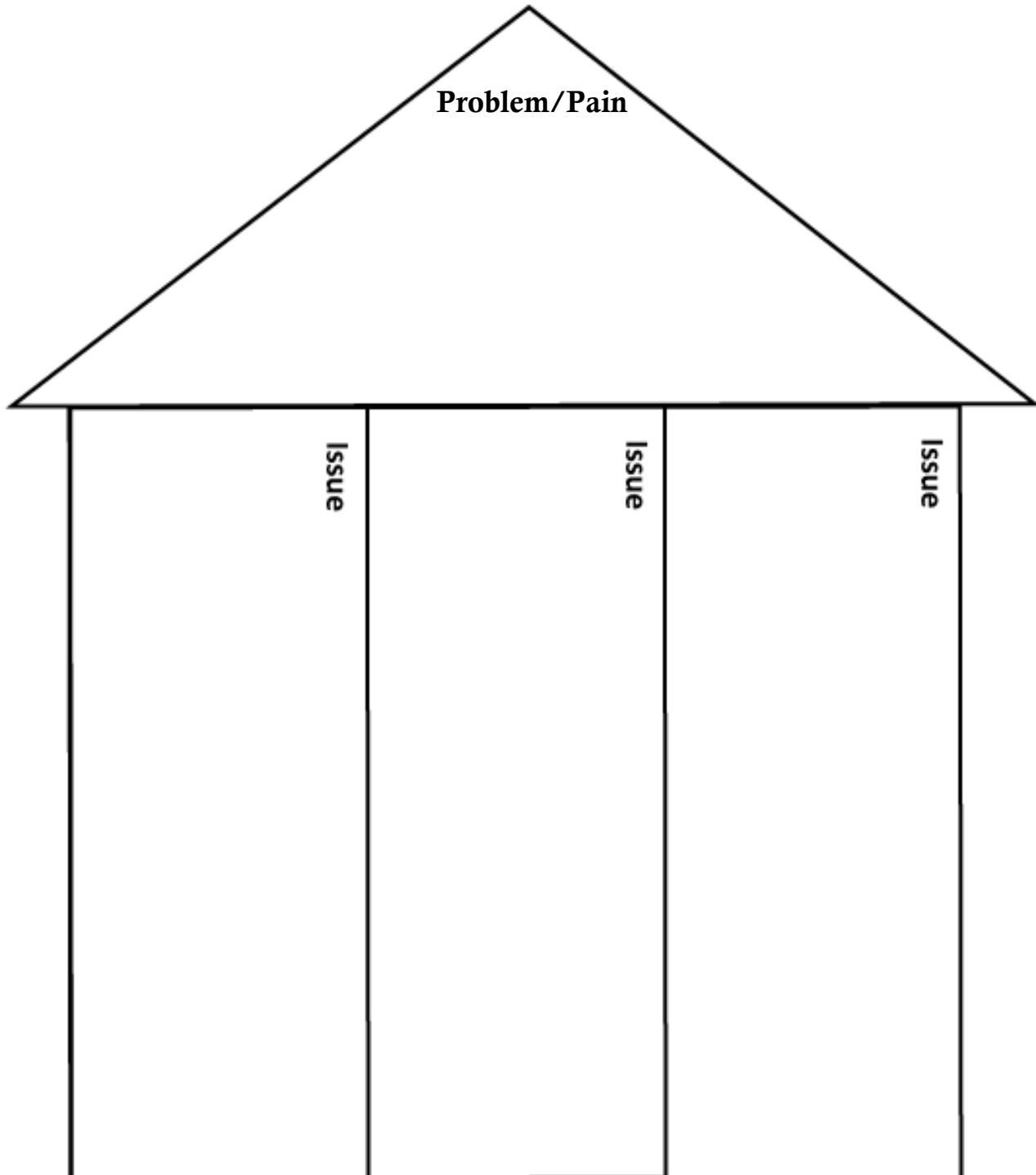
NAME PHONE EMAIL ADDRESS

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.





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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The Intersection of Our Core Values and Union Values

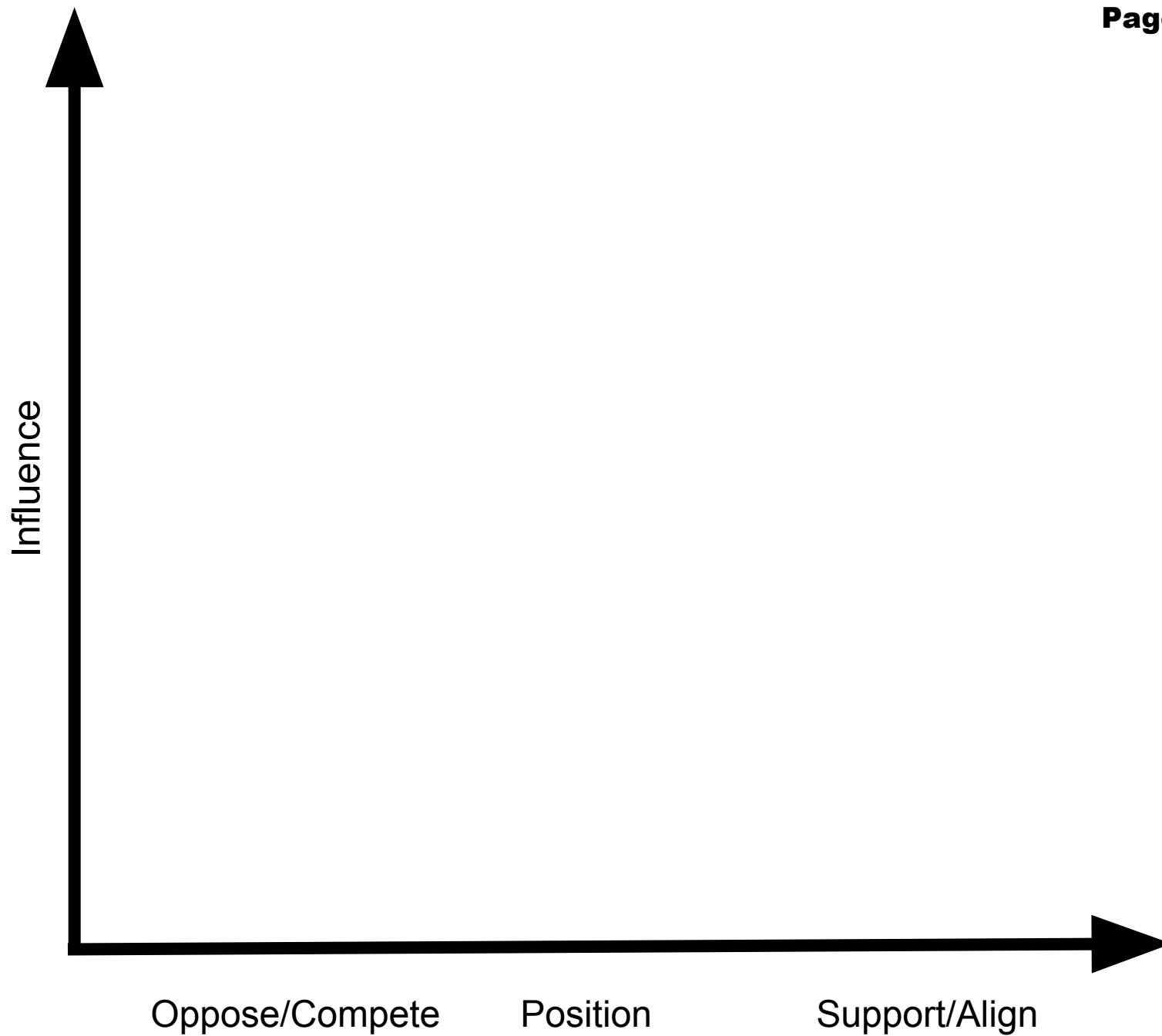
Core values are the fundamental beliefs of a person or an organization. These guiding principles dictate behavior and can help people understand the difference between right and wrong. These can often be expressed in one or two words. We are taking a moment to consider our core values because they can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

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

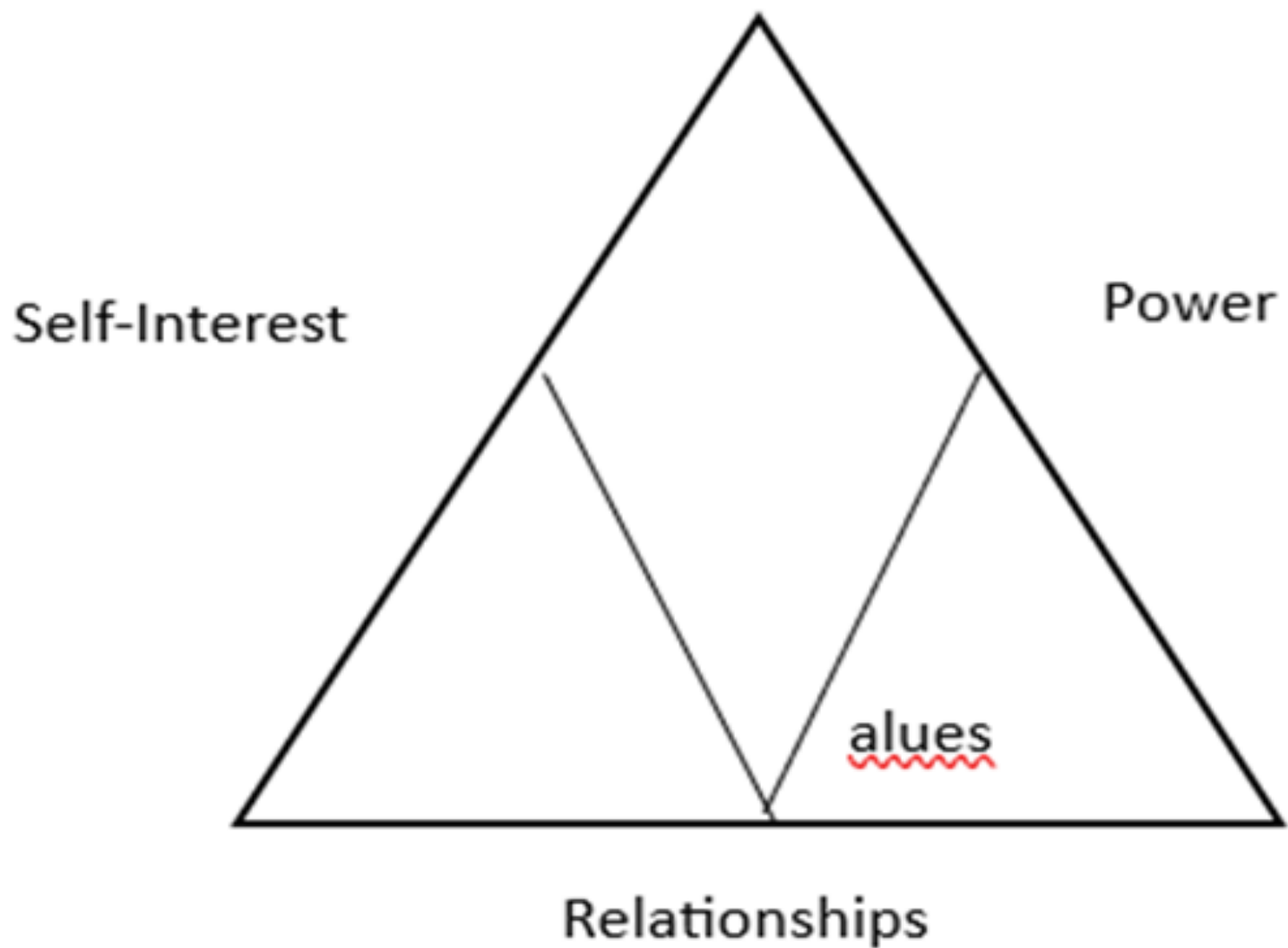
<i>Your Personal Core Values</i>

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.



Power Analysis : Values Triangle



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 – you 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.

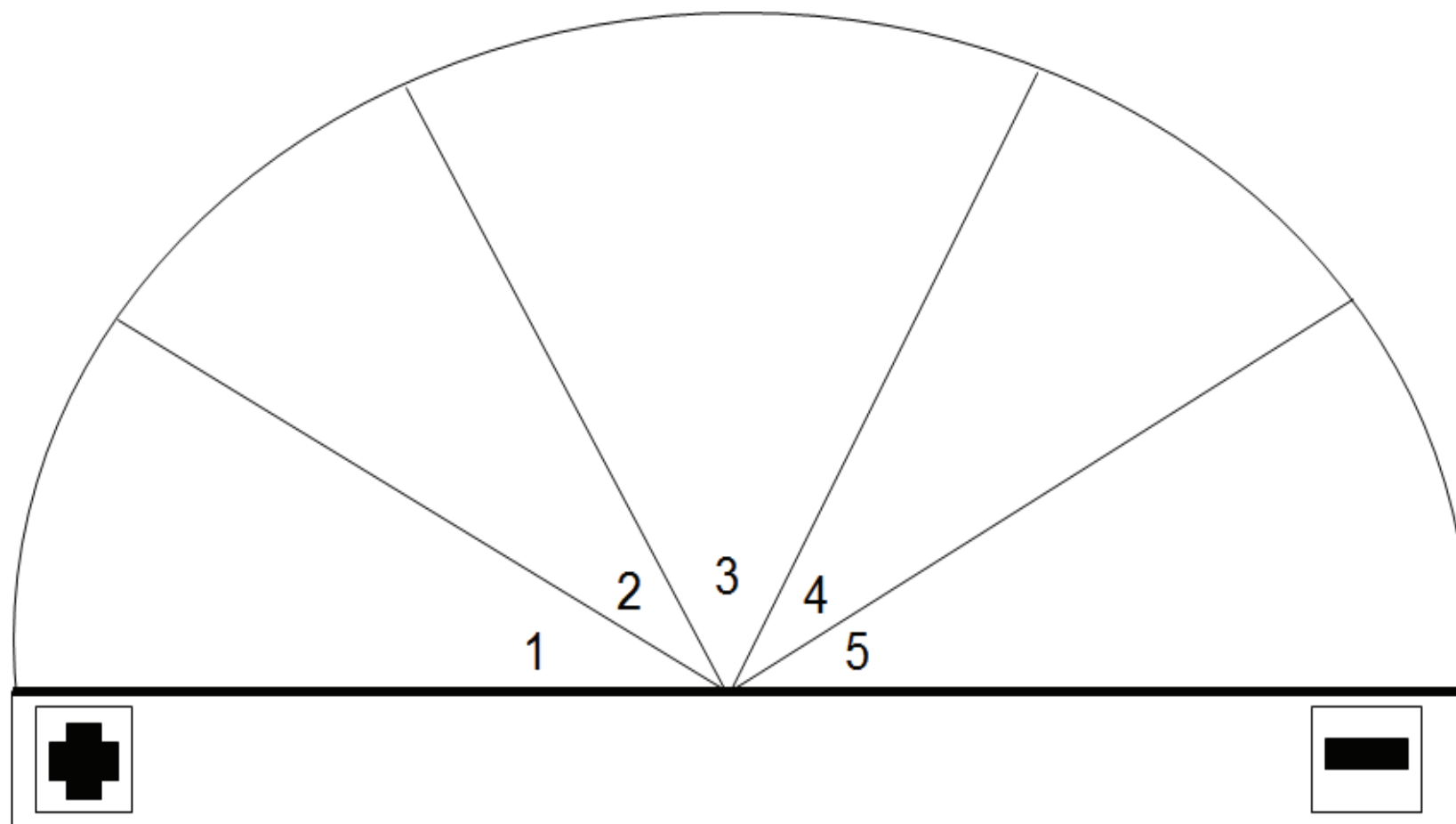
New Tactics in Human Rights is a program of The Center for Victims of Torture

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Problem Statement: _____



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

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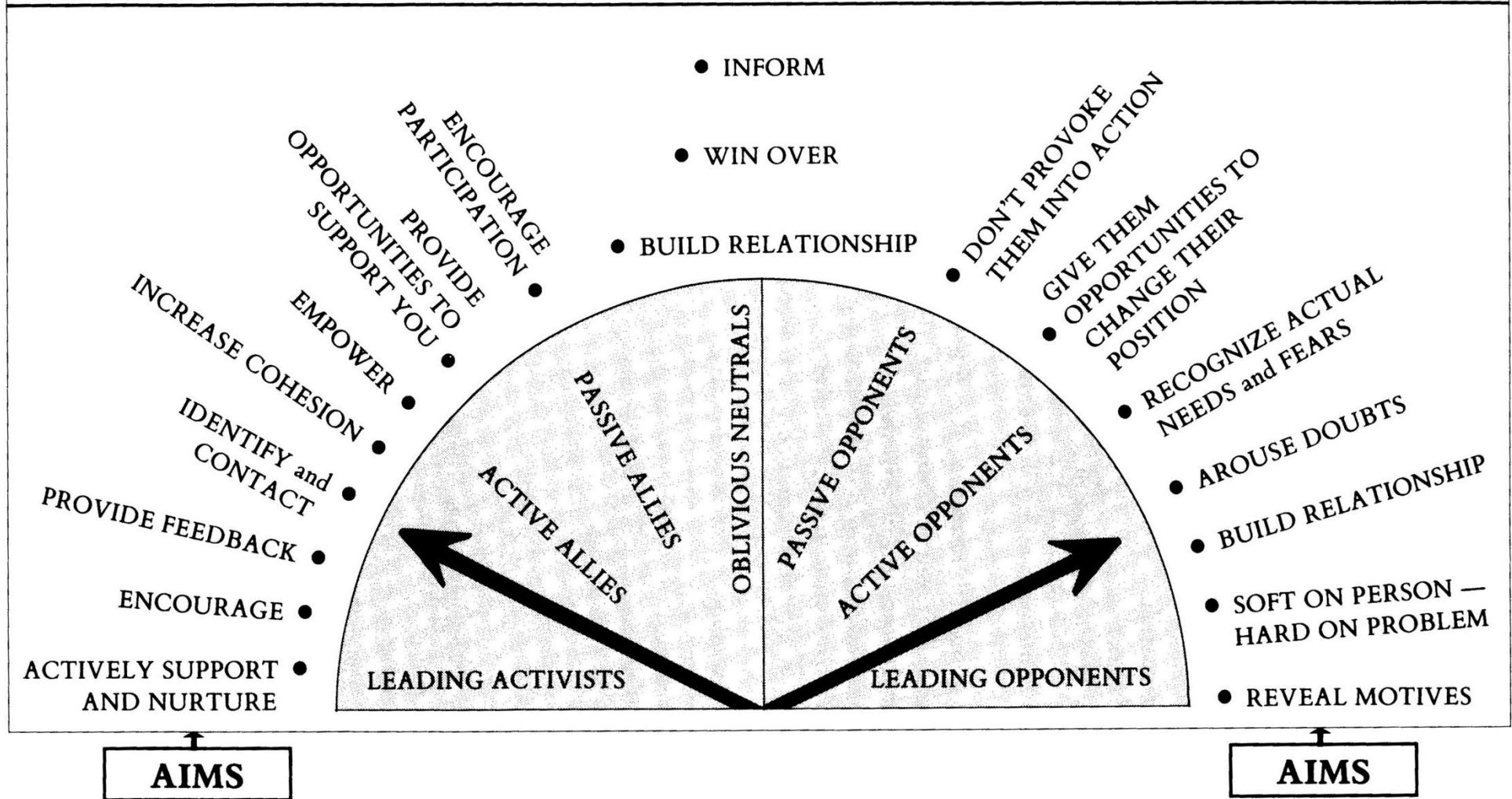


SOCIAL BAROMETER

* WHERE DO OTHERS STAND ON YOUR ISSUE? Identify Individuals and Groups

* WHAT ARE YOUR AIMS WITH EACH?

ARE YOUR TACTICS CONSISTENT WITH THESE AIMS?



I wish to acknowledge inspiration from David H. Albert: "People Power — Applying Non Violence Theory" New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, PA, 1985.

CREATING SHARED STRATEGY

How do we creatively strategize?

STRATEGY

Goals for this session:

- To learn an actor-centered approach to strategizing.
- To begin devising strategy for a community organizing project.

When you structured your leadership team you decided on a shared purpose: your overall mission, your constituency, and the kind of activities you'll undertake. The challenge now is to strategize just HOW you will carry out that purpose.

The **first step** is to identify the *people* whom you are organizing, your *constituency*, and map out the other relevant actors. The **second step** is to come up with the goal of your organizing effort: what exactly is the problem is you hope to solve, how would the world look different if it were solved, why hasn't that problem been solved, what would it take to solve it, and toward what clear, observable, and motivational goal could members of your constituency focus their work to get started, build their capacity, and develop their leadership? The **third step** is to figure out how your constituency could turn resources it has into the power it needs to achieve that goal: what tactics could it use, how could they target their efforts, and how would they time their campaign.

Strategy is "turning resources you have into the power you need to get what you want - your goal.

- **Strategic Goal** (what you want): The goal is a clear, measurable point that allows you to know if you've won or lost, and that meets the challenge your constituency faces.
- **Power** (what you need): tactics through which you can turn your resources into the capacity you need to achieve your goal.
- **Resources** (what your constituency has): time, money, skills, relationships, etc.

How Strategy Works

Strategy is Motivated: What's the problem?

We are natural strategists. We conceive purposes, encounter obstacles in achieving those purposes, and we figure out how to overcome those obstacles. But because we are also creatures of habit, we only strategize when we have to: when we have a problem, something goes wrong, something forces a change in our plans. That's when we pay attention, take a look around, and decide we have to do something differently. Just as our emotional understanding inhabits the stories we tell, our cognitive understanding inhabits the strategy we devise.

Strategy is Creative: What can we do about the problem?

Strategy requires developing an understanding of why the problem hasn't been solved, as well as a theory of how to solve it, a theory of change. Moreover because those who resist change often have access to more resources, those who seek change often have to be more resourceful. We have to use this resourcefulness to create the capacity – the power – to get the problem solved. It's not so much about getting "more" resources as it is about using one's resources smartly and creatively.

Strategy is a Verb: How can we adapt as we learn to solve the problem?

The real action in strategy is, as Alinsky put it, in the reaction – by other actors, the opposition, and the challenges and opportunities that emerge along the way. What makes it "strategy" and not "reaction" is the mindfulness we can bring to bear on our choices relative to what we want to achieve, like a potter interacting with the clay on the wheel, as Mintzberg describes it.

Although our goal may remain constant, strategizing requires ongoing adaptation of current action to new information. Something worked better than we expected. Something did not work that we had expected. Things change. Some people oppose us so we have to respond. Launching a campaign only begins the work of strategizing. This is one reason your leadership team should include a full diversity of the skills, access to information and interests needed to achieve your goal. We call this "strategic capacity." So strategy is not a single event, but an ongoing process continuing throughout the life of a project. We plan, we act, we evaluate the results of our action, we plan some more, we act further, evaluate further, etc. We strategize, as we implement, not prior to it.

Strategy is Situated: How can I connect the view in the valley with the view from the mountains?

Strategy unfolds within a specific context, the particularities of which really matter. One of the most challenging aspects of strategizing is that it requires both a mastery of the details of the "arena" in which it is enacted and the ability to go up to the top of the mountain and get a view of the whole. The power of imaginative strategizing can only be realized when rooted within an understanding of the trees AND the forest. One way to create the "arena of action" is by mapping the "actors" are that populate that arena.

KEY STRATEGIC QUESTIONS

1. Who are my **PEOPLE**?
2. What **CHANGE** do they seek? (Goal)
3. Where can they get the **POWER**? (Theory of Change)
4. Which **TACTICS** can they use?
5. What is their **TIMELINE**?

STEP ONE: WHO ARE MY PEOPLE?

Constituency

Constituents are people who have a need to organize, who can contribute leadership, can commit resources, and can become a new source of power. It makes a big difference whether we think of people with whom we work as constituents, clients, or customers. *Constituents* (from the Latin for “stand together”) associate on behalf of common interests, commit resources to acting on those interests, and have a voice in deciding how to act. *Clients* (from the Latin for “one who leans on another”) have an interest in services others provide, do not contribute resources to a common effort, nor do they have a voice in decisions. *Customers* (a term derived from trade) have an interest in goods or services that a seller can provide in exchange for resources in which he or she has an interest. The organizers job is to turn a *community* – people who share common values or interests – into a *constituency* – people who can act on behalf of those values or interests.

Leadership

Although your constituency is the focus of your work, your goal as an organizer is to draw upon leadership from within that constituency – the people with whom you work to organize everyone else. Their work, like your own, is to “accept responsibility for enabling others to achieve purpose in the face of uncertainty.” They facilitate the work members of their constituency must do to achieve their shared goals, represent their constituency to others, and are accountable to their constituency. Your work with these leaders is to enable them to learn the five organizing practices you are learning: relationship building, story telling, structuring, strategizing, and action. By developing their leadership you, as an organizer, not only can get to “get to scale.” You are also creating new capacity for action – power – within your constituency. For the purpose of this exercise your group here is your leadership team.

Opposition

In pursuing their interests, constituents may find themselves to be in conflict with interests of other individuals or organizations. An employers’ interest in maximizing profit, for example, may conflict with an employees’ interest in earning a comfortable wage. A tobacco company’s interests may conflict not only with those of anti-smoking groups, but of the public in general. A street gang’s interests may conflict with those of a church youth group. The interests of a Republican Congressional

candidate conflict with those of the Democratic candidate in the same district. At times, however, opposition may not be immediately obvious, emerging clearly only in the course of a campaign.

Supporters

People whose interests are not directly or obviously affected may find it to be in their interest to back an organization's work financially, politically, voluntarily, etc. Although they may not be part of the constituency, they may sit on governing boards. For example, Church organizations and foundations provided a great deal of support for the civil rights movement.

Competitors and Collaborators

These are individuals or organizations with which we may share some interests, but not others. They may target the same constituency, the same sources of support, or face the same opposition. Two unions trying to organize the same workforce may compete or collaborate. Two community groups trying to serve the same constituency may compete or collaborate in their fundraising.

Other Actors

These are individuals and actors who may have a great deal of relevance to the problem at hand, but could contribute to solving it, or making it harder to solve, in many different ways. This includes the media, the courts, the general public, for example. Mapping the actors can help us identify those who may be responsible for the problem our constituency faces, where they can find allies, and who else has an interest in the situation.

STEP TWO: WHAT CHANGE DO THEY SEEK: GOALS?

We then must decide on a strategic goal for our campaign by asking what exactly the problem is, how the world might look if it were solved, why it hasn't been solved, and what it would take to solve it.

What's the problem?

What exactly is the problem, in real terms, in terms of people's every day life?

Brainstorm your teams understanding of what the problem is with as much specificity as possible. Dig into it and go beyond the accepted answers.

How would the world look different if the problem were solved?

What happens if we fail to act? What is the "nightmare" that awaits – or may already be here? On the other hand, what could the world look like if we do act? What's our realistic "dream", a possibility that could become reality?

Why hasn't the problem been solved?

If the world would look so much better for our people if the problem were solved, why hasn't it been solved? Has no one thought of it? Did people try, but found they were meeting too much resistance?

Did people not know how? Did they lack information? Did they lack technology? Would solving the problem threaten interests powerful enough to derail the attempts?

What would it take to solve the problem?

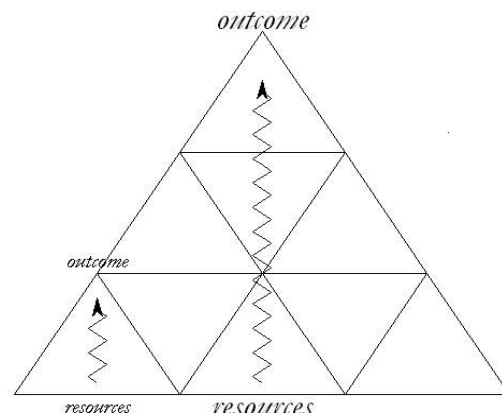
More information? Greater awareness? New tools? Better organization? Better communication? More power? What changes by what people would be required for the problem to be solved?

What's the goal?

Toward what goal can we work that may not solve the whole problem, but that could get us well on the way: it would make a real change, could build our capacity, could motivate others, could create a foundation for what comes next. No one campaign can solve everything, but unless we can focus our efforts on a clear outcome we risk wasting precious resources in ways that won't move us towards our ultimate goal. Here are some criteria to consider for a motivational, strategic organizing campaign goal—one that builds leadership and power:

- 1) **Specific Focus:** It's concrete, measurable, and meaningful. **If your constituents win, achieving this goal will result in visible, significant change in their daily lives.** This is the difference between "our goal is to win reproductive justice" and "our goal is to ensure that every student has access to free, round the clock contraception on our campus." We make progress on the first one by turning it into something that can be achieved by moving specific decision makers to reallocate resources in specific ways. Your constituency will need this focus to move into action.
- 2) **Motivational:** It has the makings of a good story. The goal is rooted in values important to your constituency, requires taking on a real challenge, and stretches your resources: It isn't something you can win tomorrow. Think David and Goliath.
- 3) **Leverage:** It makes the most of your constituency's strengths, experience and resources, but is outside the strengths, experience and resources of your opponent.
- 4) **Builds Capacity:** **It requires developing leadership who can organize their own constituency to enhance the power of your organization. It offers multiple local targets or points of entry and organization.**
- 5) **Contagious:** **it could be emulated by others pursuing similar goals.**

This pyramid chart offers a way to think about where the goal of your campaign can be nested within a larger mission in scope or in scale. At every level, strategy requires imagining an outcome, assessing resources available to achieve that outcome, and, in light of the context, devising a theory of change: how to turn those resources into the power needed to achieve that outcome, a theory that is enacted through tactics, timing, and targeting. In the bus boycott, planning the initial meeting required strategizing as much as figuring out how to sustain



the campaign for the long haul. It is likely different people are responsible for different strategic scope at different levels of an organization or for different time periods, but good strategy is required at every level.

After agreeing upon criteria that make for a good strategic goal in your context, brainstorm again, generating as many possible goals as you can. Then evaluate them each against the criteria you've established. Then come up with an "if-then sentence", imagining ways your constituents could use their resources to shift power in order to achieve their goals.

STEP 3: WHERE CAN THEY GET THE POWER: THEORY OF CHANGE?

Figuring out how to achieve a strategic goal – or even what goal is worth trying to achieve - requires developing a "theory of change? We all make assumptions about how change happens. Some people think that sharing information widely enough (or "raise awareness") about a problem will change things. Others contend that if we just get all the "stakeholders" into the same room and talk with each others we'll discover that we have more in common than that separates us and that will solve the problem. Still others think we just need to be smarter about figuring out the solution.

Community organizers focus on the community, their constituency, because they believe that unless the community itself develops its own capacity to solve the problem, it won't remain solved. Another word for "capacity" is "power" or, as Dr. King defined it "the ability to achieve purpose." Power grows out of the influence that we can have on each other. If your interest in my resources is greater than my interest in your resources, I get some power *over* you – so I can use your resources for *my purposes*. On the other hand, if we have an equal interest in each other's resources we can collaborate to create more power *with* each other to bring more capacity to bear on achieving *our purposes* than we can alone. So the question is how to proactively organize our resources to shift the power enough to win the change we want, building our capacity to win more over time? Since power is a kind of relationship, tracking it down requires asking four questions:

- **What do WE want?**
- **Who has the RESOURCES to create that change?**
- **What do THEY want?**
- **What resources do WE have that THEY want or need?**

If it turns out that we have the resources we need, but just need to use them more collaboratively, then it's a "power with" dynamic. If it turns out that the resources we need have to come from somewhere else, then it's a "power over" dynamic. So the question is how our constituency can use its resources in ways that will create the capacity it needs to achieve the goal. IF we do this, THEN that will likely happen. Test this out with a series of "If-Then" sentences. Once your satisfied you are ready to articulate your organizing sentence:

“We are organizing **WHO** to achieve **WHAT (goal)** by **HOW** (theory of change) to achieve what **CHANGE** ”

STEP 4: WHAT TACTICS CAN THEY USE?

Remember what a “tactic” is? It’s the activity that makes your strategy real. Strategy without tactics is just a bunch of ideas. Tactics without strategy wastes resources. So the art of organizing is in the dynamic relationship between strategy and tactics, using the strategy to inform the tactics, and learning from the tactics to adapt strategy.

Your campaign will get into trouble if you use a tactic just because you happen to be familiar with it - but haven’t figured out how that tactic can actually help you achieve your goal. Similarly, if you spend all your time strategizing, without investing the time, effort, and skill to learn how to use the tactics you need skillfully, you waste your time. Strategy is a way of hypothesizing: if I do this (tactic), then this (goal) may happen. And like any hypothesis the proof is in the testing of it. Criteria for good tactics include:

- **Strategic:** it makes good use of your constituency’s resources to make concrete, measurable progress toward campaign goals. Saul Alinsky and Gene Sharp are excellent sources of tactical ideas.
- **Strengthens your organization:** it improves the capacity of your people to work together.
- **Supports leadership development:** It develops new skills, new understanding, and, most importantly, new leadership.

There are two ways to operate in the world—you can be reactive, as many organizations are, or you can be proactive. In order to be proactive you have to set your own campaign goals and timeline, organizing your tactics so that they build capacity and momentum over time.

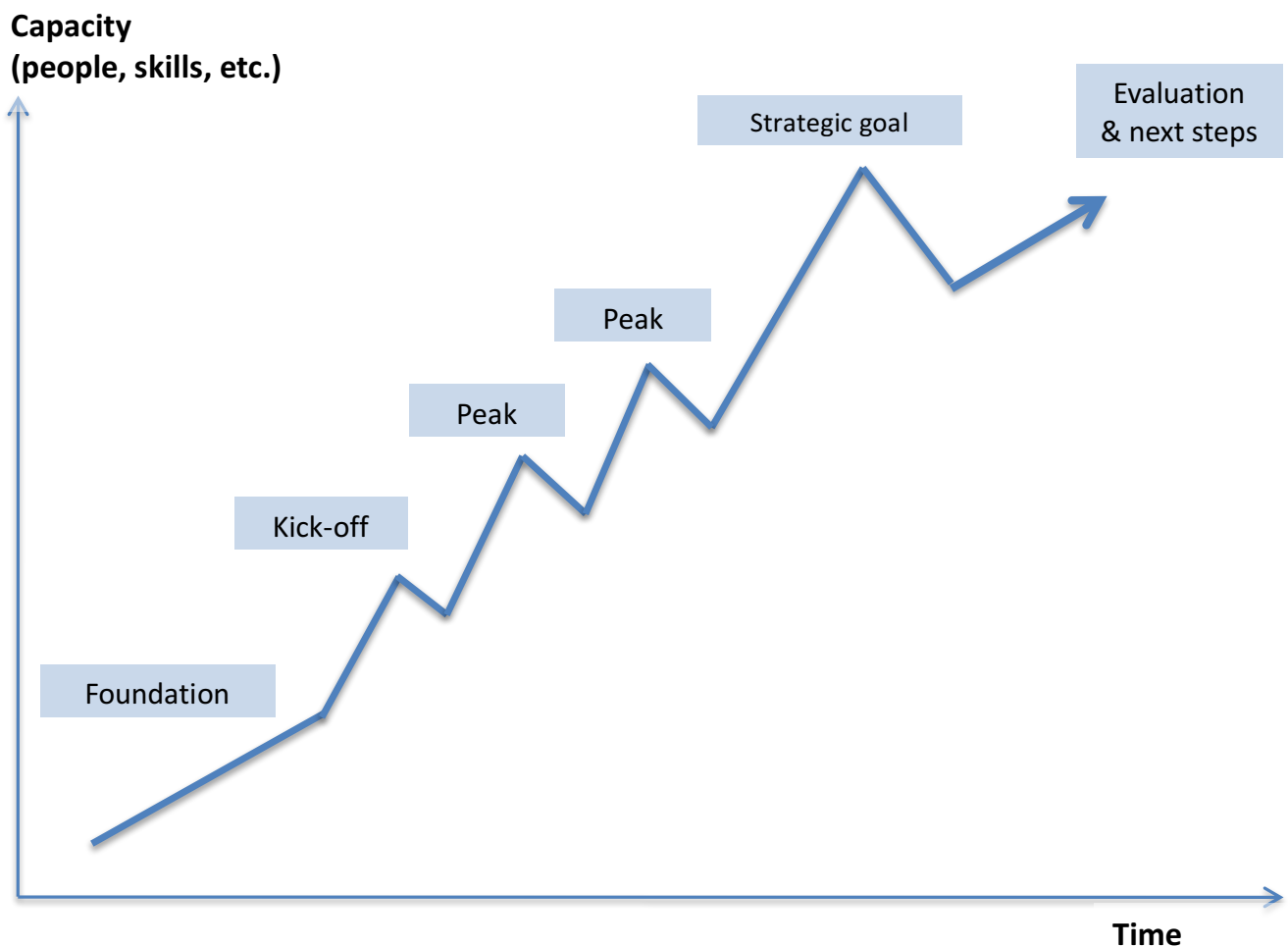
STEP 5: WHAT IS THEIR TIMELINE?

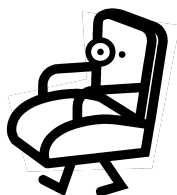
The timing of a campaign is structured as an unfolding narrative or story. It begins with a foundation period (prologue), starts crisply with a kick-off (curtain goes up), builds slowly to successive peaks (act one, act two), culminates in a final peak determining the outcome (denouement), and is resolved as we celebrate the outcome (epilogue). Our efforts generate momentum not mysteriously, but as a snowball. As we accomplish each objective we generate new resources that can be applied to achieve the subsequent greater objective. Our motivation grows as each small success persuades us that the subsequent success is achievable - and our commitment grows.

A campaign timeline has clear phases, with a peak at the end of each phase—a threshold moment when we have succeed in creating a new capacity we can now put to work to achieving our next peak. For example, one phase might be a 2 month fundraising and house meeting campaign that ends in a campaign kickoff meeting or rally. Another phase might be 2 months of door-to-door contact

with constituents affected by the problem you're trying to solve, collecting a target number of petitions to deliver with a march on the Mayor at City Hall at the end, another peak. But within each phase there is a predictable cycle, which in a sense is a mini-campaign in itself: training, launch, action, more action, peak, evaluation. When organizing a peak, keep in mind a specific outcome that you want the peak to generate. For example, if you want to sign-up 50 new volunteers at an event or launch three neighborhood teams, how do you make that happen?

After each peak, your staff, volunteers and members need time to rest, learn, re-train and plan for the next phase. Often organizations say, "We don't have time for that!" Campaigns that don't take time to reflect, adjust and re-train end up burning through their human resources and becoming more and more reactionary over time.





TEAM BREAKOUT SESSION: STRATEGY I

Goal

- To identify who the people are: Who is your constituency? Who are the other actors?
- To decide on a strategic goal can help you solve the problem.
- Develop a theory of change: how will you achieve your goal?

AGENDA

TOTAL TIME: 95 minutes

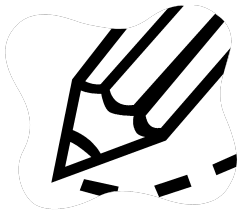
As a team, you will come up with a strategic goal for your team's organizing campaign, map the actors, and develop our theory of change. Then you'll get feedback before breaking out again for a second strategizing session.

1. Gather your team. Choose a timekeeper and scribe. Review agenda. Review the Organizing Sentence. Fill in the **who** and **what purpose** sections you drafted during the shared purpose exercise. 5 min.
2. Get focused: who are your people? What change do they need? What is your purpose? 35 min.
3. Define the field: who are the actors? 15 min.
4. Develop your theory of change. 15 min.
5. Decide upon your strategic goal. 10 min.
6. Review your work, summarize, visualize. 10 min.
7. You will be debriefing with another team. Choose two members of your team to present, **in two minutes**, the picture of your strategic goal and your organizing sentence to the other team. 5 min.

DEBRIEF: Join another team.

30 min.

**** SEE AGENDA for peer-to-peer debrief on page 71. ****

**WORKSHEET:****DEVELOPING STRATEGY I: PEOPLE, POWER, CHANGE****1. REVIEW THE ORGANIZING SENTENCE (5 min.)**

On one piece of flipchart paper, write out your **organizing sentence**. Fill in the *who* and *what purpose* sections you drafted during the shared purpose exercise.

ORGANIZING SENTENCE: *We are organizing (who)_____ to pursue (what purpose) _____ by (how: theory of change)_____ to achieve (what strategic goal) _____ by (what date)_____. We will do this by using these tactics _____ to achieve _____ outcome by _____.*

**Bus boycott example: We are organizing African-Americans in Montgomery to achieve racial justice (or end institutionalized racism) by building the power we need to compel the bus company and city council to desegregate the busses for as long as it takes. We will do this by filing a law suit, mobilizing a boycott, organizing a carpool, building outside support for launching our effort by _____.*

Now you will build a strategic goal based on an analysis of who your constituency is, what they want, and how they can get what they want. Follow the steps below.

2. GETTING FOCUSED: WHO ARE YOUR PEOPLE? WHAT IS YOUR GOAL? (35 min.)

Step 1: With your team, fill in the table below:

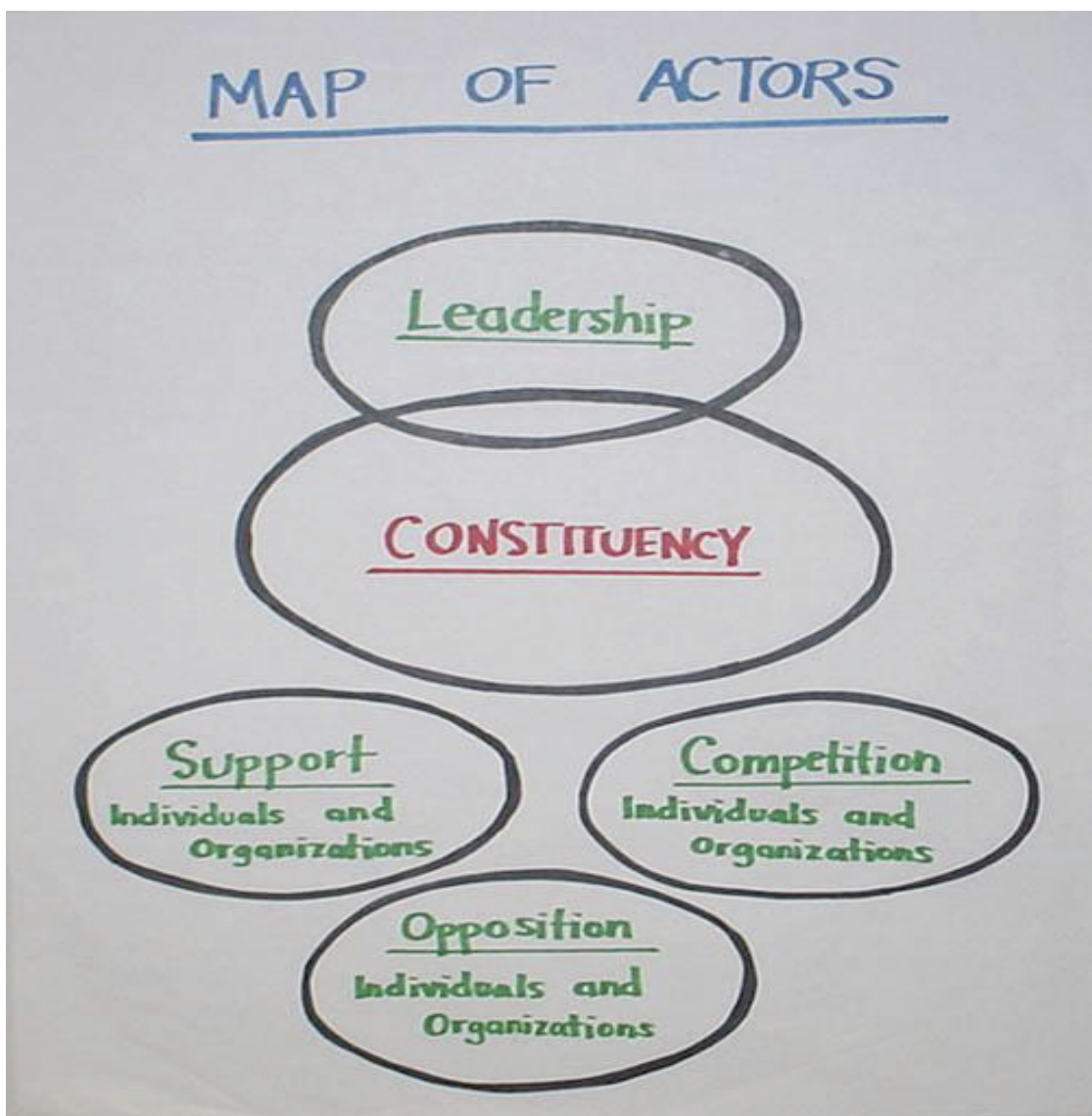
PEOPLE (5 min) Who Are My People? (constituency)	
CHANGE (30 min)	
What Is Their Problem? (5 min)	How Would the World Look Different If Their Problem Were Solved? (5 min)
Why Hasn't Their Problem Been Solved? (10 min)	What Would It Take To Solve Their Problem? (10 min)

3. WHO ARE THE ACTORS? (15 min)

Step 1: Create the map (15 min)

Draw a map-of-actors chart like the one you see below on flipchart paper. Write the names of all of the actors on sticky notes, indicating their resources and their interests. Then place them on the map of actors where you think they are most likely to be. Start with yourselves. Use what you learned from building relationships to fill this out. **Brainstorm other relevant actors** at local, state, and national levels by name or specific position wherever possible. Put these names on post-its and add them to the map. Be sure to include the following:

- Who might be members of your constituency?
- Who might be your opposition?
- Who might be your allies?
- Who might be competitors and collaborators?
- Who might play other key roles, depending on how they are mobilized (courts, press, voters, etc.)



4. WHERE'S THE POWER? DEVELOPING YOUR THEORY OF CHANGE (15 min)

Your **theory of change** is your hypothesis about how to organize your constituents' resources to affect those who hold the resources/power to solve the problem. *What would it take to get these different actors to take actions that further your strategic goal? At what point will they actually feel your constituents' power?*

Think back to your goal, above: *Who holds the resources and decision-making power needed to achieve that goal?*

Fill in the corresponding table below:

POWER WITH 	POWER OVER  <i>If your people need access to the resources held by others to achieve the goal, complete the following:</i>
<i>What resources do our people hold that they can use to achieve their goal? (make a creative and specific list)</i>	<i>What resources do our people need to access to achieve the goal? (make a specific list)</i>
	<i>Which actors hold those resources?</i>
<i>Why haven't our people used these resources to achieve their goal?</i>	<i>What resources do our people hold that these actors need?</i>
<i>How can our people use their resources in new ways that can achieve their goal?</i>	<i>How can our people leverage what they have to get what they want from these other actors?</i>

Write your theory of change:

If my people use their resources to do...

Then the result will be...

Because...

5. DECIDE ON YOUR STRATEGIC GOAL (10 min)

Review criteria for a good strategic goal (2 min)

- Focuses effort
- Motivates participation
- Leverages resources
- Builds capacity
- Can be emulated

Decide on a Strategic Goal (8 min)

What concrete outcome will you aim to achieve that will help your constituents get what they want? First openly brainstorm and build upon each idea, then use your criteria above to evaluate them, and make a decision.

What is the goal of your campaign?

6. REVIEW YOUR WORK, SUMMARIZE, VISUALIZE (10 min.)

1. Review your team's work so far in this section and discuss these questions:
 - a. Are we clear on our constituency?
 - b. Do we want to specify our goal more concretely?
 - c. Are we clear about our theory of change?

On two pieces of flipchart paper, write out the following:

2. Write out your **organizing sentence**.

ORGANIZING SENTENCE: *We are organizing (who)_____to pursue (what purpose)*
_____by (how: theory of change)_____to achieve (what strategic
goal)_____by (what date)_____. *We will do this by using these*
tactics_____to achieve_____outcome by_____.

**Bus boycott example:* We are organizing African-Americans in Montgomery to achieve racial justice (or end institutionalized racism) by building the power we need to compel the bus company and city

council to desegregate the busses for as long as it takes. We will do this by filing a law suit, mobilizing a boycott, organizing a carpool, building outside support for launching our effort by _____.

3. **Draw a picture** of your strategic goal. What would the world look like if you achieve it?

Choose one person from your group to present in one minute the picture of your strategic goal and your organizing sentence to the large group during debrief.

■ ■ ■

STRATEGY I PEER-TO-PEER DEBRIEF AGENDA (30 minutes)

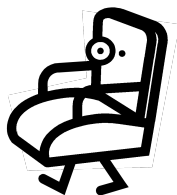
Teams of 3 will have 10 min. per group.

1. Gather with one other team. Each team should choose a timekeeper and scribe. (1 min)
2. **Team 1:** Presenters share picture of strategic goal and organizing sentence. (2 min)
3. **Team 2:** (7 min)
 - a. **Clarifying Questions:** Ask clarifying questions to better understand campaign. (2 min)
 - b. **Coaching Questions:** Provide feedback in the form of **questions ONLY**. Team 1 should **listen SILENTLY** and note down the questions. Be sure to affirm what's working as well as lift up what can be improved. (5 min)
4. **Team 1:** can now respond to the questions. (5 min)

SWITCH

5. **Team 2:** Presenters share picture of strategic goal and organizing sentence. (2 min)
6. **Team 1:** (7 min)
 - a. **Clarifying Questions:** Ask clarifying questions to better understand campaign. (2 min)
 - b. **Coaching Questions:** Provide feedback in the form of **questions ONLY**. Team 2 should **listen SILENTLY** and note down the questions. Be sure to affirm what's working as well as lift up what can be improved. (5 min)
7. **Team 2:** can now respond to the questions. (5 min)

End of peer-to-peer debrief. Please take a 10-minute break and meet back in the plenary.



TEAM BREAKOUT SESSION: STRATEGY II

Goals

- To decide on the tactics that can help you achieve your strategic goal.
- To put those tactics on a campaign timeline culminating in a peak.

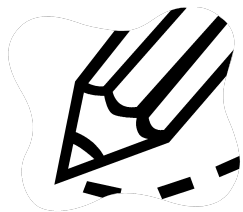
AGENDA

TOTAL TIME: 45 minutes

As a team, you will brainstorm tactics that will help you achieve your strategic goal, sequence your tactics into peaks on a campaign timeline, and visualize your kickoff tactic.

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1. Gather in your team. Nominate a timekeeper and scribe. Review agenda and clarify concepts. | 2 min. |
| 2. Review your theory of change and strategic goal . Incorporate any feedback from Strategy I. | 5 min. |
| 3. What tactics can help you achieve the goal? On what timeline ? Use the following worksheet to help you strategize. | 20 min |
| 4. Brainstorm and visualize your kickoff tactics using the worksheet. | 15 min. |
| 5. Choose someone from your group to present your campaign timeline and the visualization of your strategic goal and kickoff tactic to the larger group. Rejoin the larger group. | 3 min. |

**** NOTE:** We will be doing a “gallery walk.” Please post the pictures of your timeline, goal and kickoff tactic on the wall in the plenary space so that we can all walk around and look at each one.



WORKSHEET:

DEVELOPING STRATEGY II: TACTICS AND TIMELINE

1. TACTICS & CAMPAIGN TIMELINE (Total: 20 min)

Step 1: Brainstorm Tactics (10 min)

As a team, brainstorm as many tactics as you can in 10 minutes on flipchart paper. Your tactics should be based on your **theory of change**. How will you organize your constituency's resources to create the change they want? Good tactics are based in the culture and experience of your people and reflect your values.

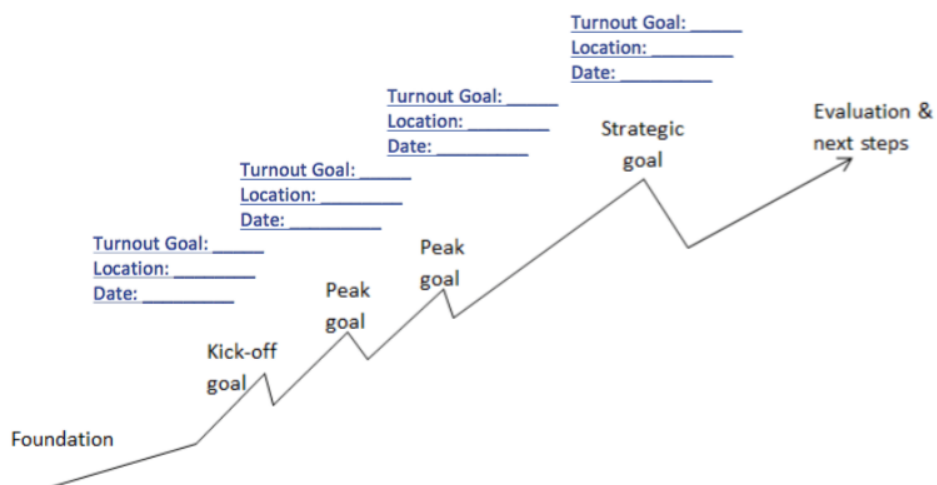
Then decide on the top three, using the following criteria: do they make good use of your resources? Do they build capacity? Do they help you to achieve your goal?

Step 2: Sequence Tactics into Peaks (10 min)

Strategize Backwards. How will you organize your tactics over time to achieve your strategic goal?

For each tactic, determine a peak goal—what would it look like to achieve it? A peak is typically an event or action with your constituency that shows all the capacity that's been generated since the last peak. **Starting at your strategic goal, work backwards** to sequence your peaks on a campaign timeline (see example below).

Ensure that each peak builds on what came before so that you are gaining power and capacity over time, culminating in your strategic goal. What outcome do you want from each peak (for example, how many new people sign up or how many people participate in a march)?



2. KICK-OFF TACTIC (Total: 15 min)

Step 1: Brainstorm Kickoff Tactics (5 min)

Strategize Forward. Now focus on your first peak: your **campaign kickoff**. What measurable outcome will you try to achieve with this first kickoff? How will the kickoff be motivational for your constituency? How will it reveal to your community its own resources, courage and solidarity?

Brainstorm as many tactics for your kickoff as you can in 10 minutes on a flipchart paper. Try to use “Yes, And!” strategizing, rather than “No, But!” Build on each other’s ideas. Then **use your decision-making process** (from yesterday’s team name exercise) to decide which tactic you will organize as a team.

Step 2: Visualize (10 min)

A. As a team, draw a picture of your kick-off tactic. What will it look like? When will it take place? Where? Who will be involved? How many? What will they be doing? What will they be wearing? What will you be doing? When?

Our Kickoff Tactic Visualization:

B. Make a list of the things that need to get done between now and then in order to effectively organize your kick-off tactic:

-
-
-
-
-

Ella Baker's Legacy: A Different Model of Leadership

As a community organizer, Ella Baker brought a different style of leadership to the civil rights movement—one that contrasted with the traditional model that celebrated a few charismatic individuals. Baker believed in deemphasizing top organizational figureheads and instead cultivating the abilities of everyday people to collectively join together and take action. She upheld the idea that organizations should be run by those most impacted by the problems the organization is trying to solve.

In a June 12, 2015 article in Colorlines, Barbara Ransby discussed Baker's approach to leadership:

Although she objected to the top-down, predominately male leadership structures that were typical of groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) and the NAACP in the 1950s and '60s, she realized the necessity for grounded, community-based leader-organizers such as sharecropper Fannie Lou Hamer and Cleveland, Mississippi-based local organizer Amzie Moore. Baker was not against leadership. She was opposed to hierarchical leadership that disempowered the masses and further privileged the already privileged.

When Oprah Winfrey complained that recent protests against police violence lack leadership, she was describing [Martin Luther King's] style of leading, or at least the way in which the King legacy has been most widely branded: the reverend as the strong, all-knowing, slightly imperfect but still not-like-us type of leader.

Baker represented a different leadership tradition altogether. She combined the generic concept of leadership—“a process of social influence in which a person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task”—and a confidence in the wisdom of ordinary people to define their problems and imagine solutions. Baker helped everyday people channel and congeal their collective power to resist oppression and fight for sustainable, transformative change....

That collective effort required leaders who were accountable to one another and were not singular. There were many organizers in groups such as SNCC who modeled Baker's brand of what sociologist Charles Payne has called “group-centered leadership.”

Rather than someone with a fancy title standing at a podium speaking for or to the people, group-centered leaders are at the center of many concentric circles. They strengthen the group, forge consensus and negotiate a way forward. That kind of leadership is impactful, democratic, and, I would argue, more radical and sustainable, than the alternatives.

<https://www.colorlines.com/articles/ella-taught-me-shattering-myth-leaderless-movement>

Another way in which Baker's leadership style contrasted with the norm within many civil rights organizations was her emphasis on valuing the contributions of women. Baker was opinionated and outspoken, even when social norms held that women should be quiet and deferential. At both the SCLC

and NAACP, she protested the fact that formal power rested in the hands of men, who almost exclusively were given top offices, while women were relegated to support roles.

Congressperson John Lewis, himself a prominent civil rights activist, wrote in his memoir *Walking with the Wind*: “Long before people began using the term ‘male chauvinism,’ Ella Baker was describing it and denouncing it in the civil rights movement, and she was right. There were very, very few women getting credit for their work, and even fewer emerged into leadership positions.”

In a January 16, 2017 article for *Time* magazine, journalist Julie Scelfo notes that the prevalence of sexism, even within the movement, may be one reason that Baker is less well-known today than she might be otherwise:

Despite her level of experience and proven track record, [Martin Luther King, Jr.] had difficulty allowing a woman’s decisions to trump his own, and her idea was that the organization should devote its resources more to promoting and enabling its overall mission rather than celebrating a charismatic leader. Wyatt Tee Walker, an early SCLC board member, told the filmmaker Joanne Grant that the ministers’ refusal to follow Baker’s advice was in practice with the era’s norms. “This was before the days of women’s liberation,” he says in the 1981 film [Fundi: The Story of Ella Baker....](#)

Despite Baker’s gifts for leadership and oratory, the SCLC pastors, intent on preserving their patriarchal hierarchy, refused to allow her to share in their prestige.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Scelfo goes on to discuss another reason why Ella Baker may be less well-known and widely celebrated today than some other civil rights activists:

Baker spent years of her life performing the essential—but far from glamorous—act of listening, a crucial first step in helping beleaguered Blacks develop enough self-worth to demand being treated with dignity in an environment where they had every reason to fear brutality and economic reprisal from their white neighbors. She also understood group dynamics and how to empower people to join forces, a delicate task that involves responding to a wide array of human feelings.

A narrative about this kind of work is inherently less dramatic and far more complicated than, say, the tale of a discreet act of bravery on a bus. But great leaders have recognized for centuries that high emotional intelligence, or the ability to recognize and respond to other people’s feelings, is central to successfully influencing them.

<https://time.com/4633460/mlk-day-ella-baker/>

Baker possessed this type of intelligence and infused it into her approach to organizing. In doing so, she paved the way for many young people and women to grow in their own leadership.

Today, her legacy can be seen in organizations like Black Lives Matter, which promote a “leaderful” and feminist style of organizing. Because of this, Baker not only helped change the world, she changed how people went about changing the world.

Club to Fighting Union

	Unorganized	Club	Union	Fighting Union
Budgeting	Little or no local funding	Funding used to recognize activists or participants -- 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
Bargaining or Policy Setting	None or done by a single expert (UD, President)	Small group of the usual folks on the bargaining/policy team that the president likes	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 and Roles	Volunteers if any A few officers, risk of vacancy	Tends to be the same small group of folks that populate other teams. Little to no risks are taken. Proliferation of titles and stipends to Presidential allies	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. 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	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; they actively seek other trusted and respected leaders. Leaders use their agency to take risks that result in growth. Titles rotate regularly, or are even dropped when no longer needed
Advocacy	None, or done by staff and/or local president Used as one of the few reasons 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.
Programs or Activities	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.
Organizing	None beyond basics of affiliation.	Focus is on membership recruitment and retention via programs.	Mobilizing and activism as episodic events. Typically led by staff or leaders. Typically engages the already involved. Work is primarily internal – homogenous participation and single issue focus.	Systemic and rigorous member to leader contact structures that evolve with the cause. There is a culture for ongoing strategic communications. Nearly every worker is in relationship with the union and understand the union affords them a place to exercise their agency. Alliances outside of the union and can run multiple issue campaigns at once.

Step 2. Planning for Movement through Levels of Organizing

What are the types of activities that you would need to put in place to move an organization from Survival Organizing to Advanced Organizing. Keep in mind, 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)					

Levels (Staff Focus)	Membership	Structure Development	Identification and Protection of Rights	Agenda Setting	Visibility and Credibility
Basic Organizing (Member - Staff Partners w /Staff Growth - Coaching)					
Beginning Organizing (Staff lead with a focus on growth and engagement)					

Survival Organizing (Staff-led with a Focus on Growth)					
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Reflecting on Levels of Organizing

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 Page76
Basic Organizing (Member - Staff Partners focus on leader Growth and 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.

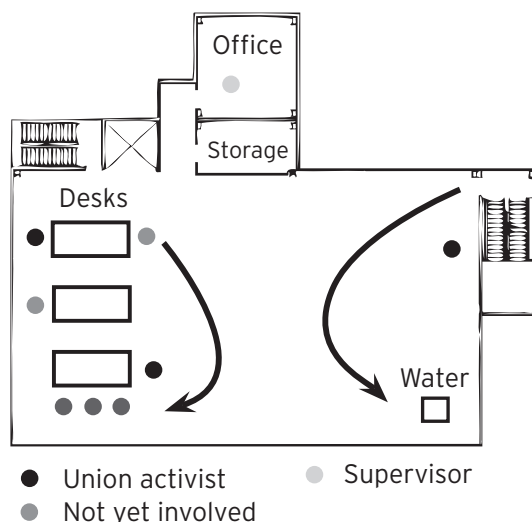
Survival Organizing (Staff-led with a Focus on Growth)	Signing up members, maintaining lists, ensuring dues collection, providing information about the benefits of belonging. One on Ones focused on recruiting and education of union member value. Staff are engaging members in very transactional or social 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 engaged. Page 77 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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EXERCISE: MAP YOUR WORKPLACE

You will need:

- Butcher paper
- Color markers
- Sticky dots



Start with the physical space. First, use a flipchart or large sheet of paper and a black marker to outline the area or building, showing entrances, exits, and windows. Label the offices, production lines, storage areas, shipping and receiving docks, lunchrooms, and bathrooms.

Add details such as machines, desks, and water coolers. If the building is large, make maps of different areas. Be sure the map is large enough to show the information clearly.

Add motion. Draw the flow of work or production, and/or the paths that different people take through the space regularly, in different colors.

Are there spots where the flow of work tends to get bottlenecked? These could be important pressure points. Who works there?

Are there places where people congregate, like the break room or the proverbial water cooler? These could be good places for outreach conversations, or group gatherings.

Add all the people. Sticky dots work well to represent workers. You might use different colors to indicate supervisors, union activists, various jobs, or shifts. Mark the dots with initials or names.

CAN YOU GET A LIST?

It's best to work from a list of all employees in your workplace or department (whatever you're mapping). Otherwise it's surprisingly easy to forget people, especially those you don't work closely with, part-timers, or those with unique jobs.

Maybe you can get this list from your union office, especially if you're a steward. If not, is there a list at work you can discreetly copy or take a picture of? The boss may distribute an emergency phone list, or post a schedule. Be resourceful.





EXERCISE: MAP YOUR WORKPLACE PART 2

Mark the groups. Identify the people who form each work group and each social group, using a different color or symbol for each group.

Who works together?

Who are all the smokers?

Who carools together?

Who are the Spanish-speakers?

As you identify groups, discuss them.

How does this group relate to management?

What are the biggest problems affecting this group?

Keep your observations respectful and factual, not gossipy. The idea is to find insights that will help you organize with these co-workers, not repeat stereotypes or gripes about them.

Mark the leaders. Indicate each group's leader with an appropriate color.

Who's the main leader in this group?

Are there other leaders in this group?

Map out union support. Who's part of your organizing team so far? If there's not a formal group, choose some criteria.

Who gathered signatures on the latest petition?

Who's helping to make this map?

Also mark the wider circle of union supporters.

Who signed the last petition?

Who is a dues-paying member?





EXERCISE: MAP YOUR WORKPLACE PART 3

Discuss your map. You now have a great deal of information about interactions in your workplace. This is a good place to stop and ask yourselves:

What do you see?

Even when people know their workplace well, the map will help them see it with new eyes. Ask open-ended questions.

What's going on here?

Do we see any patterns?

How does news travel?

What new questions does this map raise?

The stories that come out will be about issues that are bothering people. Keep adding to the map, marking which workers are being harassed by management, for instance, and which are facing layoffs. If the map gets too crowded, start tracking the information another way.

Use your map to identify areas and leaders to focus on. Making workplace dynamics visible puts valuable information on the table.

See this group over here, the one we've never had contact with? Who can talk to someone in that group?

The next time you go to work, look around and compare the reality to your map.

Did we overlook anyone?





TEN QUESTIONS TO ASK WHEN MAPPING YOUR WORKPLACE

1. **Grapevines.** What paths do people travel? Who can walk freely through the whole workplace? How does news travel?
2. **Bottlenecks.** Are there spots where the flow of work gets bottlenecked? These could be important pressure points. Who works there?
3. **Work groups.** What work groups can we identify on this map? Consider the factors that determine who works together in your workplace, such as job, work area, and shift.
4. **Relationships.** Which work groups have contact with each other through their jobs? Which groups are hard to reach?
5. **Social groups.** What social groups can we identify on this map? For instance, who carpools together? Who speaks the same language? Who socializes at lunch or outside work? Who's related? Who are all the smokers?
6. **Group concerns.** For each work or social group, how does this group relate to management? What are the biggest problems affecting this group?
7. **Water coolers.** Where do people congregate? These could be good places for outreach conversations, or group gatherings.
8. **Broom closets.** Where can you talk out of sight of the boss?
9. **Hangouts.** Where do people go after work?
10. **As time goes by.** What on this map changes at different times of day, and at night if your workplace has a night shift? How about on the weekends? Different seasons of the year?



Building Relationships through One on One Conversations

- LAVA: Listen, Agitate, Vision, Ask
- [AHUY](#): Anger, Hope, Urgency, You
- [AAR](#): Affirm, Answer, Redirect

LAVA

LISTEN:

- Introduction
- Ask Questions! Get to their Issue
 - Listening is one of the most important parts of any organizing conversation. Listening is how you find out their issues and identify what's going to motivate the person to get involved.
 - In the best organizing conversations, you do 25% of the talking and 75%
 - Ask them concrete questions about their experience at the school
 - Ask follow-up questions to identify their issues and agitate them. Feel free to share a bit about your own experiences. Remember, developing a relationship is about developing trust.
- Find out what they care about, what their issues are.
- Some techniques of a strong listener are:
 - Paraphrasing
 - Summarizing
 - Acknowledging
 - Encouraging
 - Supporting
 - Delegating
 - Follow-up Questions
 - Listen for feelings
 - Open body language

AGITATE:

- Make them see that they aren't alone - and people are coming together so the decisionmaker will listen.

- Keep the conversation flowing.
- Make links between the organizing vision and their own personal or community experience.
- Use your personality; people get involved because they like you
Be genuine. Don't argue.

VISION:

- Offer a vision of what we can achieve when we come together.
- Share a vision of the plan and lift up core strategies to achieve change.
- [Work with leaders to develop key messages about the campaign's vision]

ASK:

- Make a Clear Ask: Communicate exactly what you would like them to do
- Don't apologize: Asking people to do things may go against some of our instincts.
Sometimes we try and cover it up by using apologetic language
- Use firm language: Avoid saying "try"

AHUY: DEVELOPING A RAP

The acronym "AHUY" is a helpful shorthand for what it takes to move someone to act: Anger, Hope, Urgency, and You.

1. **Opening:** Introduce yourself and ask a question to get the other person talking about a workplace issue. How will you strike up the conversation?
2. **Anger:** "There is an injustice. We have to fix this." Tap into righteous anger at the injustice and create determination to do something about it. What questions will you ask to learn how the issue affects this person?
3. **Hope:** "Change is possible. We can fix this. Here's our plan." Inspire hope by conveying a clear, credible, worthwhile plan and sharing why you feel hopeful. What are the steps we need to take together?
4. **Urgency:** "Now is the time. We can't wait any longer." What will happen if you don't act?

5. **You:** “You can make a difference. Your participation matters.” Why is this person’s support critical? What concrete action are you asking them to take?

AAR

Affirm. Agree that their concern is valid you may not understand why this is a concern for them but it’s important to affirm/ respect that, for them, this is real.

Answer. Explain how organizing together can help with such concerns. This is where your knowledge as an organizer can be very powerful.

Redirect. Refer back to their issues and challenge them to organize with others to make changes. Like we discussed earlier, when we’re dealing with strong emotion like fear, we need to draw out emotions just as strong to combat it. Remind the person why organizing makes sense based on what they told you their issues were. Inspire enough anger and/ or hope to move past their tough questions/reservations.



EXERCISE: IDENTIFYING LEADERS

Background:

You are a union steward at the hotel where you work and are trying to restart a workplace committee. The committee used to have 10 members, but hasn't been meeting for a while.

You work in the banquet department and don't know many people in housekeeping. You would like to recruit some leaders from the housekeeping department to the committee.

Instructions:

Read the profiles of the contacts you make and the information they share with you. You have 10 minutes to determine who you think you want to recruit as a leader. Develop consensus in your group about who are the best prospects to recruit. Rate the three best prospects (1 = the best).

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Who is the worst possible choice to build the union? _____

Organizing is about making choices!

Contact 1 Brenda Hammond

Time at hotel: 9 years

Issues: She slipped on the floor and hurt her back, but the company cheated on her workers' comp claim.

I don't know who people look up to. It's not me. Nobody cares how I feel. I just organize the showers and birthday parties.

Sure, I have a list of everyone's numbers. I don't mind sharing it with you.

I'm just waiting for a better job to come along, then I'm leaving. I can't afford to make it look like I'm making trouble.

You should talk to Francis Powers. She's a real leader, although she has some screwy ideas.

Sally Rivera is a real fighter, but sometimes she just fights for herself. Sally is one of the younger workers. She likes to party a lot. I really respect Paula Harris.



Contact 2 Sally Rivera

Time at hotel: 4 years

Issues: The pace is too fast in housekeeping and workers have no voice.

I told my boss I'm exhausted at the end of the day and she just shrugged her shoulders. I'll tell you one thing, I'm fed up. I'm not afraid to speak up and I won't back down.

We need power and we need respect. It's about time someone listened to us. I've been talking to some of my co-workers and they agree.

I mainly talk to the younger workers. What are their names? Let me get back to you. I want to check with them first and see if it's OK.

You should talk to Evie Winters. She has been around for a long time. I can tell her to meet you at Starbucks after work.

Be careful of Brenda Hammond. People like her and she is a good worker, but I think management has plans for her.



Contact 3 Eve Winters

Time at hotel: 12 years

Issues: The workload is too high.

They promised me a supervisor's job. I'm not getting involved until I know if I am going to get my promotion.

I'm not saying anything or doing anything until then. If it goes to one of their pets, I'll be mad as hell.

Brenda Hammond is a great worker, but a little shy. Powers is a great gal. A little nutty, but people follow her.

The younger women seem to stick together. They party a lot and Sally Rivera is their ringleader.

Everyone respects Paula Harris. She was employee of the year last year. You should see Helen Rockwell. She speaks her mind.



Contact 4 Francis Powers

Time at hotel: 8 years

Issues: Pace of work

We're just victims here. The managers only care about getting the most work done with the fewest amount of workers.

Some of these younger folks don't care either. They only care about having fun. Half the time I don't even know what they are talking about. Cindy Thomas is the one young person I do like. She is a real firecracker.

I really don't like Paula Harris, but I do respect her. Rockwell is a loudmouth just like Mary Smith.

Don't bother talking to any of the young workers. They don't take anything seriously.

Brenda Hammond and Evie Winters would be good leaders. Brenda got the shaft when she slipped and hurt her back. They made her come to work all doped up on pain medication!



Contact 5 Cindy Thomas

Time at hotel: 3 months

Issues: Disrespect from managers.

We need to shake things up. We need a work stoppage or some sort of action. I don't care what my manager thinks. We need to teach them a lesson.

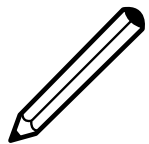
Just give me the word and I'll talk to folks about walking out. I don't care if they fire me. I was looking for a job when I found this one.

Who would I talk to? Well, I don't really know their names, I just know their faces. I don't talk to them much. They are all a bunch of robots.

But there is one woman named Brenda. She was real nice to me when I first started. She made me feel at home.

Other names of co-workers who want to take action? You don't need names. You just need to call an action. I'll be there and so will everyone else.





EXERCISE: WHY WE NEED LEADERS TO ORGANIZE

Imagine a scenario where there is an urgent need to fight. For instance, suppose a well-loved leader in your workplace has been fired, and you're organizing a sticker day to demand she be rehired. You have just 24 hours to get the word out to everybody and get the sticker into everyone's hands.

Use the following questions to make a plan for your sticker day:

- **Total number of people** you want wearing the sticker: ____.
- **How many departments or areas are there in your workplace?** Can you cover them all? Who moves around the worksite and can reach other departments?
- **How many shifts** are there? Who can get stickers to workers on each shift?
- **Where's the best place** to reach people before they start work? Where are all the entrances workers use?
- Are there groups of workers who **don't speak your language?** Who can reach them?
- Can you get a sticker onto **everyone** by yourself, or with your current group of stewards?

If not, that's why we need to map and chart our workplace, then recruit enough leaders to reach every worker!



Leader-Powered Organizing Exercise: Leaders organizing a base and new leaders.

Key elements of member-powered organizing:

Leadership

- ☐ Shared Narrative and Message
- ☐ Clear, Shared Purpose, Values + Vision
- ☐ Strong, Skilled and Committed Leadership
- ☐ Relationship-Centered Organizing

Base Building

- ☐ Pathway of Deeper Engagement + Empowering Action
- ☐ Community Building to Scale
- ☐ Consistent Organizing Communication
- ☐ Data Management and Systems

1 - Leader: A leader is a member that actively organizes to grow the membership and drive campaigns. They cover a base of members, take a leadership role in planning and facilitating actions, committee meetings, trainings and campaign events.

2 - Activist/Active Members : A member who consistently participates in actions, committees, events and trainings online and in person in a non-leadership capacity. They believe in what we do and assist in helping us be successful at expanding our reach. An activist is invested in the success of our organization, helps get our message out to others, participates in events but does not yet lead.

3 - General Member : A member believes in the mission and goals of our organization and understands the importance of our organizing efforts. These individuals do not always consistently attend meetings or events but stay connected to the organization.

4 - Contact: People who have a phone, email or address in your database.

.....

Supporter : People who support your cause. You might not have their contact base.

Constituent: People who you want to organize into your base.

Public: The broader audience of people who you want to support your cause.

PART I: Leadership Development

1. Demands, Public Narrative, Shared Purpose + Vision	What are your campaign's demands? What is your public narrative that drives the campaign? What is the shared purpose and vision that drives the organizing? What is your organizing message that shows that people need to play a vital role in change?
2. Values, Bridging, Bonding	What are the values that ground and guide your organizing? How will you navigate differences in cultural and political values? How is racial justice centered in your approach?
3. Strong Leadership	Who should the leaders be within this scenario? What is the role of leaders in the campaign? How will you identify leaders for this campaign? What are the qualities needed in leadership?
4. Organizing Committee	What is the role of the organizing committee in this campaign? What is the criteria to join the leadership team/ committee? What are the responsibilities of the committee? How do they work together? What level of engagement and commitment will be needed for a successful organizing committee? What is the role of the paid organizer? What is not their role?

5. Skilled,
Committed
Leadership

What skills or leadership development is needed to develop leaders in the committee and campaign?

How will you build strong committed leadership? What approach to political education and training on racial justice will you incorporate?

How will you cultivate shared, deeply felt values?

[Part II: Base Building](#)

Assessing Your Coalition:

A Reflection Guide

to Support

Effective, Resilient

Coalitions

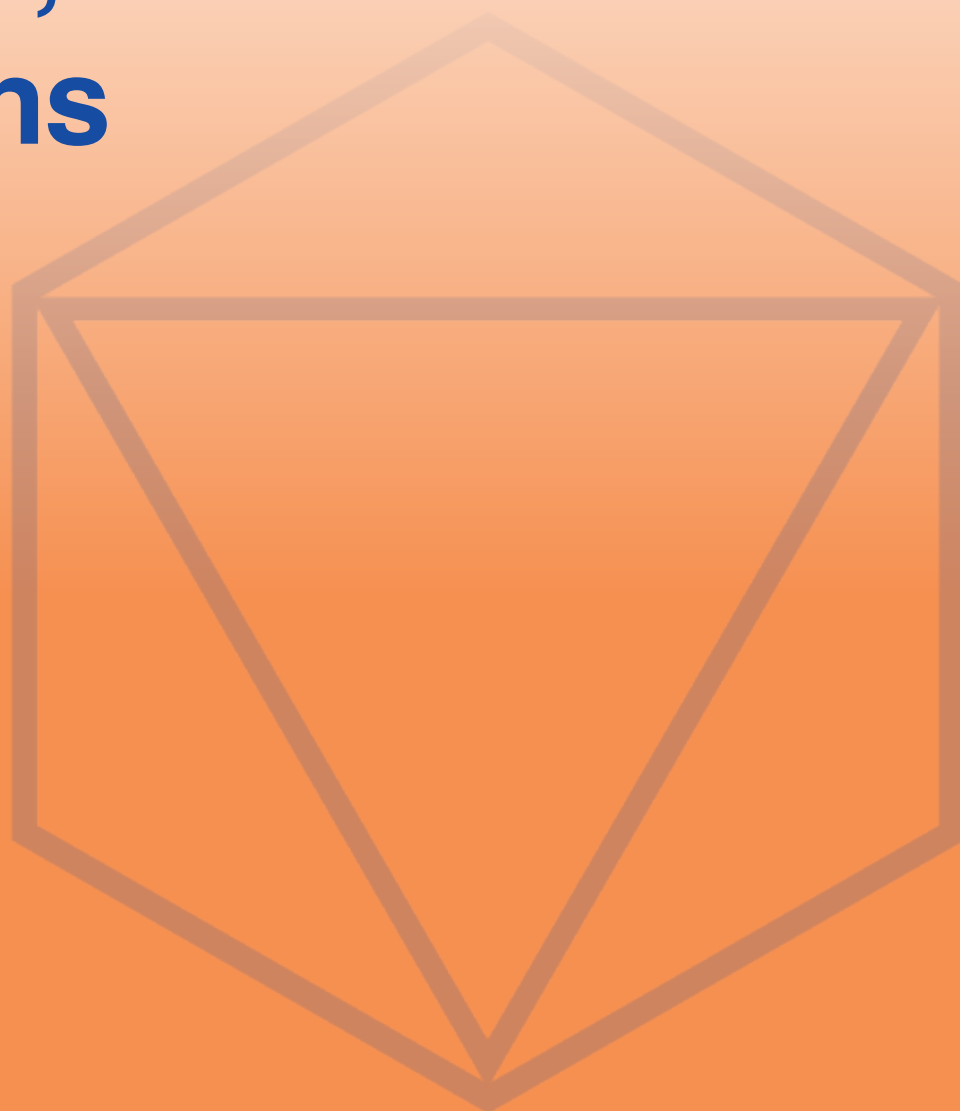


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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

This guide is intended for practitioners, funders, and others who are involved in an existing coalition and are interested in increasing their coalition's resiliency and impact. By now, you may have encountered some of the many challenges to successful coalition work, whether it's aligning behind a shared goal or maintaining relationships during tense and tiring campaigns. You may also have experienced the power of a coalition and the necessity of building alliances to win durable change for your community. But what are the common factors of successful coalitions that you can adopt, and what should you avoid?

This guide provides you with a set of best practices and questions to ask yourself to assess your coalition's strengths and challenges. We define coalitions broadly, as any group of organizations or stakeholders working together to achieve a set of goals. This guide prompts you to strengthen your coalition by thinking deeply about **key aspects of your coalition's structure – what we call *coalition architecture***.

What is Coalition Architecture?

Coalition architecture shapes how (and whether) coalitions balance power, make decisions, share information, distribute tasks, and build relationships. It's the structures, practices, and processes that help your coalition run.

Although there is no fool-proof formula for building an effective coalition, research and our own organizing experience tell us that choices leaders and members make about their coalition architecture determine whether they are able to generate the intangible resources (such as buy-in, commitment, trust, and a sense of agency among members) that make coalitions succeed (Figure 1).

Who This guide was created by the P3 Lab at Johns Hopkins University. We are a team of researchers and organizers seeking to understand how we can make political participation across race and class possible, probable, and powerful.

We This guide is a companion piece to our report, *Designing Effective Coalitions*, which summarizes existing research on what makes coalitions successful.

Are The report pulls from research on a wide range of coalition types, including political, community-based, manufacturing, and inter-governmental coalitions, and from a variety of academic fields, including political science, sociology, business management, community health, and more. Its goal is to support funders and practitioners in building effective coalitions. This guide is intended to serve as a stand-alone tool, but readers interested in diving into the research that supports it or who want to learn more about their growth areas are encouraged to check out the report at www.p3researchlab.org.

There are many decisions that go into shaping coalition architecture, but we'll look at three key building blocks: clear roles and relationships that build trust, transparent processes for sharing power through democratic governance, and feedback loops to facilitate real-time learning and flexibility. These foundational structures, when designed well, give coalition members an authentic voice, balance power within the coalition, create transparency and accountability, grow the coalition's ability to learn and adapt, and provide needed clarity around roles and responsibilities.

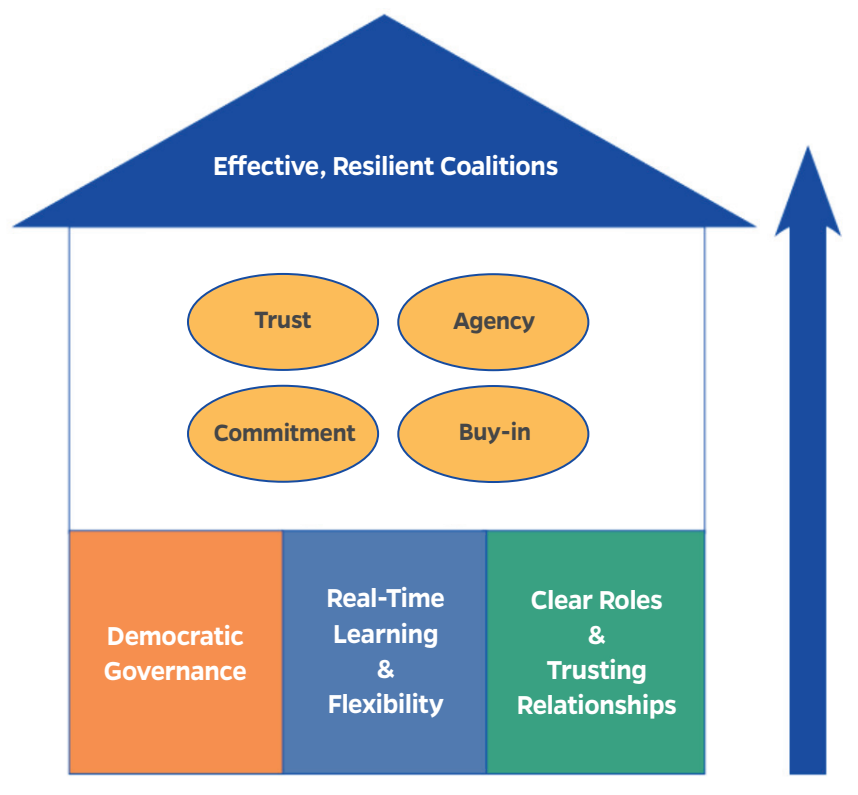


FIGURE 1.
Coalition architecture:
the building blocks of
an effective, resilient
coalition

How to Use This Guide

This guide is broken into three sections that explore a building block of effective coalition architecture:

- Clear roles and relationships that build trust
- Transparent processes for sharing power through democratic governance
- Feedback Loops to facilitate real-time learning and flexibility

In each section, we describe the building block, explain its importance, and offer a set of questions to help you reflect on that aspect of your coalition's structure. The goal is that by responding to these questions, you can assess your current coalition architecture and design stronger, more intentional practices.

Once you've answered these questions, use the scoring sheet in the "Understanding Your Responses" section at the end of this guide to better understand your coalition's strengths and weaknesses. We close by helping you to identify one to three key areas for improvement and develop next steps to strengthen your coalition's architecture. If at any point you want to dive deeper on a specific area of coalition design, check out the corresponding section of the *Designing Effective Coalitions* report at www.p3researchlab.org.

Once your coalition becomes more established, you can use P3's guide for existing coalitions ("Assessing Your Coalition: A Reflection Guide to Support Effective, Resilient Coalitions") to continue to build out your coalition architecture. We encourage you to see solid coalition architecture as an ongoing process rather than a one-time activity. As your coalition grows, use that guide to track your coalition's progress over time and reevaluate areas for growth.

Finally, we want to be clear that the goal of this guide is to figure out the most effective coalition design for your unique context! Many coalitions succeed without putting into place all the processes and practices described here. Some areas are more important for one coalition than for another. So, rather than a rigid checklist, this guide provides prompts to help you think deeply about your new coalition's architecture and to push you toward practices that can build buy-in, commitment, trust, and agency among your coalition's members.

If you have feedback on how to improve this guide or would like to discuss how to use it with your coalition, please contact Jane Booth-Tobin at jboothtobin@jhu.edu.

Using This Guide

This guide can be used for individual reflection and/or collective assessment with your fellow coalition members. For example:

1. You can read through the guide and answer the assessment questions yourself to identify areas of your coalition that need greater thought or attention.
2. You can ask other stakeholders within your coalition to answer the assessment questions as well, and then discuss your responses together.
3. To assess whether different types of stakeholders view or experience the coalition differently, you can compare the scores of different types of stakeholders. For example, are funders more likely than organizations to think that power is distributed equitably within the coalition? What about well-funded or national coalition members vs. less-funded or local coalition members?
4. You can return to it. Developing solid coalition architecture is an ongoing process rather than a one-time activity. We encourage you to return periodically and re-grade your coalition. This will enable you to track the coalition's progress over time or reevaluate areas for growth.
5. Anything else you can think of. The guide is meant to be a flexible tool that you can use in whichever way will best serve your coalition.

Finally, we want to be clear that the goal of this guide is to identify areas of growth and to figure out the most effective coalition design for your unique context – not to receive a perfect score! It will be most useful if you and your coalition members are deeply honest with yourselves about your coalition's architecture. Many coalitions succeed without putting into place all the processes and practices described here. Some areas are more important for one coalition than for another. So, rather than a rigid checklist, this guide provides prompts to help you think deeply about your coalition's architecture and to push you toward practices that can build buy-in, commitment, trust, and agency among your coalition's members.

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REFLECTION GUIDE

Section 1: Clear Roles and Trusting Relationships

Coalitions are built around the people and organizations who are a part of them. They should begin with clear, intentional choices about who is part of the coalition.

Coalition members should have clarity around their and others' roles within the coalition (including clarity around who is and is not part of the coalition), an understanding of how they will relate to one another, and opportunities to build meaningful, trusting relationships.

Clear roles and trusting relationships are not just nice-to-haves – they are essential for creating well-functioning, resilient coalitions. Clarity around roles, as well as relationships based in trust, increase cooperation and efficiency while reducing shirking of responsibilities.

Importantly, trusting relationships don't grow out of nowhere. You need to develop practices and structures that facilitate trusting relationships. Below are some evidence-based ways to build trusting relationships within your coalition (Figure 2).

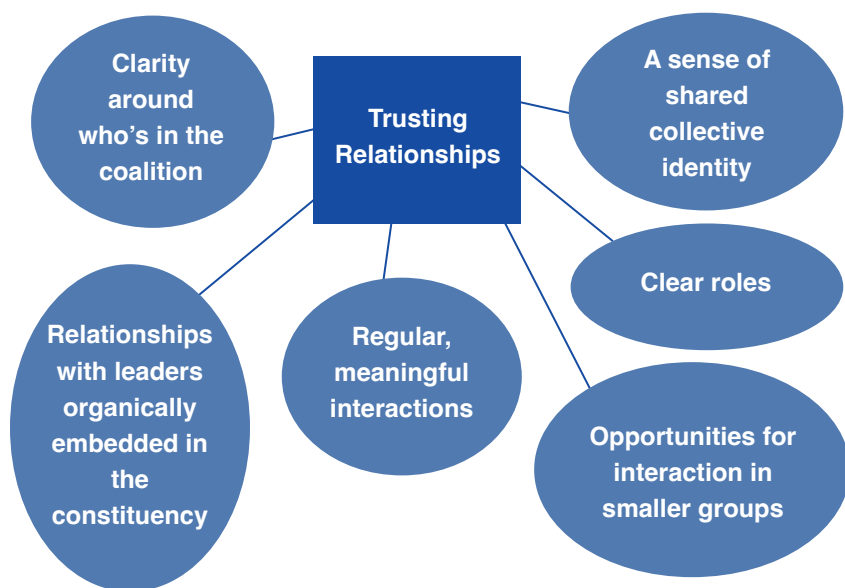


FIGURE 2.
Trusting relationships develop from decisions that coalitions make about structures and practices within the coalition.

Be Clear About Who Is and Is Not in Your Coalition

One of the first decisions that coalitions must make is who to involve in the coalition. Many times, coalition members are unclear about which groups are actually part of their coalition. Groups may float in and out. Sometimes, groups may be unclear whether they themselves are part of the coalition! To create a cohesive coalition, your coalition needs to decide which groups to include.

To help decide, **researchers recommend conducting a stakeholder analysis to identify potential coalition members and their interests.** This involves identifying 1) groups impacted by the problem that the coalition is trying to solve, 2) groups that can provide access to key resources, and 3) groups already involved in advocacy related to

the problem. Then, you need to try your best to identify each group's interests and priorities. A stakeholder analysis provides a landscape of relevant groups and helps you develop a sense of what each group's (potentially conflicting) expectations may be of your coalition's strategy and goals. This can provide needed clarity on the pros and cons of inviting each group into the coalition.

When deciding who to include, coalitions should strive for a wide range of groups. Scholars argue that you should include "a broad enough spectrum of stakeholders to mirror the problem."¹ That breadth is essential for the coalition's legitimacy, specifically its ability to claim that the coalition's demands reflect a broad-based consensus. Researchers argue that even "potentially 'troublesome' stakeholders," including those with the most power and influence, be invited into the coalition. Excluding critical stakeholders can lead to reduced efficacy and coalition failure. At the same time, coalitions should avoid including an overwhelming number of groups, or so many that coalition members can't build close relationships. For more information on who to include, see the "Establish Clarity About Who Is Part of the Coalition" section on page 17 of P3's report at www.p3researchlab.org.

Organically embed your coalition in the constituency

You don't need to start your coalition from scratch. **Instead, build the coalition from the social networks and institutions that already exist within the community.** Embeddedness within a network of relationships—rather than a single relationship, such as one between a volunteer and an organizer—is what builds commitment and group resiliency. This is built-in when you start from preexisting relationships. Also, **draw on organic leaders.** These are the people who are already well-respected within a constituency, and to whom others turn for advice and support. Organic leaders do not necessarily hold official positions and are rarely the people who are the most vocal about a political campaign or issue. They may initially hold neutral views or hesitate to get involved. But if they can be persuaded to support an issue, they can bring many others along.

Have Regular, Meaningful Interactions

Repeated interactions create the shared norms, expectations, and understandings that build trust and help coalitions to run more smoothly. In addition to consistent coalition meetings, your coalition can promote meaningful interaction by including informal opportunities to interact socially, as well as celebrating successes, big and small.

Create Opportunities to Interact in Smaller Groups

Smaller groups, like committees, allow coalition members to engage more regularly and develop personal relationships, deepening trust. They also give coalition members an ability to dive into and feel ownership over their work. Your coalition can encourage interaction in smaller groups by creating mission-oriented teams that focus on a specific part of the coalition's work. For large coalitions, this can be especially helpful to build and maintain bonds. In general, for mission-oriented teams, you'll want five or fewer people.

Create Clear Roles

A lack of clarity around roles is associated with greater tension and anxiety, lack of participation, and higher rates of turnover in organizations. Clarity about roles, on the other hand, supports adaptability, work satisfaction, commitment, and involvement. When coalition members understand both their own roles and the roles of others, they can create shared expectations around what is needed from each member to achieve collective goals.

¹ Gray, Barbara. 1989. *Collaborating: Finding Common Ground for Multi-Party Problems*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, page 86.

Develop a Shared Sense of Collective Identity

Collective identity is the feeling of belonging to a group, or a sense of “we-ness.” Feeling connectedness and belonging in a group improves a coalition’s functioning and ability to withstand external stressors by increasing commitment and participation. For ways to build collective identity, see the “Develop Practices that Build Collective Identity” section on page 21 of P3’s report at www.p3researchlab.org. Recommendations include practices such as defining who your coalition is as a group and identifying your shared vision and goals, discovering what you are not, sharing and comparing past and current experiences, celebrating small wins, sharing emotional responses, and participating in political activity together.

Below are assessment questions to get you thinking about the roles and relationships in your coalition and guide you toward building relationships based in trust.

Assessment Questions

Question #1

Does your coalition include “a broad enough spectrum of stakeholders to mirror the problem,” ranging from financially powerful and influential groups to community based and grassroots ones? If not, what would be the benefits of including a wider range of groups? The downsides? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #2

Did your coalition conduct a stakeholder analysis to decide which groups to include in your coalition? If yes, how did it inform your coalition membership? If not, would it be helpful to conduct one now? What would that process look like? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #3

Are the boundaries around who is and is not part of the coalition clear?

- ☐ 1 – Very unclear
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat unclear
- ☐ 3 – Neither unclear nor clear
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat clear
- ☐ 5 – Very clear

Question #4

Is your coalition organically embedded in the community?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all embedded
- ☐ 2 – Slightly embedded
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat embedded
- ☐ 4 – Embedded
- ☐ 5 – Very embedded

Question #5

How trusting are coalition members of one another?

- ☐ 1 – Very untrusting
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat untrusting
- ☐ 3 – Neither untrusting nor trusting
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat trusting
- ☐ 5 – Very trusting

Question #6

How often does your coalition provide meaningful opportunities to interact?

- ☐ 1 – Never
- ☐ 2 – Rarely
- ☐ 3 – Sometimes
- ☐ 4 – Often
- ☐ 5 – Very often

Question #7

How often does your coalition break larger groups into smaller, mission-focused groups?

- ☐ 1 – Never
- ☐ 2 – Rarely
- ☐ 3 – Sometimes
- ☐ 4 – Often
- ☐ 5 – Very often

Question #8

How clear are members' roles within the coalition?

- ☐ 1 – Very unclear
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat unclear
- ☐ 3 – Neither unclear nor clear
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat clear
- ☐ 5 – Very clear

Question #9

Does your coalition have practices for building a sense of belonging and collective identity, such as celebrating small wins?

- ☐ 1 - Not at all
- ☐ 2 - Slightly
- ☐ 3 - Somewhat
- ☐ 4 – A good bit
- ☐ 5 – Very much

ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS SCORE

Add up your score from questions 3-9: _____

Section 2: Transparent Processes for Sharing Power through Democratic Governance

Coalitions are strongest when they engage in practices of *democratic governance*. What is democratic governance? It's the structures, practices, and processes that coalitions create to distribute power and give coalition members a voice. Democratic governance empowers all key stakeholders to contribute meaningfully to the coalition's direction, strategy, and future. Why is democratic governance important? It results in better decision-making; gives the coalition greater legitimacy; increases coalition members' commitment to the group; and, ultimately, leads to a better-functioning, more resilient coalition.

Democratic governance has four components: practices and processes that balance power, create a system for decision-making, generate transparency and information-sharing, and hold the coalition itself accountable to its commitments around governance (Figure 3). We discuss what these structures look like and how to create them in the following sections.

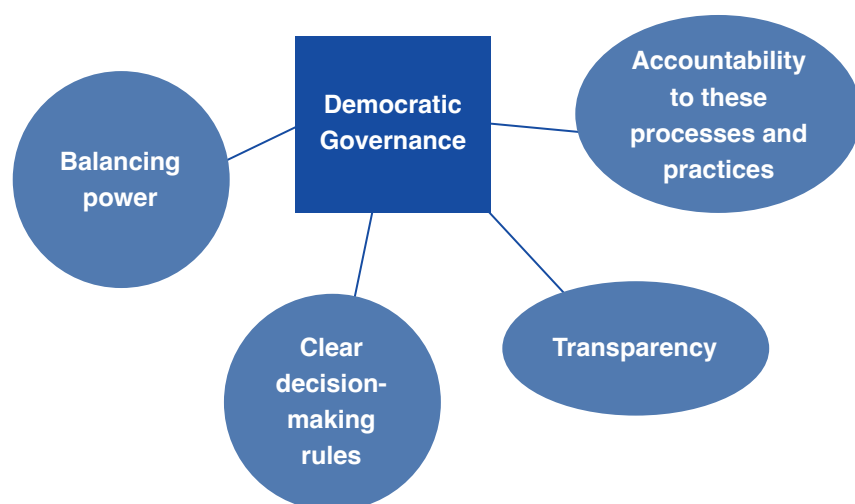


FIGURE 3.

Democratic governance is made up of practices and processes for balancing power, making decisions, generating transparency, and holding the coalition accountable to its governance commitments.

Whether you are focused on processes for balancing power, decision-making, transparency, or accountability, there are four main steps to creating democratic structures:

- *Recognize the value of developing these processes.* It can be time-consuming to create processes for democratic governance. But without these processes, coalition members may feel that their participation in the coalition isn't meaningful and may choose to stop investing their time and energy.
- *Develop these processes collectively.* When coalition members create processes together, they are more likely to buy into and commit to the processes and their outcomes.
- *Make sure that all coalition members are aware of and understand these processes.* They should be clear and easy to use.
- *Use the processes you develop consistently.* This brings clarity and predictability to the coalition's activity.

Below are descriptions of each of these processes. We discuss further why each is important and guide you toward strategies for implementing them successfully.

Distributing Power

Creating practices to distribute power within a coalition is important because, without them, power hierarchies that exist in the world are often recreated within the coalition. This can lead to distrust, tension, and conflict. Often, people and groups with more power entering the coalition end up in leadership positions within the coalition, while those with less power are marginalized. The marginalized tend to be those closest to the problem that the coalition is trying to address. They frequently have direct knowledge of the problem's impacts and effective ideas about solutions. As a result, engaging a full range of stakeholders in decision-making, including those with the least power, leads to both greater trust and better decisions.

Power is relational and dynamic, not static. Different groups bring different resources to the table that may become essential to the coalition at different times and in different ways. Resources include not only material resources and skills like lobbying, but also legitimacy within a constituency and the ability to mobilize a committed base. Often, when one group is thought of as having less power, it's because the power that they bring isn't acknowledged as such (rather than that they don't have power). For example, a group funding a coalition may be able to achieve very little without the people brought in by a grassroots group.

Coalitions can help distribute power by engaging their "least powerful" members in both small and major decisions, including those about the coalition's goals, direction, and strategy. In practice, this may look like including the least powerful stakeholders in all leadership and decision-making bodies, or even rotating leadership to ensure equal representation.

In addition to having a voice in the coalition's goals and strategy, stakeholders should have a say in the creation of the coalition's internal processes. A good rule of thumb is that all coalition members bound by internal agreements should have a say in creating those agreements.

Below is a set of questions to ask yourself and your coalition about the coalition's current power distribution and suggestions for concrete structures and practices that could more equitably distribute power.

Assessment Questions

Question #10

Does your coalition have processes that try to balance power equitably across membership? If yes, what are they? What works well about them? What works less well? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #11

When it comes to major decision-making (for example, about your coalition's direction, processes, and strategy), how involved are the people closest to or most impacted by the problem that your coalition is trying to address?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all involved
- ☐ 2 – Slightly involved
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat involved
- ☐ 4 – Involved
- ☐ 5 – Very involved

Question #12

Are the least powerful stakeholders in your coalition represented in your coalition's leadership and decision-making bodies (such as committees, associations, working groups, legislative groups, etc.)?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all represented
- ☐ 2 – Slightly represented
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat represented
- ☐ 4 – Well represented
- ☐ 5 – Very well represented

Question #13

Does your coalition have structures that support equal representation, such as rotating leadership?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all
- ☐ 2 – A little
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat
- ☐ 4 – A good bit
- ☐ 5 – Very much

Question #14

In general, do people who are required to follow internal coalition processes have a say in the creation of those processes?

- ☐ 1 – No say at all
- ☐ 2 – Very little say
- ☐ 3 – Some say
- ☐ 4 – A good bit of say
- ☐ 5 – A lot of say

DISTRIBUTING POWER SCORE

Add up your score from questions 11-14: _____

Clear Decision-Making Rules

Having a clear, consistent decision-making system eases the burden of decision-making and allows all members to understand who is making which decisions and how they do so. Research doesn't identify a single best decision-making system (for example, majority rule vs. supermajority rule vs. consensus). Instead, the important thing is that you choose a decision-making system, and coalition members are aware of it, understand it, and use it consistently. Selecting and sticking with one decision-making system builds clarity and transparency around decision-making. Ideally, coalition members will choose a decision-making system together.

Assessment Questions

Question #15

What is your coalition's system for making decisions? What works well about it? What works less well? [Please write your response in the space below]

Question #16

How developed is your coalition's decision-making system?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

NOTE: If you answered "Not at all developed" to Question #16, read through questions 17-20 for guidance on how to develop your decision-making system. You do not need to answer them.

Question #17

How involved or uninvolved were stakeholders (including those with the least power) in developing your decision-making system?

- ☐ 1 – Very uninvolved
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat uninvolved
- ☐ 3 – Neither involved nor uninvolved
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat involved
- ☐ 5 – Very involved

Question #18

How aware or unaware are coalition members of your decision-making system?

- ☐ 1 – Very unaware
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat unaware
- ☐ 3 – Neither aware nor unaware
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat aware
- ☐ 5 – Very aware

Question #19

How poorly or well do coalition members understand your decision-making system?

- ☐ 1 – Very poorly
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat poorly
- ☐ 3 – Neither poorly nor well
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat well
- ☐ 5 – Very well

Question #20

How consistently or inconsistently does your coalition use your decision-making system?

- ☐ 1 – Very inconsistently
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat inconsistently
- ☐ 3 – Neither inconsistently nor consistently
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat consistently
- ☐ 5 – Very consistently

DECISION-MAKING SCORE

Add up your score from questions 16-20: _____

Transparency

The more transparent your coalition can be, the better. By making actions, information, and decisions public, transparency increases social pressure on coalition members to follow through on their commitments. Sharing information and knowledge also builds awareness of what's going on, increases the legitimacy of the coalition's work, and nurtures trust in and commitment to one another, each of which increase the coalition's ability to function well.

Coalitions don't need to overthink this. Transparency can and should be built into your daily routines through practices like the timely sharing of meeting notes or other documents through specific channels. This gives people a chance to respond and react in near real-time. Additionally, coalition members (including leadership) should regularly report out their own actions, and there should be clear processes for doing so. These practices may feel onerous at first but can go a long way toward building trust across the coalition.

Assessment Questions

Question #21

What kinds of mechanisms does your coalition use to create transparency? What works well about them? What works less well? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #22

Are there decisions, tactics or processes that are not transparent within your coalition? If yes, what mechanisms can be put in place to improve transparency? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #23

How developed are your coalition's practices for transparency?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

Question #24

Are practices for transparency incorporated into your coalition's daily routines?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all incorporated
- ☐ 2 – Slightly incorporated
- ☐ 3 – Neither poorly nor well incorporated
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat well incorporated
- ☐ 5 – Very well incorporated

Question #25

How transparent or non-transparent is your coalition's leadership about their activities, decision-making, etc.?

- ☐ 1 – Very non-transparent
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat non-transparent
- ☐ 3 – Neither transparent nor non-transparent
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat transparent
- ☐ 5 – Very transparent

Question #26

How transparent or non-transparent is your coalition's non-leadership about their activities, decision-making, etc.?

- ☐ 1 – Very non-transparent
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat non-transparent
- ☐ 3 – Neither transparent nor non-transparent
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat transparent
- ☐ 5 – Very transparent

TRANSPARENCY SCORE

Add up your score from questions 23-26: _____

Holding the Coalition Accountable to these Governance Commitments

Coalitions need accountability and conflict resolution systems to ensure that coalition members follow through on their commitments and to support strong relationships. Researchers find that simply working collectively to develop an accountability system reduces the need to use it, because people tend to stick to it. Accountability systems improve cooperation and reduce shirking of responsibilities.

The goal of accountability systems is not to make those who violate the rules feel rejected but to incentivize people to uphold their commitments and the coalition's agreed-upon practices. To do this, your coalition can adopt a system of graduated sanctions. This means that when people or organizations first violate the coalition's community agreements, they receive mild sanctions (such as having a conversation about the violation or being named in a meeting). Repeated violations result in increasingly strong sanctions. Starting with mild sanctions allows people or organizations to make a mistake or fail to deliver on a task, recover, and be welcomed back fully into the group.

Identifying why a violation occurred and how to restore trust is another way to ensure accountability. For example, if a coalition member lobbies a legislator on a policy that the coalition had not collectively agreed upon, the coalition member may be asked to clarify with the legislator and/or required to have other coalition members join for future meetings. If there is interpersonal harm, the harmed member should be empowered to suggest accountability that feels restorative, such as having the offender take a break from the coalition or publicly acknowledge the harm caused. These processes should be relatively easy to use and should resolve problems quickly. They should be designed so that "[p]eople can get clear resolutions with minimal effort."²

² Levine, Peter. 2022. What Should We Do? A Theory of Civic Life. New York: Oxford University Press, page 124.

Assessment Questions

Question #27

Does your coalition have clear, easy-to-use accountability processes? If yes, what are they? What works well about them? What works less well? [Please write your response in the space below]

Question #28

How developed are your coalition's processes for accountability?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

NOTE: If you answered “Not at all developed” to Question #28, read through questions 29-32 for guidance on how to develop your coalition's accountability processes. You do not need to answer them.

Question #29

How aware or unaware are coalition members of your processes for accountability?

- ☐ 1 – Very unaware
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat unaware
- ☐ 3 – Neither aware nor unaware
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat aware

Question #30

Do your coalition's accountability processes start with mild sanctions and move to more severe sanctions for repeated violations?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all
- ☐ 2 – Slightly
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat
- ☐ 4 – A good b
- ☐ 5 – Very much

Question #31

Are your coalition's accountability processes focused on restoring trust and bringing people back into the coalition?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all
- ☐ 2 – Slightly
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat
- ☐ 4 – A good bit
- ☐ 5 – Very much

Question #32

Did your coalition create your accountability processes collectively?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all collectively
- ☐ 2 – Slightly collectively
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat collectively
- ☐ 4 – Collectively
- ☐ 5 – Very collectively

ACCOUNTABILITY SCORE

Add up your score from questions 28-32: _____

Section 3: Feedback Loops for Real-Time Learning and Flexibility

Learning feedback loops refer to the ability of a coalition to constantly learn and use that learning to adapt their strategy (Figure 4). In practice, this looks like:

- 1) Collecting real-time data that captures not only traditional metrics, but also data that gets at the quality of relationships and dynamics within the coalition, any changes in the political environment that the coalition operates in, and whether/how the coalition's activities affect the political landscape;
- 2) Analyzing that data;
- 3) Sharing learnings widely within the coalition, and;
- 4) Applying any insights to the coalition's strategy.

The purpose of this cycle is to increase the coalition's knowledge and responsiveness. Learning feedback loops should be embedded into daily routines, so that you're able to learn and iterate in near real-time. They should not simply be tacked on at the end of a campaign, as often happens for a funder report or in planning for future campaigns.

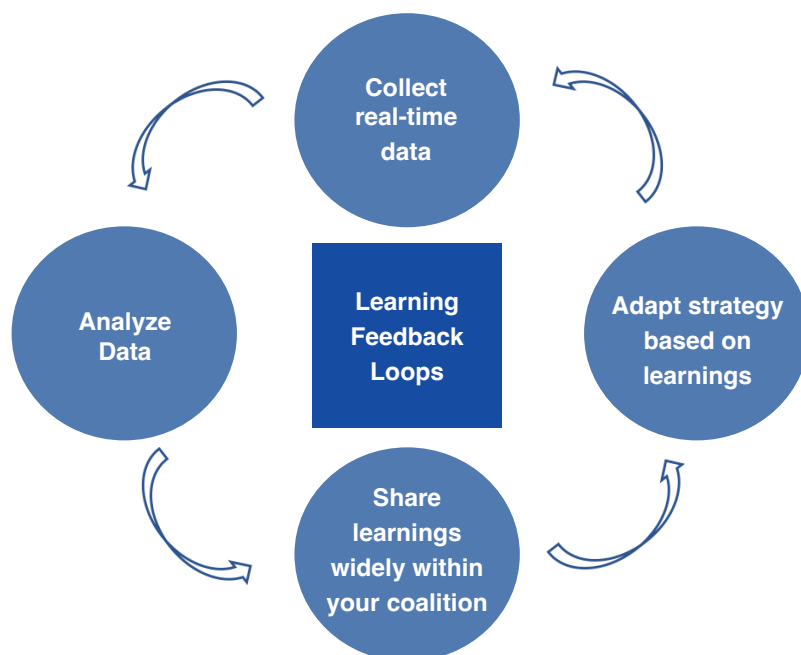


FIGURE 4.

A learning feedback loop involves collecting near real-time data, analyzing it, sharing learnings widely, and using those learnings to inform your strategy.

Coalition members at all levels should be engaged in this learning. Members do not need to be data analysts or experts to collect or make meaning from data. For example, your coalition can generate data by creating spaces where people meet and examine (and reexamine) the coalition's mission, goals, strategy, and activities. During these meetings, people can discuss what they've been noticing, including what is and is not working. Journaling exercises can also provide important insight into organizational experience and provide real-time feedback without requiring expertise. Coalition members can ritualize their personal journaling, even writing morning and evening if events are moving rapidly. Data from meetings, journaling, or any other activities should be made user-friendly and shared widely throughout the coalition.

Most importantly, to close the feedback loop, your coalition needs to be willing to adapt strategy based on what you've learned.

Assessment Questions

Question #33

Does your coalition have practices in place for learning (including learning about your coalition's internal dynamics and the external political landscape in which your coalition operates)? If yes, what are those practices? What works well about them? What works less well? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #34

Does your coalition have practices for incorporating learnings into strategy and decision-making? If yes, what are they? How does your coalition know when to change course? *[Please write your response in the space below]*

Question #35

How developed are your coalition's practices for learning about the external political landscape?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

Question #36

How developed are your coalition's practices for learning about internal coalition dynamics?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

Question #37

How developed are your coalition's practices for sharing learnings widely within your coalition?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

Question #38

How developed are your coalition's practices for applying what you've learned to strategy and decision-making?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all developed
- ☐ 2 – Slightly developed
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat developed
- ☐ 4 – Developed
- ☐ 5 – Very developed

Question #39

Are learning and iterating incorporated into your coalition's regular routines (vs. happening only at major moments, like the end of a campaign)?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all incorporated
- ☐ 2 – Slightly incorporated
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat incorporated
- ☐ 4 – Incorporated
- ☐ 5 – Very incorporated

Question #40

How quickly is your coalition able to learn about and incorporate new information?

- ☐ 1 – Very slowly
- ☐ 2 – Somewhat slowly
- ☐ 3 – Neither slowly nor quickly
- ☐ 4 – Somewhat quickly
- ☐ 5 – Very quickly

Question #41

Are members at all levels of the coalition (including those with the least power) able to participate in learning practices?

- ☐ 1 – Not at all able
- ☐ 2 – Slightly able
- ☐ 3 – Somewhat able
- ☐ 4 – Able
- ☐ 5 – Very able

LEARNING SCORE

Add up your score from questions 35-41: _____

UNDERSTANDING YOUR RESPONSES

How to Score Your Coalition

Scores range from 4.4 to 30.

To score your responses, follow these three steps:

1. Complete the survey assessment questions above and add up your score at the end of each section. Put that number next to the corresponding "Raw Score" below.
2. Next, divide each Raw Score by the number of questions in that section (listed below). Write down your results next to the corresponding "Total Score."
3. Finally, add up your Total Scores from each section to calculate your Coalition Total Score.

Aspect of Coalition Architecture	Raw Score	Total Score	Score Range
Clear Roles & Trusting Relationships	/7 questions		1-5
Transparent Processes for Sharing Power through Democratic Governance			
Distributing-Power	/4 questions		1-5
Clear Decision-Making Rules	/5 questions		.2-5
Transparency	/4 questions		1-5
Holding the Coalition Accountable to these Governance Commitments	/5 questions		.2-5
Feedback Loops for Real-Time Learning & Flexibility	/7 questions		1-5
Coalition Total Score			4.4-30

Interpreting Your Score

The first thing to remember is that the goal is not to achieve a perfect score. It is to better understand your coalition and where it might benefit from additional investment and to assesses any changes over time.

Here are some questions for you to reflect on as you identify next steps:

- In which section did you rank the highest? What has your coalition done to invest in this aspect of coalition architecture? How does it benefit your coalition?
- In which section did you rank the lowest? What kinds of challenges does this create for your coalition?
- If additional coalition members filled out this reflection guide, compare your responses. Where are you in alignment? Where did you respond differently? Are there any patterns across responses in terms of who identified certain strengths vs. areas of growth?
- Among the different aspects of coalition architecture, which feel most important for your coalition to improve upon? Identify 1-2 areas to focus on and read the section of our full report that focuses on this type of architecture. Using these ideas as a starting off point, identify the next steps for this area of improvement, including:
 - A potential timeline for investment;
 - Resources needed;
 - People who should be involved;
 - Potential roadblocks or challenges.

Be in touch if you have any questions, feedback, or simply want to talk about your coalition!

Marino Strategies

Creating Effective Committees

- [Committee Building Plan](#)
- [Key Principles](#)
- [Assessment Scale](#)

Committee Building Plan

Please review the principles and assessment scale below, and then follow these steps to make a committee building plan:

- Committee vision:
 - Define the goal of the committee. How does it support the campaign? How does it build community power?
 - What activities will the committee be responsible for?
 - What level of engagement will be needed for a successful committee?
 - Do you have some ideas about the skills or knowledge you want to train your committee?
- Identifying your base:
 - Make sure you have a list of all of the people you want to engage, including all the info you have about them
 - Combine the lists as needed.
- Assessing your strength:
 - Rate each member on your list based on their current level of engagement. See the assessment scale below.

¹ Please obtain permission to use beyond your organization from carrie@marinostrategies.org

- Create a “potential leader” column and mark x for who you want to prioritize for organizing.
- Working with leaders
 - Next step is to invite your leaders to join the committee and put the leaders into a group together.
 - Ask them to make a commitment to each other to do this work. This could include a customized committee agreement.

Key Principles

1. Encourage members to invite their co-workers/ friends/ family/ neighbors. People are more likely to attend and stay involved when they are invited by someone they know and trust.
2. Leaders build power when they make a commitment to one another to work together for their shared goal with an aligned strategy that they all take responsibility for achieving. Each leader should be called upon to make a commitment to learn the skills to organize and campaign, work through and overcome challenges, and be transparent and accountable to each other.
3. Committees are meant to bring people together to identify issues and strategically problem solve or create campaigns to bring about solutions. Use this time together to map out the issues that your leaders are dealing with and identify the decision makers on the issue. Support your leaders in discussing the issue and ways that we can work together to bring about change.
4. Ensure that you are focusing on the right issue(s), leader buy-in is extremely important to the committee’s success.
5. Support leaders in taking leadership roles in these spaces. Give everyone the space they need to contribute in ways they feel comfortable, while encouraging participation from everyone. Organizers and members alike should be devoted to monitoring the space to ensure that it remains safe and inclusive.
6. Ensure that your committee has a clear purpose and that all leaders involved understand what it is. The purpose and committee description should be written

down and accessible so that it constantly grounds us in the work that needs to be done.

7. The committee should participate in the development of the campaign plan in collaboration with staff and partners. They will need to be invested in the plan because they will fuel the campaign. The organizer needs to surface decisions within the committee and guide the committee on weighing options for adjusting strategy when opportunities arise or the terrain changes.
8. Ensure that the committee meetings are well run, there should be an agenda, group commitments, the meeting should start and end on time, there should be clarity of the decision making process and should always end with an action plan or next steps.
9. Assign roles for each committee, for example committee chair/ co-chairs or small circle facilitator, time-keeper, secretary/ note taker etc.
10. Ensure that committees are leader led and facilitated with strong support from organizers, this ensures that issues and campaign paths are organically generated from the base.
11. Be intentional about each committee member's developmental needs and provide the tools and support they need to succeed.
12. Utilize committee meetings to train leaders on core skills for organizing, advocacy, campaigns, actions. Regular meetings can be a great way to steadily prepare leaders for the fight they will have or are already engage in.

Assessment Scale

1 - Leader: A leader is a member that actively organizes to grow the membership and drive campaigns. They cover a base of members, take a leadership role in planning and facilitating actions, committee meetings, trainings and campaign events.

2 - Activist/Active Members : A member who consistently participates in actions, committees, events and trainings online and in person in a leadership capacity. They believe in what we do and assist in helping us be successful at expanding our reach. An activist is invested in the success of our organization, helps get our message out to others, participates in events but does not yet lead.

3 - Supporter/General Member : A supporter believes in the mission and goals of our organization and understands the importance of our organizing efforts. These individuals do not consistently attend meetings or events but stay connected to the organization.

4 - Network : New contacts or people who are not active