

THEY SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE!

How to Win Progressive Change When the Odds Are Against Us



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HOW TO WIN PROGRESSIVE CHANGE WHEN THE ODDS ARE AGAINST US

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FOREWORD

RECLAIMING OUR COUNTRY, THE SMART WAY

I frequently meet people who love this country and worry that it is in deep trouble, but don't know what they can do about it. It's hard for them to see how an individual can make a real difference when our problems are so big.

But our history tells us that when individuals get together, we can create real and lasting change. And this publication tells us how LAANE is successfully taking on the challenge of building a new economy, one that is fair, sustainable, and humane.

It has been 30 years since I co-founded People For the American Way. For many of those years, I have also watched and learned from LAANE's smart approach to transformative activism.

Over the past two decades, LAANE has figured out a way to win. Its approach has produced the L.A. Living Wage law, the L.A. Live Community Benefits Agreement and the Port of Los Angeles Clean Truck Program. These are not only transformative local victories; they are also roadmaps to change that have been used all across the country.

It's not that LAANE always wins – no one does. But they are always learning – from their defeats as well as their victories. And with this publication they are giving all of us the chance to learn from their experience.

I believe it will make me a better activist. I hope it does the same for you.

Yours,

NORMAN LEAR

Founder
People for the American Way
<http://www.pfaw.org>

CAMPAIGN MODEL FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE

1. VISION - WHAT DO WE WANT TO WIN?
2. RESEARCH
3. POLICY DEVELOPMENT
INCLUDING LEGAL SUPPORT
4. FUNDRAISING
5. COMMUNITY AND WORKER
(IF APPROPRIATE) ORGANIZING
6. COALITION BUILDING
7. POWERFUL ADVOCACY
8. COMMUNICATIONS

ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION

There's an old saying that goes, "The only true wisdom is in knowing you know nothing." While this may be a good safeguard against arrogance and zealotry, it doesn't offer much help if you are trying to make the world a better place.

Anyone who has spent some time in the trenches of social justice work knows how hard it is to create meaningful change. As the title of this publication suggests, the odds are often against us. Whether it's because of an unfriendly political landscape, a scarcity of resources or the power of our opponents, significant victories can be elusive.

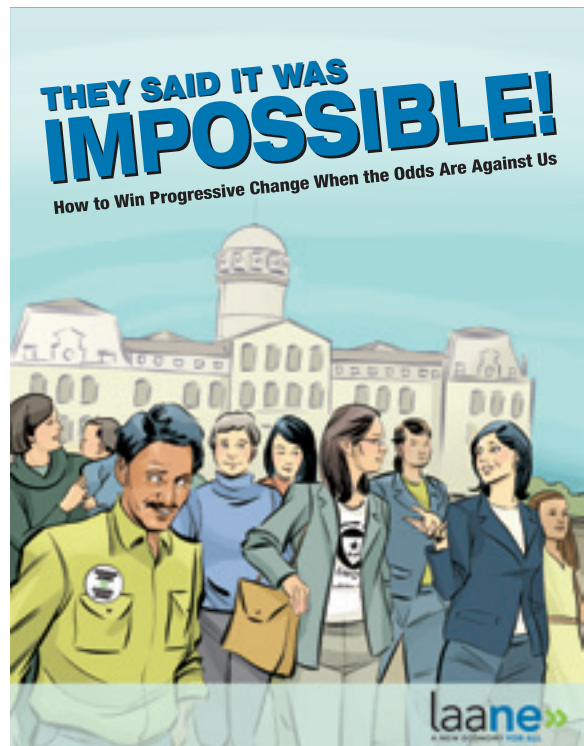
"They Said It Was Impossible" is predicated on the idea that, while true social change is hard to achieve, the odds increase greatly if we follow some fundamental practices. Over the course of 18 years, we've both won and lost some important battles. In the process, we've learned a great deal about what works and what doesn't when it comes to bending the arc of history toward justice.

Some of the lessons are probably pretty obvious to you, just as they are to us, but that doesn't mean we (or you) always follow them. Others offer some hard-won knowledge that may help you plan your next campaign.

We can't always pretend we know which is which, but we do know this: winning is hard, and to build a real movement we need to share what we learn, and learn from others.

We also know that winning real change depends largely on the guts and determination to buck the system, to offer alternatives, to stand up for what's right. Hopefully our tips will add the extra little bit that gives you the ability to turn guts and determination into success. And if not, we hope you'll at least enjoy it.

What follows is a parable and some specific suggestions that you may be able to use. We can't promise that you'll win. We can't promise that we know the answers, or even that we know more than you. All we can say is that we've used this approach to achieve some meaningful victories, and we hope that it proves helpful to you.



GRAPHIC NOVEL:

COALITION FOR A BETTER SPRINGFIELD



WORLD vs. GREEN EARTH CORPORATION



THE FEBRUARY MONTHLY MEETING OF THE COALITION FOR A BETTER SPRINGFIELD.

THIS WILL SOUND CRAZY, BUT EVER SINCE I STARTED WORKING FOR GREEN EARTH RECYCLING CENTERS I'VE HAD BREATHING PROBLEMS.

YOU'RE NOT CRAZY - HUNDREDS OF FAMILIES HAVE GOTTEN ASTHMA SINCE GREEN EARTH CAME TO TOWN. THE ONLY GREEN I CAN SEE IS THE MONEY THEY'RE MAKING RUINING OUR HEALTH.

'LOUSY WAGES, TOXIC FUMES' - THAT SHOULD BE THEIR MARKETING SLOGAN. I THINK IT'S TIME TO CALL COUNCILMEMBER BROWN.



SILVIA DIALS COUNCILMEMBER GEORGE BROWN, WHO WAS ELECTED BY A COALITION OF UNIONS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS ON A PLATFORM OF GOOD GREEN JOBS.

HI SILVIA, I GOT YOUR MESSAGE ABOUT GREEN EARTH AND THE RISE IN ASTHMA - VERY DISTURBING. I'M TAKING THIS TO THE COUNCIL'S ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE.

THANKS COUNCILMEMBER BROWN. WE'LL BE THERE IN FORCE TO BACK YOU UP.



THE MARCH MEETING OF
THE COALITION FOR A
BETTER SPRINGFIELD.

THE ENVIRONMENT
COMMITTEE MEETING IS
COMING UP FAST - WE NEED
A GAME PLAN, ASAP. HOW
ABOUT WE CALL THIS THE
CAMPAIGN FOR RESPON-
SIBLE RECYCLING
CENTERS?

AS LONG AS
"RESPONSIBLE"
MEANS CLEANING UP
THE AIR AND PAYING
WORKERS DECENT
WAGES.

I'LL CALL THE
HOUSING AND
IMMIGRATION
REFORM FOLKS.

WITH 100 PEOPLE,
PLUS SOME PRESS,
IT'LL BE HARD FOR
THE COUNCIL TO
SAY NO.



THE COALITION HOLDS A PRESS CONFERENCE PRIOR TO THE ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE HEARING ANNOUNCING THEIR PROPOSAL FOR RESPONSIBLE RECYCLING



CAN YOU PROVE THAT SWITCHING TO CLEAN-FUEL TRUCKS WILL GET RID OF ASTHMA IN SPRINGFIELD?

COUNCILMAN BROWN, THE CHAMBER SAYS THAT YOU ARE RAMMING THIS THROUGH. WHY DON'T YOU STUDY THIS ISSUE FIRST?

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST FOR GREEN EARTH TO CLEAN UP THE AIR AND PAY ITS WORKERS MORE?

SURPRISED AT THE MEDIA'S SKEPTICISM BUT NOT CONVINCED THAT IT NEEDS EXPENSIVE RESEARCH AND EXPERT WITNESSES, THE COALITION PROCEEDS TO THE COUNCIL COMMITTEE MEETING.

THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD

WE PROPOSE THAT RECYCLING CENTERS REDUCE EMISSIONS, SWITCH TO CLEAN-FUEL TRUCKS AND PAY WORKERS BETTER WAGES...

OUR RESEARCH AT THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION SHOWS THAT THE WIND CURRENT FROM THE FACILITY BLOWS THE SMOKE AWAY FROM SPRINGFIELD, SO IT CAN'T POSSIBLY BE THE CAUSE OF THIS ASTHMA...

THE U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BELIEVES THIS IS A JOB KILLER. GREEN EARTH WILL MOVE ITS FACILITY TO ANOTHER TOWN.

WHEN COUNCILMEMBER BROWN MAKES A MOTION TO REFER THE MATTER TO THE ENTIRE CITY COUNCIL, IT LOSES 3-1.

LEAVING CITY HALL, THE COALITION TALKS ABOUT WHAT WENT WRONG.

WE JUST GOT RUN OVER BY GREEN EARTH AND THE CHAMBER.

WERE WE DELUDING OURSELVES THAT A GRASSROOTS COALITION COULD EVER BEAT A HUGE CORPORATION LIKE GREEN EARTH?

ABSOLUTELY NOT. BUT LET'S EVALUATE WHAT HAPPENED AND COME UP WITH A NEW PLAN.



LET'S TALK ABOUT
WHAT WE DID WELL AND
WHAT WE COULD DO
BETTER TO WIN THIS
CAMPAIGN.

COUNCILMAN
BROWN WAS GREAT,
BUT WE NEED TO
WORK WITH OTHER
COUNCILMEMBERS TO
OUT-ORGANIZE THOSE
GREEN EARTH
LOBBYISTS.

WE NEED REAL
RESEARCH TO
RESPOND TO THE
CHAMBER PEOPLE AND
TO EDUCATE THE
PRESS AND DECISION
MAKERS.

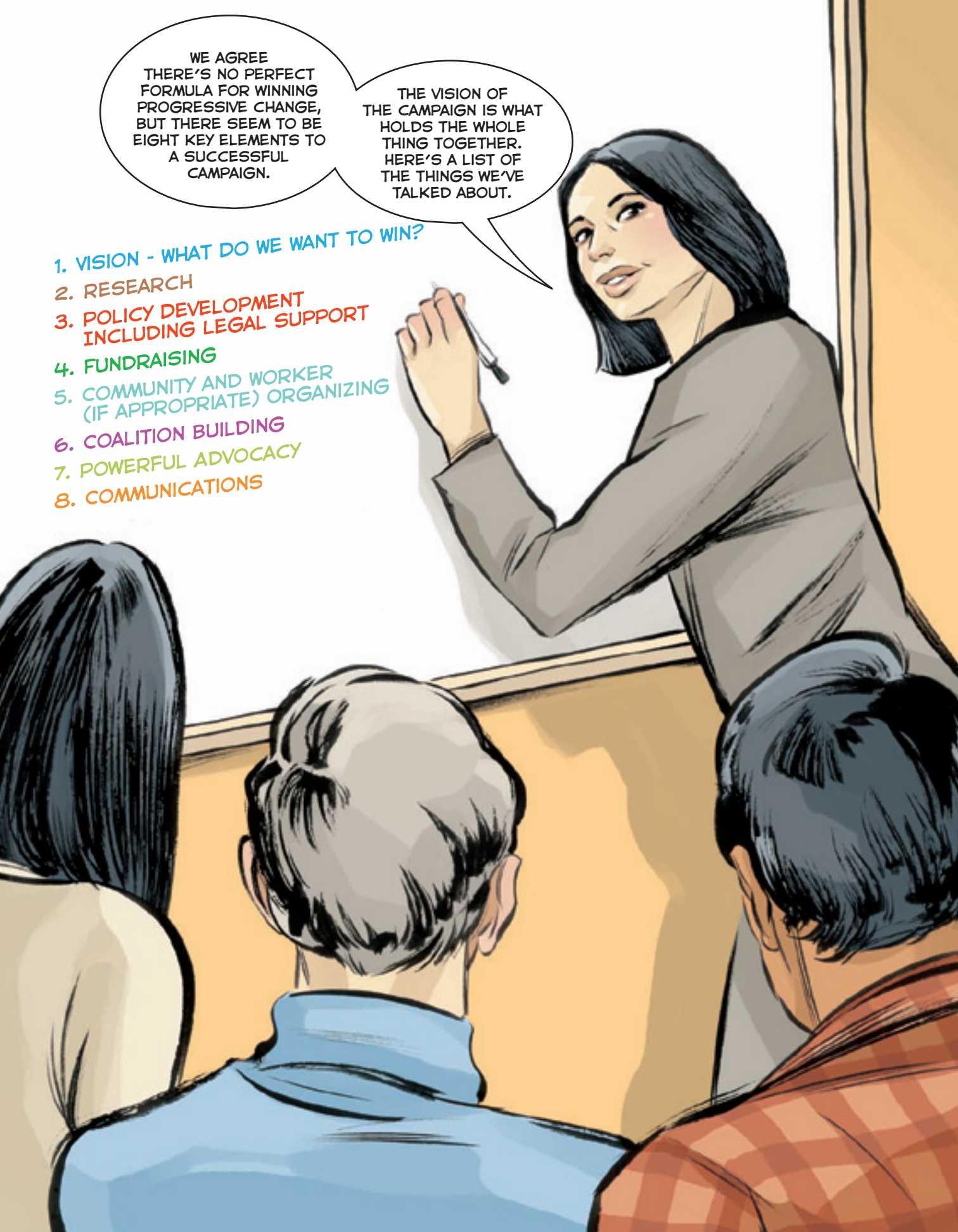
WE NEED TO DO
CREATIVE ACTIONS
TO GET A LOT
MORE PRESS
COVERAGE.

RESPONSIBLE
RECYCLING
NOW

WE AGREE
THERE'S NO PERFECT
FORMULA FOR WINNING
PROGRESSIVE CHANGE,
BUT THERE SEEM TO BE
EIGHT KEY ELEMENTS TO
A SUCCESSFUL
CAMPAIGN.

THE VISION OF
THE CAMPAIGN IS WHAT
HOLDS THE WHOLE
THING TOGETHER.
HERE'S A LIST OF
THE THINGS WE'VE
TALKED ABOUT.

1. VISION - WHAT DO WE WANT TO WIN?
2. RESEARCH
3. POLICY DEVELOPMENT
INCLUDING LEGAL SUPPORT
4. FUNDRAISING
5. COMMUNITY AND WORKER
(IF APPROPRIATE) ORGANIZING
6. COALITION BUILDING
7. POWERFUL ADVOCACY
8. COMMUNICATIONS



CAMPAIGN MODEL FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE

1. VISION - WHAT DO WE WANT TO WIN?
2. RESEARCH
3. POLICY DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING LEGAL SUPPORT
4. FUNDRAISING
5. COMMUNITY AND WORKER (IF APPROPRIATE) ORGANIZING
6. COALITION BUILDING
7. POWERFUL ADVOCACY
8. COMMUNICATIONS

AS WE'VE DISCUSSED, WE START WITH A STRONG FOUNDATION OF ACTIONS FROM WHICH THE SUBSEQUENT ROWS BUILD UPON. THE ACTIONS ARE COLOR CODED TO CORRESPOND WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE ELEMENTS AT THE LEFT.

WE HAVE INCORPORATED BLUE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE DIAGRAM, REPRESENTING HOW THE "VISION" HOLDS THE CAMPAIGN TOGETHER.



HOLD ACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL SUPPORT

LAUNCH THE CAMPAIGN WITH RELEASE OF A STUDY, WEBSITE, SOCIAL MEDIA & OP-ED STRATEGY

DEVELOP A POWERFUL MESSAGE

BEGIN POLICY DEVELOPMENT & LEGAL RESEARCH

ELECT STRONG PROGRESSIVE PUBLIC OFFICIALS (CAN'T BE DONE WITH NONPROFIT FUNDS)

RESEARCH THE ISSUE

AFTER A TWO-DAY RETREAT, THE COALITION CREATES A PLAN BASED ON THIS STRATEGY. THREE MONTHS LATER THEY RE-LAUNCH THEIR CAMPAIGN FOR A SPRINGFIELD ORDINANCE FOR RESPONSIBLE RECYCLING CENTERS.

POLICY ADOPTED AND LIVES IMPROVED

PREP FOR FINAL VOTE AND OPPOSITION'S RESPONSE TO IT. LOBBY ELECTEDS, PREPARE FINAL RESEARCH, TURN OUT KEY SUPPORTERS, KEY EXPERTS AND UNLIKELY ALLIES.

CONTINUE COALITION BUILDING TO MAINTAIN UNITED FRONT

MOBILIZE COALITION AND LOBBY DECISION MAKERS TO SHOW SUPPORT

WORK BEHIND THE SCENES WITH CITY ATTORNEY TO SHAPE THE POLICY

CONTINUE BUILDING THE CASE, EDUCATING THE PRESS AND COUNTERING OPPOSITION

SECURE POLITICAL SUPPORT AND INOCULATE AGAINST POTENTIAL OPPOSITION

DEVELOP POLICY PROPOSAL WITH COMMUNITY AND COALITION

LAUNCH FUNDRAISING EFFORTS (ONGOING)

DEVELOP A FUNDRAISING PLAN

DEVELOP COMPELLING VISUAL MATERIALS & TRAIN SPOKESPEOPLE

FIND CHAMPIONS INSIDE LEGISLATIVE BODIES

ASSESS THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE TO SEE IF WE CAN WIN

ORGANIZE THE COMMUNITY AROUND THE ISSUE

BUILD A BROAD COALITION

TWO YEARS LATER, AFTER A TOUGH CAMPAIGN, THE COALITION GATHERS TO CELEBRATE PASSAGE OF THE SPRINGFIELD ORDINANCE FOR RESPONSIBLE RECYCLING CENTERS.

WE DID IT!
ONCE WE GOT CLEAR
ON WHAT IT WOULD TAKE
TO WIN, WE FIGURED
OUT HOW.

YEAH, IT FEELS AMAZING.
BUT DON'T FORGET - NOW
WE NEED TO STAY ON TOP OF
GREEN EARTH AND THE CITY
TO MAKE SURE THE POLICY
IS ENFORCED.

GREEN
JOBS
=
GOOD
JOBS



ONE YEAR LATER...

YOU KNOW, THAT RAISE I GOT WAS GREAT, BUT WORKING CONDITIONS ARE STILL REALLY BAD AT THE RECYCLING CENTER. GREEN EARTH IS JUST DRAGGING ITS FEET.

YOU'RE RIGHT, JOHN - GREEN EARTH MAY HAVE CLEANED UP ITS ACT ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL FRONT, BUT THE WORKERS REALLY WANT A UNION, AND THEY NEED OUR SUPPORT TO WIN.

REMEMBER WHAT WE LEARNED IN THIS PROCESS: BE SMART, STAY TOGETHER AND KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE.

YES - GOOD GREEN JOBS, HEALTHY COMMUNITIES, AN ECONOMY THAT WORKS FOR EVERYONE. IT'S A MARATHON, NOT A SPRINT - BUT WE WILL WIN.

GREEN
JOBS
GOOD
JOBS

GREEN
EARTH

CASE STUDY: **THE COALITION FOR A BETTER INGLEWOOD** **VS.** **WALMART**

Duration of the campaign: 2 years

Cost of the campaign to the Coalition for a Better Inglewood: \$500,000 over two years

Cost of the campaign to Walmart: Over \$1.5 million in the election alone

Outcome of the campaign: Community oversight of planning intact; superstore accountability

In 2002, Walmart announced plans to build a superstore in Inglewood, California. Concerned about the negative impact on the community, including the effect on local businesses and well-paying supermarket jobs, the City Council passed a ban on superstores. When Walmart threatened to take the ban to voters, the City Council repealed the ordinance.

In 2003, Walmart collected enough signatures to place a deceptive initiative on the local ballot to circumvent the planning process entirely and build the enormous supercenter without any public or legislative oversight whatsoever.

In response, LAANE joined with clergy, unions, civil rights groups and businesses to form the Coalition for a Better Inglewood. For the next year the Coalition held community actions to educate the public about Walmart and how its initiative would strip the community of its rights.

As a public education campaign evolved into an electoral campaign, the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor helped mount a sophisticated direct mail and field effort. The Coalition realized that while they could not go dollar for dollar against Walmart, they could go toe to toe. Through an intensive door-to-door and phone campaign, the Coalition engaged voters, countering Walmart's expensive PR effort. Still, pundits and pollsters saw little evidence that Walmart could be defeated



Then on April 4, 2004, in a stunning electoral upset, 60% of Inglewood voters said NO to the Walmart initiative. The victory in Inglewood set the stage for similar victories in other low-income communities, and both the Inglewood and Los Angeles city councils subsequently adopted superstore accountability laws. For more information about campaigns around the world related to Walmart, see <http://www.walmartworkersforchange.org/>.

CASE STUDY: **THE COALITION FOR A NEW CENTURY** **VS.** **THE LAX HOTEL INDUSTRY**

Duration of the campaign: 2 years

Cost of the campaign to the Coalition for a New Century: \$600,000

Cost of the campaign to the hotels and their business allies: Millions of dollars

Outcome of the campaign: Living wage, worker retention and tip protection laws passed and implemented for workers at 13 hotels; full family health care, job training and many new opportunities for workers at 4 hotels represented by UNITEHERE Local 11. With city support, the L.A. Community College District will soon open a hospitality conference and training center on the Century Corridor.

In 2005, community leaders came together to reverse decades of economic and social decline in the neighborhoods near Los Angeles International Airport, known as the Century Corridor. Arguing that poor conditions in the hotel industry were a chief cause of the area's poverty and distress, they came up with a policy proposal to improve conditions for hotel workers while bringing much-needed investment to the industry.

The community and LAANE partnered with UNITEHERE Local 11, which represents thousands of hospitality workers in the Los Angeles region. They recruited leaders from the education field and grassroots organizations, which saw that this vision matched their own. Over a three-year period, the coalition – called the Coalition for a New Century – gained support from the Mayor of Los Angeles and other elected officials, and grew to include other unions, business leaders and religious leaders, all of whom had a stake in the Century Corridor.

Despite strong opposition from the hotel industry and other business interests, the Coalition and its allies led a successful effort to pass a package of legislation to dramatically improve conditions for the nearly 3,000 hotel workers in the Century Corridor. When the hotels collected enough signatures for a ballot referendum on one of the laws, a living wage ordinance, the L.A. City Council rescinded the ordinance and then adopted new legislation that preserved the living wage and included certain provisions sought by industry leaders such as a phase-in of the wage provisions and enhanced public investment in the area.



Nevertheless, several of the hotels sued the city, claiming that the living wage law was illegal. A judge granted an injunction against the law, delaying its implementation and denying workers millions of dollars in wages. But in 2007, the court ruled in favor of the city and the law took effect, ensuring a living wage for all hotel workers in the Century Corridor. A lawsuit against a second ordinance protecting the tips of hotel workers was subsequently dismissed as well.

Workers at four of the Century Corridor hotels are now represented by UNITEHERE Local 11. The rest now receive living wages, health benefits and other benefits required by the legislation.

THE COMPREHENSIVE CAMPAIGN APPROACH

THESE ARE THE CORE ELEMENTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE CAMPAIGN. WE HAVE DEVELOPED THIS MODEL OVER THE PAST 18 YEARS, AND HAVE FOUND THAT IT PROVIDES A STRONG FOUNDATION FOR SUCCESS.

VISION – WHAT DO WE WANT TO WIN?

It's almost a truism to say that successful campaigns start with a clear vision of what we want to achieve. But the importance of thinking this through initially cannot be overstated.

You can't research an industry or an issue effectively if you aren't sure what you are trying to achieve. You can't raise funds or recruit coalition partners for something vague or unclear.

A vision is not merely an analysis of the problem, nor is it a detailed breakdown of your bottom lines. Instead, it's a clear sense of what you're trying to accomplish, why you're trying to accomplish it and how you think you can win.

These aren't mere rhetorical questions or things that get answered quickly. You shouldn't assume the answers are obvious, nor should you assume your instincts are right. Question yourself, challenge yourself and make sure you're committing to something specific, real, winnable and important to you.

Obviously every organization will answer these questions differently for every campaign, but there are a few things we think should be part of any vision. It's especially important that this vision be developed with your allies and leaders, who will help drive the organizing.

First, your campaign should have a concrete goal, and a clear, if difficult, path to victory. If winning your campaign means nothing more than "changing the debate," is it worth hundreds of thousands of dollars and countless late nights away from your family? Even if you think so, will your partners?

Second, your vision should be clear and easily explainable. If you can't describe your basic goals in a few sentences, forget about trying to get anyone else on board.

Third, your vision should be not just for today or tomorrow but for the long-term. We need our campaigns to build movements, not just win immediate policy victories, so your vision should have a clear moral component, and be one that relates to the hearts and minds of your allies, whether in the community or on the city council or in the White House.

Finally, if your vision includes trying to change the economy and the standard of living for working families, the labor movement is an essential partner. When we've won, it's been because we partnered with unions dedicated to organizing and winning progressive change. When we've lost, it's been because we've had great ideas but no clear partner, and we've lacked the compelling voice of workers trying to make their lives better.

RESEARCH

Once you've got your vision, you need research, a term that seems simple and straightforward, but is about much more than

merely gathering information. Research plays a variety of roles in the development and execution of a successful advocacy project.

GETTING STARTED

Research is critical in determining whether or not to undertake a campaign. Answering key questions about your target and the relevant decision-makers is essential to knowing whether or not your campaign has

a reasonable chance of winning. Once a decision has been made to move forward, an indispensable step is a "research and development" phase which will likely last at least several months.

RESEARCHING THE TARGET

You must fully understand who will be affected by your campaign. Your target might be a company (e.g., a big box site fight), an industry (e.g., living wages for hotel workers), a development project (e.g., a community benefits agreement) or even the entire private sector (e.g., a higher minimum wage in the jurisdiction). Whatever your project, the change you seek will garner opposition, and you have to understand the opposition. Assuming that the policy is directed at an

industry, you will need to answer numerous questions. What does the industry look like? How is it structured? What are its products or services? Who are its customers? What are its points of contact with the public? What are the workforce characteristics? Who are the key players? What is the regulatory oversight? What are the industry's strengths and weaknesses? Are there any friendly industry players? Are there especially egregious actors?

ARTICULATING THE PROBLEM

Before you can persuade anyone of the wisdom of your policy, you must first establish that there is a crisis which requires action. What is wrong with the status quo? Who is being hurt by it? Are particular communities suffering? Is government losing revenue? What is the unfairness or injustice? What will happen if it remains unaddressed? What is unique about this situation? Can these

answers be quantified? Who is your audience and why should they care about this problem? Of course, you must strive to discuss the problem in language that will resonate with decision-makers. Pointing out injustice may sometimes be necessary, but unless it is paired with smart analysis it will rarely be sufficient.

ARTICULATING THE SOLUTION

Once you have done all of the necessary research, you are ready to provide the solution to the problem you have identified. How does your policy solve the problem? How will various constituencies benefit from this solution? Is the policy cost effective? What will be the impact on the industry? On taxpayers? On customers? Can you predict (and effectively counter) industry's arguments against the policy?


The various questions listed above will vary depending on your project, of course. But regardless of the specifics, effectively answering questions such as these should guide you toward a strategy that maximizes your opportunities and improves your chances of success.

Especially when it comes to the external arguments, you will need extensive empirical data to fully make your case. You must become familiar with industry and occupational data, governmental data, legal, corporate and company research, and

research into individuals, and you may need to design and analyze surveys (e.g., community, worker, customer, etc.) to establish empirical data.

To make a public argument, the research analyst will then produce a variety of materials, which may include reports, fact sheets, PowerPoint presentations, GIS maps, charts and graphs, letters, public comments and talking points, and website content. In addition, the research analyst is often a valuable spokesperson for a campaign, adding credibility with elected officials, media and allies.

As important as all this is, the essence of good research is to ask a lot of questions, and if you limit yourself to information that can be accessed online (or through other public sources), you will not get a complete picture. Your best asset is people: government officials, industry experts and especially coalition partners and those who live in affected areas.



***POINTING OUT INJUSTICE MAY
SOMETIMES BE NECESSARY,
BUT UNLESS IT IS PAIRED WITH
SMART ANALYSIS IT WILL RARELY
BE SUFFICIENT.***

POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND LEGAL DEFENSE

Once you've identified the goals of your campaign and done enough research to know how to achieve those goals, an important next step is developing a policy and preparing to move the policy through the official processes.

Too often, we assume that this is the job of city officials and staff, but it isn't. Passing a policy requires that you and your allies be prepared to do the work yourself.

GETTING STARTED

The first step is understanding the processes and rules that govern passage of an ordinance or policy. Every city/county/state or federal department or agency ("Agency") will have its own rules and its own conventional practices. To do this, start by reading the governing rules and looking at the steps other ordinances and policies have gone through,

but don't forget to talk to your allies to make sure you understand what steps are required and which ones are merely past practice. You will probably follow all of them either way, but knowing the difference will allow you to push back on Agency staff who want to use process and rules to deflect your efforts.

DRAFTING THE POLICY

Once you and your allies and leaders have determined the strategic goals of the policy, next you need to actually write the policy in the format that the Agency normally uses. Policies should be drafted by attorneys, so you'll need to hire a good one. If you don't have one, start with the lawyers your partner organizations use — labor unions and environmental organizations often have good attorneys — or try Legal Aid.

A good policy attorney must have several key skills. The first is creativity and a willingness to figure out how to accomplish things rather than why the law won't let you. The second is the ability to explain the law in terms that you and other laypeople can understand.

The lawyer's job is to research the case law to make sure that the policy is defensible in the event that you ever get sued. It is not to make strategic decisions about what the policy does or how it does it. It is also important that you understand the legal issues involved and are able to explain them to policymakers and others. If you don't, your attorney will quickly become your campaign director.

Your lawyer should develop two main products. The first is the actual policy. The second is an analysis of the legality of the policy. This will serve as a guide through the laws that may apply to the policy in question, and will be invaluable to both campaign and Agency staff.

BUILDING SUPPORT

Throughout the development of the policy, your allies and the people you are organizing need to be involved. It's crucial that everyone is on the same page. This should take place before you begin public hearings. This is an organizing process as much as a legal one, which is why you should lead these meetings and bring in your attorney only at critical times.

You may be wondering if Agency staff and attorneys will use your exact policy language or be offended that you've done work that is properly theirs. In most cases, the answer to both questions is no. The policy language will change, for political, legal and even personal and stylistic reasons, but the more thought you put into this language upfront, the more likely it is that the end result will accomplish your goals.

Once hearings begin, your first goal is getting the public decision-makers to officially assign Agency staff to develop a policy that achieves your goals. This is a first key "win" in passing a policy, as it gets elected officials to endorse your aims even before they agree with all your means.

Staff may work more slowly than you like, and this process can take a while. Your job is to be constantly in touch, ensuring both that your policy stays on top of their to-do list and that you are there to counter the arguments they may be hearing from opponents or the concerns they may identify in their own research.

During this period your organizers and communicators must be focused on building the public case for the policy. This can be a challenging time, but investing significant resources in creating momentum will pay off later. As the policy is being developed, it's critical to keep your base engaged and excited.

Finally, the policy will come back for a final vote or decision. Potential enactment of legislation or strong regulations typically galvanizes opponents, who previously may have underestimated your strength, and they will likely come out in force, threatening lawsuits and referendums and raising all sorts of legal questions.

You'll want to have your attorney on speed-dial to help you counter these arguments, but this is where all your preparation pays off. A key to winning policy change is giving decision-makers the confidence that you have thought of everything, and that their vote is inevitable.

A KEY TO WINNING POLICY CHANGE IS GIVING DECISION-MAKERS THE CONFIDENCE THAT YOU HAVE THOUGHT OF EVERYTHING, AND THAT THEIR VOTE IS INEVITABLE.

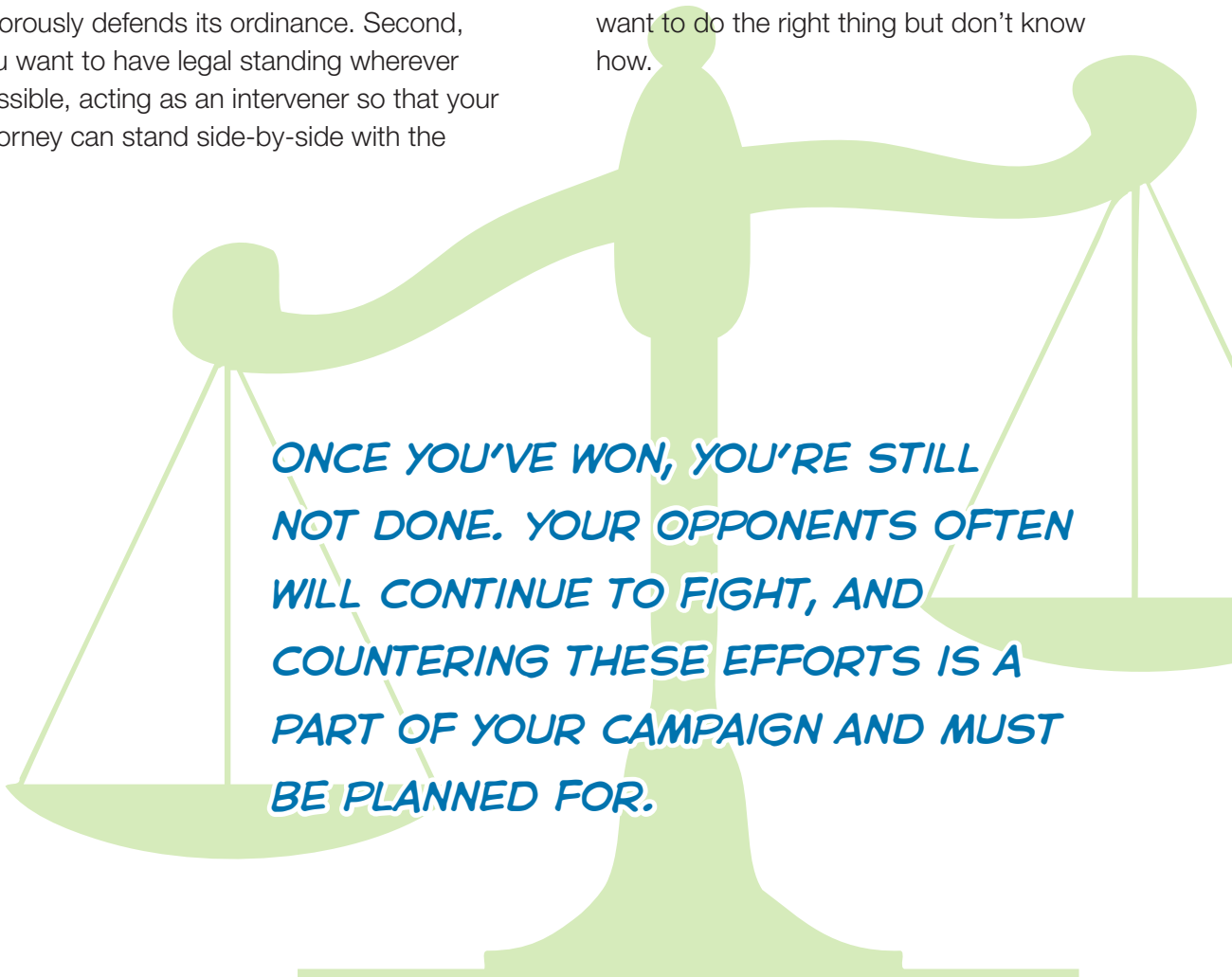
DEFENDING THE POLICY

Once you've won, you're still not done. Your opponents can and often will continue to fight, either at the ballot box via a referendum or through the courts. Countering these efforts to undo your victory is a part of your campaign and must be planned for. While your involvement in the ballot fight is likely obvious, you may not assume you have an active role in a lawsuit filed against the Agency. In fact, however, your role, and that of your attorney, is critical.

There are three key things to keep in mind. First, you want to ensure that the Agency puts a top-notch attorney on the case and vigorously defends its ordinance. Second, you want to have legal standing wherever possible, acting as an intervener so that your attorney can stand side-by-side with the

government attorney. Finally, you want to use your researchers to help the attorneys marshal their arguments and identify witnesses if needed.

All of this work makes you a partner to decision-makers and bureaucrats alike, and it's important that you act like one. That means understanding their goals and needs and respecting them at all times. It also means remembering that they are incredibly busy and distracted by many other priorities. Your single-minded focus, and your attention to detail, if done with respect, are of critical importance to decision-makers who often want to do the right thing but don't know how.



ONCE YOU'VE WON, YOU'RE STILL NOT DONE. YOUR OPPONENTS OFTEN WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT, AND COUNTERING THESE EFFORTS IS A PART OF YOUR CAMPAIGN AND MUST BE PLANNED FOR.

FUNDRAISING

It's easy to overlook, but fundraising is one of the most important components of running an effective campaign. It is difficult or impossible

to win without the resources to hire good staff, generate effective materials and mobilize stakeholders.

GETTING STARTED

The first step in developing a fundraising plan is creating a realistic assessment of what you will need. While you should consider a range of factors — political environment, the complexity of the issue, the level of opposition — make sure your budget has funding

for sufficient research, policy, organizing and communications staff, consultants, publications and equipment. At times you can double up, but be cautious about trying to do things on the cheap, because you will pay for it later.

EVALUATING PROSPECTS

Once you have an idea of how much money you need, the next step is developing a list of potential funding sources and the amounts to be raised from each one. This list can include sources from the foundation, business, labor and large and small individual donor communities. Start with those whose mission and priorities are reflected in the goals of your campaign. For larger targets, outreach should include an initial session in which your

organization can understand the target's interest areas, the target can get to know your organization and campaign plan, and trust can be built between you and the potential donor. This trust should be cultivated through the sharing of campaign updates, research, publications and media coverage to inspire and engage the donor as the campaign develops.

SECURING SUPPORT

Donor support can come in the form of grants from foundations, MOUs with labor partners who pledge monthly or annually, or donations from individuals or businesses.

Once you have gained financial supporters, maintaining the trust and confidence of your donors over time will allow you to enjoy funding over multiple years. Donors should be

seen as a key component of your campaign work and valued as campaign participants. That means ongoing communication, information sharing and transparency between you and your financial contributors.

COMMUNITY AND WORKER ORGANIZING

To succeed, your campaign needs a voice, and as much as possible you want that voice to be people who have direct experience with the problems you're trying to fix. This means workers and community members rather than just experts and organization heads. Opponents may be able to argue with you,

but it's hard to argue with compelling personal testimony by dedicated leaders trying to improve their lives. Getting beyond the "usual suspects" isn't easy, which is why workers and grassroots activists aren't a part of every campaign, but they should be part of yours.

GETTING STARTED

Recruiting grassroots leaders for your campaign requires a significant commitment of resources and a lot of creativity. While you will probably be working with key coalition partners — including unions or community organizations that represent workers and grassroots leaders in the sector or region you are targeting — you will also be working to activate your own base and recruit new leaders.

As noted above, we have been at our best when we partner with organizations that have a real organizing plan in the industry or geography we're trying to affect. Your union or community partner can be one of your most important allies, if they can bring you troops who can mobilize and people who can explain and help shape your campaign.

RECRUITING LEADERS

An organizer's best tool is the one-on-one. Our main goal as organizers is to develop deep relationships with the people we are organizing in order to build trust, confidence and accountability with one another. During the one-on-ones, the organizer and the participant get to know each other, generate excitement about the plan to win and make commitments to move the campaign forward. For this reason, one-on-ones should be done in person rather than through phone calls, email, text or letters.

Preparation for one-on-ones is critical, especially in the initial stages of relationship

building. Before sitting down with a prospect, an organizer should do the following: establish the goal of the meeting and the action plan you will develop jointly; prepare to share your personal story -- why you as an organizer choose to be involved in this campaign; and identify a set of questions to pose during the meeting to get to know the person better. If you expect to have a difficult conversation during your one-on-one, do a role play beforehand to prepare.

One good way to start recruiting grassroots leaders is a neighborhood survey. A survey plan often involves working with a researcher

to develop the right set of questions and then recruiting and training a team of people to knock on doors, talk to residents and identify leaders. Another is asking the people involved to introduce you to their friends and family or

host small meetings of neighbors. Don't forget that your best asset can be those workers who, after all, are residents too and have friends and family who can get involved.

LEADERS NOT BODIES

It's essential to mobilize your grassroots leaders and activists in order to demonstrate your power and the broad interest of a lot of people in the campaign. Asking them to show up to hearings and marches can be fun, but it is also necessary.

It's important, however, that these leaders are more than just bodies, or even spokespeople. They know the issues better than anyone, and

the most dedicated of them must be a part of your strategy and planning sessions. They should be recruiters, asking others to get involved. They should help your researchers and serve as policy advocates.

For that to happen, they'll need encouragement and training, and it's your job to provide both.

DEVELOPING LEADERSHIP

Participation in the campaign gives everyone an opportunity to build their skills. Organizers need to work with community and worker leaders to develop leadership plans tailored to the person's individual goals and the campaign's needs. Leadership development plans can train people how to identify and recruit others, how to take a lead role in strategic planning and facilitating meetings, events and actions, and how to become

more effective advocates. It's essential to make explicit plans with grassroots leaders to practice their skills — otherwise there's a good chance the organizer will try to do everything, thereby weakening the campaign and missing a great chance to develop new leaders.



COALITION BUILDING

Coalition building means doing much more than creating a list of campaign endorsers. It means finding partners who are as invested in the campaign as you are, and as responsible for its success. These partners share the burden of major mobilization, strategic decisions,

policy advocacy and everything else. We use several tools that help us identify and recruit the right people and organizations to move decision-makers and engage large numbers of stakeholders in building power. Here are some of the key steps we think make sense.

GETTING STARTED

Understanding the political landscape through tools such as a power analysis is essential to figuring out who you need to organize. A power analysis helps you answer key

questions, including which organizations and constituencies can move decision-makers, how much power has been built to date and how much power is needed in order to win.

MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE

Mapping is a process organizers use to identify the people and organizations who have influence in their community, in their workplace or with decision-makers. The mapping process can be started with the campaign team and key partners by developing an initial list of potential organizations and leaders who might be interested. Mapping should then be done in person, and will snowball; each visit should give you more names and organizations

to talk to. During the visits, use your best listening skills, take detailed notes and ask follow-up questions. You want to make sure that you understand a particular issue and its significance to the leaders in the community, as well as identify potential campaign leaders and what their relationship is to each other. The relationships built in these visits will be the foundation for organizing throughout the campaign.

A TRUE COALITION

A true coalition involves sharing the work and the power, so a key first step is to develop a decision-making process and a governance structure for the coalition. Clarity about these things helps to encourage participation, limit misunderstandings and deepen the sense of ownership.

Coalitions may be comprised of various kinds of stakeholders, such as base-building organizations (e.g., membership groups

and environmental justice groups), advocacy organizations (e.g., environmental, civil rights, immigrant rights and LGBT rights groups), national organizations and individual activists. A strong coalition will bring multiple benefits to your campaign, including the ability to mobilize large numbers of people, political influence and the expertise to impact the public debate and key targets.

ADVOCACY

In order to win your campaign, you'll need to win the support of key decision-makers. This may seem obvious, but many good ideas have been doomed by the failure to create and execute a solid legislative or policy advocacy plan.

A special note: while nonprofit 501(c)(3) organizations are not permitted to participate in partisan elections, having progressive decision-makers in positions of power is key to winning any advocacy campaign. Many non-501(c)(3) organizations, such as unions and 501(c)(4) advocacy groups as well as grassroots neighborhood and small business

associations, are permitted under state and federal law to participate in partisan elections. Building a relationship with those organizations — and involving them in a powerful advocacy program to hold elected officials accountable to progressive values — can be an essential component of winning social change. In addition, while 501 (c)(3) organizations are permitted to do some lobbying under IRS rules, there are numerous restrictions and limitations. For more information about worry-free lobbying by non-profits, see the Alliance for Justice website, www.afj.org.

GETTING STARTED

The first step in effective advocacy is accurately identifying the relevant decision-makers. In order for your policy proposal to advance, your coalition needs to determine which entity has the authority to adopt and enforce that policy. You also need to know what motivates the relevant decision-makers. Talk to them and find out what issues are important to them and what their concerns are. If they are worried about

budget constraints, for example — and these days, almost all of them are — you need to make sure your policy doesn't take away needed funds, or if it does, show how these funds will be replaced. If they respond to environmental or business concerns, you'll need to understand those concerns and have coalition partners who can articulate the benefits of your proposal to their interests.

MOVING POLICYMAKERS

Once you know who your decision-making target is, you will need to develop a plan for convincing that target to adopt your policy proposal. As with other elements of a comprehensive campaign, your advocacy plan will benefit from power mapping and power analysis. This will help your

coalition develop a collective knowledge and assessment of your decision-making target. You will need to answer some basic questions: What is your target's track record on similar issues? Who are the groups that have influence over your target? If the target is a governing body of multiple people, how

much influence does each person have over others on that governing body? The key is to know as much as possible about decision-makers and what influences them.

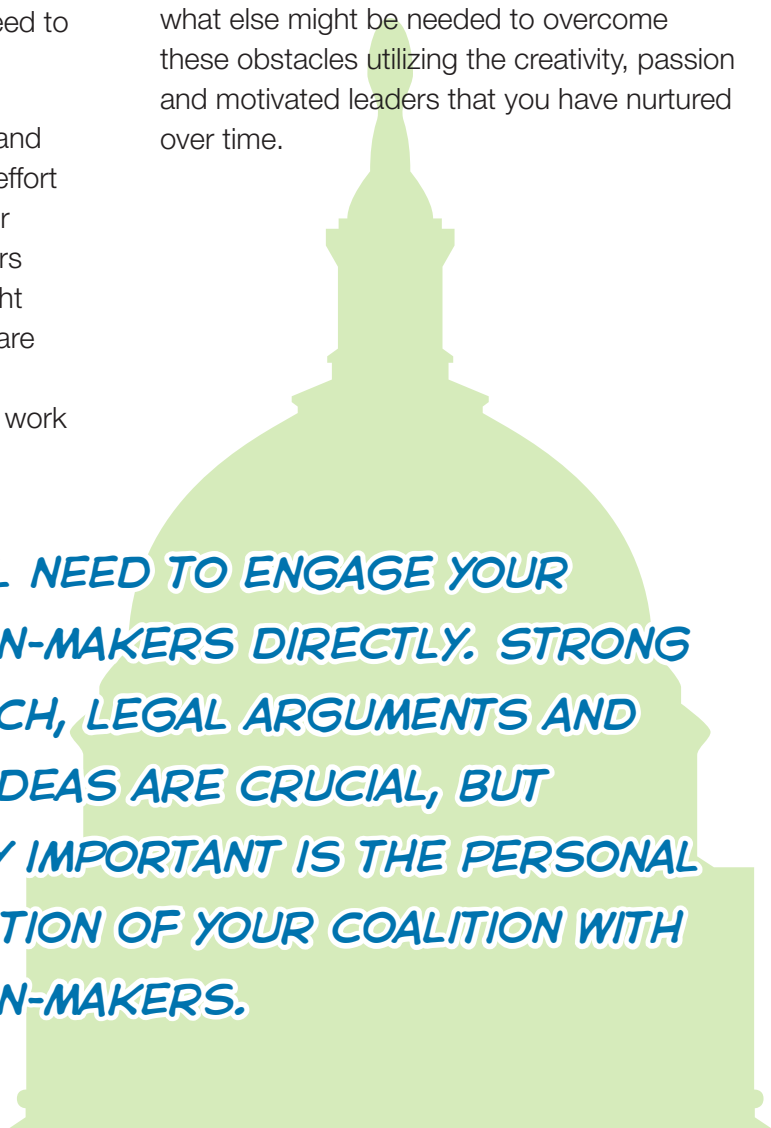
Your advocacy plan could include a combination of tactics aimed at influencing your target, such as meetings at their offices with members of the coalition, town halls the decision-maker is invited to attend, large mobilizations of coalition members to a city council hearing or a letter-writing campaign. The tactics will vary with each campaign and coalition, and will largely depend on the phase of your campaign and how much you need to move a decision-maker.

Creativity is the name of the game here and the success or failure of your advocacy effort will directly depend on how involved your grassroots leaders and coalition members are. Think about creative ways to highlight a particular element of the problem you are trying to address or the solution you are proposing. Here is where all of that hard work

in developing research, communications and organizing plans pays off.

Regardless of the set of tactics you employ, you will need to engage your decision-makers directly. Strong research, legal arguments and policy ideas are crucial, but equally important is the personal interaction of your coalition with decision-makers.

There are bound to be moments where it feels like you are outflanked and outresourced by a more powerful opposition. Think about these as moments of opportunity to reflect about what else might be needed to overcome these obstacles utilizing the creativity, passion and motivated leaders that you have nurtured over time.



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COMMUNICATIONS

Strategic communications plays a key role in successful advocacy campaigns. While most organizations employ some kind of media strategy, media is not enough. In our

experience, communications is most effective when it is fully integrated into all aspects of the campaign.

GETTING STARTED

Much of the early communications work involves mapping target audiences, developing and testing messages, creating effective materials for both internal and external audiences, designing a compelling visual look for the campaign and training spokespeople to communicate the campaign message.

This process always starts with the broader campaign goals, as communications should never operate separately from the campaign. With this in mind, identify the top communications goals for establishing the frame you want, inoculating against opposition and moving decision makers and other key audiences to support you.

DETERMINING THE FRAME AND MESSAGE

This is the heart and soul of your communications strategy, so invest considerable time in getting it right. Start by deciding what the frame should be. List all the words and ideas you want associated with the campaign when you talk about it in public. Include value words or ideas that will resonate with the public, decision-makers, stakeholders and supporters. You should also list all the words and ideas you do not want associated with your effort. Include words or ideas that your opposition may use to diminish your support. Think in terms of words or ideas that may connect to negative opinions currently held by the public.

Once you have developed a frame you can move on to the message. It's best to start with the broad public message, and later craft

messages that will resonate with particular target audiences. Build each message by first identifying the problem you are working to address, then the solution to the problem and finally what action should be taken. You can then combine these elements to create a short sound bite message of 2-3 sentences. In addition to creating your own messages, it's very helpful to anticipate what the opposition messages will be so you can develop talking points to address them and prepare your spokespeople.



CREATING MATERIALS

It's worth putting significant effort into developing a compelling set of materials that can be used for various audiences, including community and coalition partners, lawmakers and the media. These usually include both internal materials (message sheet, talking

points, spokesperson prep Q&A) as well as external materials (fact sheets, brochure, worker or community profiles, coalition list, etc.).

RECRUITING AND TRAINING MESSENGERS

Give careful thought to who can effectively communicate your message to your target audiences, and try to have a broad range of messengers. Once your spokespeople have

been identified, it is critical to provide in-depth training so that they are comfortable with the message, develop their own personal story and learn to answer difficult questions.

GENERATING MEDIA COVERAGE

Begin by mapping out the following: key publications and reporters, hard news pitches, feature story ideas, opinion pieces and potential media events. It's useful to create a calendar where you map out

potential media coverage over a period of several months, then use it as a guidepost to make sure you are establishing the narrative you want for your campaign.

IMPLEMENTING TACTICS

These are all the possible activities or events that will raise the visibility of the campaign, reach target audiences and generate pressure on decision-makers.

Tactics may include press conferences, rallies, speaker panels, guerrilla theater, art and entertainment events, photo galleries and multimedia tactics such as online videos, petitions and social media pages.

BUILDING A WEB PRESENCE

An integral part of your communications work is the campaign website and other online tools that can give you a robust online presence. Depending on resources, you may want to consider the use of original video or

podcasts. At the very least, it's important to put in place a social media plan (Facebook, Twitter) as well as an email distribution list along with an e-blast template.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY WORKSHEET

GETTING YOUR CAMPAIGN STARTED

VISION

The broad overall goal of your campaign (the problem and the solution).

RESEARCH

The information you need to know (e.g., structure and finances of industry, who is impacted, who holds the power, opportunities for government oversight, decision-making body).

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The goal(s) of possible policies, your legal resources and a process to develop your policy proposal.

FUNDRAISING

Staffing and budget needed for your campaign. Initial fundraising targets and outreach plan.

COMMUNITY AND WORKER ORGANIZING

Map of affected community and outreach plan. Labor partner, if possible, to build worker support.

COALITION BUILDING

Potential organizational partners (e.g., community, interfaith, environmental, educational) and outreach plan.

POWERFUL ADVOCACY

Campaign “kickoff” and series of creative events to make your case (e.g., hearings, release of framing report, “blue ribbon” community commissions, demonstrations, delegations). Key decision-makers and who and what can move them to support the campaign.

COMMUNICATIONS

Frame and message for campaign (problem/solution/action). Identification and training of campaign spokespeople from community and partner organizations. Creative opportunities for media coverage and building online support.

RELATED RESOURCES

RESEARCH AND POLICY

Good Jobs First's Corporate Research Project
<http://www.corp-research.org/howto>

DataCenter
<http://www.datacenter.org/research-tools>

Reporter's Committee for Freedom of the Press
<http://www.rcfp.org>

EPI's Economic Analysis and Research Network
<http://www.earncentral.org>

Partnership for Working Families --
 See especially "Policy & Tools"
<http://www.communitybenefits.org/article.php?list=type&type=9>

LEGAL DEFENSE

National Lawyers Guild
<http://www.nlg.org>

Legal Services Corporation
<http://www.lsc.gov/find-legal-aid>

FUNDRAISING

Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training
<http://www.grassrootsfundraising.org>

Guidestar
<http://www2.guidestar.org/rxa/news/articles/2003/fundraising-what-laws-apply.aspx?articleId=864>

Foundation Center
<http://foundationcenter.org/about/index.html>

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND COALITION BUILDING

Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education
<http://www.scopela.org/article.php?id=128>

Midwest Academy for Social Change
<http://www.midwestacademy.com/midwest-academy-manual>

ADVOCACY

The Democracy Center
<http://democracyctr.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Beating-Goliath-resource-for-corporate-campaigners-fixed-2.pdf>

Alliance for Justice
<http://www.afj.org>

COMMUNICATIONS

The Spin Project
<http://www.spinproject.org>

Spitfire Strategies
<http://www.spitfirestrategies.com>

The Opportunity Agenda
<http://opportunityagenda.org/american-opportunity-communications-toolkit>

FrameWorks Institute
<http://www.frameworksinstitute.org>

ABOUT LAANE

Founded in 1993, LAANE is a leading advocacy organization dedicated to building a new economy for all. Combining dynamic research, innovative public policy and the organizing of broad alliances, LAANE promotes a new economic approach based on good jobs, thriving communities and a healthy environment.

Over the past two decades, LAANE has improved the lives of more than 300,000 people through its efforts to transform the economy. LAANE led the effort to pass one of the country's first living wage laws and pioneered a new approach to economic development that has become a model for communities across the country.

LAANE played a pivotal role in the passage of the EPA award-winning Clean Truck Program, which has removed thousands of dirty

trucks from the roads, and the nation's first Construction Careers and Green Jobs Policy, which will ensure middle-class jobs for tens of thousands of construction workers and open a path to good careers for at-risk populations. LAANE has also published a series of influential reports, including studies on working poverty and the impact of Walmart on urban America.

LAANE is a co-founder of the Partnership for Working Families, a national alliance that advocates for good jobs and healthy communities in 20 major metropolitan areas across the country.

LAANE and its leadership have received numerous honors, including awards from the Mayor of Los Angeles, the Speaker of the California Assembly and the UCLA School of Law.

**OUR VISION:
GOOD JOBS
THRIVING COMMUNITIES
A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT**

“WALK THE STREET WITH US INTO HISTORY”

DOLORES HUERTA

***COFOUNDER
UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA***



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