



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-awareness helps to prevent you from projecting your negative aspects onto other people. Bringing your best self also requires that you have a positive attitude, are willing to deeply explore your perspectives and remain open to the perspectives and experiences of others. While engaging with peers and content, make space for others to engage as well.

Listening for Understanding

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

Being Gracious

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

Staying Engaged

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

Being Open and Suspending Judgment

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

Saying "I"- tell your truth

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

Lean into Discomfort

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

Reaching Empathy

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

Expecting Non-Resolution and Non-Closure

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

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

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

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

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



Campaign Lab Coaching and Leadership System Roles

Team Leads

Team Leads are local leaders. They are typically the person who submits an application to the Campaign Lab. The applicant does not have to remain in the role of Team Lead, however, they can recruit another person to serve in that role. Team Leads are the primary contact to the rest of the Campaign Lab system. They establish a campaign leadership team, work with that team to develop and implement an issue campaign, and maintain a consistent and strong relationship with the Campaign Lab system. Team Leads build the capacity of a leadership team to implement an issue-based campaign.

Team leads agree to meet with their Campaign Lab Coach twice a month to share ongoing challenges, update progress made, and build their capacities for leading a team. Team Leads also commit to attending once monthly networking calls with all the other leads and coaches in the system. Leads also agree to participate in online and fully funded in-person training as needed.

Campaign Coaches

Campaign Coaches are local leaders who have some experience in leading issue campaigns. They have applied and been selected to serve in this role. In this role, they agree to coach 1-3 local team leads. They meet with their assigned team leads at least twice a month. During these meetings, they are focused on coaching the team lead through any challenges or issues that the team lead is having. They help the team lead identify the actions they will take to address these. They also help to assess where in the campaign cycle a particular team is. They provide resources and help to network team leads who are working through similar challenges or are moving campaigns around similar issues. Campaign Coaches build the capacity of the Team Leads to develop their team and implement an issue-based campaign.

Campaign Coaches have agreed to meet twice monthly with their team leads, and once monthly with their Mentor Coaches. They have agreed to keep notes about each of their meetings and record when their meetings are scheduled. They have agreed to attend once monthly networking calls with all the other leads and coaches in the system. Campaign Coaches also agree to participate in online and fully funded in-person training as needed.

Mentor Coaches

Mentor Coaches, at this time, are primarily state affiliate or NEA staff. Mentor Coaches have each agreed to support up to 5 coaches. They meet with these coaches at least once monthly to network, to problem solve, to assess progress with certain campaigns, and to provide resources. Mentor Coaches build the capacity of the coaches to work with the Team Leads.

Mentor coaches have agreed to meet with their Campaign Coaches once a month, keep notes of these meetings, and record the schedules for these meetings. They have agreed to attend once monthly networking calls with all the other leads and coaches in the system. Mentor Coaches also agree to participate in online and in-person training as needed. These are fully funded by NEA.

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?	

Self-Assessment of Local Union Strength and Growth

Use this assessment tool to understand your local's strengths and areas for growth. This assessment will give you greater clarity for developing your plan and identifying your goals for coaching.

Make a copy of this assessment, and in the column on the left write the number 1-3 that best describes your local union. At the end of each section, add your total number. Once the rating is completed, add the rating numbers together by section and overall. Then also answer the general questions either in writing or through a conversation with your team or coach. We encourage teams to use this tool to build a shared understanding of their work ahead.

Organizing and Engaged Membership				
	Rating	1	2	3
Engagement		Members actively and regularly participate (60%+) in meetings, events, actions, and campaigns; active communication and involvement across all levels of the union; there is intentional and routine assessment of race, class, and gender inclusion with visible outcomes.	Members participate occasionally (30%-60%); inconsistent communication; some efforts to involve members; stated equity and inclusion goals in the local.	Limited member participation and limited communication (<30%); engagement activities are rare or ineffective.
Structure		Clear, well-defined leadership roles and committees; effective organization supports union goals and member needs; there is a visible and measurable representation of leaders across race, class, and gender identities.	Basic structure in place; some roles or committees are unclear or underutilized; moderate effectiveness; there is a stated intent to be inclusive of all race, class, and gender identities.	Lack of structure or poorly defined structure; leadership roles unclear; few ways for members to get involved or have input, union participation is represented by one social group; a small core of the same people do all the work.
Growth		Consistent and strong recruitment and retention strategies in place; membership recruitment tactics include strategies to intentionally recruit across race, class, gender identities, ability, language and other potential equity-based barriers.	Some growth observed; recruitment and retention efforts are sporadic or partially effective; demographic data is collected and occasionally analyzed, but there is little effort to intentionally reach out to underrepresented groups.	Membership stagnant or declining; little to no active recruitment or retention strategies.
Leadership Development		Comprehensive programs in place to identify, train, and mentor future leaders; leadership opportunities are accessible and actively promoted; leaders are involved with campaigns and activating the membership; intentional recruitment	Some leadership development activities offered; identification and mentoring of leaders is inconsistent; there is a belief that diversity of leadership is good for the union.	No or minimal leadership development; few or no opportunities for members to develop leadership skills.

		across race, class, and gender identities into all aspects of leadership development.		
Majority Status		Union holds clear majority status with membership over 80%; this status is actively maintained and leveraged for member benefit.	Union has majority status between 50% and 80%, with fluctuating membership or contested recognition.	Union holds less than 50% membership or lacks majority recognition; limited influence over workplace decisions.
Committees		Committees are active, well-organized, and effectively contribute to union goals; committees have broad member participation and clear outcomes; Union leadership is intentional about recruiting and supporting committee leaders and members who represent diverse constituencies.	Committees exist and operate intermittently; some member involvement and moderate impact on union activities; there is a belief that all committees should be diverse.	Committees are inactive, poorly organized, or non-existent; minimal member participation and limited contribution to union goals; members don't know how to join committees or what success looks like.
Calendared Events		Union regularly plans and executes a comprehensive calendar of well-attended events that engage members and support union goals; these events have a number of ways that participants can access them; translators are available.	Some events are planned and occur with moderate attendance; calendar may be inconsistent or incomplete; some planning for accessibility happens for some meetings.	Few or no events are planned; attendance is low; calendar is poorly managed or non-existent.
Organizing + Engaged Membership Total				
Bargaining and Worksite Advocacy				
	Rating	1	2	3
Bargaining		Bargaining process is well-organized, member-driven, and engages community partners or coalition. Wins achieve strong standards for work, education, and community issues. Members are informed and involved throughout; intentional engagement and bargaining strategies designed to center equity in the process and outcomes.	Bargaining occurs with moderate member input; contracts meet some but not all member needs; communication is occasional; there are attempts to be inclusive in communications; bargaining typically stays focused on workplace issues rather than demands for students, parents or the common good.	Bargaining is poorly organized or lacks member involvement; contracts are weak or ineffective; communication is minimal.
Relationship with Administration		Union drives agenda with administration; union input regularly leads in decision-making; union leads on diversity, equity, and inclusion decisions.	Functional relationship with some cooperation from administration; occasional challenges or communication gaps; union has a stated belief that	Administration disregards the union frequently; minimal communication or cooperation with administration.

			diversity, equity, and inclusion are important.	
Advocacy		Union actively advocates for member rights and community interests often in coalition with others, perhaps incorporates bargaining for the common good; effective campaigns and sustained efforts to set policy and win public opinion; union members participate in lobby days or other policy advocacy; union is a clear leader in race, class, and gender justice.	Some advocacy efforts made in terms of engagement with elected officials but does not translate into gains or change; not involved in active coalitions; elected leaders or staff engage in advocacy but members have limited involvement; union has a stated social justice belief.	Little to no advocacy; efforts are minimal, uncoordinated, or ineffective in advancing member or community interests. Local does not have a member rights campaign. Local does not have a plan to coordinate with community supporters to win.
Site Access		Union staff and leadership has full access to all worksites for meetings, outreach, and organizing activities protected by contract language; or when staff is barred from entry, well-trained building reps are able and willing to do member representation and worksite members are able to effectively organize at all worksites.	Union staff and leadership has limited or conditional access to worksites; some worksites have strong reps and structures that can restrict or challenge organizing activities.	Little to no access to worksites; union presence is minimal or obstructed.
Willingness of Leadership Team to Organize		Leadership team demonstrates strong commitment to organizing efforts; proactively supports and leads campaigns to grow and strengthen the union; they willingly engage in public fights that advance race, class, and gender justice.	Leadership shows some willingness to organize; supports efforts when prompted but lacks consistent initiative; they have some willingness to lead issue campaigns associated race, class, or gender justice.	Leadership is reluctant or resistant to organizing activities; minimal support or engagement in growth efforts; focus is on services and not organizing.
Bargaining + Worksite Advocacy Total				

Communications

	Rating	1	2	3
Communication		Effective and consistent communication channels exist; all members receive timely, clear, and relevant information in their first language; texting, phone banking and email may be used in member communication; union organizers track the effectiveness of their communications and adjust their communications strategies to increase	Communication channels exist but are inconsistently used; there are some translated documents; some members may miss important updates; there are some efforts at making communications accessible.	Communication is sporadic or unclear; many members lack access to important information; some workers or members don't realize there is a union. Members can't easily access bylaws, bargaining timelines, grievance decisions, bargaining priorities, etc.

		accessibility and improve efficacy as needed.		
Member Education		Comprehensive education programs regularly offered with intentional plans for including all race, class, and gender identities; members are well-informed about rights, contracts, and union activities; programs are developed to intentionally include race, class, and gender identities in materials and content; member education addresses current social issues such as attacks on immigrant families and federal cuts to critical funding.	Some education programs offered sporadically; members have partial understanding of rights and union functions; there are some specialized programs addressing race or gender identities.	Little to no member education provided; members lack understanding of their rights and union roles.
Marketing and Social Media Presence		Union maintains a strong, consistent, and engaging presence across multiple platforms; effectively promotes union activities and grows membership awareness; union may have online communities for members to engage; intentional and targeted plans to reach all race, class, and gender identities.	Union has some presence on social media or marketing channels; engagement and consistency are moderate; there are efforts to reach a diverse audience on multiple platforms.	Minimal or no social media or marketing presence; limited outreach and promotion of union activities.
Mission and Vision		Clear, well-communicated mission and vision guide all union activities; members understand and support these foundational principles.	Mission and vision exist but are inconsistently communicated or understood; partial alignment with union activities.	Mission and vision are unclear, outdated, or not communicated; little member awareness or alignment with union direction.
Communications Total				

Politics and Policy

	Rating	1	2	3
Political Action		Union regularly sets the public perception of the issues in local political campaign. Union actively runs or works in coalitions to run political campaigns and advocacy; members are informed and mobilized; Union centers equity in public education and educator needs in public debate. Union endorsed candidates regularly win. All candidates regularly seek union endorsement.	Some political activity; members occasionally informed or involved in advocacy efforts; union supports and promotes social justice.	Little to no political action; members uninformed or disengaged from advocacy.

Relationship with Governing Board		Union uses equity racial and social justice to drive their advocacy, organizing, and campaign agendas; union leads influential and regular communication with the governing board; membership is activated to strategically interact with the governing board, union routinely runs or works in coalition to run the school board or campus governance.	Some contact and communication with governing board; influence is limited or inconsistent; union is known to support equity work.	Minimal or no effective communication; little influence on governing board decisions.
Collaboration with Other Local Unions and community organizations		Actively collaborates with other local unions and community organizations through joint actions, resource sharing, and coalition building to strengthen collective power; union intentionally centers equity in its decisions about coalition work.	Occasional collaboration with other local unions and community organizations; some joint efforts or communication established; union is supportive of social justice causes.	Little to no collaboration; operates in isolation without partnerships or shared initiatives.
Politics + Policy Total				

Infrastructure				
	Rating	1	2	3
Financial Health		Union maintains transparent, accurate financial records; budgets are well-managed; governance follows best practices ensuring accountability and member trust; has planned for the support of direct-action funding and mutual aid; all financial documents required for affiliation are in order, an equity lens is applied to budget decisions.	Financial records and governance processes are mostly in place; occasional lapses in transparency or management; most financial documents required for affiliation are in order; there is some budget apportioned for social justice programs.	Financial management is poor or unclear; governance lacks accountability, risking member trust and union stability; the union does not have its tax documents in order; union does not have local dues.
Data		Data is contractually provided by management to the union on a regular basis. It is integrated into core union functions, organizing, campaigns and strategic planning. The union uses data to track key metrics and inform resource allocation. The union has dedicated data experts and a secure infrastructure. Data are used to measure key outcomes related to equity. Union leaders and staff at all levels are data-literate and use data	The union has started to use data purposefully for specific campaigns. Some siloed data are used to measure diversity and equity, but not in tracking outcomes. Staff and leaders use basic data analysis to support organizing, bargaining, or communications efforts. The union uses digital tools and databases for basic member and contact management. Access to data is limited to a small group of staff. The union measures the success of	Data use is reactive and inconsistent, often in response to immediate needs like answering a specific question during a campaign. There is no overarching data strategy. Data is managed in siloed systems and analog formats. Digital tools are not standardized, and data analysis relies on a few knowledgeable individuals. The union's use of data has no clearly measured impact on worker outcomes. There is no intentional effort

		to inform their work. The union's data use leads to measurable improvements in member well-being and economic security. Data is used to measure long-term trends in membership engagement and bargaining success. Data insights are leveraged to expand union influence and shape public policy.	specific campaigns using basic data points, such as voter turnout or sign-up rates. Insights are used to adjust short-term tactics.	to measure equity. Campaign successes or failures are not systematically analyzed with data.
Governance		The union membership understands how their union is governed and processes for that run their union; constitution and bylaws are accessible to members and have been developed and maintained with a focus on equity; members are in relationship with multiple levels of leadership and when issues arise members know who to go to; there are union representatives in more than 80% of the worksites, representatives at the school district or university level on decision making committees, leaders re connected to state and national leadership.	The union has a regular schedule to update the constitution and bylaws; updates include the use of an equity lens; there are officer-elections and regularly scheduled executive meetings; officers attend most (meetings, training courses, conferences, the Representative Assemblies); executive meetings are well attended; members are typically not engaged in the governance of their union or aware of policies and procedures for how their union is run; at least 80% of worksites have union representatives.	The union has an outdated or incomplete Constitution and By-Laws, and the union is in a constant struggle to fill leadership positions; there are rarely elections that are contested; less than 50% of work locations have union representatives.
Infrastructure Total				

Assessment by Section and Overall: A lower number indicates an area of strength. A higher number indicates that this is an area for improvement.

1. Has your local set goals for membership growth and participation? If yes, what are they?

2. What do you think are your organization's main strengths that will allow you to build a strong union and effective campaign?

3. Overall, which of the areas above do you think are the largest challenges for your local?
4. In the areas that you've identified as your biggest challenges, what are the main barriers your local faces?
5. Which of the above areas do you think should be the top three priorities for your local to address?

External Campaign Summary Guide

Campaign Goal	We encourage you to use the SMARTIE framework to determine if your goal is Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Timely, Inclusive, and Equity-Centered.
Campaign Phase	Phase Description
Establishment of Organizing Team	Campaign Lead creates a team that reflects the workers you are targeting for the campaign. This team agrees to meet regularly and is accountable for campaign success.
Planning	Internal preparation activities of campaign planning team. Examples include strategic campaign planning sessions, worksite mapping, obtaining worker lists, and conducting a power analysis.
Internal Organizing	Campaign team identifies, recruits, and trains worksite leaders to build and lead worksite action teams. This may actually be the longest phase of your campaign if you are just beginning. For more details on internal organizing to prepare for an external campaign, see “Internal Organizing Guide” below.
Kick-off	Campaign Launch. An event that announces the campaign publicly and engages members and other supporters in ways to get involved. This also includes recruiting, training, and otherwise preparing organizing and worksite action teams.
Low Risk/ Low Pressure Tactics	Tactics are a series of actions that build support for your campaign and increase pressure on your target towards your goal. Low risk tactics have a low risk of disciplinary action or retaliation. They also create very little pressure on your target. They are good for identifying and building support early in your campaign. Some examples include red shirt days and online petitions.
Moderate Risk/ Moderate Pressure Tactics	Tactics that turn up the heat on your target and test worker commitment to participation in higher-risk tactics (if necessary). Some examples include turnout with organized speakers at public meetings, public rallies, and walk-ins. These tactics should be covered by the media to increase public attention to the issue and pressure on your targets.
High Risk/ High Pressure Tactics	Tactics that will force a crisis for your target. Some examples include strikes, work stoppages, or acts of civil disobedience. You may or may not use these tactics in your campaign, but a good assessment of your power as a union is your ability to successfully execute higher pressure tactics if necessary (being “strike ready”). Because of the risk you and your coworkers face in using these tactics, they should not be undertaken without completing a strong internal organizing campaign first and conducting multiple structure tests to ensure a supermajority are committed to participating.

Internal Campaign Summary Guide

Below are some suggestions of the phases of an internal capacity-building campaign. These phases are commonly used to prepare for an external campaign. You may use these phases in your summary or add your own.

Campaign Goal	We encourage you to use the SMARTIE framework to determine if your goal is Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Timely, Inclusive, and Equity-Centered. For example, if you want to build your membership, list a numeric goal for the number of members you want to recruit by a specific deadline. If applicable, describe specific groups of potential members you want to recruit, such as job classifications, worksites, or demographics.
Campaign Phase	Phase Description
Establishment of Organizing Team	Campaign Lead creates a team that reflects the workers you are targeting for the campaign. This team agrees to meet regularly and is accountable for campaign success.
Campaign Planning	Organizing team works with the Campaign Coach to create a campaign plan with a clearly defined goal. This includes completing an assessment of your union and could also include a power analysis.
Lists, Mapping and Leadership Identification	Examples include obtaining employee lists, mapping worksites to identify membership potential, new leaders, and worker networks. May also include community mapping and identification of coalition partners if the campaign is focused on building community support.
Worksite Structure Building and Training	Examples include identifying and training new building reps, building worksite action teams, rep training, and contract action teams.
Worker/Community Engagement in Issue Identification	Examples include conducting surveys, canvassing, 10-minute building rep meetings, focus groups, and town halls, and building membership support for external campaigns through organizing conversations and small group meetings.
Development of Communications Infrastructure	Examples may include creating or updating a website, social media page, newsletter, creating online communities via platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, Reddit, or Discord and forming teams to support engagement. It may also include working with your state affiliate to access subscriptions to organizing apps such as Hustle, VAN, and Mobile Leader, or running structure tests on member-to-member communication systems.
Development of Data Tracking System	Examples may include implementing use of Mobile Leader, Excel, or paper wall charts to track worker participation and campaign progress.

External Campaign Summary Worksheet

Please list your goal, and briefly describe the activities planned for each phase of the campaign. Please also include dates. The dates can be approximate. When complete, email this form to Amanda Kail at akail@nea.org.

Campaign Goal		
Campaign Phase	Summary of Activities Planned	Dates (Can be approximate)
Establishment of Organizing Team		
Campaign Planning		
Internal Organizing		
Kick-off		
Escalating Tactics		
Win		

Internal Campaign Summary Worksheet

Please list your goal and briefly describe what you are planning to do. Please use phase descriptions (see internal campaign summary guide above) and include dates. Establishing a team and creating a plan are required phases. The dates can be approximate. When complete, email this form to Amanda Kail at akail@nea.org.

[illegible]

What do you know about your Union?

Contract: (Select which best describes you)

- ☐ I know where to locate my local union contract
- ☐ I know some items listed in my local union contract
- ☐ I have a copy of my local union contract; I highlighted and tabbed items related to my role in education
- ☐ I am well-versed in my local union contract, and I often share highlights of the contract with other members to ensure that their rights are being upheld

Local Union Structure: What do you know about the structure of your local union? (Select all that apply)

- ☐ I know the various jobs titles that are eligible for membership
- ☐ I know the names of the members who make up the executive team
- ☐ I know the names of several building representatives
- ☐ I know the names of several members in my building or department
- ☐ I know where to find the constitution and by-laws

State Union Structure and Involvement: (select all that apply)

- ☐ I know my regional union council or my local
- ☐ I have attended a meeting with my union council or my local
- ☐ I am a delegate for the state Representative Assembly
- ☐ I hold a position or serve on a committee for my union council or my local
- ☐ I have attended an union conference or local union event this year



How involved are you as a Union member?

Union Engagement: (select the answer that best describes you)

- ☐ I serve in a leadership position, as a building representative or on another committee in my local union
- ☐ I attend regularly local union meetings, trainings, or events
- ☐ I attend at least one local union event this year
- ☐ I have not attended an event; Yet, I read my local union's newsletter or follow social media platforms
- ☐ I pay my dues. However, due to other priorities, I am unable to add much else to my plate right now

Union Activism: (select all that apply)

- ☐ I have helped to plan an event for my local
- ☐ I have led a meeting for members in my local
- ☐ I have learned who the union members and potential members are in my building or department
- ☐ I have had one-on-one conversations with members to discuss concerns in my local
- ☐ I have participated in new member recruitment events in my local
- ☐ I have shared the importance of being a member with at least one other person in my local

Union Organizing (select all that apply)

- ☐ I have worn a button, T-shirt or other insignia to show solidarity with my local
- ☐ I have concerns about my rights or working conditions that I have shared with other colleagues
- ☐ I have attended a small group, community, or board meeting to support my local or an education issue
- ☐ I have or can get at least 5 other people to join me in a meeting to support an issue or event

Political Activism: (select all that apply)

- ☐ I helped with phone banking or canvassing for a political candidate or legislative educational issue
- ☐ I have written letters, emails, attended a rally, or provided testimony on an education related issue
- ☐ I have/ currently donate to the my state or local PAC fund
- ☐ I keep up-to-date with issues and legislation that affect public education
- ☐ I am a registered voter. I vote in the primaries; not only for presidential candidates on the ballot

Who are you as a Union Leader?

Union Expectations (which best describes why you decided to join your local)

I joined because _____

- ☐ Someone who I knew asked me to join.
- ☐ It's a family thing – everyone in my family understands the power of our collective voice
- ☐ Unions give members voice and collective power.
- ☐ Unions protect workers' rights and provide safe working conditions.
- ☐ Unions are like an insurance plan to keep members from being fired.
- ☐ Everyone was a member in my school district and I did not want to be left out.
- ☐ NEA member benefits would help me save the money that my union dues cost me.

Union Dreams (which best describes what you want out of your future engagement with your local)

I most want to engage in _____

- ☐ Continuing the work that we currently do.
- ☐ Building the base of our membership to include outside partners.
- ☐ Creating local leadership structures that have power enough to drive a local agenda and win.
- ☐ Establishing the practices of coalition across a number of partnerships on a number of issues.

What are your core beliefs?

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?)

What is your union story?

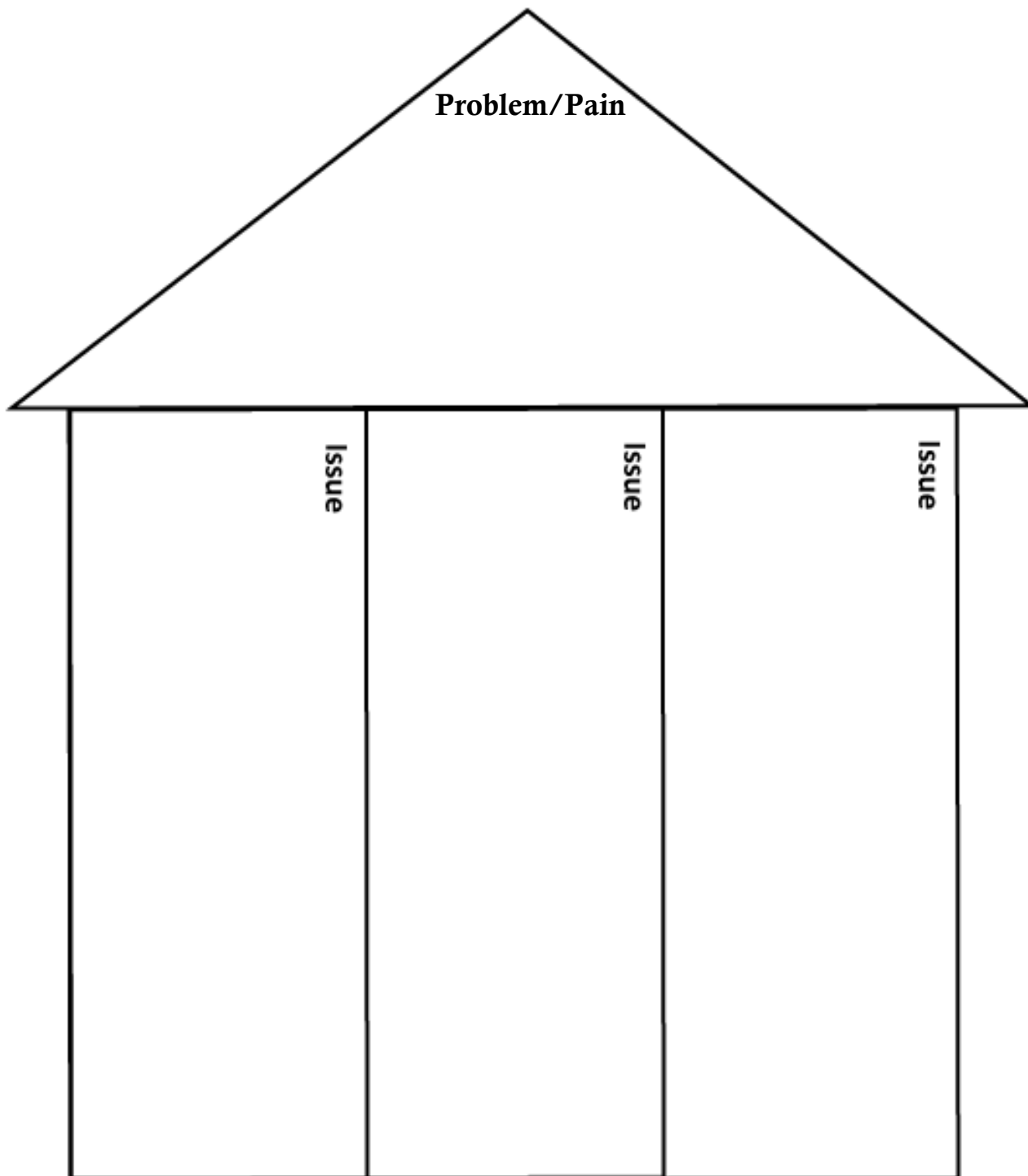
Now that you have reflected on your beliefs, knowledge and experiences as a union member, take a moment to write a short summary that highlights your story. Why you're a union member? What are your strengths and your goals as an emerging union leader? *(Think of this as your 30-second elevator speech)*

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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“Stories That Lift Us” ladder activity

Together, we will plan how to engage members and community leaders in a book giveaway and storytelling event. Use this ladder to map out actions, leadership support, and communication strategies that build momentum and uplift diverse voices.

Ladder of Engagement Stage	Member activity to engage others.	Leadership action to support it.	Communication method to amplify it.
Spotting the Ladder (Spark curiosity and introduce the campaign.)			
Gripping the First Rung (Invite members to take simple actions to show interest.)			
Climbing with Purpose (Build momentum and visibility through collective action.)			
Standing Steady (Deepen commitment and create space for member leadership.)			
Reaching the Top (Empower others to lead and sustain the campaign.)			

Base Building Plan

TARGET AUDIENCE Who is your most important target audience? (parents? students? other community members?)	KEY CONTACTS Who can help you connect with that audience?	OUTREACH SITES Where are the best places to find and talk to your target audience?

GOALS			
OUTREACH HOURS How many outreach hours will you do each week? What is your total number of hours for the month?	CONTACTS How many new contacts – name & phone/email – do you expect to make this month?	ONE-TO-ONES How many one-to-ones will you do each week? What is your total number for the month?	COMMITMENT & TURNOUT List any events & meetings you have this month, and goals for how many commits to attend, and how many people turn out.
Organizer Math: For new outreach, about 1 in 3 of people you reach out to will agree to come to an event. About 1 in 2 of the people who committed to come will actually show. So you need to outreach to about 6x the number of people who you want to come to your event.			

Outreach Plan Week 1				Page 24
Where	When	Who	Preparation (materials, info gathering,	
Follow Up: (Who & When)				

Outreach Plan Week 2			
Where	Time	Who	Preparation
Follow Up: (Who & When)			

Outreach Plan Week 3			
Where	Time	Who	Preparation
Follow Up: (Who & When)			

Outreach Plan Week 4			
Where	Time	Who	Preparation
Follow Up: (Who & When)			

Pillars of Power

Summary Definition: Power stems not just from a ruler's ability to use force, but from the consent and cooperation of the ruled, which can be voluntarily and nonviolently withdrawn by identifying, targeting and undermining the ruler's "pillars of support" — the institutions and organizations that sustain its power.

Origins: Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Robert Helvey

Conventional wisdom tells us that power resides in the hands of those at the top, and that when push comes to shove, "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," as Mao famously said. If so, then the only way to defeat a violent opponent is through the use of even greater violence.

At the root of all nonviolent action, however, is a different understanding of the nature of power — one that flips this conventional wisdom on its head. This understanding posits that power is ultimately dependent on the cooperation and obedience of large numbers of people acting through the institutions that constitute the state. These are its pillars of support.

Some of these pillars, such as the military, the police and the courts, are coercive in nature, compelling obedience through force or the threat thereof, while other pillars, like the media, education system and religious institutions, support the system through their influence over culture and popular opinion. Hence, the power of even the most charismatic or ruthless leader is contingent upon the support of key institutions, themselves vulnerable to popular action or withdrawal of consent from the general population.

Once people decide they no longer accept the status quo and begin to resist, the balance of power shifts. For example, when millions of Americans participated in the successful five-year national boycott of grapes led by Cesar Chavez to improve the pay and workers conditions of exploited farm workers; when tens of thousands of activists effectively shut down the World Trade Organization gathering in Seattle in 1999 by blocking the streets and entrances to the convention center; when thousands of U.S. soldiers refuse to deploy or redeploy to the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan, the power of the powerful is constrained, and can, in extreme situations, disintegrate entirely.

For activists, the key takeaway lesson of the pillars of support concept is to identify a ruling target's pillars of support, determine which can be won over and how, and then set about working to win over, or at least neutralize, those pillars of support, so that the foundation that sustains the target begins to crumble.

Power ultimately rests not in the grip of presidents, generals and billionaires, but in the hands of millions of ordinary people who keep society running smoothly on a day-to-day basis, and who can shut it down should they so choose. This is the meaning of the slogan people power. One of the principle reasons that so many injustices persist is not that the powerful can simply do whatever they want with impunity, but because most people are ignorant of the power they can wield by withdrawing their consent.

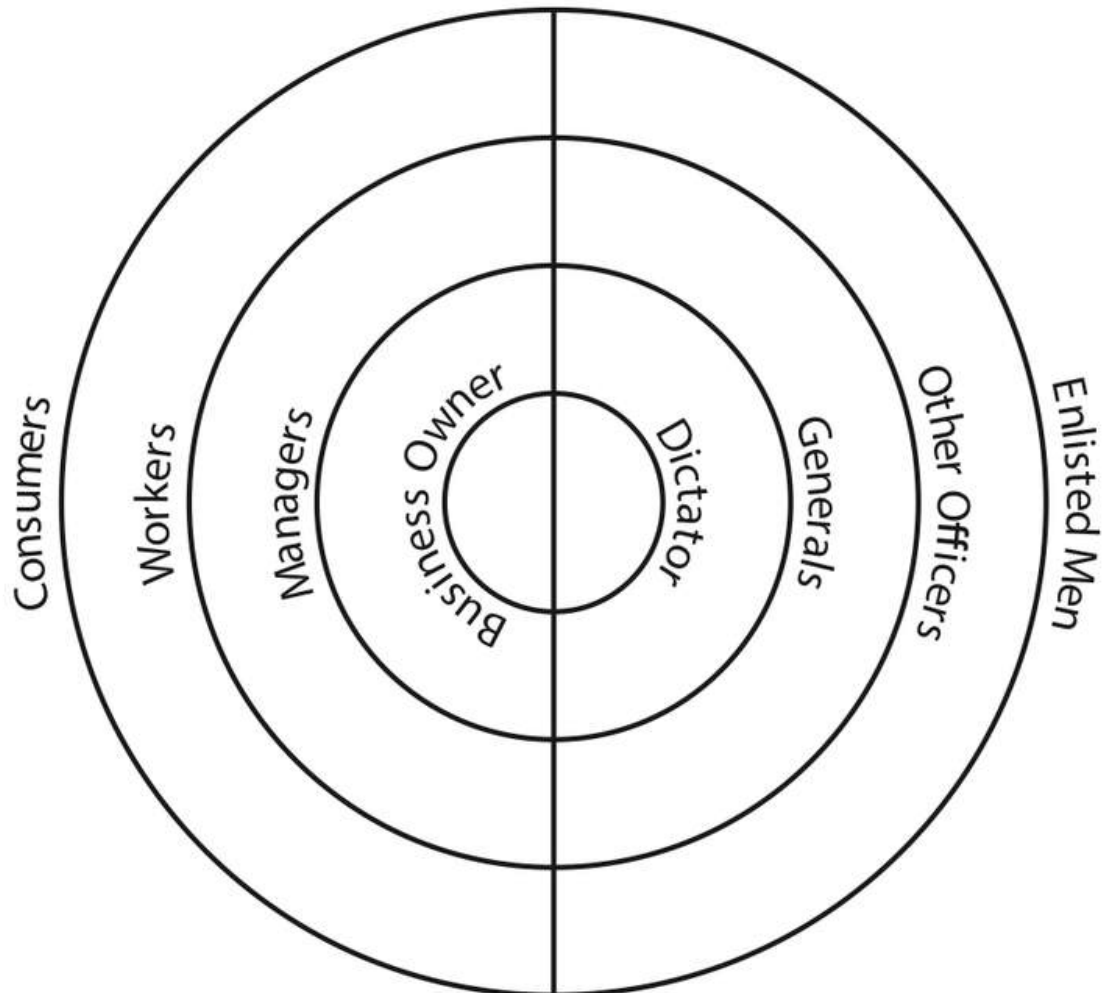
<https://beautifultrouble.org/theory/pillars-of-support/>

The Target's Power Stands on Pillars of Support

The diagram consists of a large triangle representing the roof, with its base forming the top of a rectangular structure. This rectangular structure is divided into seven equal-width vertical columns, each representing a pillar of support. The entire structure is outlined with a thin black line.

For the issue that you select – Who are the powerholders? Write the name(s) in the “roof” of the House of Injustice. Now, name each of the “pillars of support” - the institutions and organizations that help the powerholders to sustain power. Within each pillar, identify if you think it can be won over or at least neutralized. If possible, add some thinking about HOW you might do that.

Spheres of Influence/Power Map



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.

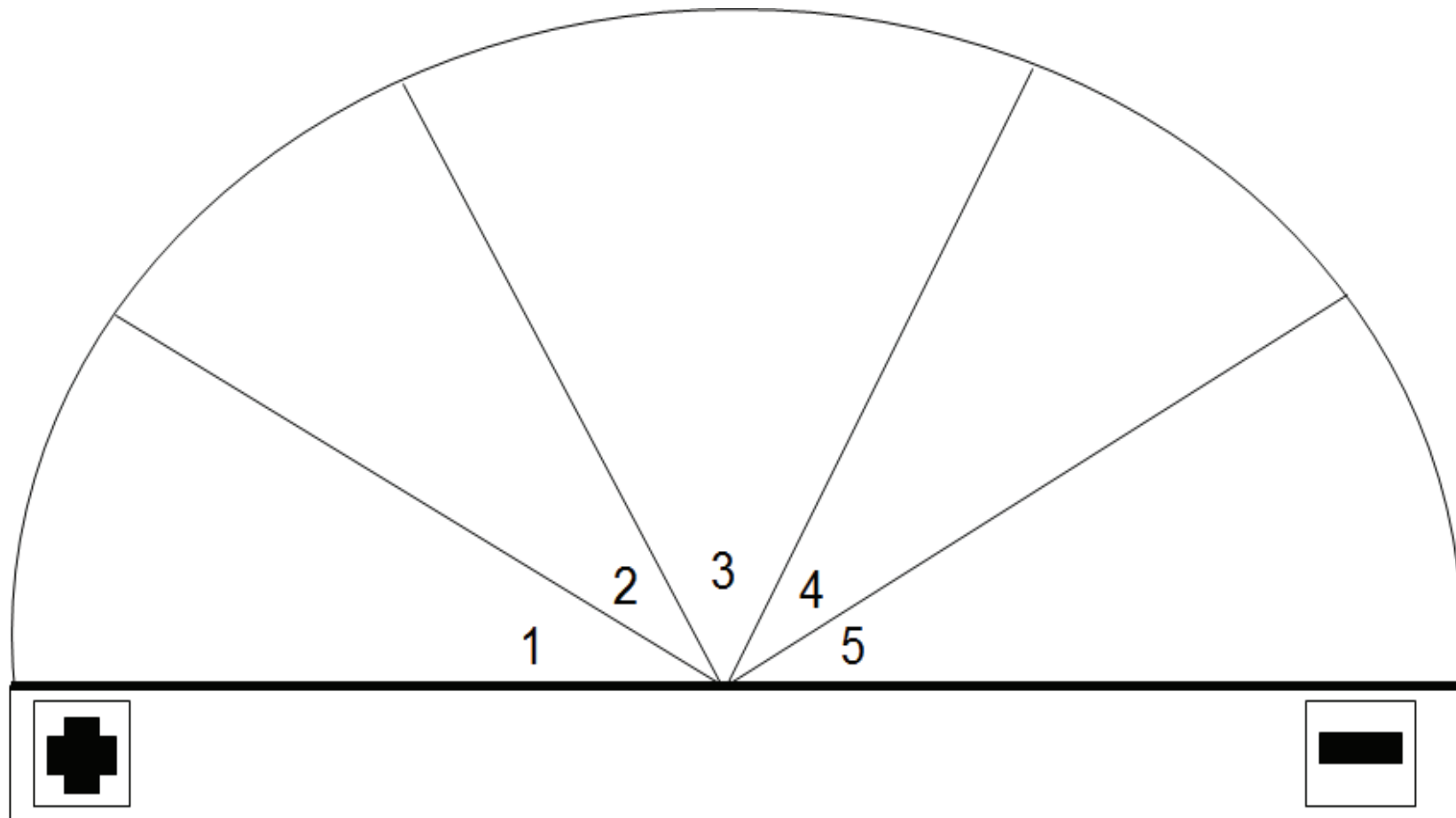
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Problem Statement: _____



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

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Checklist for Creating a Dossier for Your Target

Why Strategic Research Matters

We don't organize in the dark. Every campaign—whether it's for better pay, safer schools, or stronger contracts—depends on knowing who holds the power and how they use it. Research isn't just about facts. It's about finding leverage. It's about understanding what makes our targets tick, and how we can make them move.

1. Institutional Power & Influence

- Identify who makes decisions: superintendents, school board chairs, department heads.
- Understand both formal authority and informal influence.
- Map out the decision-making structure.

2. Funding & Financial Ties

- Investigate program funding sources and partnerships.
- Look for private vendors, consultants, and foundations.
- Follow the money to uncover priorities and potential conflicts of interest.

3. Policy History & Public Statements

- Review past decisions and policy initiatives.
- Analyze public statements, interviews, and meeting minutes.
- Use this information to anticipate future actions and hold targets accountable.

4. Community Impact & Demographics

- Understand who is affected by decisions.
- Examine race, income, language, housing, and education data.
- Identify communities ready to mobilize.

5. Local Institutions & Networks

- Map out churches, schools, community centers, and advocacy groups.
- Identify allies and opponents.
- Build coalitions to amplify campaign power.

6. Personal Background & Affiliations

- Research the target's career history and affiliations.
- Look for motivations, loyalties, and potential vulnerabilities.
- Expose conflicts of interest and hidden agendas.

7. Local Intel & Relationships

- Talk to staff, union members, community leaders, and journalists.
- Gather informal insights and pressure points.
- Use relationships to fill in gaps and confirm findings.

Conclusion: Research as Resistance

This isn't just research—it's resistance. It's how we build campaigns that win. Let's commit to doing the work. Let's build dossiers that expose power and build people power. Because when we know our target, we know how to organize. And when we organize, we win.

Debrief Questions: Researching Local Decision-Makers

Reflection on the Process

- • What surprised you most about the information you uncovered?
- • Which section of the handout felt most useful or revealing?
- • Did you discover any gaps in your current understanding of local power structures?

Strategic Thinking

- • Based on your research, what leverage points can we use in our campaign?
- • How does this information change the way we think about our target?
- • What patterns or connections did you notice that could influence our strategy?

Relationship Building

- • Who in the community do we need to build stronger relationships with?
- • Are there any unexpected allies or opponents you identified?
- • What institutions or networks could help amplify our message?

Messaging & Mobilization

- • How can we use what we learned to shape our public messaging?
- • What stories or data points will resonate most with our base?
- • What organizing tactics feel most appropriate given what we now know?

Next Steps

- • What's one action we can take this week based on this research?
- • Who else needs to see or contribute to this dossier?
- • How will we keep this information updated and actionable?

Dunbar's Numbers and Labor Organizing

Dunbar's number is the cognitive limit to the number of people with whom an individual can maintain stable personal relationships, generally cited as **approximately 150 people**.

Challenges of Growth Beyond 150

Once a group surpasses **150 members**, the reliance on informal bonds and peer pressure to maintain cohesion begins to fail, leading to:

- **Loss of Solidarity:** The sense of common purpose weakens as members can no longer know everyone personally, making it harder to build deep **trust and kinship** required for collective action.
- **Weakened Communication:** Communication shifts from fluid and informal to more **structured and formalized**, which reduces face-to-face interaction between general members and leadership.
- **Need for Formal Structure:** A more formal, hierarchical management structure becomes necessary to maintain organization.

Strategic Organizing Based on Dunbar's Numbers

Labor organizers can structure their efforts by creating dense, interconnected networks of smaller groups, using the full scale of Dunbar's numbers as a blueprint:

Group Size	Relationship Layer	Organizing Role / Application
5	Core Group (Most intimate, trusted circle)	Core leaders or the " inside organizing committee ."
15	Good Friends/Support Group (Close friends who can be relied on)	Smaller, self-contained teams of activists, empowered to delegate authority and make decisions.

50	Casual Friends/Local Community (Principal social circle)	Basis for smaller union chapters or work groups; focus on fostering strong bonds through social activities.
150	Personal Social Group (Maximum for stable personal relationships)	The size for semi-independent units or "chapters" to help maintain a sense of community in large workplaces.

Exponential Growth Implication

The need to build "subcommunities" and delegate authority within these layered groups is key to managing **exponential growth**. Instead of a single leader managing a growing mass of people, the organizational structure *grows with the membership* by replicating the smaller, functional groups, ensuring solidarity and effective communication scales.

Dunbar's number suggests that humans can only maintain stable relationships with approximately 150 people, which can have significant implications for labor organizing. While the theory's empirical basis has faced some challenges, it remains a useful framework for understanding the social dynamics of groups and can inform organizational strategies for unions.

The breakdown of informal bonds

According to the theory, once a group surpasses 150 members, the reliance on peer pressure and personal relationships to maintain cohesion begins to fail. In larger groups, a more formal, hierarchical management structure becomes necessary. For labor unions, this can mean:

- **A loss of solidarity:** As the number of members grows beyond what individuals can know personally, the sense of common purpose and kinship weakens. This

can make it harder to build the kind of deep trust and solidarity required for effective collective action.

- **Weakened communication:** When groups are small, communication can be fluid and informal. In large groups, communication must be more structured and formalized, which can reduce direct, face-to-face interaction between members and leadership.

Strategic organizing based on Dunbar's numbers

To address these social limitations, organizers can use Dunbar's theory to structure their efforts effectively. The full scale of Dunbar's "numbers" includes several layers of relationships, which can be adapted to union structures:

- **Core groups (5 people):** The most intimate, trusted circle. In organizing, these are the core leaders or the "inside organizing committee."
- **Good friends/support group (15 people):** A larger circle of close friends who can be relied on for help. This group can be used to form smaller, self-contained teams of activists who work together frequently.
- **Casual friends/local community (50 people):** The principal social circle. This can be the basis for smaller union chapters or work groups based on department or shared tasks.
- **Personal social group (150 people):** The maximum number for stable personal relationships. Many organizations find that creating semi-independent units of this size helps maintain a sense of community.

Building smaller, connected subgroups

Applying these concepts, labor organizers can focus on building dense, interconnected networks of smaller groups rather than managing one large, unwieldy mass. This can be done by:

- **Delegating authority:** Empowering the 15-person "good friends" groups to make decisions and coordinate action among themselves. This reduces the burden on central leadership and builds a more resilient, distributed network.
- **Fostering strong bonds:** Encourage activities that build deep trust and kinship within the 50-person groups. Social activities like eating together can be highly effective in fostering feelings of belonging and collaboration.
- **Creating "subcommunities":** In very large workplaces, the union can be structured as a collection of smaller units or "chapters" based on location or department. As one leader observed of a large digital agency, groups can be "splintered... when they become unwieldy," creating effective subcommunities.

Case Study: The "Schools Everyone Deserves" Campaign

I. From Crisis to Coalition: A Story of Power and Purpose

In early spring, the Harmony Public School Board dropped a bombshell: a sweeping austerity plan that would **eliminate 15 social worker positions, increase class sizes, and freeze salaries** for all educators. For many, this felt like the final blow in a district already stretched thin. Teachers whispered in hallways, parents vented on social media, and students worried about losing trusted counselors. The mood was grim.

But inside a modest union office, a new leadership team of **10 determined educators** gathered around a scratched wooden table. They were the newly elected leaders of the **Harmony Public School Educator Union (HPSEU)**, and they knew one thing: **traditional lobbying would fail**. The Board had already made up its mind. If they wanted to win, they needed a new playbook.

A Bold Pivot: From Service to Organizing

The Core Team made a radical decision: **pivot from a “service union” model to an Organizing Model rooted in Bargaining for the Common Good (BCG)**. Instead of framing the fight as a narrow labor dispute, they would **recast it as a moral struggle for “the schools everyone deserves.”**

This shift changed everything. It wasn’t just about paychecks anymore—it was about **students’ futures, community well-being, and educational justice**. The message resonated. Parents, students, and community allies began to see themselves in the fight.

Building the Common Good Coalition

The union launched a **Common Good Coalition**, bringing together:

- **Teachers** who feared losing vital classroom support
- **Parents** worried about overcrowded classrooms
- **Students** who refused to accept cuts to mental health services
- **Community allies** who understood that strong schools mean strong neighborhoods

The coalition didn’t just meet—they organized. They held **listening sessions in church**

basements, town halls in school gyms, and **strategy calls late into the night**. Each conversation built trust and expanded the circle of commitment.

Escalating Actions: From Conversations to Confrontation

The campaign unfolded like a carefully choreographed dance:

1. **Petition Drives** – Thousands signed on to demand “Schools Everyone Deserves.”
2. **Visibility Actions** – Rallies outside school board meetings, educators in matching shirts, parents holding signs that read “*Cuts Hurt Kids.*”
3. **Community Forums** – Stories of impact shared publicly, shifting the narrative from numbers to human lives.
4. **Mass Mobilization** – A march that drew **over 5,000 people**, a show of force that stripped the Board of its political cover.

Each step tested the union’s capacity and **grew its power exponentially**. The 10-member leadership team mobilized a community **504 times its size**—a feat that stunned even seasoned organizers.

The Turning Point

When the coalition delivered **5,000 signed commitments** to the Board, the message was clear: **reverse the cuts or face a political reckoning**. The Board caved. Social workers stayed. Class sizes held steady. The salary freeze was lifted.

But the victory was bigger than the budget. The campaign **reshaped the power dynamics** in Harmony Public Schools. The union was no longer a service provider—it was a **movement leader**.

Key Outcomes

- **15 social worker positions saved**
 - **Class size increases stopped**
 - **Salary freeze reversed**
 - **5,000+ community members mobilized**
 - **Union transformed into a community power hub**
-

II. Organizing Framework and Context

The HPSEU campaign was structured using the core components of the community organizing framework:

Element	Description	Rationale for People Power
Core Mobilization Structure	The Interdependent Leadership Structure : A decentralized, tiered network where the 10-member Core Team recruited and coached key leaders, who then recruited their own teams, enabling exponential growth.	Power is distributed and accountability is personalized, ensuring rapid, deep mobilization across all school sites and the community.
Broad Campaign Goals	Moving beyond the salary freeze (a "bread -and- butter" issue) to demand the restoration of 15 Social Workers and caps on class size (a "common good" issue).	Draws in a wider base of support (parents, students, clergy), exponentially expanding the coalition and the moral weight of the demands.
Theory of Change	The Board only responds to overwhelming public pressure. By demonstrating massive, unified people power , the HPSEU could remove the Board's political support and force concessions.	Focuses all efforts on a measurable target: the number of people willing to take action.

III. Phased Mobilization & Metrics

The campaign's success is defined by the number of people mobilized at each escalating phase, with the core target being **5,000 signed "Pledges to Defend Student Services."**

Phase 1: Internal Commitment (The Spark)

Goal/Milestone	Number of People Mobilized	Power Mechanism	People Power Result
Leadership Team & Building Representative Structure	10 (<i>Leadership Team members</i>) trained to coach and steer the campaign. 150 (<i>Building Representatives, or 10% of the union</i>) recruited as the first tier of organizers.	Established the direct, rapid communication network to the entire union membership.	Mobilization Ratio=10:150
Peak 1: Internal Test	1,380 (<i>92% of union members</i>) participated in "Green for Harmony Day" by signing the initial pledge.	First Victory: Secured a supermajority commitment , validating the internal structure before engaging the public.	Internal Unity=92%

Phase 2: External Coalition (The Multiplier)

Goal/Milestone	Number of People Mobilized	Power Mechanism	People Power Result
Coalition Recruitment	50 (<i>New external organizers</i>) recruited from parent groups, student leagues, and faith - based organizations.	Exponentially expanded the HPSEU's reach into non-union households and political constituencies.	Organizer Base=150 internal+50 external=200
Peak 2: Mass Rally	1,250 (<i>Total attendees, with over 60% being non-union community members</i>) mobilized for the public rally.	Demonstrated the power of the unified Common Good Coalition , showing the Board the community was actively involved.	External Mobilization=750+ community members

Final Phase: The Confrontation (Victory)

Goal/Milestone	Number of People Mobilized	Power Mechanism	People Power Result
Final Commitment	5,042 (<i>Total signed public pledges</i>) collected by the coalition.	Maximum Mandate: Created undeniable, data - backed political	Political Force=5,042 committed stakeholders

		pressure, proving the wide-scale opposition to the cuts.	
Peak 3: Ultimate Leverage	1,410 (<i>94% of members</i>) voted to authorize a strike, backed by the 5,042 community pledges.	Final Victory: The combination of near-unanimous internal unity and overwhelming public commitment removed the Board's political will to sustain the fight, forcing them to capitulate.	The 10-member Core Team successfully leveraged a force 504 times its size to win.

Organizing for Power: The "Schools Everyone Deserves" Campaign

Our core lesson: **Power is not what you have, but what you can mobilize.** The campaign won by strategically increasing the number of people committed to **action** at each stage.

1. The Core Principle:

The Schools Everyone Deserves campaign succeeded because it treated people mobilization as a measurable output, achieving its goal by leveraging a force **504 times the size** of its initial core team.

Success Metric	Result in Campaign	Key Lesson
Mobilization Ratio	10 Core Leaders organized 150 first-tier leaders.	You must invest deeply in training a small percentage of your base

		(10%) to be organizers, not just members.
Internal Unity	Achieved a 92% commitment (1,380 members) on the first test.	High-stakes campaigns require supermajority commitment . Test your internal structure early with low-risk actions (structure tests).
External Multiplier	Over 60% of the mass rally attendees were non-union community members.	Shift the narrative to "Common Good" issues (like social workers) to exponentially expand your base by recruiting <i>their</i> networks (parents, students).
Ultimate Leverage	Used 5,042 public pledges combined with a 94% strike vote .	Power is measurable commitment. The sheer number of committed people removed the opposition's political ability to govern.

2. Phase-by-Phase People Power Results

Exponential power is built in tiers . Never skip a step, as each phase is essential for building capacity for the next.

Phase 1: Internal Commitment (The Spark)

The goal is to move your members from passive recipients of information to active organizers. This requires **one-on-one organizing conversations** led by your core leaders.

Stage	Mobilized Numbers	Action/Outcome	Training Focus
Building Structure	150 Organizers Recruited	Established the Snowflake Structure (direct lines of communication and accountability).	The Ask: Train organizers to ask peers for specific, measurable commitments in a one-on-one conversation.
Internal Test	1,380 Members Committed	Secured a 92% commitment to the first low - risk action ("Green for Harmony Day").	Accountability: Train organizers to map their peers (Yes, No, Maybe) and follow up to move "Maybe" to "Yes."

Phase 2: External Coalition (The Multiplier)

The goal is to expand your organizing base by recruiting constituencies that care about your "Common Good" demands.

Stage	Mobilized Numbers	Action/Outcome	Training Focus
Recruiting Allies	50 New External	Exponential	The Narrative:

	Organizers	Growth: Recruited high-leverage parent, student, and faith leaders.	Train leaders to tell a compelling Story of Us that fuses the union's struggle with the community's needs.
Mass Rally	1,250 People Mobilized	Demonstrated capacity to mobilize the public on a weeknight, putting pressure on the Board.	Logistics: Train teams in specific mobilization roles (phone banking, childcare, transportation) to ensure the 1,250 people actually show up.

Final Phase: The Confrontation

The goal is to translate your mobilized numbers into a political concession.

Stage	Mobilized Numbers	Action/Outcome	Training Focus
Final Commitment	5,042 Pledges Secured	Achieved a final political mandate (pledge count) that the opposition could not dismiss.	The Pledge: Train organizers that the number of signed pledges is the true measure of power , not rally attendance.
Ultimate Leverage	94% Strike	The high vote,	Discipline: Train

	Authorization Vote	combined with the 5,042 pledges, forced the Board to concede, securing the campaign's core goal.	for unwavering unity and discipline in the face of threats, ensuring the commitment (pledge) holds firm during the final negotiation.
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3. Case Study Debrief Questions

Understanding Core Concepts

What does the phrase “Power is not what you have, but what you can mobilize” mean in the context of union organizing?

How did framing demands as Common Good issues change the campaign’s reach and impact?

Analyzing the Case Study

What were the key turning points in the Schools Everyone Deserves campaign that shifted power toward the union?

Why was achieving 92% internal unity before going public critical for success?

How did the coalition with parents, students, and community groups amplify the union’s leverage?

Applying Lessons to Your Context

What steps from the Action Checklist can you implement immediately in your own organizing work?

How can you identify and train 10% of your base as organizers in your district?

What measurable power metric (similar to the 5,000 pledges) could work for your next campaign?

Reflection on Strategy

Which phase—Internal Unity, External Coalition, or Final Confrontation—do you think is most challenging for your local union? Why?

How can you ensure your organizing structure remains strong and accountable during escalation?

4. Team Planning Checklist: Building Your Own People Power

Use these questions to assess your campaign's organizational strength:

1. **Leadership Team:** Do we have a diverse, action-oriented Leadership Team of **5-10 dedicated leaders** ?
2. **Structure Test:** Have we identified and trained **10%** of our base to be organizers?
3. **Measurable Ask:** Does our action (e.g., a petition, a button -wearing day) have a clear goal (e.g., 90% participation) that tests commitment?
4. **Narrative:** Is our primary demand framed as a **Common Good** issue to bring in external partners?
5. **Coalition:** Have we identified and secured the commitment of **50 external leaders** (parents, students, clergy) to mobilize *their* networks?
6. **Power Metric:** What is our final, public measure of commitment (e.g., **5,000 Pledges**)? Do our actions steadily build toward that number?

Who are our people?	What are your people's big issues? And How do YOU know?	What is the change that they want to see?	Do our people have common interests?
Theory of change (this is a warm up to help get your team moving towards the ultimate outcome format below) If we (DO SOMETHING) With (Who we organize) then (HOPEFUL CHANGE WIN) If we with then Organizing statement (this format below should be your team's outcome) We are Organizing (OUR PEOPLE) that have a shared purpose (WHY ARE OUR PEOPLE INTERESTED) to (DO SOMETHING) so that (HOPEFUL CHANGE WIN) by (WHAT DATE) We are organizing that believe to so that by			
Are there partners, competitors or enemies around this change?	What resources do they have that can help them realize this change?	What structures, opportunities, tactics, and strategies can you use?	



CHECKLIST: CHOOSE TACTICS THAT FIT

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



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

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

⁵ See Tactics Manual WEAC.doc in resource section.

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT PROTEST AND PERSUASION**Formal Statements**

1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

THE METHODS OF SOCIAL NONCOOPERATION**Ostracism of Persons**

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (*hijrat*)

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS**Actions by Consumers**

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and Management

81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

THE METHODS OF ECONOMIC NONCOOPERATION: THE STRIKE**Symbolic Strikes**

97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

- 101. Refusal of impressed labor
- 102. Prisoners' strike
- 103. Craft strike
- 104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

- 105. Establishment strike
- 106. Industry strike
- 107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes

- 108. Detailed strike
- 109. Bumper strike
- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working-to-rule strike
- 112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
- 113. Strike by resignation
- 114. Limited strike
- 115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

- 116. Generalized strike
- 117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

- 118. Hartal
- 119. Economic shutdown

THE METHODS OF POLITICAL NONCOOPERATION

Rejection of Authority

- 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- 121. Refusal of public support
- 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

- 123. Boycott of legislative bodies
- 124. Boycott of elections
- 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- 126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies
- 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- 128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
- 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
- 130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

- 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- 134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
- 135. Popular nonobedience
- 136. Disguised disobedience
- 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- 138. Sitdown
- 139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
- 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
- 141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel

- 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative noncooperation
- 146. Judicial noncooperation
- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

- 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action

- 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
- 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition

- 154. Severance of diplomatic relations
- 155. Withdrawal from international organizations
- 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
- 157. Expulsion from international organizations

THE METHODS OF NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological Intervention

- 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- 159. The fast
 - a) Fast of moral pressure
 - b) Hunger strike
 - c) Satyagrahic fast
- 160. Reverse trial
- 161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in
- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids
- 169. Nonviolent air raids
- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- 173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

- 174. Establishing new social patterns
- 175. Overloading of facilities
- 176. Stall-in
- 177. Speak-in
- 178. Guerrilla theater
- 179. Alternative social institutions
- 180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention

- 181. Reverse strike
- 182. Stay-in strike
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance of blockades
- 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. Preclusive purchasing
- 187. Seizure of assets
- 188. Dumping
- 189. Selective patronage
- 190. Alternative markets
- 191. Alternative transportation systems
- 192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

- 193. Overloading of administrative systems
- 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
- 195. Seeking imprisonment
- 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- 197. Work-on without collaboration
- 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Far too often people struggling for democratic rights and justice are not aware of the full range of methods of non-violent action. Wise strategy, attention to the dynamics of nonviolent struggle, and careful selection of methods can increase a group's chances of success.

Gene Sharp researched and catalogued these 198 methods and provided a rich selection of historical examples in his seminal work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.

REDLINE TACTICS

A “Red Line” tactic is the discriminatory practice of withholding resources, opportunities, or access from a specific group or geographic area. This is done to maintain existing power structures and undermine the community's organizing efforts.

Identify a Redline to explore - Consider your own principles and values. Then align this with likely future actions of the Target of your Campaign. You are likely the best judge to guess what reactionary tactic your target might use as redline.

Examples of redline tactics:

- An Employer openly flouts labor law
- A local Governor or judge is arrested at their home
- A School Board unilaterally stops funding a particular program
- District leaders bring in a police presence when one is not needed

Reframe the Redline

Accept that some redlines that matter to you (even death knells for your work), may not resonate to the wider public. This is a tension. One option, before going forward, is to consider if picking more widely understood redlines is better for your group — or if there are useful ways to reframe those redlines to be more visceral/relatable. Possible examples to expand our thinking:

Cuts to Student Programs	<i>“You don’t want your children attending a program 30 miles from their home because the district won’t provide this program.”</i>
Mass firings of particular employees	<i>“Imagine your student riding in a bus with a contracted driver who may not be well trained, may not know the area, is not well known to the community.”</i>
Employees locked out of their place of work.	<i>“If they can prevent these workers from working and take away their healthcare, how can they really care about the health and welfare of our students?.”</i>
Over Policing During Peaceful Events	<i>“Why would police be needed as a response to educators, parents, and students who are peacefully, joyfully representing their point of view? This is a belief that build our nation.”</i>

Follow these steps to strategically plan for a redline Tactic

1. REVEAL — Expose the Injustice

Powerholders prefer to act in the shadows. If we want a redline to resonate, we must **bring the facts into the light** — using images, stories, and trusted voices.

2. REDEEM — Validate your Position and People

Redlines often come with smear campaigns. Those affected are devalued, criminalized, or painted as disposable. Our job is to **re-humanize** them.

3. RE-FRAME — Interpret the Event as Injustice

The system will try to spin it — calling it a misunderstanding, an isolated event, or your fault. We need to **name it clearly as wrong**, and make it part of a larger story.

4. REDIRECT — Mobilize Outside the System

Redlines CAN be pushed into courts, reviews, or commissions — slow processes that demobilize people. Instead, we can channel public anger into **direct action and visible resistance**.

5. RESIST — Build Strength and Withstand Pushback

After redlines are revealed, the backlash begins — intimidation, bribes, threats. We can **protect each other**, expose these attacks, and build long-term strength.

Examples of Mass Noncooperation Tactics

Mass noncooperation tactics are powerful tools of civil resistance that enable people to challenge oppressive systems without the use of violence. By strategically refusing to participate in economic, social, or political activities, individuals and groups can disrupt the functioning of institutions and signal widespread dissent. These tactics range from economic boycotts and mass strikes to social withdrawal, tax resistance, and civil servant noncooperation. Historical and contemporary examples demonstrate how such actions can undermine unjust authority, shift public opinion, and lay the groundwork for systemic change.

Economic noncooperation includes tactics such as divestment, strike, or boycott.

Social noncooperation requires refusing to engage in expected social behavior. Tactics in the category include withdrawal from a system, ostracizing an individual, or refusing to cooperate with specific events or customs. For example, one may withhold religious rights to political leaders whose practices violate the tenants of religion, as the Burmese monks did to military officials in 1990.

Political noncooperation requires withdrawing cooperation from a political system or institution. One example is inter-agency noncooperation, such as when, in 2015, the Korean fire department turned off fire hydrants in order to prevent security forces from water hosing protestors.

<https://www.tactics.nonviolenceinternational.net/index>

<https://www.tactics.nonviolenceinternational.net/categories>

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1. Economic Boycotts

- [The Power of Boycotts](#)
- [History of Successful Boycotts | Ethical Consumer](#)

Economic Boycotts, the act of refusing to buy or use goods or services from a specific entity as a form of protest, are a long-standing and effective method of expressing dissent and advocating for change.

Past boycotts have targeted cosmetics brand [L'Oreal](#) over its animal testing policy, [Barclays Bank](#) over its investments in fossil fuels, and online giant [Amazon](#) over its egregious tax avoidance.

Potential questions for this group:

- Who is the individual in power whose actions we seek to change?
- What is our demand to that individual?
- Who will we seek to participate in this boycott?
- What alternatives will we offer to people to meet their needs?
- Who will serve as our negotiators to the company?
- How will we spread information to the people who we seek to participate?
- Map out a cross section of the business pillar to show how you will move your target and get to a better future.

2. Worker/Mass strikes

- [What would a general strike in the US actually look like? | Waging Nonviolence](#)

Worker/ Mass strikes involve the deliberate withdrawal of support and collaboration from a person, institution, or system in order to challenge their authority or policies and disrupt the economic status quo. In the US, there have been only a few general strikes – defined as coordinated work stoppages by trade unions across different sectors, and never a nationwide one.

Past US strikes include the Seattle general strike in 1919 , the 1936-1937 Flint Sit-Down Strike where workers remained inside the GM automobile plants and the Memphis sanitation strike of 1968 when Black sanitation workers struck in protest of dangerous working conditions and discriminatory practices.

Potential questions for this group:

- What sectors of workers hold key power?
- How will we know we are ready to strike/ ready to win?
- What are the legal rights or regulations for this sector?
- What are the material needs would we need to make sure are met if workers went on strike?
- How would information spread about a strike?
- Map out a cross section of the gov't worker and/or business pillar to show how you will move your target and get to a better future.

3. Tax resistance

- [National Tax Strike](#)

Tax resistance is the act of refusing to pay taxes as a form of protest against government policies or actions. Tax resistance can involve various legal and illegal methods, such as:

- Legal: Reducing taxable income through simple living, paying under protest, or using tax avoidance techniques.
- Illegal: Evading taxes by working off-the-books, redirecting taxes to charities, refusing to pay specific taxes (like the telephone tax), or simply refusing to file or pay.

The American Revolutionary demand "no taxation without representation" referred to the colonists' refusal to pay taxes to the British regime. Henry David Thoreau refused to pay his poll tax to protest slavery and the Mexican-American War. War Tax resistance focuses on refusal to pay taxes that fund war, often based on conscientious objection.

Potential questions for this group:

- How could we signal to tax agencies that people are beginning to get ready to withhold taxes?
- What barriers would we need to overcome for people to become ready for this idea?
- What is the best first step for a campaign like this?
- Map a cross section of the pillar of tax paying entities to show how you will move your target and get to a better future.

4. Social noncooperation

- Danish 10 Commandments: <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/danish-citizens-resist-nazis-1940-1945>
- <https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace/73Sharp/Sharp73-ch4.pdf>

Social noncooperation is a deliberate withdrawal of support, cooperation, or participation in activities deemed harmful or unjust, with individuals or groups refusing to participate in or support social structures, customs, or institutions they oppose.

These types of actions can include suspension of social and sports activities, boycotts of social affairs, student strikes, withdrawal from social institutions, denying communion, and sex strikes.

A text from 1940 of the “Ten Commandments for Danes”, laid out resistance to German occupation, calling for a refusal to work for the Germans, minimal effort in assisting the Germans, the destruction of German machinery and tools, a boycott of German goods, and the providing of protection for anyone oppressed by the Germans.

Potential questions for this group:

- What would social noncooperation look like in your community?
- What groups would be the most important to engage?
- How can you provide on ramps for people to participate in social noncooperation?
- What kinds of support systems can you put in place to ensure wider participation?

5. Opposition fraternization

- ICE, Military, Police
 - <https://www.tactics.nonviolenceinternational.net/tactics/Fraternization>
- Electoral /Political Party Infrastructure

Opposition fraternization is a practice by members of an opposition movement attempting to build relationships and establish positive dialogue with members of the repressive group with the aim of fostering sympathy, understanding, and potentially even support for their cause.

One goal is to encourage security forces to question their loyalty to the ruling authority and potentially disobey orders to use violence against protesters, or even defect. Another goal could be to infiltrate political party opposition and force change from inside.

Belarusian protests (2020-2021): Protesters actively sought to fraternize with state forces, and studies indicate a negative correlation between successful fraternization attempts and occurrences of state repression. Egyptian Revolution (2011): Protesters actively used fraternization, including instances of protesters "hugging soldiers" to win them over, and a committee was formed to negotiate directly with the military.

Potential questions for this group:

- What would Opposition fraternization look like in your community?
- What groups would be the most important to engage?
- How can you provide on ramps for people to participate in Opposition fraternization?
- What kinds of support systems can you put in place to ensure wider participation?

6. Building Alternative Structures/ Institutions/ Support

- [ICNC - Alternative Institution-Building as Civil Resistance](#)
- <https://www.mutualaidhub.org/resources>

Alternative institutions, in the context of civil resistance, refer to the process by which organized civilians establish new practices and organizations that are parallel to and aim to challenge existing structures viewed as unjust and oppressive. These alternative institutions can serve various purposes, including self-rule, with alternative governance, or to challenge or reform existing systems, or provide mutual support within communities, particularly for marginalized communities facing systemic inequalities.

Formal "shadow governments," or "shadow cabinets" often consist of a senior group of opposition spokespeople who shadow the government's cabinet members, scrutinizing their policies and presenting alternative policies. Alternative infrastructures, resource platforms can also be part of building resilience in the face of perceived societal collapse or instability.

Potential questions for this group:

- What "people's systems" or alternative structure, institutions or support have you/ your communities participated in?
- Who in your community has the knowledge about how these systems work/worked?
- How can you help your community learn from them?
- How might the practice be expanded in a way that is both equitable and resilient in these times?

7. Judicial Jury Participation/ Nullification

- [What is jury nullification?](#)
- https://fija.org/file_download/inline/b6542064-ee54-418d-8e9e-58242ad2bd92

Jury Nullification happens when the jury in a criminal trial gives a verdict of not guilty even though they think a defendant has broken the law. It is also known as conscientious acquittal, juror veto, or jury pardon.

In United States constitutional history, nullification is a legal theory that a state has the right to nullify, or invalidate, any federal laws that they deem unconstitutional with respect to the United States Constitution (as opposed to the state's own constitution).

Examples in the USA include rejection of the Fugitive Slave Laws and alcohol prohibition. When jurors in capital cases convict the accused, but refuse to impose the death penalty, this can also be considered nullification.

Potential questions for this group:

- What would move jurors to nullify juries?
- How would we inform people about this tactic? What would they need to know?
- What would need to be in place to take this tactic to scale?
- Map out a cross section of the justice system pillar to show how you will move your target and get to a better future.

8. Civil Servant/ Internal Regime noncooperation

- [Serve the People - We're Worth Fighting For. A civil servants guide for 2024 & Beyond](#)-- for civil servants /federal employees/military on their options.:
- Civil Servant Option Charts:
<https://drive.proton.me/urls/AK4JV8JS40#UOJIIP1PhzF>

Anyone employed by the regime or in professional positions within the system can consider active resistance: slowing down implementation of or refusing actions they believe are illegal or immoral. This includes activities from malicious compliance to whistleblowing, intentional incompetence to ethical refusal to do harm, and public resignation from key positions to subversive ongoing harm prevention work.

Examples from WorldWar II include manufacturing munitions to incorrect standards for the Nazis, smuggling documentation of atrocities out to the world, and creating official documents for vulnerable people so they could leave the country.

Potential questions for this group:

- What sectors of civil servants hold key power?
- What are the legal rights or regulations for this sector?
- What are the material needs would we need to make sure are met if civil servants are targeted for their actions?
- How would information spread about a internal regime noncooperation?
- Map out a cross section of the civil servant or federal worker pillar to show how you will move your target and get to a better future.