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A letter from SSC national will be included here soon!

Role clusters are teams of participants who all hold the same role (Coordinator, Facilitator, Community Care, Messenger). Role Clusters work together to support the whole training community by fulfilling their key function. Together we will work to build a community that lives together, eats together, learns together, and takes care of one another. Each of us will be part of a Role Cluster that helps to take care of this community all week. Each morning, Role Clusters will check in and ask how they have been doing at fulfilling their role, name gaps that need to be filled, and celebrate your work together.

### **Role Descriptions & Functions at Sprog**

#### COORDINATOR

**Role Description:** Coordinators support the community inconvening on time, maintaining focus, staying on track with commitments and schedules. If we were to think of our Sprog community as a body, we might think of the Coordinators as the bones and cartilage, helping maintain structure, coherence, and order.

**Specific Functions:**

* Write-up Agenda for Each Day: To help keep the group on time, and in the loop on what’s ahead, coordinators will bottomline writing each day’s agenda up on a flipchart and sharing it during Morning Circle.
* Timekeeping: 1-2 Coordinators per day take responsibility for keeping time, letting facilitators know when they have 60, 30, 10, and 5 minutes left, and checking in with the Lead Trainer from their Cluster if it looks like the agenda is getting off schedule.
* Wrangling: Coordinators take responsibility to help the group come back on time from breaks and meals, reminding folks of how much time is left, and using a song, clap or chant to bring people back several minutes before we are scheduled to start the next session.
* Convening Breakout Groups: Whenever breakout groups form, Coordinators support the community in helping people find and gather with their groups, stay on track and on time, and hold their commitments to one another.
* What else?: Your Cluster is invited to notice needs related to your Role and come up with ways to meet them.

#### FACILITATOR

**Role Description:** Facilitators support the community by helping facilitate dialogue, decision making, energizers and other group processes. At Sprog, we lean on the Facilitators Role Cluster to be the emotional heart of our community. Facilitators help the group maintain strong relationships, dynamic energy and emotional resilience.

**Specific Retreat Functions:**

* Facilitate Energizers (or identify others to facilitate them): Facilitators are responsible for leading energizers, stretches or songs during scheduled times, or as needed if energy is low. Facilitators may also be asked to facilitate or support some of the week’s Closing activities.
* Facilitating Dialogue: During training sessions and conversations, Facilitators may support the group in “keeping stack” (i.e. keeping track of the order of who wants to speak), flagging the Trainers attention if someone wants to speak, or speaking up if some voices are being overrepresented in group dialogues to make space for others to be heard.
* Support Group in Upholding Principles & Agreements: It is everyone’s responsible to hold themselves accountable to the Agreements we set as a community. However we look to the Facilitators to pay particular attention to how our community is doing in following our agreements. During Role Cluster Check-ins, Facilitators will share observations on how the community is doing with agreements and make plans to revisit and/or renew commitments to our agreements as needed.
* What else?: Your Cluster is invited to notice needs related to your Role and come up with ways to meet them.

#### MESSENGER

**General Function:** Messengers support the community by maintaining systems of communication and documentation. Messengers are the go-to ears, mouth and memory of our Sprog community, making sure that important information is shared and documented clearly and accessibly throughout the week and beyond.

**Specific Retreat Functions:**

* Coordinate photography and sharing out of event. Make sure photos and video are taken throughout the retreat and collected in a shared destination for all to see. When appropriate, share photos and videos with posts via SSC’s social media.
  + Note: it is important to check in with the full group to ask for consent before taking photos and videos. Make a plan together in your first meeting for how you would like to handle this.
* Coordinate notetaking & recordkeeping: Keep track of the information that people from the Community would like to have captured and shared (e.g. flipcharts, training curriculum, handouts, contact info, next steps, etc.) and make sure they are documented. It is recommended that Messengers make a plan for how and where information will be documented, and communicate with the rest of the group how they can help in this process.
* Facilitate Announcements During Morning Circle & Throughout Week: Each morning after each Role Cluster check-in, there will be 15 minutes for announcements from each Cluster and a review of the day’s agenda. Each day 1-2 Facilitators are invited to guide the group through this time. Throughout each day, if other announcements need to be made, Messengers are encouraged to get the group’s attention through a clap or chant, and share the announcements with everyone.
* Communicate needs/ideas/questions: When needs, questions or ideas arise from the group, Messengers are encouraged to share these with Sprog Trainers, Cooks, or whomever can best respond. It is important that Messengers seek consent from anyone who has raised an idea or question before passing it on to anyone else.
* What else?: Your Cluster is invited to notice needs related to your Role and come up with ways to meet them.

#### COMMUNITY CARE

**General Function:** Community Caretakers support the community by making sure everyone’s physical and material needs are met throughout the week. At Sprog, the Community Care Cluster serves as the hands and muscles of the community, noticing needs and supporting the group in finding ways to meet them for a smooth, warm and comfortable experience.

**Specific Retreat Functions:**

* Coordinate Space Needs: Make sure group knows about and has access to the facilities of the space, and any rules associated with using the space. Identify needs and solutions for supplies, furniture, bedding, and other resources to make the space inviting, functional, comfortable and accessible.
* Coordinate support for cooks about meal preparation and kitchen clean-up: Check in with cooks about their needs around kitchen work and meal prep. Develop systems for supporting cooks with dishwashing and meal prep as needed. Involve other Sproggers in these activities.
* Coordinate space clean-up throughout week, and involve Sproggers in keeping the space clean. At end of week, make sure everyone understands and commits to tasks associated with closing out the space.
* Consulted about Travel: as travel needs arise, the Community Care cluster helps provide advice and coordination to help people get to and from Sprog.
* Set-up Warm & Fuzzies table (and/or other ways of sharing love and appreciation throughout the week): Warm and Fuzzies are kind of like friend-valentines written down and left in envelopes for other members of our Sprog community. Warm & Fuzzies are a Sprog tradition the Community Care Cluster coordinates for the community.

What else?: Your Cluster is invited to notice needs related to your Role and come up with ways to meet them.

Storysharing and Resonance is a practice adapted from the work of the Relational Center (relationalcenter.org), an organization which partners with social movement leaders to build a culture of radical engagement centered on relationships and empathy. At SSC we see storysharing and resonance as a practice that embodies Principle #9 about prioritizing relationships and centering them in our work. This practice helps community members build trust with each other, and also witness the critical role that vulnerability plays in powerful leadership and resilient relationships.

**Resonance is RESPONDING WITH EMPATHY**

We know we are resonating when:

* we see vividly the imagery others are using to describe what *they* see
* we feel deeply the sensations that others are reporting that *they* feel

After we hear each other’s stories, we ***resonate*** to signal that we recognize the humanity in one another and appreciate what it helps us to learn.

**How to resonate:**

During the story, pay attention to what **engaged** you.  Notice what you are ***sensing*** (hearing, seeing, smelling, etc) and ***feeling*** (sad, excited, afraid, calm, inspired, etc).

After the story, take turns resonating with the following prompt: ***Share back to the storyteller one moment you felt like it was happening to you.***

**Resonance is NOT:**

* Asking questions (“So how old was your mom when she had you?”)
* Giving Advice (“You know you really should consider skydiving.”)
* One-Upping (“You think that’s bad, listen to what happened to ME!”)
* Making Meaning (“From your story it sounds like you’re actually depressed.”)
* Telling Your Own story (“That reminds me of…” *resonator launches into their own story and forgets they are resonating.)*

*Many thanks to the Relational Center for sharing these guidelines with us!*

“A musical tone makes physical objects vibrate at its frequency, the phenomenon of sympathetic reverberation… Emotional tones in the brain establish a living harmony with the past in a similar way. The brain is not composed of string, and there are no oscillating fibers within the cranium. But in the nervous system, information echoes down the filaments the join harmonious neural networks. When an emotional chord is struck, it stirs to life past memories of the same feeling” -- Lewis, Amini, Lannon; A General Theory of Love

Good organizing requires the investment of our hearts (motivation), our heads (strategy) and our hands and feet (action). These skills of motivation, strategizing and structuring collective action can be taught and learned, and are critical leadership skills for campaign development and movement building.

I. pUBLIC nARRATIVE

Often as leaders we focus exclusively on action, assuming that a good idea and constant action will motivate people to join us. But what happens when we just focus on action? Over time people get burnt out, and we seem to lose our power just when we need it most. That’s because for most people the motivation to make the real commitments and sacrifices necessary to win a big campaign doesn’t come from good ideas, it comes when our values and emotions move us—*motivate* us—to act. Stories move us to act because they tap into our values (rather than just issues) and create in us emotions that move us from inaction to action—emotions of hope, anger, urgency, solidarity, a sense that we can make a difference.

Public Narrative is a leadership skill — the skill of telling stories that motivate other people to get up and join us in action. This training teaches the skill of public narrative in three parts:

1. Story of Self: who am I and why am I called to this work?
2. Story of Us: who are we as a community and why is it we in particular who have responsibility to act?
3. Story of Now: what are we called to do now? What challenges do we face? What’s the story of our strategy and what hope is there that our action could make a difference?

A. sTRATEGY

As we will discover when we get to the Story of Now, motivation isn’t enough to win anything if the action it produces is random and uncoordinated. Our challenge as organizers is to create a strategy that will focus many people’s actions in the same direction to create scale and momentum. A good strategy turns challenges into opportunities, and turns motivation into strategic collective action—action that will produce a clear, measurable, and consequential outcome.

In order to help you with your story of now and basic organizing skills, this training includes an introduction to strategy skills. Looking at past movements and campaigns, including the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Farmworkers movement and the Obama Campaign, we will begin to look at the relationship between goals, outcomes and tactics, and how to create concrete action steps that will move you closer to your goal when these action steps are taken collectively with others.

B. Structure

Movements are built by engaging many, many people in meaningful targeted action. But that can only happen if there is a very clear structure that keeps people coordinated and moving in the same direction. One standard building block of campaign structure is the leadership team. Leadership teams can exist at all levels—national, regional, local. The challenge is that it isn’t easy to create teams that work well together and produce concrete outcomes together.

This training will provide a basic introduction to leadership teams including tactics you can use to create stable, functioning leadership teams. In this training you will be put together into a learning group that can be begin to act as a team – to take on roles, to build relationships, to share stories and learn together the best way to refine your stories to truly engage people in action that brings about change.

After you leave this workshop, we hope that you will continue to work with those you meet here as a learning team, focusing on using public narrative to engage others in building a movement for a clean energy future.

II. Introduction to Public Narrative

Public narrative is a practice of leadership

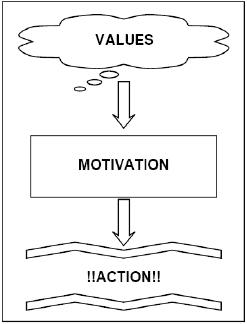
Public narrative is the “why” of organizing—the art of translating values into action through stories. It is an iterative discussion process through which individuals, communities, and nations construct their identity, make choices, and inspire action.

Each of us has a compelling story to tell

Each of us has a story that can move others. As you learn this skill of public narrative, you will be able to tell a compelling story that includes elements that identify yourself, your audience and your strategy to others. In addition, you will gain practice in hearing and coaching others to tell a good story.

Why Use Public Narrative? Two Ways of Knowing or Interpreting

Public leaders employ both the “head” and the “heart” in order to mobilize others to act effectively on behalf of shared values. In other words, they engage people in interpreting why they should change their world – their motivation – and how they can act to change it – their strategy.

Many leaders are often good at the analysis side of public speaking – and focus on presenting a good argument or strategy. Alternately, other leaders tell their personal story – but it is often a tale of heartbreak that educates us about the challenge but doesn’t highlight the choices and the potential for hopeful outcomes.

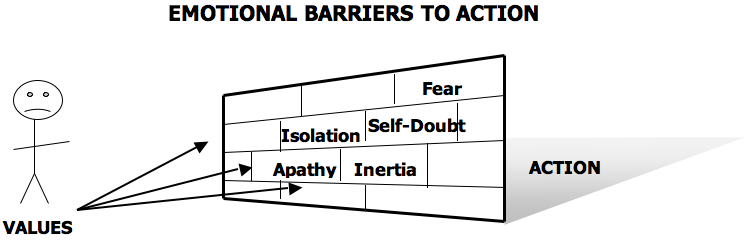
This public narrative work is an effort to tell a story that involves the head and heart AND moves people to use their hands and feet in action.

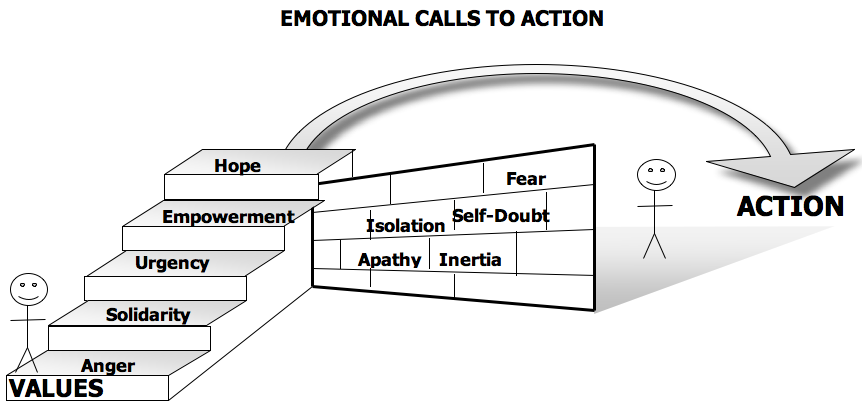
The key to public narrative is understanding that values inspire action through emotion.

Emotions inform us of what we value in ourselves, in others, and in the world, and enable us to express the motivational content of our values to others. In other words, because we experience values emotionally, they are what actually move us to act; it is not just the idea that we ought to act. Because stories allow us to express our values not as abstract principles, but as lived experience, they have the power to move others too.

Some emotions inhibit action, but other emotions facilitate action.

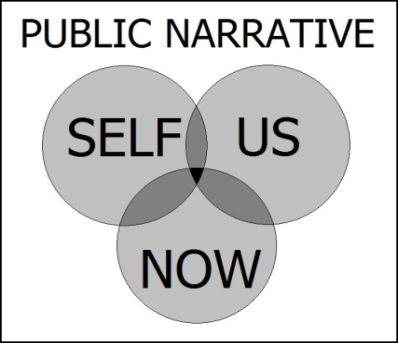
Action is inhibited by inertia, fear, self-doubt, isolation, and apathy. Action is facilitated by urgency, hope, YCMAD (you can make a difference), solidarity, and anger. Stories mobilize emotions that urge us to take action and help us overcome emotions that inhibit us from action.





## 

## III. The Public Narrative: Self, Us and Now

Public narrative combines a story of self, a story of us, and a story of now.

The process of creating your public narrative is fluid and iterative and can start at any place. Once you develop your story of self, story of us, and story of now, you’ll probably want to go back to the beginning to clarify the links between them.

**Story of Self -** Your *Call to Leadership*

**Story of Us -** *Shared Values Shared Experience*

**Story of Now -** *Strategy Action*

**A “story of self” tells why we have been called to serve.**

The story of self-expresses the values or experiences that call each person to take leadership on energy and the environment. The key focus is on choice points, moments in our lives when values are formed because of a need to choose in the face of great uncertainty. When did you first care about being heard, learn that you were concerned about climate change, wanted to protect the planet, wanted to ensure clean air, clean water for yourself and others, learn to love nature or appreciate being outdoors? Why? When did you feel you had to do something about it? Why did you feel you could? What were the circumstances? What specific choice did you make?

**A “story of us” communicates the values and experiences that a community, organization, campaign or movement shares and what capacity or resources that community of “us” has to accomplish its goals.**

Just as with a person, the key is choice points in the life of the community and/or those moments that express the values, experiences, past challenges and resources of the community or “us” that will take action. For example, tying a current effort to win a campaign to a past campus campaign victory and describing the effort it took to win, the people who worked hard to make it happen, their capabilities, their values, etc. is a story of us.

**A “story of now” communicates the urgent challenge we are called upon to face now and calls us to action.**

The story of now articulates the urgent challenge in specific detail. It also includes a description of the path we can take to achieve goals relative to the mission – the unique strategy or set of ideas that will help us to overcome the challenge we face and succeed. The story of now includes an ask that summons the audience to a specific action they can do to achieve our collective mission. Finally, the story lays out in detail a vision for the potential outcome we could achieve if our strategy succeeds.

**Linking Self, Us, Now**

You are looking for the link between these three stories, the place where they overlap, to help explain why you are called to this work of building a clean energy future, why we are called to act with you, and why we are called to act now. This means being very selective about the story you tell—for example not trying to tell your whole biography when you tell your story of self.

**The Three Key Elements of Public Narrative Structure   
Challenge – Choice – Outcome**

A plot begins with an unexpected challenge that confronts a character with an urgent need to pay attention, to make a choice, a choice for which s/he is unprepared. The choice yields an outcome -- and the outcome teaches a moral.

Because we can empathetically identify with the character, we can “feel” the moral. We not only hear “about” someone’s courage; we can also be inspired by it.

The story of the character and their effort to engage around values engages the listener in their own challenge, choice, and outcome relative to the story.

Each story should include the challenge, the choice and the outcome. It’s not enough to say – I was scared. You need to say – I was very scared, I needed to decide, and when I did, I learned – it was possible.

**Incorporating Challenge, Choice, and Outcome in Your Own Story**

There are some key questions you need to answer as you consider the choices you have made in your life and the path you have taken that brought you to this point in time as a leader. Once you identify the specific relevant choice point, perhaps your decision to choose an environmental career, dig deeper by answering the following questions.

***Challenge***: Why did you feel it was a challenge? What was so challenging about it? Why was it *your* challenge?

***Choice***: Why did you make the choice you did? Where did you get the courage (or not)? Where did you get the hope (or not)? How did it feel?

***Outcome:*** How did the outcome feel? Why did it feel that way? What did it teach you? What do you want to teach us? How do you want us to feel?

A word about challenge. Sometimes people see the word challenge and think that they need to describe the misfortunes of their lives. Keep in mind that a struggle might be one of your own choosing – a high mountain you decided to climb as much as a hole you managed to climb out of. Any number of things may have been a challenge to you and be the source of a good story to inspire others.

**Strategy and the Story of NOW**

Remember the third part of a Public Narrative. Do you remember how Barack Obama, in his 2004 Democratic convention speech, got very specific about the fact that there was “more work to do”? Do you remember how he explained the challenges? Was it with statistics? Or was it with specific people, facing their own challenges, their own choice points. Do you remember how gave us a sense of hope, that we could do something about these challenges? And then, he wound up with calling on us to make the choice to join the campaign to elect the Democratic nominee, President. He identified a very specific action he was asking us all to choose to take—to go vote for John Kerry.

This should sound familiar. There’s a challenge, but instead of being in the past, it’s in the present. There’s hope, but instead of something that happened in the past, it’s in the future. And there’s a choice, but instead of being a choice we once made, it’s a choice we must make now. And that’s why it’s a “Story of Now”.

**Linking Your Story of Now to Self and Us**

Once you’ve told your Story of Self and Us, we know why you’ve been called to a particular mission, and we know something of who it is you want to call upon to join you in that mission. So what action does that mission require of us right here, right now, in this place?

A “Story of Now” is urgent, it requires dropping other things and paying attention, it is rooted in the values you celebrated in your Story of Self and Us, and requires action.

**The Elements of a Story of Now**

* The urgent challenge we now face as a community.
* A hopeful outcome that contains a vivid description of what collectively can be achieved if we take action together.
* A convincing strategy – your plan for how we’re going to achieve this outcome.
* A specific choice that each person in your audience can make, that involves a commitment of time or resources before they leave.
* A reminder of where we can find the courage to make that choice.

**Why It Matters**

The choice we’re called on to make is a choice to take strategic action now. Leaders who only describe problems, but fail to identify action that their community can take to address the problem aren’t very good leaders. If you are called to address a real challenge, a challenge so urgent you have motivated us to face it as well, then you also have a responsibility to invite us to join you in action that has some chance of success. In your Story of Now, you want to be sure to emphasize where we can find hope!

The Story of Now should describe your strategy—how your action, added up with other people’s action could, with a reasonable amount of hope, be expected to achieve a clear outcome that would help us meet our goal.

Often when working on our Story of Now we realize we really don’t have a clear, actionable or motivating strategy. Working on Story of Now can be a way to re-evaluate our strategy and to engage others in strategizing with us.

**“Audacity of Hope” Worksheet  
Barack Obama | 2004 Democratic Convention**

We will watch this video as a model for a Public Narrative that includes examples of Self, Us and Now as well as an appeal to emotions.

As you watch the video, think about the elements of SELF – US – NOW that you hear in his story.

Listen as well for the challenge, choice and outcome in each of the three areas.

Pay attention to any specific details that hit you hardest.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **SELF** | **US** | **NOW** |
|  |  |  |

**“Story of Self” Reflection Worksheet**

**What calls you to action?**

*Some key experiences you might draw from:*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **FAMILY & CHILDHOOD**   * Role models * Your first awareness or concern * Your first steps to take action | **LIFE CHOICES**   * Role models * Your first awareness or concern * Your first steps to take action | **ORGANIZER/ENVIRO EXPERIENCE**   * Role models * Your first awareness or concern * Your first steps to take action |

*Some tips:*

* *Focus on one key story;*
* *Think about elements of your story in terms of challenge, choice and outcome;*
* *Invoke values from your story that build common ground with your audience.*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **CHALLENGE**  What was the specific challenge you faced? | **CHOICE**  What was the specific choice you made? | **OUTCOME**  What happened as a result of your choice? What hope can it give us? |

**Coaching Others on Their Stories**

**As a coach, you play a very special role**. By listening deeply, providing truthful feedback, and asking probing questions, you will create a space for the storyteller to uncover entirely new understandings of their own story, and of themselves. This can be incredibly empowering for the person being coached.

**Use the grid on your feedback worksheets to track your team's stories**. Keeping track of the details of each person’s story will help you to provide feedback and remember details.

**The more practice you gain in coaching, the more effective you’ll be as an organizer**. Organizing starts with relationships, and relationships are built on shared stories; so, any time you’re meeting for the first time with a volunteer, leader, or ally, it’s crucial that you solicit their story – and coaching will help you do that.

**Do:**

* Listen attentively
* Say what works
* Say what can be improved
* Be as specific as possible
* Explicitly identify CHALLENGE, CHOICE, & OUTCOME in the story
* Look for where HOPE is conveyed
* Ask probing questions, to draw out choice points, emotional aspects, and details of the story:
  + “why did you choose to […]?”
  + “how did you feel when […]?”
  + “are there more details you remember from […]?”
* Look for themes

**Don’t:**

* Think about your own story while someone else is telling theirs
* Offer vague, abstract “feel good” comments – the story teller will learn more from “the way you described your moment of choice made me feel very hopeful because…” than from “you did a great job”
* Make value judgments about the storyteller’s voice or validity of their point

**“Story of Self” Feedback Worksheet**

Record Feedback/Comments from Your Team Members On Your Story Here:

Coaching Your Team's “Story of Self”

*As you hear each other's stories, keeping track of the details of each person’s story will help you to provide feedback and remember details about people on your team later. Use the grid below to track your team's stories.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Name*** | ***Challenge*** | ***Choice*** | ***Outcome*** | ***Notes/Themes*** |
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**“Story of Us” Reflection Worksheet**

What is the “us” you want to focus on? What are some of the shared values, experiences, & aspirations that draw “us” together? What shared stories illustrate those values, experiences, & aspirations?

Now, choose one of the stories you brainstormed above to flesh out in vivid detail.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **CHALLENGE**  What was the specific challenge we faced? | **CHOICE**  What was the specific choice we made? | **OUTCOME**  What happened as a result of our choice? What hope can it give us? |

**“Story of Us” Feedback Worksheet**

Record Feedback/Comments from Your Team Members On Your Story Here:

Coaching Your Team's “Story of Us”

*As you hear each other's stories, keeping track of the details of each person’s story will help you to provide feedback and remember details about people on your team later. Use the grid below to track your team's stories.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Name*** | ***Challenge*** | ***Choice*** | ***Outcome*** | ***Notes/Theme*** |
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**“Story of Now” Reflection Worksheet**

What is the goal of your campaign?

Now, flesh out your Story of Now in vivid detail.

**Urgent Challenge**

What is the specific challenge we face? Why is it urgent? What does it look & feel like?

**Convincing Strategy**

What strategy are you offering us to meet that challenge? Why might it actually work?

**Specific Choice**

What specific choice are you asking us to make now as part of that strategy?

**Hopeful Outcome**

What specifically could our world look like, feel like, if we succeed? What hope can it give us?

**Source of Courage**

In the face of uncertainty, where can we find the courage to make this choice?

**“Story of Now” Feedback Worksheet**

Record Feedback/Comments from Your Team Members On Your Story Here:

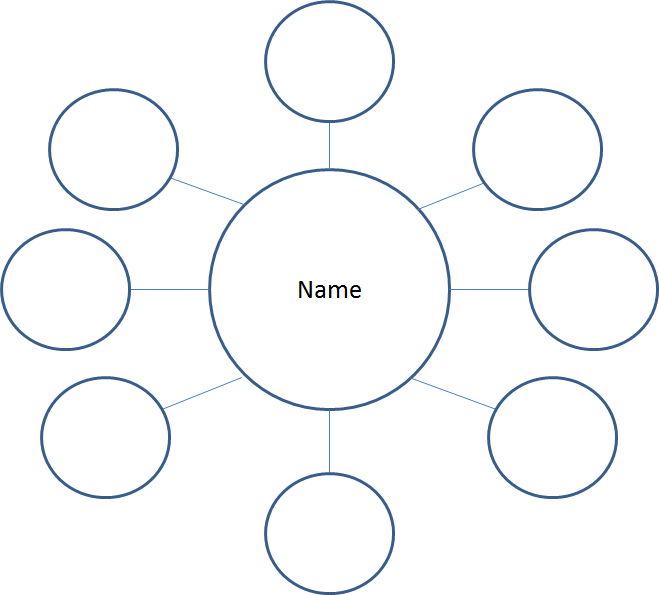
Coaching Your Team's “Story of Now”

*As you hear each other's stories, keeping track of the details of each person’s story will help you to provide feedback and remember details about people on your team later. Use the grid below to track your team's stories.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Name*** | ***Challenge*** | ***Choice*** | ***Outcome*** | ***Notes/Themes*** |
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**Circles of Self**

We all hold multiple identities that make us who we are. These identities can be visible or invisible, innate or changeable, and they can have to do with how others perceive us or how we identify ourselves. In the diagram below, fill in as many circles as you like with words that describe **who you are**.



**Identifier Definitions**

* **Ability:**  A categorization based on different ways of navigating and negotiating society. Can include physical, mental, emotional, or psychological condition. *(Examples: disabled, Deaf, able-bodied, Autistic)*
* **Class/Socioeconomic Status:**  A representation of social class that is often indicated by a combination of a person’s education, occupation, social capital, and income. *(Examples: working class, wealthy, cash-poor)*
* **Ethnicity:**  A shared sense of identity based on traditions, culture, language, norms and values, and/or geography of origin that is passed down over generations within a group. *(Examples: Irish-American, African-American, Jewish, Navajo)*
* **Gender:** A person’s internal concept of self as “man,” “woman,” or other/neither.  Gender is self-identified – something each person determines personally. You cannot tell a person’s gender from their physical body, the gender they were assigned at birth, or the way they dress, talk, or behave. *(Examples: man, woman, trans\*, femme, genderqueer, agender)*
* **Race:**  A system of categorizing humans largely based on observable physical features such as skin color and ancestry. There is no scientific basis for or discernible distinction between racial categories. (Source: Race Forward, Core Concepts.) *(Examples: Black, white)*
* **Religion/Spirituality:** How a person identifies themself based on their sexual or romantic attractions, desires, and/or preferences. *(Examples: bisexual, straight, lesbian, polyamorous, asexual, queer)*
* **Sexuality:**  A label that describes a person’s physical body. Can be self-determined based on how a person identifies their own body; however, a person is typically “assigned” a category at birth based on physical characteristics. (Examples: female, male, intersex)
* **Gender Expression:** How a person presents and expresses their gender to the world, typically through appearance, dress, or behavior. *(Examples: masculine, androgynous, feminine, butch)*
* **Personal Identities:** Not all identities are connected to systems of oppression. People may also hold identities connected to specific lived experience. *(Examples: worker, sister, migrant, student, caretaker, foster child, activist, Appalachian, trauma victim/survivor, etc.)*

***Questions for Discussion:***

* What identities came to mind first? Why do you think that was?
* Was there anything you didn’t write down until you read the list? Why do you think that was?
* When others look at you, what do they see? What don’t they see? What do you wish they’d see?

*Identities can be* ***visible*** *or* ***invisible****, they can be* ***innate*** *or* ***changeable****, and they can have to do with* ***how others perceive us*** *or* ***how we perceive ourselves****.*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Discrimination** | **Based On** | **Assumed Norm** | **Examples of Marginalized Identities** |
| Racism | Race | White | Black, Latinx, POC, indigenous, biracial, multiracial |
| Colorism | Skin color | Light skinned | Dark skinned |
| Ableism | Ability | Able-bodied, non-disabled | Disabled |
| Sexism | Gender | Male/man | Female/woman, nonbinary |
| Cissexism, transphobia, transmisogyny | Sex | Cisgender | Transgender, nonbinary, intersex |
| Homophobia, heterosexism, queer-antagonism | Sexuality | Straight, heterosexual | Gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, queer, asexual |
| Ageism | Age | Adult | Elderly, youth, children |
| Religious discrimination | Religion | Christian, Protestant | Jewish (Antisemitism), Muslim (Islamophobia), Wiccan, Sikh |
| Xenophobia | Migrant/ Citizenship | Citizen | Undocumented, etc |

**Initiatives the Mainstream Could Take:**

*This week at Sprog, I will…*

*This week at Sprog, I want my peers to…*

“Until we are able to accept the interlocking, interdependent nature of systems of domination and recognize specific ways each system is maintained, we will continue to act in ways that undermine our individual quest for freedom and our collective liberation struggle.”  –bell hooks

***A Note on Language:***

This training presents a lot of language that may be unfamiliar to many of us, but it’s important for us to learn this language. It is valuable to have a common grassroots language for talking about oppression and anti-oppression work in our movements. It is also important that the language we use reflects our values, which means that we choose words that are inclusive, non-offensive, and anti-oppressive.

**I.  Basic Definitions in Anti-Oppression**

**Anti-Oppression:** The work of fighting to end all forms of oppression by taking concrete steps to dismantle and re-envision the institutions, belief systems, power structures, and cultural norms that uphold them.

**Power:** The ability to get what you want. This is a very simple definition of power, but it covers a lot. It can include the ability to influence others, or to enforce your own beliefs. Power is invisible unless it is exercised.

**Prejudice:** A conscious or unconscious negative belief about a whole group of people and its individual members. Prejudice is a pre-judgment, an idea that we form about a person based off of stereotypes or assumptions about aspects of their identity, instead of real knowledge or experience. It’s important to note that prejudice is not connected to power. Anyone can hold prejudices about a group that they do not belong to, and we all do.

**Discrimination:** The act of denying opportunities, resources, or access to a person because of their membership to a group. Prejudice + power = discrimination. When a person or group holds prejudices AND has the power to act on that prejudice by denying opportunities, resources, or access to another person or group, then those actions are examples of discrimination.

* *Example:  Racism. An example of racism at an interpersonal level is a judge giving a harsher sentence to a black person than they give to a white person for the same crime, because of conscious or unconscious prejudices. Jim Crow laws or the Indian Removal Act are examples of institutionalized racism.*

**Privilege:** The unearned advantages that members of a dominant group receive because of their membership to that group. When a systems of oppression marginalizes and oppresses one group, it empowers another group. This is part of how oppression works; systems of oppression wouldn’t last long if they didn’t benefit anyone.

* *Note:*  Privilege often seems invisible to those who have it, because it’s often easier to recognize when you are a victim of a negative stereotype than when you are benefitting from a positive one.
* *Note:*  If a certain group is privileged by a system of oppression, it does *not* mean that all members of that group will always be able to get whatever they want. It *does* mean that they will have specific advantages that people who are not members of the dominant group will not have.
* *Example:  White privilege.*

**Oppression:**  The systemic mistreatment and marginalization of people based solely on their membership in an identity group. Oppression is institutionalized, historically formed, and perpetuated over time. When we say oppression is “institutionalized,” we mean that it is **built into social institutions**, like government and education systems. When we say oppression is “historically formed,” we mean that it has **developed and evolved over time in specific social and political contexts**.

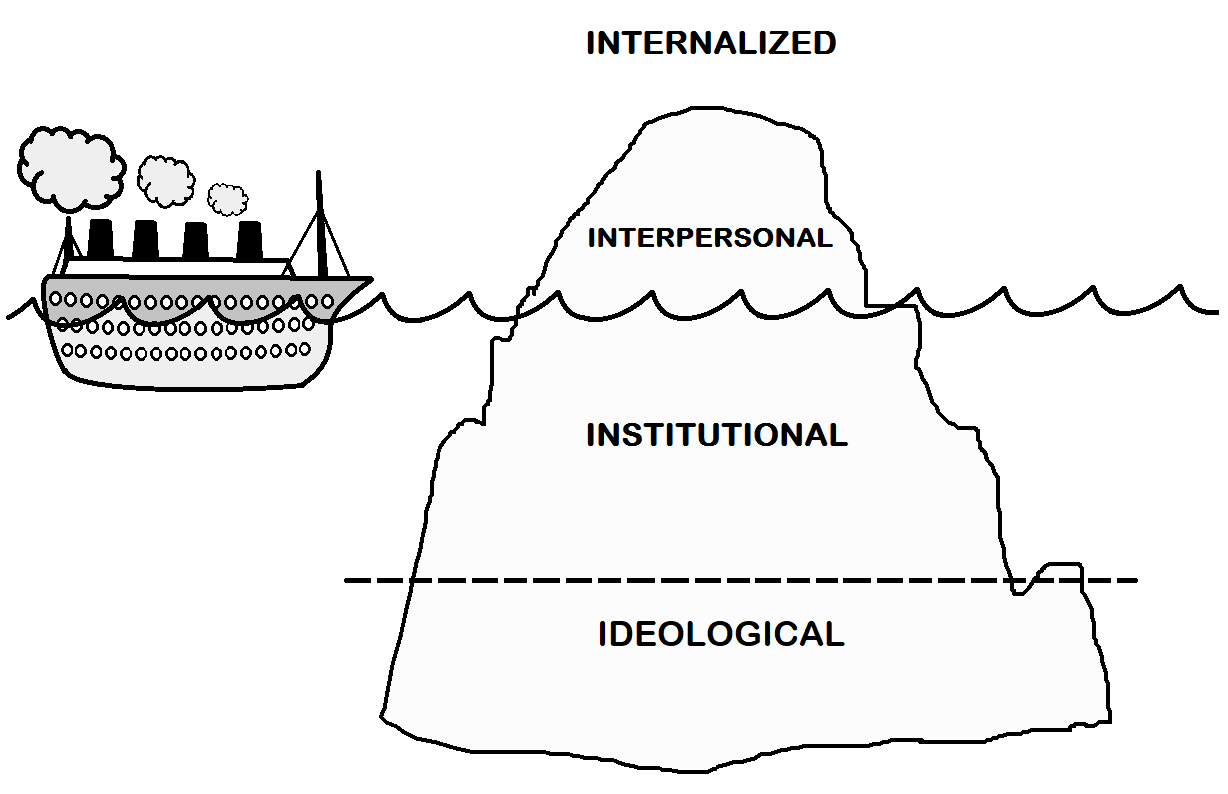
* *Note:*  You may have heard the term “systems of oppression”. This term points out that there are multiple, overlapping forms of oppression, and the systemic nature of oppression. Systems of oppression run through our culture and language and shape our beliefs and how we have learned to act. **They shape what is broadly understood as “normal” or mainstream** – and, conversely, what is understood as abnormal, unacceptable, undesirable, or marginal.
* *Example: White supremacy. Under white supremacy, white skin color is the assumed norm. White people are given power and dominance over non-white cultures, nations, and people, who have been and continue to be exploited for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of white power and privilege. We can trace white supremacy and the very concept of ‘race’ to European colonialism in the 14th Century.*

**Allyship:**  An active, consistent, and arduous practice of unlearning and re-evaluating, in which a person of privilege seeks to operate in solidarity with a marginalized group of people. The most important thing to recognize about allyship is that it is NOT an identity – it is a lifelong process of building relationships based on trust and accountability. Allyship is not self-defined, which means we do not get to proclaim ourselves “allies”. Rather, it is something that may be recognized by the people we strive to ally ourselves with.

* *Note:*  When we strive to act as allies, we do not act out of guilt. We act because we dream of a world that isn’t divided by oppression and hate, and we have a genuine interest in challenging oppressive power structures. We don’t expect special recognition for our work, because we know that we are confronting issues other people live with – and struggle against – every day.
* *Example: White people may strive to ally themselves with POC. Through the work they do and the relationships they build, they can show their commitment to dismantling white supremacy. They may also seek out ways to use their privilege to help POC-led organizations and movements.*

**II.  Levels of Oppression**

Often when we talk about “-isms”, we only talk about the interpersonal actions that are easiest to see on a day-to-day basis. But to really dismantle systems of oppression, we need to go deeper and uncover the whole picture: systems of oppression are ingrained in our organizations, institutions, workplaces, and even the culture we live in.

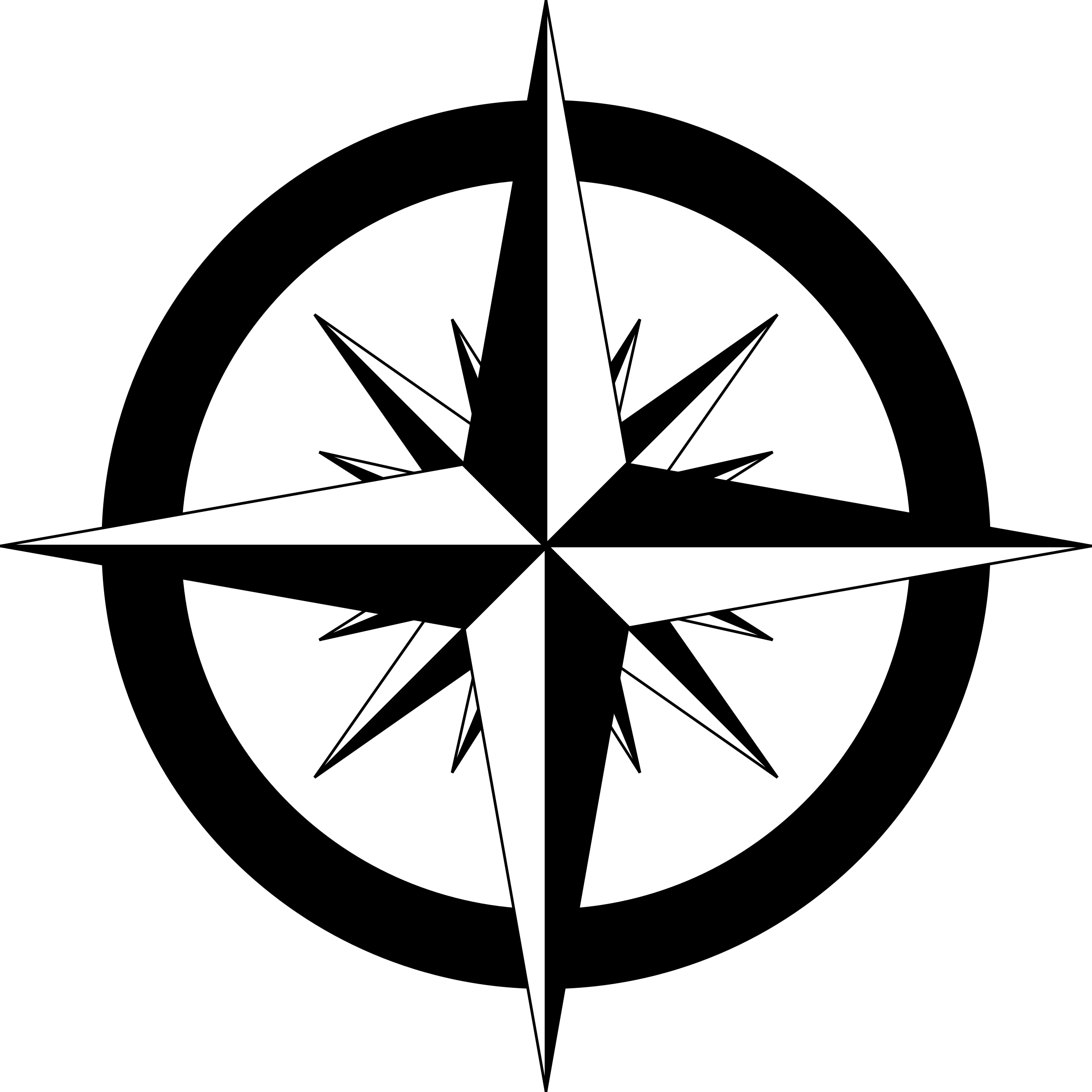


In the iceberg metaphor, the ship represents our organizations and movements. When we can only see the interpersonal actions that support systems of oppression, we may be tempted to explain those instances as simply the prejudiced behavior of a single individual. But when we do this, we forget about the part of the iceberg that is underwater holding that individual piece afloat: the institutions and cultural assumptions that reinforce oppression. In our organizations and movements, we need a systemic awareness of power dynamics. That way, we can build movements that aim to tackle oppression at its roots – and we can better address oppressive power dynamics that show up in our movements.

|  |
| --- |
| **Ideological:**  At the core of all systems of oppression is the **idea** that one group is somehow better than another, and therefore has the right to control the other group. This idea gets elaborated in a lot of ways: more intelligent, more hardworking, more advanced, capable, noble deserving, etc. Those ideas turn into dominant cultural narratives. People in the dominant group learn to believe the ideology and see the world through its lens.  **Institutional:**  The idea that one group is better than another and has the right to control the other gets embedded in institutions in of the society, the laws, the legal system, police practice, the education system, hiring practices, housing development, media images, etc.  **Interpersonal:**  The idea that one group has the right to control another, which gets structured into our institutions, gives permission and reinforcement for individual members of the dominant group to mistreat people in the oppressed group. This includes offensive jokes, stereotypes, microaggressions, harassment, assault – the whole range of personal acts of violence. Many people in the dominant group are not consciously oppressive, but they have internalized the negative messages about other groups to the extent that they consider their attitudes towards other groups normal, harmless, or appropriate.  **Internalized:**  How oppression works within the groups of people who suffer the most from it. Oppressed people learn the **ideology**of inferiority, see it reflected in **institutions,** experience it **interpersonally** from members of the dominant group, and eventually come to **internalize** the negative messages about themselves. Internalized oppression can lead to heavy feelings of powerlessness or despair. |

**NORTH (Warrior)**

* Assertive, active, decisive
* Likes to be in control of relationship and steer the course of events
* Quick to act, has a sense of urgency
* Enjoys the challenge of difficult situations
* Can lose patience, tendency to push for decisions before the group is ready
* Can get defensive quickly and argue
* May try to out-expert others
* Wants things their way



**EAST (Visionary)**

* Sees the big picture
* Very idea-oriented and future-oriented
* Insight into mission and purpose
* Likes to experiment and explore
* Can lose focus on tasks and not follow through
* May become easily overwhelmed and lose track of time
* Tends to be highly enthusiastic early on, but then burn out

**WEST (Analyst)**

* Weighs all sides of issues
* Uses data analysis and logic
* Introspective and self-analytical
* Seen as practical and thorough with tasks
* Can become stubborn and entrenched in their positions
* Can be indecisive, caught up in collecting unnecessary data, mired in details
* May appear cold and withdrawn

**SOUTH (Nurturer)**

* Allows others to feel important in determining direction of what’s happening
* Value-driven regarding all aspects of personal and professional life
* Uses relationships to accomplish tasks
* Innocence and trust in others based on vulnerability and openness
* Supportive, nurturing, feeling-based
* Has trouble saying “no” to requests
* Internalizes difficulty and assumes the blame
* Has difficulty confronting and dealing with anger
* May be disappointed when others prioritize tasks over relationships

*“Team Types” tool adapted from* ***Training for Change:***[*www.trainingforchange.org*](http://www.trainingforchange.org)*.*

*Read more about Team Types in different cultures in: Angeles Arrien's The Four-Fold Way: Walking the Path of the Warrior, Teacher, Healer, and Visionary (Harper Collins).*

**SIM Team Launch Worksheet**

**Who is in our team?**

**What is our shared purpose?**

**What common visions and values bring us together?**

**What leadership styles (or team types) are represented in our group?**

**What roles need to be filled in order for us to accomplish our shared purpose? What roles could help us hold effective meetings?** *Brainstorm a list of roles, and assign those roles in your team.*

**Brainstorm a list of working agreements or practices that will help your team work well together.** *For example: How often will you meet? How will you communicate with each other? What process will you use to make decisions? How will you record your plans and progress?*

**What else does our team need to function?** *Look over the list that your Sprog group brainstormed. Is there anything else your team should talk about now?*

**When will we make time to intentionally check in with each other about these agreements?** *It’s important to make time to return to team agreements and check in about whether team members are staying accountable to what you’ve agreed on, and whether the things you agreed on are working.*

**What is Leadership?**

* Leadership is creating the conditions that enable others to do great things in the face of uncertainty.
* Leadership is a practice, not a position.
* Leadership is…

**Leadership Development** is the deliberate practice of encouraging other people’s leadership abilities and inviting them to take on greater responsibility. Benefits of leadership development include:

* **More people to share the work.** For a group to survive and succeed, it needs many leaders sharing the work and supporting each other.
* **Teach organizing skills.** Most of the time, people don’t organically step up into leadership roles and learn organizing skills just by being part of a group or campaign. People need to be taught how to organize – and grassroots organizing skills aren’t typically taught in school, so it’s on us to teach others how to be leaders in our campaigns
* **Practice anti-oppression by encouraging diversity in leadership.** Internalized oppression can get in the way of people seeing themselves as leaders. Systems of oppression are so pervasive that it’s easy to internalize the values of patriarchy, white supremacy, ableism, fatphobia, etc. If you only offer leadership roles to people who volunteer for them, you’re likely to get people who are already comfortable in leadership or feel entitled to leadership positions. Instead, encourage and intentionally develop leadership in people from marginalized groups and people who bring experiences or leadership styles that are underrepresented on your team.  
    
  *Source for this bullet point: “Infiltration: How the Values of Oppressive Systems Tend to Arise in Organizations,” a publication by the Anti-Oppression Resource and Training Alliance (AORTA).*

**Leaders work to move others up the *Leadership Ladder:***

*Top rungs:* **Group members** or **leaders** who have been a part of the group for a while. They have more experience with the group’s work, and thanks to mentorship from other members, they’ve built up their organizing skills. They can take leadership on tasks and projects more independently than volunteers.

*Second rung*: **Volunteers**, people who’ve taken on roles that carry some level of responsibility. They’ve completed specific tasks with direction and guidance from a group leader. They became volunteers because someone from the group invited them to take on a role and they followed through.

*Lowest rung:* **Potential recruits**, people who might have signed a petition or even attended an event once. They aren’t currently playing an active role in the group – but they might, if someone invited them to.

**Story #1: Stream Clean-Up**

Growing up in Raleigh County, West Virginia, coal was always a part of life for Sheila – but she knows that things haven’t always been the way they are now, with mountaintop removal mines surrounding the valley where she lives. Sometimes at school, Sheila can feel the building shake when the miners set off the dynamite blasts, blowing apart the tops of mountains so they can use their massive equipment to scoop up the coal underneath. And when the wind blows in a certain way, fine, black coal dust settles on the windows of Sheila’s family’s house. Sheila knows that a lot of her neighbors work in the mines, and there aren’t a lot of other options for work in her town. But it’s hard not to wonder and worry sometimes if breathing in that black dust could make her sick.

Sheila’s father has lived his whole life in the valley, too. He reminisces to Sheila about how people used to fish in the stream behind their house. Sheila thinks about this one day while taking a walk through the woods along the stream. These days, the stream doesn’t have a lot of fish anymore, and sometimes runoff from the mines turns the water a bright, metallic orange. It’s not even safe to eat fish from this stream anymore. As she looks around her, Sheila sees that the banks are piled with trash – mostly old tires, cans, and scrap metal. All that trash makes Sheila sad. People don’t seem to care about this stream any more, and the streams aren’t healthy. It’s hard to imagine people fishing here. That’s when Sheila decides to take action to restore the stream: she’ll organize a clean-up to get rid of this trash.

Sheila talks some of her friends into helping her, and they work hard to plan the clean-up. They knock on doors and ask their neighbors to pitch in, and they hand out fliers to their classmates at school. On the big day, several of Sheila’s neighbors and classmates show up with gloves and garbage bags, and they all get to work. Some people tell Sheila that they didn’t realize how bad things were, or they didn’t believe that anyone could ever do anything about it. Sheila feels pride as she pulls pieces of scrap metal out of the stream, and a whole new appreciation for the natural beauty in her home. At the end of their workday, the crew can tell that the area they worked on looks much better.

There’s still a lot of trash, and Sheila hopes she can organize more clean-ups. But with her stream a little bit cleaner, Sheila can almost imagine what her whole valley could look like without the pollution from mountaintop removal. She hopes that someday that pollution will stop, and the river will be truly clean and safe enough to fish from again.

*This story is loosely based on the Coal River Mountain Watch’s Tadpole Project, which is one of the many ways this organization works to stop mountaintop removal coal mining in southern West Virginia. Read more about the Tadpole Project and CRMW’s work at crmw.net/projects/tadpole-project.php.*

**Story #2: Fracking Dangers**

Jason and his mom drive to school in the mornings. They drive past the gas station and the brand new hospital. They drive across the train tracks. They drive past the fields where farmers grow their crops. And when they are almost at school they drive past a different field. There are no crops in that field. Instead, there are pipes and metal monsters blowing out fire and smoke. The air looks wiggly here, and the fire never goes out. Jason’s mom says they are taking gas from under the ground.

Jason’s best friend isn’t in school today. He wasn’t in school yesterday. Jason’s teacher says his friend is home because he is sick, and Jason sees her and the other first grade teachers whispering about it with worry faces. At recess, Jason and his friends run around the playground and sometimes they climb on the jungle gym right next to the fence. There is a funny smell in the air. They pretend that the fire is a dragon and they have to fight it.

One day when Jason is running on the playground, he feels like something is squeezing him around his chest. He stops running because it is hard to breathe. It feels very scary. Jason’s mom takes him to the doctor, and the doctor says that Jason has asthma. He gives Jason something called an inhaler, and he says it will make Jason feel better.

When Jason is diagnosed with asthma, his mom, Christa, is worried. The doctor says he has been seeing a lot of asthma cases since the natural gas drilling has started in town. Christa knows that the fracking industry has brought many jobs to rural Pennsylvania – and she knows how badly towns like hers need those jobs. Now she wonders if that rig next to Jason’s school is responsible for his asthma, or even his best friend’s cancer.

Christa starts to research fracking, and she discovers that there are a lot of health risks involved for communities near fracking sites because of the chemicals used. Christa is shocked – she knew nothing about this beforehand, and she knows that many others in her town are also unaware of the health dangers. Christa feels that her community has a right to know, and she decides that she needs to educate other parents about the risks of gas drilling so close to schools. She talks about it to a few other parents who share her concerns, and together they form an advocacy group to educate their town. They make fliers to hand out at community events, and start speaking at schools in their area about the harm to children from exposure to fracking sites.

*Fracking near schools is a big issue in many states, including California, where it has been documented that fracking sites are much more likely to be located near schools with majority Black and Latino children. This story is loosely based on the story of the Mars Parents Group, which is fighting back on fracking near schools in Pennsylvania. For more about this group, see www.marsparentsgroup.com.*

**Story #3: Fighting the Incinerator**

Destiny was used to living surrounded by industry. Her working-class neighborhood in South Baltimore, Maryland, was surrounded by oil refineries and chemical plants. She could see a landfill, a coal plant, and other industrial facilities from the front steps of her high school. Destiny knew the air was bad, but when she talked to her neighbors about the pollution, it sounded like it was hard for them to imagine anything different. Things had been this way for a long time.

One day, Destiny was on the computer at school when she found an article about a trash incinerator that was about to be built in her neighborhood. Destiny was shocked – she hadn’t even known there were plans for an incinerator. She read about how thousands of tons of trash would be shipped into her neighborhood every day to be burned in the incinerator, to be converted into energy. The incinerator was being branded as a clean energy source, but Destiny read about all the toxins that would be released into the air. She thought about her mother, who struggled with asthma. She thought about all the other people she knew in her neighborhood who had asthma or lung cancer. And she knew she had to do something.

Destiny gathered a group of her friends and classmates together, and they made a plan for stopping the incinerator. First, they canvassed door-to-door in their neighborhoods to inform residents about what was happening and circulate a petition. Some of her neighbors supported the incinerator, believing it would bring needed jobs to the community. Some people brushed off this group of teenagers. Many people signed the petition – but a lot of them didn’t really believe that anything could ever change. Destiny was motivated by her anger at injustice and her vision of a better future for her community, and she wasn’t discouraged. Still, she knew it would take work to break through her neighbors’ mentality.

A big breakthrough came when Destiny and her team found out that their school district had signed a contract to buy energy from the incinerator, along with many other businesses and agencies in the city. The activists realized that if they could convince the future customers to cancel their contracts, then the company building the incinerator, Energy Answers, would have no one to sell to and the project wouldn’t be viable. They decided to focus on convincing the members of the school board to cancel the school district’s contract.

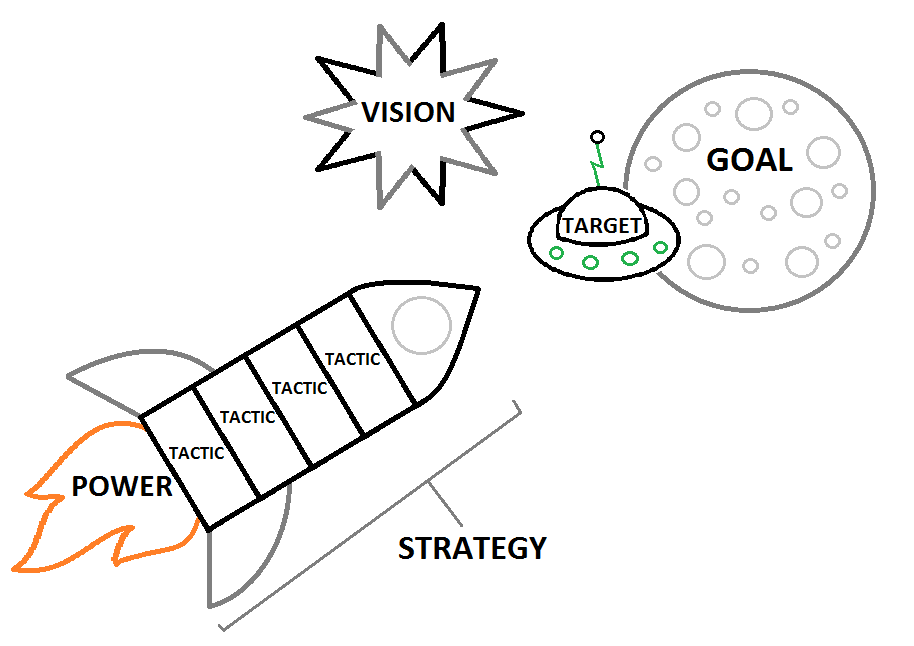
At the next school board meeting, Destiny and her team planned a big presentation. Neighbors who had signed the petition came to support the cause, and were moved and inspired by what they saw. Destiny spoke passionately about how the incinerator would impact her community, other residents spoke up too, and students gave speeches and hip hop performances. Then they invited the school board members to take a tour of their neighborhood and see the pollution for themselves. The board members accepted the invitation, and even applauded the presentation.

Destiny and her team kept planning actions to put pressure on the school board. They planned a rally at the high school, and students marched to the incinerator site. The spoke to teachers about the issue, and some teachers incorporated lessons about the incinerator into their classes. They kept canvassing in their neighborhoods, informing more residents about the incinerator and collecting more petition signatures. When they took school board members on a tour of the neighborhood, the students stood with them on the high school steps and showed them where the incinerator would be built.

Destiny’s efforts paid off, and the school board voted to cancel their contract with Energy Answers. But that was only the first step. Destiny and her team planned more protests and presentations, asking other agencies and businesses to cancel their contracts too. Their creative protests got more and more media attention, until the incinerator fight was a high-profile issue in Baltimore. In time, all 22 of the contracts were cancelled, leaving Energy Answers without customers for their project. And five years after Destiny first read about the incinerator in her high school library, the city revoked the incinerator permit, shutting down the project for good.

*This story is about Destiny Watford, who started an advocacy group called Free Your Voice and worked for five years to stop an incinerator from being built in her neighborhood of Curtis Bay in Baltimore, MD. In 2016, at age 20, Destiny became one of the youngest winners of the prestigious Goldman Environmental Prize. Read more about her story at www.goldmanprize.org/recipient/destiny-watford.*

*“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it’s  
the only thing that ever has.” –Margaret Mead*



**1. POWER.** In the SSC, we recognize three types of power:

1. **Power Over.** This is the power to force others to do something against their will. Power Over comes from access to resources or formal positions of power, and/or from systems of oppression that give some people power over others.
2. **Power Within.**  Every person also has another kind of power: the power to decide what to do, how to live, and when to act. This is Power Within.
3. **Power With:** This is the power that comes from cooperation, solidarity, and community – the ability we have to take action and influence change when we unite with others. This is the power that fuels grassroots campaigns.

**3. GOAL.** In campaign organizing, a goal is the specific change your campaign is aiming to win. A goal is always something you **win** from an opponent or target – turning out 100 people to a rally is not a goal in this context, but getting a decision-maker to agree to meet with you could be a goal.

*Brainstorm: What makes a good goal?*

**Long-Term Goal:**  The ultimate goal of the campaign.

**Short-Term Goal:**  Smaller goals that are like mile-markers that a campaigns needs to reach before it can win the long-term goal. If you have to drive a car 200 miles down the highway, then you’d better be sure that you’ll have enough gas at the 100 mile mark to get you to the end!

*Brainstorm: What were the long-term and short-term goals in the example story?*

**3. Vision.** This is our ideal world, our imagination of a world where all of our values are realized. The rocket isn’t pointing directly towards the vision because no single campaign will get us there. Over time, campaigns and movements coming together can transform the world and make our visions into reality.

**4. Target.** The primary target of a campaign should be a person who has the ability to say YES and make the change you want happen. Be specific – your target should be an **individual person**.

**5. Strategy.** This is the logic that tells you how you’re going to get your target to give you what you want. Writing a Strategy Statement can help clarify campaign strategy. This is an **If/Then/Because** statement that describes the expected outcomes if we take a particular course of action.

* ***If*** we collect 5,000 petition signatures, ***then*** our representative will vote for this bill ***because*** they want to please their constituents and win reelection in the fall.
* ***If*** we organize a series of escalating student protests, ***then*** the college administration will shut down the campus coal plant ***because*** they will be concerned about the school’s reputation.
* ***If*** we organize a mass boycott of this product, ***then*** the company will change their policy ***because*** our boycott will hurt their profits.

**6. Tactics.** These are the building blocks that make up a campaign, the specific steps that bring us closer to our goal. For example: education, petitions, mass protests, meeting with targets, etc.

**Campaign Goals & Strategy Worksheet**

**1.  GOALS**

*What is our* ***long-term goal*** *– the change that our campaign ultimately wants to accomplish?*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Long-Term Goal:** | **What makes this a strong goal?** |

*What* ***short-term goals*** *will we have to win on the path to winning our long-term goal?*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. | **What makes this a strong goal?** |
| 2. | **What makes this a strong goal?** |
| 3. | **What makes this a strong goal?** |

**2. STRATEGY**

**Our campaign target is: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.**

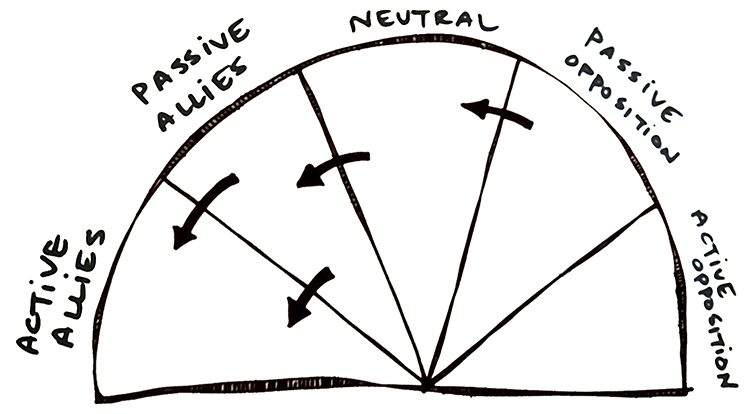
*Brainstorm:* What does this person value? What do they care about? What might influence them?

**Our Strategy Statement:**

If \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_,

then \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

because \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_.



Some activists spend a lot of time obsessing about our most hardcore, active opponents – protesting the big polluter or the president, for instance. They only focus on the **active opposition.**

Some activist groups act like everyone who isn’t actively supporting their campaign is in the last wedge of this spectrum, the active opposition. They only work with **active allies.**

... But we don’t actually win campaigns by overpowering opponents, and we won’t win only by talking to people who already agree with us. We win by shifting the support out from under our opponents – which means getting passive supporters to take an active role in the campaign and recruiting people who are on the fence to become passive supporters.

**Remember:** Our campaigns don’t get powerful by starting out with everyone we need to win our demands already on board! They become powerful when we gather steam by uniting people and groups around our cause – groups that might not be like us, but who find some common interest or connection to what we’re working towards. It’s our job to help them find that common interest.

**Campaign Story: Save Our Safety Net**

In the winter of 2009, the US experienced a financial crisis, and in many cities and states, elected officials, struggling to provide services with much less tax revenue, decided to cut services to the poorest residents in order to balance their books. In Washington DC, the mayor decided to propose cuts to emergency rental assistance, legal aid, job training funds and other badly needed programs. The following year, a group of younger activists who felt very strongly that those programs needed to be protected, decided to come up with a creative campaign to defend safety net programs. They decided they needed to be more confrontational than past campaigns, calling their group Save Our Safety Net, or SOS.

After months of research and planning, they decided on a campaign demand to fix the problem: Raise revenue from the people who can most afford to pay a little more – taxpayers making over $200,000 annually, less than 5% of DC residents, which would raise over $70 million, more than enough to offset any proposed cuts to critical programs.

There were already some groups fighting hard on these issues, like tenant groups representing people living in affordable housing, groups that offered services to survivors of domestic violence and others directly affected by the proposed cuts. But they hadn’t had much luck stopping the cuts - the mayor wasn’t listening to them.

SOS thought they needed to make the mayor and some city councilmembers uncomfortable if they were going to have a tax increase, knowing that they would get intense opposition from business groups. “We need to shake things up!” they would say. They openly talked about planning actions that might get them kicked out of city hall, or even arrested. This didn’t sit well with the Fair Budget Coalition, which had always advocated for more funding for important services by scheduling meetings with councilmembers, testifying at public hearings, and by generally being polite. They told SOS organizers early on, “we may not be able to stand with you, even though we both have the same goals.” They were worried the mayor and councilmembers would get mad at them, and wouldn’t listen anymore.

SOS decided to begin by delivered thousands of petition signatures by DC residents demanding that the mayor raise taxes on wealthy people rather than cut services for working class residents, on March 1st. But they didn’t hear back from him. So on April 1st, the day the mayor publicly presents his budget for the next year, SOS members interrupted his press conference, holding up a red net, wearing “Save Our Safety Net” t-shirts and chanting their demands to stop the cuts. Although it got them attention, it didn’t change his mind.

But it did help get the group on the radar of some organizations who had been “sitting on the fence”, like labor unions representing workers in the city. The cuts wouldn’t hurt their members’ salaries, and labor unions like to be friendly with the mayor. But SOS organizers had been arguing to them, “Hey, your members live in affordable housing! And some of them once in a while need help from domestic violence groups!” The labor unions - the DC AFL-CIO - had already agreed to endorse the campaign. The big victory was getting them to actually invite their members to come to the campaign’s next action.

By ignoring thousands of petition signatures, the mayor had demonstrated he wasn’t interested in hearing from the public. So when he had to go before the City Council to explain his budget, on April 12th, SOS and allies from the AFL-CIO and others packed the room. When it was the mayor's turn to speak, over 100 people stood up on cue, and walked out (VIDEO), leaving a note printed on the backs of their chairs: “NEW TAXES NOW.” In the hallway they held their own speakout and rally, and prepared to focus on the people who could make new taxes a reality, the City Council.

As the budget process unfolded, SOS members knew they had to do more than shame the villains – chiefly the Mayor and Councilmember Evans, who had said they would never raise taxes on rich people. They had to thank those councilmembers willing to take political risks to be "safety net superheroes”, by agreeing early on to support a tax increase. And so on May 5th they held a “public caping,” assembling over 100 advocates along with the Fair Budget Coalition at the front steps of city hall to present embroidered “SOS” superhero capes to the four councilmembers who had agreed to sponsor the tax increase bill, Michael Brown, Jim Graham, Tommy Wells and Harry Thomas, following a week of City Council visits by volunteers encouraging councilmembers to “take the cape.” But there were still some fence-sitting councilmembers who were neutral, like Marion Barry, Kwame Brown, Vince Gray and Mary Cheh. They were listening to the largest business groups in the city, like the Chamber of Commerce, who were telling them wealthy people would flee DC for the suburbs if the tax increase went through. The group sent supporters to all write messages on Vince Gray’s Facebook page, since he was the Council Chairman, and to his campaign fundraisers.

The organizers knew they needed to do more. So they went to organize the people the taxes would hit the hardest: Wealthy people! SOS convinced a wealthy hotel owner and a few of his friends to hold an invitation-only “High Income Happy Hour” for progressive wealthy people to discuss how to support the income tax. Slowly, they pulled some wealthy people off the fence, convincing some to reach out privately to councilmembers who had not yet said “yes” to the tax increase. Other wealthy activists went further, signing an open letter in the Washington Post saying, “raise my taxes, don’t cut the safety net!” Councilmember Brown said their voices were one of the main reasons he decided to support the tax increase.

Still, as the final budget vote drew closer, several councilmembers up for re-election who had earlier pledged to SOS in private meetings to vote for new taxes began to lose their resolve, and pleaded for the group to wait until after the primary elections to try again. The response of SOS activists was clear: "A recession is not the time to cut further into the safety net, and raising taxes is the only way to stop those cuts. Waiting until the problem gets worse is just irresponsible.”

Finally on May 26th, the day of the City Council budget vote, it was clear not enough councilmembers were getting the message, and were willing to continue to let working families bear the brunt of the recession. Hundreds of DC residents had wrapped the building in a giant “safety net”, but still, they didn’t have enough votes. Several dozen activists, including tenants and working parents who depend on public subsidies, interrupted (VIDEO) the Council’s closed-door breakfast meeting — where last-minute deals are often hammered out — personally delivering their message one final time with chants and, in the case of one working parent, dollar bills flung onto the table in a symbolic act of throwing down for the safety net. Chanting “Chairman Gray, Chairman Gray, how many cuts have you made today?”, they challenged unswayed councilmembers loyal to Gray like Mary Cheh and Yvette Alexander to be safety net superheroes.

It was not enough. They fell two votes short, 5-7, following a heated debate among councilmembers, with councilmember Barry agreeing to join the original group of four. Still, the councilmembers restored $17 million in critical safety net funding that the mayor had wanted to cut.

And then, fast forward a year, and there is another financial crisis, with more budget cuts proposed by the mayor, and even more pressure on the City Council to raise taxes. SOS decided to focus on a councilmember where the group had a lot of supportive members, holding house parties, phone-banking events and going door to door to generate phone calls to Mary Cheh in her district, called Ward 3, demanding that she sign-on to the wealthy people tax increase. Ward 3 residents put so much pressure on her, she finally agreed to support the increase! One more councilmember joined in, and SOS won the tax increase! To this day, DC’s income tax is considered the fairest in the country, and an additional $75 million a year go to safety net services.

**Our Liberation is Bound Together**

In Anti-Oppression 101 and 201, we reflected on our own identities and the ways they intersect to create our positionality in the world. In this session, we will continue to unpack systems of oppression that operate in our world and tie them to the concept of climate justice. To begin, let’s reflect on these quotations.

*“If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.” - Australian indigenous activist group*

*“Nobody’s free until everybody’s free”  
– Fannie Lou Hamer*

**What is the Threat of Climate Change?**

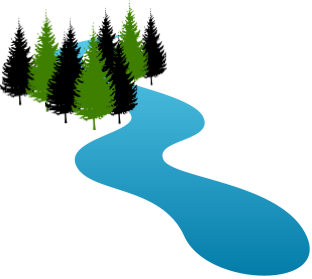
Before we dive into what climate justice is, let’s make sure we are all of the same page about the threat of climate change. At the most basic level, climate change is the catastrophic results of a planet that is heating up due an increase in greenhouse gases in our atmosphere. Much of our greenhouse gas emissions come from burning fossil fuels - coal, oil, and gas.

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| **Climate Threats** | |
| **Physical Changes** | **Human Costs** |
|  |  |

**Frontline Communities**

Frontline communities are those that face the first and worst impacts of climate change and extraction. They are often made of people who already hold marginalized identities.

**Impacts and Root Causes**



**Climate Justice: Centering justice in climate solutions.**

To struggle for climate justice is to understand the interconnectedness of life and that our task at hand includes not only ecological considerations like protecting trees and rivers but also into the realms of social, political, and economic inequities.

[Organizing Cools the Planet](https://climateaccess.org/system/files/Moore%20and%20Russell_Organizing%20Cools%20the%20Planet.pdf) has some great definitions of climate justice on pg. 19. Here are two that we like:

*“Climate Justice is a vision to dissolve and alleviate the unequal burdens created by climate change. As a form of environmental justice, climate justice is the fair treatment of all people and freedom from discrimination with the creation of policies and projects that address climate change and the systems that create climate change and perpetuate discrimination.” - Environmental Justice and Climate Change Initiative*

*“Climate Justice is a struggle over land, forest, water, culture, food sovereignty, collective and social rights; it is a struggle that considers “justice” at the basis of any solution; a struggle that supports climate solutions found in the practices and knowledge of those already fighting to protect and defend their livelihoods and the environment; a struggle that insists on a genuine systematic transformation in order to tackle the real causes of climate change… Climate Justice addresses four key themes: root causes, rights, reparations and participatory democracy.” - Demanding Climate Justice section of Hoodwinked in the Hothouse, published by Rising Tide North America*

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| **Shared Challenges, Shared Solutions** | |
| **Challenges** | **Solutions** |
|  |  |

**Collective Liberation**  
*“Collective liberation means recognizing that all of our struggles are intimately connected, and that we must work together to create the kind of world we know is possible. We believe that every person is worthy of dignity and respect, and that within systems of oppression everyone suffers.  
  
Collective Liberation is not just a value, but an action. When we work together across the barriers kept in place to divide us, we strengthen our organizing. When combined, our diverse identities and experiences give us the tools to dismantle systems of economic and social oppression, and to create a world in which all people are seen as fully human.” - United Students Against Sweatshops*

**Collective Liberation in Our Movements**

*“The biggest thing I have learned from nature is the importance of relationships… a given social movement isn’t a list of organizations, or campaigns, or even individuals; it’s the set of relationships \*between\* organizations, campaigns, individuals, etc.” - Farhad Ebrahimi in Emergent Strategy (pg.96)*

**Further Reading:**

* Organizing on a Sinking Ship: The Future of The Climate Justice Movement by Kevin Buckland
* Organizing Cools the Planet: Tools and Reflections to Navigate the Climate Crisis by Hilary Moore and Joshua Kahn Russell
* From Banks and Tanks to Cooperation and Caring by Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project
* They Are Selling the Rain (feat. Ayla Nereo) by Climbing PoeTree

*This chapter includes worksheets we’ll use to guide two breakouts during this training session. For more reading on these topics of extractive economy and just transition, please refer to the Just Transition zine (credit: movementgeneration.org) in the side pocket of your folder.*

## **Breakout #1 - Characteristics of Extractive Economy [15 min]**

With your small group, read out-loud these four characteristics of Extractive Economy and discuss the questions below.

**The Extractive Economy Characteristics**

1. Belief in an economy based on unlimited extraction of finite resources through activities like drilling, logging, and mining.
2. A system that hides the real cost and consequences of pollution to the public
3. Consumers of products have no connection to the land and labor used to make them
4. Communities with historically less structural power are disproportionately impacted

Breakout discussion questions:

* What impact does an economy with these characteristics have on climate change? On the natural world? On people?
* Who benefits from this type of economy? Who shoulders the burden? How so? Why is it this way?

Journal any reactions here.

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## **Breakout #2: Just Transition Framework [30 min]**

**Instructions:**

Imagine with your small group that it’s the year 2100. Our movement has been successful at guiding our society along a Just Transition to a regenerative economy. Your group is going to take a closer look at 1-2 of the Just Transition steps, and explore how we as a society put that step into practice to get ourselves to this new world.

1. Find the step(s) below that were assigned to your Group. Review the description and discuss the questions.
2. Add your reflections to a piece of flipchart as words and/or drawings (we’ll post them around the room to inspire us for the rest of the week.)
3. **Choose one spokesperson for your group!**

**Step #1: Stop the Bad**

Description: In the world of 2018, there are many forces in the world pushing us down a dangerous path. To name a few: poisonous industrial projects (like mines, factories, pipelines, power plants, etc.), oppressive policy decisions that put our communities at risk (attacks on immigrants, LGBTQ, people of color, women, etc.), the continued privatization of public lands and resources, a giveaway of more money and power to the military, prison system and police.

Questions: Imagine it’s the year 2100, and our movement has been successful at moving us away from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy that respects the dignity of all living beings and natural systems.

* What bad things did we have to stop to get us where we are today?
* What steps did our movement take to Stop the Bad? What role did youth leaders play in organizing this movement and taking action?
* What does the world look like today in 2100 as a result of our efforts to Stop the Bad?

**Step #2: Build the New**

Description: It is not enough to tear down what is broken if we don’t also invest in building up its alternative. To get to the world of our dreams, we must invest in building new institutions, structures and ways of being that are different and better than the old extractive, exploitative ways of 2018.

Questions: Imagine it’s the year 2100, and our movement has been successful at moving us away from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy that respects the dignity of all living beings and natural systems.

* What new things did we have to build to get us where we are today? (Consider: institutions, commerce, community capacity and structures, etc.)
* What steps did our movement take to Build the New? What role did youth leaders play in organizing this movement and building these new structures?
* What does the world look like today in 2100 as a result of our efforts to Build the New?

**Step #3: Change the Rules**

Description: In 2018, if we keep “following the rules”, we will continue down a dangerous path. We need to change the rules so that they build up what is needed and protect against what is harmful. To get there, many things will have to change: the laws of our government, the policies of many businesses, schools and institutions, the rules that govern international diplomacy and trade.

Questions: Imagine it’s the year 2100, and our movement has been successful at moving us away from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy that respects the dignity of all living beings and natural systems.

* What rules did we have to change to get us where we are today?
* What steps did our movement take to change those rules? What role did youth leaders play in organizing this movement, designing new rules, and taking action to win these changes?
* What does the world look like today in 2100 as a result of our efforts to Change the Rules?

*Pro-tip: If you’re looking for ideas for policy changes that could support this type of transition, feel free to take a look at the Leap Manifesto (in your folder) which proposes a number of rule changes that would support Canada’s Just Transition.*

**Step #4: Change the Story**

Description: Humans are storytelling creatures. Our stories shape our understanding of who we are, what is moral and immoral, and what life is all about. These stories show up in the way we tell our history (who’s the hero? Who’s the villain? What moments in history do we remember and which do we forget?), the way the media reports the news, the lessons we are taught in school, in our families and in our places of worship. In order to build a different world, we need to change these stories to uplift the values of a just and equitable world.

Questions: Imagine it’s the year 2100, and our movement has been successful at moving us away from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy that respects the dignity of all living beings and natural systems.

* Back in 2018, what values were prioritized? How did we tell the story of our history? What other stories were important to justify our culture and our economy? What kind of culture did these stories create? How did it feel to live in that culture?
* What’s different now in the future? What kind of stories do we tell now to understand who we are, how we live together, and what life is all about? What does it feel like to live in this new world?
* What steps did our movement take to change these stories? What role did young grassroots leaders play in changing our culture?

**Steps #5 & #6: Divest from *Their* Power, Invest in *Our* Power**

Description: In 2018, power is not shared equally at all. The top .01% of households in the US have as much wealth as the bottom 90%. White cisgender men hold the vast majority of positions of power in our society while women, people of color and queer folks are shut out of most decision making processes that affect them. Small businesses and community systems are more and more often snuffed out by transnational corporations who have major influence of governmental and economic decisions that affect all of us. We need to take back our power in order to build a world that works for all of us.

Questions: Imagine it’s the year 2100, and our movement has been successful at moving us away from an extractive economy to a regenerative economy that respects the dignity of all living beings and natural systems.

* Who was powerful back in the dark days of 2018? What resources did they have that gave them that power? How did they take and maintain that power?
* What steps did our movement take to divest from *their power* and invest in *our power?* What role did youth leaders play in organizing this movement and choosing where and how power was built?

What does the world look like today in 2100 as a result of our efforts to divest from *their power* and invest in *our power?*

**I. What do we mean by your “base”?**

Here’s how we define a base -

**Base** /noun/:

1. A large group of supporters who can be called on to take action for your cause.  
2. The source of your power!

The odds are you don’t have billions of dollars like the coal industry to buy TV ads and influence elections, but as grassroots organizers our power comes from people, and as such, we are most powerful when we are working with large numbers of people who are supportive of our cause and willing to take action when asked. In organizing lingo, we call this group of supportive people your “base.” At the core of any base is a group of activists who communicate and coordinate regularly.

**II. Why do people join a group?**

People’s initial motivation for joining a group typically fall into one of four types of motivation.

* **Values-Based:** They are personally concerned about the issue, or sees advocating for a better world as central to their values (e.g. I care about the planet!)
* **Self-interest**: They are getting something out of joining the group (e.g. resume building, has a crush on Treasurer) or advocating for the issue (e.g. cut own utility bill, kid has asthma), be part of something bigger than oneself
* **Transaction:** They receive something tangible in return/business arrangement (skills, food, class credit, t-shirt)
* **Social Need:** They want to meet people, be part of a community/team, or feel peer pressure (e.g. everyone’s doing it! it’s cool to advocate for the environment!)

**III. Why do people stay or leave a group?**

There are many reasons someone might stay or leave an advocacy group. Some of them are in your control and some of them are not. Be mindful of the listed reasons above the people join groups - these have a lot to do with why they stay. Below is also a short list of some sample reasons people leave a group.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Why People Stay** | **Why People Leave** |
| * **They make friends** * **They care about the campaign** * **They feel valued** * **Fun events** * **To learn skills** | **Poorly run meetings**  **Don’t feel connected to the group**  **Personality conflicts**  **Asked to do menial tasks or not asked to help at all** |

**IV. How do you recruit people to build your base?**

These are the tried and true steps to any great base building effort.

* **Initial contact**
  + Generally speaking, your supporters will not find you, which means you’ve got to put yourself out there and find them. This can be done with clipboard, or a table, or at least a sheet of paper, anything to help you start having conversations with people, getting their contact info, and *asking* them to take action with you.
* **Add them to your list**
  + Whatever you do, don’t end a conversation with a potential supporter without getting for their contact information! This can be captured on a petition slip or an interest form
  + Keep an electronic database of names, contact info (don’t forget to ask for phone numbers!!), and other valuable information for easy access (Google Doc Spreadsheets work great!) gathered from outreach, actions, and meetings.
* **Follow up, Follow up, Follow up**
  + How do you turn a supporter into an active member of your base? You follow up and ask them to take action!
  + The SSC teaches the “AIIT Cycle” for follow up and engagement
    - Ask
    - Inform
    - Involve
    - Thank
  + Tips!
    - \*TIP\* - always invite a new supporter to take action with you first, before asking them to attend a meeting.
    - \*TIP\* - a phone call is much more powerful than an email because it builds relationship and accountability.
    - \*TIP\* it’s easy to burn people out with too many emails, but people do like to be kept in the loop with updates from the campaign. Use your best judgment.

**V. How to write a rap for your initial contact**

In order to start building a base, you’ve got to start talking to people, and many of them will likely be strangers. It can be daunting to walk up to someone you don’t know and ask them to get involved, that’s why we recommend writing and rehearsing an outreach rap.

Raps can be delivered one-on-one at a tabling, clip boarding, canvassing session, over the phone, or to a large group of people. Regardless of setting, the structure and best practices of raps stay relatively the same.

**Stop Question:**

* A stop question is a quick question you can ask someone to get them to stop, listen to your rap, and take your action
* e.g. “Have you had a chance to sign our clean energy petition yet?”, “Can you help me build the clean energy economy?”

**Introduction:**

* Explain briefly, who are you? Why are you stopping them?

**Campaign Narrative:**

* *Problem*
  + Explain briefly, what problem are you trying to solve in your campaign?
  + e.g. “Coal plants are the leading contributors to global warming pollution, plus they put toxic elements like mercury into the water which is why we can’t eat the fish, AND we have one on our very own campus.”
* *Solution*
  + Explain briefly, what is the solution your group is advocating for?
  + e.g. “That’s why our group is asking the administration to switch to cleaner fuels like solar and wind power.”
* *Strategy*
  + Explain briefly, what is your strategy for achieving this change?
  + e.g. “In order to get their attention and show them how much students care about this issue we are
* *How to get involved*
  + This is a great segue into your ask. What are people doing to help the campaign? How are people bringing their own talents and energy to the cause? Is it fun?

**Ask**

* Ask the person to *do something* related to the campaign. This could be signing a petition or an interest form for your group, or signing up to come to an event or action.
  + e.g. “Will you sign our petition to President Bruininks?”
* Whatever you do, make sure that when you ask them to do something, you ask them to sign up and give you their information so you can follow up with them.

**Thank You!**

* Be appreciative! Thank the person for their time and support!
* Say something on a personal level like, “see you next time

**VI. Best Practices of 1:1 Outreach**

* **Come to them:** Don’t sit behind a table waiting for someone to find you, get out where people are and start conversations!
* **Brevity:** Try to condense what you want to say into short relatable sentences. People don’t have time for a speech!
* **Be a real person, not a salesperson or a robot:** Remember: you’re having a conversation, not selling something or reciting a script.
* **Mirroring:** A common canvassing trick is to ‘mirror’ with your body language, energy level, and voice volume the way the person you’re talking to you is presenting themselves.

**Get them something to sign right away!:** When clip boarding or tabling, this means handing them your clipboard once they’ve started talking to you. When speaking to a large group it means.

# 

**I. What do we mean by “mobilization”?**

**Mobilizing** /noun/:

1. The act of turning out large numbers of people to take a coordinated, strategic action.

*For example*:

-**In-Person Turnout** for Rallies, meetings, town halls, kickoff meetings, key events

-**Generated Contacts** to a target via petition signatures, phone calls, letters, etc.

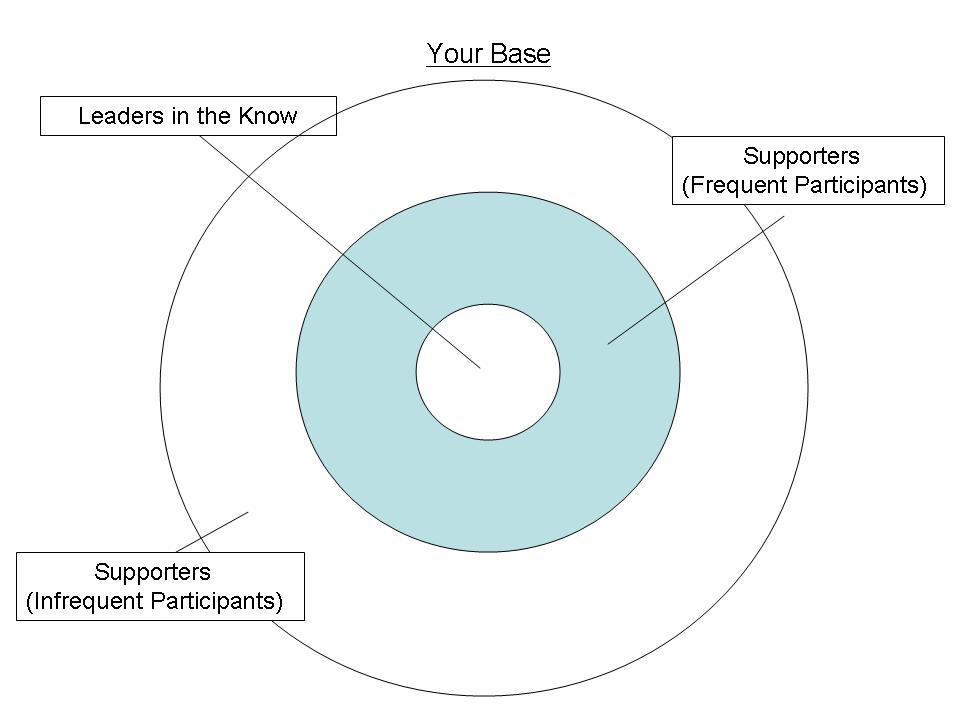
-**Visibility mobilization,** such as asking many people to wear the same button or

colored shirt.

-**Online mobilization** such as donating your Facebook profile picture, or retweeting a campaign message.

**II. Who’s in your base?**

Leaders in the Know

* In any base, there will be folks intimately connected to the campaign and to each other. They will understand and be part of setting strategy for the campaign; they’ll meet up and talk with enthusiasm about what’s going on or text each other when something exciting or surprising happens. If the campaign was a soap opera, they’d be the viewers that never missed an episode and knew each character by name. It’s rare though that any campaign has more than 10-20 individuals who remain so closely connected to heart of a campaign, yet to demonstrate significant grassroots power toward your target, at say a rally, you need a lot more than 10-20 people.
* In a large and powerful base, these “Leaders in the Know” play a critical role, but make up only a small percentage of the campaign’s active supporters.

Supporters (Frequent & Infrequent Participants)

* Among your other Supporters, there will be some Frequent Participants whom can count on to attend meetings and take part in important tactics most of the time when asked. With these participants, it is important to build relationships and offer opportunities to step up into leadership roles. Some of these folks will turn into excellent leaders in the inner circle.
* Many of your Supporters though will be infrequent participants. While consistently supportive of your cause they will choose to show up only sometimes. There are many good reasons for this behavior such as high commitment to other groups, activities and responsibilities and it is important not to mistake infrequent participation for flakiness or lack of support. It is important to continue to ask these folks to take action with you, particularly when you have a critical tactic that really requires lots of participation. To keep them in the loop between actions, it can be helpful to stay in light communication with them about major updates in the campaign.

**III. Principles of Effective Mobilization**

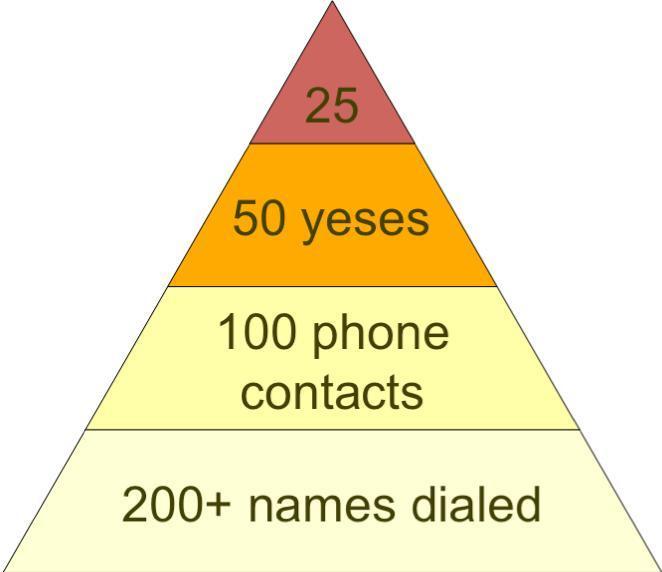
* **Always set a measurable number goal:** Determine first how many people you want to take an action. It is possible to meet these goals with smart planning.
* **The more contacts, the more mediums, the better:** There are many different ways to reach people, and when you are hoping to engage a number of people in an action, the more times and ways they hear about it, the better. Think about a concert or a party that you on the fence about going to, but then became more and more certain of your attendance after seeing fliers, Facebook posts, and hearing about it from various friends on different occasions. The same principle applies to mobilization.
* **Ask for a commitment:** It can feel awkward, but the most effective way to ensure someone will take an action is to get in touch and ask them, “can you commit to \_\_?”
* **Plan backwards:** As always, set a date to reach your goal and plan backwards with the steps you will take to reach it.
* **Prioritize Direct Outreach:** While the best mobilization efforts utilize both direct and indirect outreach tactics, when time/resources are limited it is always best to prioritize direct outreach as it is statistically far more effective than indirect outreach

**IV. Indirect vs. Direct Outreach Tactics for Mobilization**

Effective mobilization strategies utilize both Direct & Indirect outreach.

* **Indirect Outreach**
  + **Definition**: One sided communication that gets the word out about an action without the possibility of dialogue or making an ask for commitment.
  + Examples of Indirect Outreach Tactics
    - Fliers
    - Email Listserv
    - Facebook posts/Tweets
    - Announcement on radio/TV/newspaper/blog
* **Direct Outreach**
  + **Definition:** Outreach from one person to another which ends in an ask for a commitment *(e.g. can we count on you to be there on March 10 for the rally?)*
  + Examples of Direct Outreach Tactics
    - Phone banking
    - Canvassing/Door Knocking
    - Clip boarding/Tabling
    - Peer-to-Peer
  + \*TIP\*: As was stated before, Direct Outreach is statistically more effective than Indirect Outreach, so if time and resources are limited, focusing energy on Direct Outreach is the right move. For this reason, we will focus for the majority of this training on Direct Outreach tactics; how to execute them and lead others in taking them on.

**V. Making a Mobilization Plan**

* **Rule of Halves**
  + All good planning starts with a good metric. The Rule of Halves is the advocacy industry standard for calculating how many people you will need to reach in order to meet your goal.
  + **Step 1**: ***Set your mobilization goal***: i.e. how many people do you want to take action? *In the pyramid to the left, this goal # is written at the top of the pyramid*
  + **Step 2: *Multiply by two*.** You can expect that only half the number of people who say they will take action will actually follow through. So multiply your goal # by two and you know how many people have to say yes, e.g. if your mobilization goal is 25 people, then you will need 50 yeses.
  + **Step 3:** *Multiply by two.* The most common way of directly following up with your supporters is via phone. You can expect that half of the people who answer your phone call will say yes to your action. So multiply your number of yeses by two and you know how many people you will need to get on the phone.
  + **Step 4:** *Multiply by two.* You can expect that only half the people you call will actually answer their phone. So multiply the number of phone contacts by two and you will have the total number of phone calls you need to make. A good way to think of this final number is it is the number of supporters you will need to have on your list in order to reach your mobilization goal.
* **Put it on a calendar!**
  + Make a timeline that has each outreach tactic you plan to perform on it with the number of people and the amount of time they will spend.
  + To plan out how much time and how many people you will need for each tactic, you can use the time metrics in the chart below.
  + Make sure to be thoughtful about how much time it will take to perform the tactics necessary to meet your goal. If it doesn’t seem like your team has this time and energy to contribute, you may need to reassess your goal.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Tactic** | **Purpose** | **Rates (Rules of Thumb)** | **Materials** |
| **Petitioning/Tabling** | **Recruit, campaign goals (petitions), advertise events, list-building** | **8 volunteer interest cards/hour/person** | **Petitions/postcards**  **Clipboard**  **Pens**  **Visuals**  **Factsheets/flyers for people to take with them**  **Rap** |
| **Class Rap/Group Presentation** | **Recruit, campaign goals (petitions), target a captive audience, event turnout, list-building** | **Scheduling: 3-4/hour of calling professors or group leaders.**  **15% of people present will fill out an interest card** | **Rap**  **Postcards or sign-up sheet** |
| **Phone-Banking** | **Turn-out, follow-up, reach a lot of people quickly** | **Dial 30 numbers/hour**  **10-15 conversations**  **5-7 yeses (depending on ask)** | **Phone Script**  **Call Lists**  **Tick Sheet**  **Pens**  **Food (feed those volunteers!)** |
| **Canvassing/Dorm-Storming** | **Campaign goals (petitions), turn-out (elections in particular)** | **20 doors/hr**  **10 conversations/hr**  **5 yeses/hour (depending on ask)** | **Clipboard**  **Petitions**  **Pens**  **Flyers** |

**7 Self Care Myths**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **1) Self-care is *anything* that soothes me.** | Just because something makes you feel good doesn’t mean it’s self care.Many people turn to alcohol, TV marathons, games and food to soothe their stress and unwind. These activities are not self-care. Self-care practices need to support health and wellness and should not be addictive, compulsive or harmful to your mind, body or bank account. You always have to look at long-term consequences; don’t always focus on short-term instances. They‘re fun, but only last for so long. Investing in long-term goals is always the best way to go. |
| **2) Practicing self-care is selfish because it’s making a choice between myself and others.** | It’s actually the opposite - A well-nourished self-makes for a more selfless personality. If we do not take care of ourselves, we end up wasting our precious time and energy on a bunch of activities that deprive us of our emotional reserves. We lose ourselves and run the risk of potentially harming others. We may all be vulnerable to being selfish, but when we can sustain ourselves and all our needs are met then we have more to give to others. There is no greater gift to offer to the world than you at your best. |
| **3) Self-care is all or nothing.** | The amount of self care we practice is going to fluctuate throughout our lives. It’s going to require navigating through life with it as a priority. While we should avoid not practicing it, we need to be patient and compassionate to ourselves when it isn’t as prominent in our lives. It requires us to keep it at the forefront of our minds and check in with ourselves when we feel like we aren’t making it as much of a priority as it should be. |
| **4) Self-care requires time and money that I just don’t have.** | Self-care is often viewed as a luxury that many of us have neither the time nor the money to enjoy. Self-care does not need to involve an expensive week long vacation, a gym membership or weekly massages. It can easily include daily journaling, 5 minutes of gratitude meditation or morning stretches. |
| **5) Self-care is optional.** | Running yourself ragged can lead to unhealthy habits, because our needs can’t go unmet for too long. “If you choose not to create room for self-nurture or rest, it will elbow its way in, often in forms that feel less than self-caring in the moment,” according to [Ashley Eder](http://www.ashleyeder.com/), LPC, a psychotherapist in Boulder, Colo. These forms include compulsive behaviors such as overeating and even symptoms of [depression](https://psychcentral.com/blog/6-steps-for-beating-depression/), she said. If you find yourself turning to these kinds of habits, explore the needs you’re meeting with them. And “offer yourself that choice directly instead of through these backdoor behaviors.” |
| **6) We have to earn the right to practice self-care.** | “Our lives are organized culturally with an emphasis in the first third of our lives on education, the second around career and family development, and the last third for leisure,” said [Sarah McKelvey](http://www.tobecomewhoyouare.com/), MA, NCC, a psychotherapist with a private practice in Centennial, Colo. This creates the notion that we can only take good care of ourselves after we’ve accomplished certain goals. Yet it is self-care that gives us the energy and nourishment we need to achieve great things. |
| **7) There’s no time for self care. The word is in crisis!** | Many of us take in too much upsetting information through news and social media. It leaves us no space to digest and we become paralyzed. So we need to absorb painful information carefully. Oppressive systems thrive on making us sad, and hopeless. That’s why self care is imperative. It can replenish us and provide the necessary space to get clear about our roles, contributions and priorities in the world. |

**Balancing Your Wellness Wheel**

# Directions

1. Read the first statement.
2. If you feel you are doing this most of the time, color in all of section 1 on the piece of your Wellness Wheel.
3. Continue doing this for all questions for each Dimension of Wellness.
4. Once you have completed all the questions, go to **Page 3** to think about what you have learned about your overall wellness and make plans on how to improve your life balance.

# Questions

**Physical**

1. I do what I can to eat a balanced nutritional diet.
2. I make time in my week to be active and exercise in ways that work well for my body.
3. I choose to abstain from sex or sex is enjoyable and I practice safe sex.
4. I do not use alcohol or use in moderation, am a non-smoker and avoid using drugs recreationally.
5. When my body needs care, I go to the doctor and/or seek out other resources for healing.
6. I try to spend a part of each day outside.

**Social**

1. I feel comfortable addressing conflict in my personal and professional lives.
2. I am aware of the feelings of others and can respond appropriately.
3. I have at least three people with whom I have a close, trusting relationship.
4. I am aware of and able to set and respect my own and others' boundaries.
5. I have satisfying social interactions with others.
6. I have a sense of belonging/not being isolated.

**Intellectual**

1. I have specific intellectual goals, e.g., learning a new skill, a specific major.
2. I pursue mentally stimulating interests or hobbies.
3. I am generally satisfied with my education plan/vocation.
4. I have positive thoughts (a low degree of negativity and cynicism).
5. I would describe myself as a lifelong learner.
6. I commit time and energy to professional and self-development.

**Spiritual**

1. I practice meditation, prayer, journaling or engage in other practices that promote self-reflection and growth.
2. I have a general sense of serenity.
3. I feel a general optimism towards life.
4. I have a sense of meaning and purpose in my life.
5. I trust others and am able to forgive others and myself and let go.
6. Principles/ethics/morals provide guidance for my life.

**Emotional**

1. I have a sense of fun and laughter.
2. I am able to feel and label my feelings.
3. I express my feelings appropriately.
4. I have a sense of control in my life and I am able to adapt to change.
5. I am able to comfort or console myself when I am troubled.
6. Others would describe me as emotionally stable.

**Work-Related\*  
\*These statements can refer to your job, schoolwork, and/or organizing work.**

1. I enjoy going to work.
2. I feel that the work that I do is meaningful and fulfilling.
3. I have a balance between work and the other areas of my life.
4. I seek opportunities to continue growing professionally.
5. When my workload is at maximum capacity, I recognize this and say no to taking on additional responsibilities.
6. If I am feeling overwhelmed and overworked, I reduce my workload by excusing myself from some of my commitments, handing off responsibilities to others, and/or asking others on my team for help.

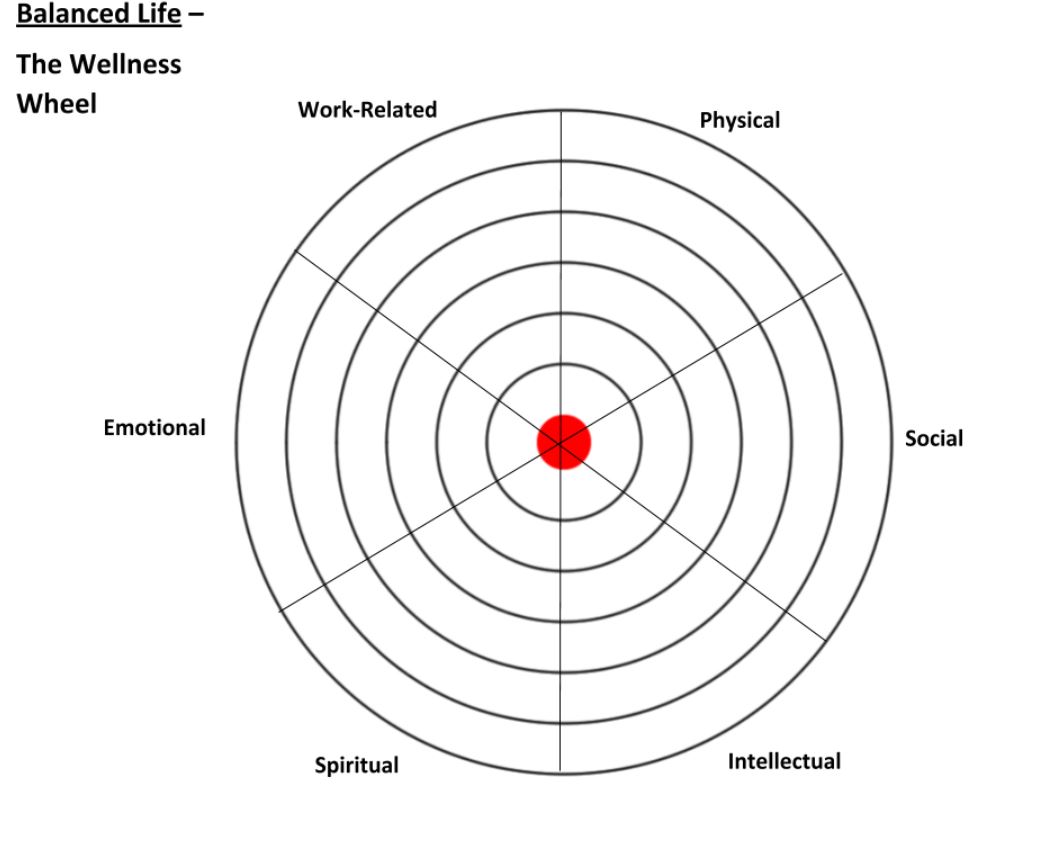
# Next Steps…

**REFLECTION:**

* Which section of your wheel has the most color?
* Which section of your wheel has the least color? What changes could you make to practice self-care in this area of your life?

**GOAL-SETTING:**

* As a result of doing this assessment, I intend to improve my life balance by…
* My first step will be…



1. **Communication**

What must we be aware of in communicating with new communities and campus groups?

Re-entering a Campus Group

* No common frame of reference/language to talk about organizing
* Differing cultural contexts from which you are approaching the same challenges
* Disagreement over the ‘right’ direction for the group
* The Sprog model may need to be adapted to suit the needs of the group/campaign
* Other people in your group may not have the same sense of empowerment as you do coming out of Sprog
* You may not know how to share the new knowledge you have
* You may not know how to articulate the new skills you have, or how to contextualize these skills within the existing group structure

Working in a New Community

* No common frame of reference/language to talk about organizing
* Differing cultural contexts from which you are approaching the same challenges
* The community may not be open to your perspective
* You may be resistant to the community’s organizing culture
* You may be uninformed about the community’s culture
* Disagreement over the ‘right’ direction for the group
* The Sprog organizing model may not suit the needs of your communities
* The Sprog model may need to be adapted to suit the existing cultural context of the community or group

**II. Context**

There are unique challenges involved in confronting class, race, educational and gender privilege in every new organizing context. The work of collaborating with others who have different organizing styles and cultural experiences is incredibly difficult to navigate. We need to develop the ability to articulate the resources we have to offer without disregarding existing knowledge. Additionally, we must be prepared for situations in which our own identity may not be accepted or understood by the groups or communities we work with, as these encounters complicate relationships and can create unsafe spaces. In many ways this means putting some Anti-Oppression principles into action. This training is meant to provide a framework for thinking about collaboration - whether with a campus group or another community - that can produce justice-based dialogue within strategic organizing coalitions that are effective and contextually relevant.

**III. Principles of Working in a (New) Community**

* Know the Lay of the Land within the community

If you are re-entering your group, you will likely know a lot of the Lay of the Land already, but still, there is always something new to learn.

* + Research, talk to people! to find out:
    - Past and present social, political, economic, and cultural principles and norms that already exist.
    - Past and present status of organizing and activism around community issues.
    - Groups and individuals already working on similar issues.
  + Listening Projects!!
    - A listening project is the process of meeting with many community members with the intention of listening to their stories and experiences with their community and the issues at play in your campaign. Sometimes these projects result in a compilation of notes or video footage, but not necessarily.
    - It’s imperative that the perspectives/concerns/issues of the local community are at the forefront of the campaign work. Listening projects provide a great foundation for us to come to understand these localized perspectives and concerns.

* + Leadership Identification
    - Figure out who are the official leaders of the community or group: local politicians, elected club leaders, church leaders, etc.
    - Figure out who has influence or power within the community or group (i.e. who are the folks that others really listen to and look to for direction; these people aren’t always the official leaders, e.g. old group leaders, faculty advisors, popular and respected community members, whoever runs the house that people gather and eat at, whoever throws the biggest parties).
    - Figure out who has passion and a strong motivation to better their community or organization. Maybe these are folks you’ve identified during listening projects or during tabling events.
    - And don’t forget to reconsider your definition of “leader.” A leader is not necessarily an outgoing or vocal individual. It’s important to know that there are different types of leaders that exist.
    - Remember that inter-generational dialogue will be at the crux of this work. The environmental movement can become “youth-centered” sometimes, as we look to the future, but it is crucial that we engage the voices of elders and older leaders in our community work, as these voices are a source of community wisdom and perhaps history that is otherwise unavailable to us.
* 1 on 1’s
  + Once you identify these leaders, set up 1 on 1 meetings with existing or potential leaders
  + 1 on 1’s should be very natural and human. They should never become mechanical. Rather, they should be the opposite, dynamic and risky. It is important to throw yourself into a 1 on 1 and put yourself on the line. There are some ideas you can keep in mind which can provide a powerful framework for 1 on 1’s.
  + Goals
    - Human connection
    - Exchange contact information,

*And discuss best mediums for communication*

* + - Listen at least 75% of the time
    - Create tension that leads to growth
    - Identify self interest
    - Expand self interest
    - Be honest

In 1 on 1’s be very, clear and honest about your objectives: don’t hide your motives, talk to them about what they are planning for the semester or year, share your experience of attending Sprog or other relevant experiences and look for opportunities to offer what you learned to them or their group.

* Respect Existing Knowledge
  + Be aware of and respect pre-existing norms that have already been established within a community (officially and unofficially). It’s important to understand these if we are to build new relationships.
  + Remember that if you are working in a new community, your primary objective is to provide support to that community, not to expect or demand it for yourself. Always keep in mind which organizers have opted in to organizing, and which organizers have had to organize in self-defense.
* Listen to the Concerns of the Community/Group/Leader
  + Note: in marginalized communities there is often a history of outsiders coming in and taking advantage of people. Sometimes, even well intentioned people entering marginalized communities replicate cycles of oppression by telling people what they think is best for a community.
  + Be the **active listener**: Listen to understand, not to respond.
    - When in doubt, listen. When not in doubt, listen some more. When people are tired of you listening so much, listen to their concerns and ask them what they’d like you to do. Listen.
    - CAVEAT: There cannot be the expectation that community members will have the capacity to come up with jobs for you to complete. Never expect direction, but create space for it to be voiced.
    - Tip: Articulate your resources, not your “plans”
* Build Relationships/Focus on Mutual Interest—Try to build on common ground; be aware of differences, but focus on what you have in common.
* Be willing to adapt your vision--Often when we wish to work with a community we will realize that what is needed may not be what we were initially envisioning. People may need child care, not leadership development; they may want help mapping graveyards and encouraging local economic development, not massive protests. It’s important to have dialogue in these situations, but as the “outsider” it’s also important to be flexible.
* Be willing to adapt your style -- We have to be willing to adopt community-generated models of organizing and convening, and this means putting “the matrix” on the back burner sometimes.

**Resources available**

Here are some of the resources available to help you with taking trainings and skills back to your campus group, these resources can also be valuable to you if you are preparing on entering a new community:

* Talk to your SSC Regional Staff or the Trainings Director (we’re here to help you figure out how to approach you specific community and overcome your specific hurdles.
* SSC On-Line Trainings Binder
* You can also consult members of the Trainings Committee in your area.

Reach out to Community Groups for resources and support

**I. Framing the Debate**

* **Objectives**
  + Understand the nature of the media packaging issues for the public.
  + See how the media arrives at the frames it does.
  + Learn how to frame issues your way!
* **Principles of Framing**
  + She who speaks first, frames.
  + Not all issues are created equal.
  + ‘Tis far easier to frame than unframe (reframe).
  + When we frame effectively and successfully-we win!
* **Constructing your Frame**
  + What’s your conservation goal?
  + What are the values of your target audience?
  + What is a compelling link between your goal and their values?
* **TIPS**
  + Offer solutions early!
  + Consequences and causes.
  + Put a lens on leaders to make a change.

**II. Message Development**

* **Building Your Message**
  + Your message answers the question “WHY?” Why care? Why act?
  + It should be short, simple, and repeated over and over. This is the type of thing that belongs on a bumper sticker.
  + It should have both an ACTION statement and a VALUE statement:
  + It should reveal motive; we act because we care about what is threatened.
  + Focus on the key values of your targeted audience.
* **Creating Your Themes**
  + Think of the message development process as a stool: You sit on your message, so it better be nice and comfy. Your themes are the three supporting points behind your message. Without them, you’re left sitting on the ground.
  + Each theme should be developed to speak directly to one section of your target audience.
  + While the message grabs people’s attention, the themes are what hold their attention and draw them in.
* **How Stories Work**
  + The best way to present your message and themes is with a story.
  + To be compelling, stories must have the following core elements:
    - * A problem or threat
      * A victim
      * A bad guy who is responsible and who should be held accountable
      * A good guy (presumably the public who can make a difference by getting involved)
      * A successful, or potentially successful, resolution (a way to solve the problem)
* Stories can really stay with people. People can get involved in the story, can look back on the story and wish they had been a part of it.

**Good message development requires preparation and creativity. The preparation involves identifying a target audience and deciding what will motivate them. Creativity involves creating messages, themes, and stories that really work.**

***By George Lakoff***

***Framing 101: How to Take Back Public Discourse***

— January 21, 2004 —

On this date I spoke extemporaneously to a group of about two hundred progressive citizen-activists in Sausalito, California. When I teach the study of framing at Berkeley, in Cognitive Science 101, the first thing I do is I give my students an exercise. The exercise is: Don’t think of an elephant! Whatever you do, do *not* think of an elephant. I’ve never found a student who is able to do this. Every word, like *elephant*, evokes a frame, which can be an image or other kinds of knowledge: Elephants are large, have floppy ears and a trunk, are associated with circuses, and so on. The word is defined relative to that frame. When we negate a frame, we evoke the frame.

Richard Nixon found that out the hard way. While under pressure to resign during the Watergate scandal, Nixon addressed the nation on TV. He stood before the nation and said, “I am not a crook.” And everybody thought about him as a crook.

This gives us a basic principle of framing, for when you are arguing against the other side: Do not use their language. Their language picks out a frame —and it won’t be the frame you want.

Let me give you an example. On the day that George W. Bush arrived in the White House, the phrase *tax relief* started coming out of the White House. It still is: It was used a number of times in this year’s State of the Union address, and is showing up more and more in pre-election speeches four years later.

Think of the framing for *relief*. For there to be relief there must be an affliction, an afflicted party, and a reliever who removes the affliction and is therefore a hero. And if people try to stop the hero, those people are villains for trying to prevent relief.

When the word *tax* is added to *relief*, the result is a metaphor: Taxation is an affliction. And the person who takes it away is a hero, and anyone who tries to stop him is a bad guy. This is a frame. It is made up of ideas, like *affliction* and *hero*. The language that evokes the frame comes out of the White House, and it goes into press releases, goes to every radio station, every TV station, every newspaper. And soon the *New York Times* is using *tax relief*. And it is not only on Fox; it is on CNN, it is on NBC, it is on every station because it is “the president’s tax-relief plan.” And soon the Democrats are using *tax relief* —and shooting themselves in the foot.

It is remarkable. I was asked by the Democratic senators to visit their caucus just before the president’s tax plan was to come up in the Senate. They had their version of the tax plan, and it was their version of tax relief. They were accepting the conservative frame. The conservatives had set a trap: The words draw you into *their* worldview.

That is what framing is about. Framing is about getting language that fits your worldview. It is not just language. The ideas are primary — and the language carries those ideas, evokes those ideas.

There was another good example in the State of the Union address in January. This one was a remarkable metaphor to find in a State of the Union address. Bush said, “We do not need a permission slip to defend America.” What is going on with a *permission slip*? He could have just said, “We won’t ask permission.” But talking about a permission slip is different. Think about when you last needed a permission slip. Think about who has to ask for a permission slip. Think about who is being asked. Think about the relationship between them.

Those are the kinds of questions you need to ask if you are to understand contemporary political discourse. While you are contemplating them, I want to raise other questions for you.

My work on politics began when I asked myself just such a question. It was back in the fall of 1994. I was watching election speeches and reading the Republicans’ “Contract with America.” The question I asked myself was this: What do the conservatives’ positions on issues have to do with each other? If you are a conservative, what does your position on abortion have to do with your position on taxation? What does that have to do with your position on the environment? Or foreign policy? How do these positions fit together? What does being against gun control have to do with being for tort reform? What makes sense of the linkage? I could not figure it out. I said to myself, *These are strange people. Their collection of positions makes no sense.* But then an embarrassing thought occurred to me. I have exactly the opposite position on every issue. What do my positions have to do with one another? And I could not figure that out either.

That was extremely embarrassing for someone who does cognitive science and linguistics.

Eventually the answer came. And it came from a very unexpected place. It came from the study of family values. I had asked myself why conservatives were talking so much about family values. And why did certain values count as “family values” while others did not? Why would anyone in a presidential campaign, in congressional campaigns, and so on, when the future of the world was being threatened by nuclear proliferation and global warming, constantly talk about family values?

At this point I remembered a paper that one of my students had written some years back that showed that we all have a metaphor for the nation as a family. We have Founding Fathers. The Daughters of the American Revolution. We “send our sons” to war. This is a natural metaphor because we usually understand large social groups, like nations, in terms of small ones, like families or communities.

Given the existence of the metaphor linking the nation to the family, I asked the next question: If there are two different understandings of the nation, do they come from two different understandings of family?

I worked backward. I took the various positions on the conservative side and on the progressive side and I said, “Let’s put them through the metaphor from the opposite direction and see what comes out.” I put in the two different views of the nation, and out popped two different models of the family: a strict father family and a nurturing parent family. You know which is which.

Now, when I first did this —and I’ll tell you about the details in a minute —I was asked to give a talk at a linguistics convention. I decided I would talk about this discovery. In the audience were two members of the Christian Coalition who were linguists and good friends of mine. Excellent linguists. And very, very good people. Very nice people. People I liked a lot. They took me aside at the party afterward and said, “Well, this strict father model of the family, it’s close, but not quite right. We’ll help you get the details right. However, you should know all this. Have you read Dobson?”

I said, “Who?”

They said, “*James* Dobson.”

I said, “*Who*?”

They said, “You’re kidding. He’s on three thousand radio stations.”

I said, “Well, I don’t think he’s on NPR. I haven’t heard of him.”

They said, “Well, you live in Berkeley.”

“Where would I . . . does he write stuff?”

“Oh,” they said, “oh yes. He has sold millions of books. His classic is *Dare to Discipline*.”

My friends were right. I followed their directions to my local Christian bookstore, and there I found it all laid out: the strict father model in all its details. Dobson not only has a 100-to-200- million-dollar-a-year operation, but he also has his own ZIP code, so many people are writing to order his books and pamphlets. He is teaching people how to use the strict father model to raise their kids, and he understands its connection to rightwing politics.

The strict father model begins with a set of assumptions:

*The world is a dangerous place, and it always will be, because there is evil out there in the world. The world is also difficult because it is competitive. There will always be winners and losers. There is an absolute right and an absolute wrong. Children are born bad, in the sense that they just want to do what feels good, not what is right. Therefore, they have to be made good.*

*What is needed in this kind of a world is a strong, strict father who can:*

* *Protect the family in the dangerous world,*
* *Support the family in the difficult world, and*
* *Teach his children right from wrong.*

*What is required of the child is obedience, because the strict father is a moral authority who knows right from wrong. It is further assumed that the only way to teach kids obedience —that is, right from wrong — is through punishment, painful punishment, when they do wrong. This includes hitting them, and some authors on conservative child rearing recommend sticks, belts, and wooden paddles on the bare bottom. Some authors suggest this start at birth, but Dobson is more liberal. “There is no excuse for spanking babies younger than fifteen or eighteen months of age” (Dobson,*The New Dare to Discipline*, 65).*

*The rationale behind physical punishment is this: When children do something wrong, if they are physically disciplined they learn not to do it again. That means that they will develop internal discipline to keep themselves from doing wrong, so that in the future they will be obedient and act morally. Without such punishment, the world will go to hell. There will be no morality.*

*Such internal discipline has a secondary effect. It is what is required for success in the difficult, competitive world. That is, if people are disciplined and pursue their self-interest in this land of opportunity, they will become prosperous and self-reliant. Thus, the strict father model links morality with prosperity. The same discipline you need to be moral is what allows you to prosper. The link is the pursuit of self-interest. Given opportunity and discipline, pursuing your self-interest should enable you to prosper.*

*Now, Dobson is very clear about the connection between the strict father worldview and free market capitalism. The link is the morality of self-interest, which is a version of Adam Smith’s view of capitalism. Adam Smith said that if everyone pursues their own profit, then the profit of all will be maximized by the invisible hand —that is, by nature —just naturally. Go about pursuing your own profit, and you are helping everyone.*

*This is linked to a general metaphor that views well-being as wealth. For example, if I do you a favor, you say, “I owe you one” or “I’m in your debt.” Doing something good for someone is metaphorically like giving him money. He “owes” you something. And he says, “How can I ever repay you?”*

*Applying this metaphor to Adam Smith’s “law of nature,” if everyone pursues her own self-interest, then by the invisible hand, by nature, the self-interest of all will be maximized. That is, it is moral to pursue your self-interest, and there is a name for those people who do not do it. The name is*do-gooder*. A do-gooder is someone who is trying to help someone else rather than herself and is getting in the way of those who are pursuing their self-interest. Do-gooders screw up the system.*

*In this model there is also a definition of what it means to become a good person. A good person —a moral person —is someone who is disciplined enough to be obedient, to learn what is right, do what is right and not do what is wrong, and to pursue her self-interest to prosper and become self-reliant. A good child grows up to be like that. A bad child is one who does not learn discipline, does not function morally, does not do what is right, and therefore is not disciplined enough to become prosperous. She cannot take care of herself and thus becomes dependent.*

*When the good children are mature, they either have learned discipline and can prosper, or have failed to learn it. From this point on the strict father is not to meddle in their lives. This translates politically into no government meddling.*

Consider what all this means for social programs. It is immoral to give people things they have not earned, because then they will not develop discipline and will become both dependent and immoral. This theory says that social programs are immoral because they make people dependent. Promoting social programs is immoral. And what does this say about budgets? Well, if there are a lot of progressives in Congress who think that there should be social programs, and if you believe that social programs are immoral, how do you stop these immoral people?

It is quite simple. What you have to do is reward the good people —the ones whose prosperity reveals their discipline and hence their capacity for morality —with a tax cut, and make it big enough so that there is not enough money left for social programs. By this logic, the deficit is a *good* thing. As Grover Norquist says, it “starves the beast.”

Where liberals and fiscal conservatives take Bush’s huge deficit as bad, right-wing radicals following strict father morality see it as good. In the State of the Union address in January 2004, the president said that he thinks they can cut the deficit in half by cutting out “wasteful spending” —that is, spending for “bad” social programs. Are conservatives against all government? No. They are not against the military, they are not against homeland defense, they are not against the current Department of Justice, nor against the courts, nor the Departments of Treasury and Commerce. There are many aspects of government that they like very much. They are not against government subsidies for industry. Subsidies for corporations, which reward the good people —the investors in those corporations —are great. No problem there.

But they are against nurturance and care. They are against social programs that take care of people. That is what they see as wrong. That is what they are trying to eliminate on moral grounds. That is why they are not merely a bunch of crazies or mean and greedy —or stupid —people, as many liberals believe. What is even scarier is that conservatives believe it. They believe it is moral. And they have supporters around the country. People who have strict father morality and who apply it to politics are going to believe that this is the right way to govern.

Think for a minute about what this says about foreign policy. Suppose you are a moral authority. As a moral authority, how do you deal with your children? Do you ask them what they should do or what you should do? No. You tell them. What the father says, the child does. No back talk. Communication is one-way. It is the same with the White House. That is, the president does not ask; the president tells. If you are a moral authority you know what is right, you have power, and you use it. You would be immoral yourself if you abandoned your moral authority.

Map this onto foreign policy, and it says that you cannot give up sovereignty. The United States, being the best and most powerful country in the world —a moral authority —knows the right thing to do. We should not be asking anybody else.

This belief comes together with a set of metaphors that have run foreign policy for a long time. There is a common metaphor learned in graduate school classes on international relations. It is called the rational actor metaphor. It is the basis of most international relations theory, and in turn it assumes another metaphor: that every nation is a person. Therefore there are “rogue states,” there are “friendly nations,” and so on. And there is a national interest.

What does it mean to act in your self-interest? In the most basic sense it means that you act in ways that will help you be healthy and strong. In the same way, by the metaphor that a nation is a person, it is good for a nation to be healthy (that is, economically healthy —defined as having a large GDP) and strong (that is, militarily strong). It is not necessary that all the individuals in the country be healthy, but the companies should be, and the country as a whole should have a lot of money. That is the idea.

The question is, How do you maximize your self-interest? That is what foreign policy is about: maximizing self-interest. The rational actor metaphor says that every actor, every person, is rational, and that it is irrational to act against your self-interest. Therefore it is rational for every person to act to maximize self-interest. Then by the further metaphor that nations are persons (“friendly nations,” “rogue states,” “enemy nations,” and so on), there are adult nations and child nations, where adulthood is industrialization. The child nations are called “developing” nations or “underdeveloped” states. Those are the backward ones. And what should we do? If you are a strict father, you tell the children how to develop, tell them what rules they should follow, and punish them when they do wrong. That is, you operate using, say, the policies of the International Monetary Fund.

And who is in the United Nations? Most of the United Nations consists of developing and underdeveloped countries. That means they are metaphorical children. Now let’s go back to the State of the Union address. Should the United States have consulted the United Nations and gotten its permission to invade Iraq? An adult does not “ask for a permission slip”! The phrase itself, *permission slip*, puts you back in grammar school or high school, where you need a permission slip from an adult to go to the bathroom. You do not need to ask for a permission slip if you are the teacher, if you are the principal, if you are the person in power, the moral authority. The others should be asking *you* for permission. That is what the *permission slip* phrase in the 2004 State of the Union address was about. Every conservative in the audience got it. They got it right away.

Two powerful words: *permission slip*. What Bush did was evoke the adult-child metaphor for other nations. He said, “We’re the adult.” He was operating in the strict father worldview, and it did not have to be explained. It is evoked automatically. This is what is done regularly by the conservatives.

Now let me talk a bit about how progressives understand *their* morality and what their moral system is. It too comes out of a family model, what I call the nurturant parent model. The strict father worldview is so named because according to its own beliefs, the father is the head of the family. The nurturant parent worldview is gender neutral.

*Both parents are equally responsible for raising the children. The assumption is that children are born good and can be made better. The world can be made a better place, and our job is to work on that. The parents’ job is to nurture their children and to raise their children to be nurturers of others.*

*What does nurturance mean? It means two things: empathy and responsibility. If you have a child, you have to know what every cry means. You have to know when the child is hungry, when he needs a diaper change, when he is having nightmares. And you have a responsibility — you have to take care of this child. Since you cannot take care of someone else if you are not taking care of yourself, you have to take care of yourself enough to be able to take care of the child.*

*All this is not easy. Anyone who has ever raised a child knows that this is hard. You have to be strong. You have to work hard at it. You have to be very competent. You have to know a lot*

*In addition, all sorts of other values immediately follow from empathy and responsibility. Think about it.*

*First, if you empathize with your child, you will provide protection. This comes into politics in many ways. What do you protect your child from? Crime and drugs, certainly. You also protect your child from cars without seat belts, from smoking, from poisonous additives in food. So progressive politics focuses on environmental protection, worker protection, consumer protection, and protection from disease. These are the things that progressives want the government to protect their citizens from. But there are also terrorist attacks, which liberals and progressives have not been very good at talking about in terms of protection. Protection is part of the progressive moral system, but it has not been elaborated on enough. And on September 11, progressives did not have a whole lot to say. That was unfortunate, because nurturant parents and progressives do care about protection. Protection is important. It is part of our moral system.*

*Second, if you empathize with your child, you want your child to be fulfilled in life, to be a happy person. And if you are an unhappy, unfulfilled person yourself, you are not going to want other people to be hap- pier than you are. The Dalai Lama teaches us that. Therefore it is your moral responsibility to be a happy, fulfilled person. Your moral responsibility. Further, it is your moral responsibility to teach your child to be a happy, fulfilled person who wants others to be happy and fulfilled. That is part of what nurturing family life is about. It is a common precondition for caring about others.*

*There are still other nurturant values.*

* *If you want your child to be fulfilled in life, the child has to be free enough to do that. Therefore****freedom*** *is a value.*
* *You do not have very much freedom if there is no opportunity or prosperity. Therefore****opportunity****and* ***prosperity****are progressive values.*
* *If you really care about your child, you want your child to be treated fairly by you and by others. Therefore****fairness****is a value.*
* *If you are connecting with your child and you empathize with that child, you have to have****open, two-way communication****. Honest communication. That becomes a value.*
* *You live in a community, and that the community will affect how your child grows up. Therefore* ***community-building****,****service to the community****, and****cooperation in a community****become values.*
* *To have cooperation, you must have****trust****, and to have trust you must have****honesty****and****open two-way communication****. Trust, honesty, and open communication are fundamental progressive values —in a community as in a family.*

These are the nurturant values —and they are the progressive values. As progressives, you all have them. You know you have them. You recognize them.

Every progressive political program is based on one or more of these values. That is what it means to be a progressive.

There are several types of progressives. How many types? I am asking as a cognitive scientist, not as a sociologist or a political scientist. From the point of view of a cognitive scientist, who looks at modes of thought, there are six basic types of progressives, each with a distinct mode of thought. They share all the progressive values, but are distinguished by some differences.

1. **Socioeconomic progressives** think that everything is a matter of money and class and that all solutions are ultimately economic and social class solutions.
2. **Identity politics progressives** say it is time for their oppressed group to get its share now.
3. **Environmentalists** think in terms of sustainability of the earth, the sacredness of the earth, and the protection of native peoples.

**Civil liberties progressives** want to maintain freedoms against threats to freedom.

1. **Spiritual progressives** have a nurturant form of religion or spirituality, their spiritual experience has to do with their connection to other people and the world, and their spiritual practice has to do with service to other people and to their community. Spiritual progressives span the full range from Catholics and Protestants to Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Goddess worshippers, and pagan members of Wicca.
2. **Antiauthoritarians** say there are all sorts of illegitimate forms of authority out there and we have to fight them, whether they are big corporations or anyone else.

All six types are examples of nurturant parent morality. The problem is that many of the people who have one of these modes of thought do not recognize that theirs is just one special case of something more general, and do not see the unity in all the types of progressives. They often think that theirs is the only way to be a true progressive. That is sad. It keeps people who share progressive values from coming together. We have to get past that harmful idea. The other side did.

Back in the 1950s conservatives hated each other. The financial conservatives hated the social conservatives. The libertarians did not get along with the social conservatives or the religious conservatives. And many social conservatives were not religious. A group of conservative leaders got together around William F. Buckley Jr. and others and started asking what the different groups of conservatives had in common and whether they could agree to disagree in order to promote a general conservative cause. They started magazines and think tanks, and invested billions of dollars. The first thing they did, their first victory, was getting Barry Goldwater nominated in 1964. He lost, but when he lost they went back to the drawing board and put more money into organization.

During the Vietnam War, they noticed that most of the bright young people in the country were not becoming conservatives. *Conservative* was a dirty word. Therefore in 1970, Lewis Powell, just two months before he became a Supreme Court justice appointed by Nixon (at the time he was the chief counsel to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce), wrote a memo —the Powell memo (http://reclaimdemocracy.org/corporate\_accountability/powell\_m emo\_lewis.html). It was a fateful document. He said that the conservatives had to keep the country’s best and brightest young people from becoming antibusiness. What we need to do, Powell said, is set up institutes within the universities and outside the universities. We have to do research, we have to write books, we have to endow professorships to teach these people the right way to think.

After Powell went to the Supreme Court, these ideas were taken up by William Simon, the father of the present William Simon. At the time the elder Simon was secretary of the treasury under Nixon. He convinced some very wealthy people —Coors, Scaife, Olin —to set up the Heritage Foundation, the Olin professorships, the Olin Institute at Harvard, and other institutions. These institutes have done their job very well. People associated with them have written more books than the people on the left have, on all issues. The conservatives support their intellectuals. They create media opportunities. They have media studios down the hall in institutes so that getting on television is easy. Eighty percent of the talking heads on television are from the conservative think tanks. Eighty percent.

When the amount of research money spent by the right over a period of time is compared with the amount of media time during that period, we see a direct correlation. In 2002 four times as much money was spent on research by the right as by the left, and they got four times as much media time. They get what they pay for.

This is not an accident. Conservatives, through their think tanks, figured out the importance of framing, and they figured out how to frame every issue. They figured out how to get those frames out there, how to get their people in the media all the time. They figured out how to bring their people together. Every Wednesday, Grover Norquist has a group meeting —around eighty people —of leaders from the full range of the right. They are invited, and they debate. They work out their differences, agree to disagree, and when they disagree, they trade off. The idea is, *This week he’ll win on his issue. Next week, I’ll win on mine.* Each one may not get everything he wants, but over the long haul, he gets a lot of what he wants.

Nothing like this happens in the progressive world, because there are so many people thinking that what each does is *the* right thing. It is not smart. It is self-defeating.

And what is worse is a set of myths believed by liberals and progressives. These myths come from a good source, but they end up hurting us badly.

The myths began with the Enlightenment, and the first one goes like this:

*The truth will set us free. If we just tell people the facts, since people are basically rational beings, they’ll all reach the right conclusions.*

But we know from cognitive science that people do not think like that. People think in frames. The strict father and nurturing parent frames each force a certain logic. To be accepted, the truth must fit people’s frames. If the facts do not fit a frame, the frame stays and the facts bounce off. Why?

Neuroscience tells us that each of the concepts we have —the long-term concepts that structure how we think —is instantiated in the synapses of our brains. Concepts are not things that can be changed just by someone telling us a fact. We may be presented with facts, but for us to make sense of them, they have to fit what is already in the synapses of the brain. Otherwise facts go in and then they go right back out. They are not heard, or they are not accepted as facts, or they mystify us: Why would anyone have said that? Then we label the fact as irrational, crazy, or stupid. That’s what happens when progressives just “confront conservatives with the facts.” It has little or no effect, unless the conservatives have a frame that makes sense of the facts.

Similarly, a lot of progressives hear conservatives talk and do not understand them because they do not have the conservatives’ frames. They assume that conservatives are stupid.

They are not stupid. They are winning because they are smart. They understand how people think and how people talk. They think! That is what those think tanks are about. They support their intellectuals. They write all those books. They put their ideas out in public.

There are certainly cases where conservatives have lied. That is true. Of course, it is not true that *only* conservatives lie. But it is true that there are significant lies —even daily lies —by the Bush administration.

However, it is equally important to recognize that many of the ideas that outrage progressives are what conservatives see as truths —presented from their point of view. We must distinguish cases of out-and-out distortion, lying, and so on, from cases where conservatives are presenting what they consider truth.

Is it useful to go and tell everyone what the lies are? It is not useless or harmful for us to know when they are lying. But also remember that the truth alone will not set you free. Saying “the president lied when he started this war” puts the truth out there — but for many people it just bounces off. A huge number of people in the country still believe that Saddam Hussein was behind September 11. There are people who will believe this because it fits their understanding of the world. It fits their worldview. Given that, it is appropriate for them to believe. They still believe that Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda are the same thing, and that by fighting the war in Iraq we are protecting the country from terrorism. They believe this —in spite of the report by the 9/11 Commission. It is not that they are stupid. They have a frame and they only accept facts that fit that frame.

There is another myth that also comes from the Enlightenment, and it goes like this. It is irrational to go against your self-interest, and therefore a normal person, who is rational, reasons on the basis of self-interest. Modern economic theory and foreign policy are set up on the basis of that assumption.

The myth has been challenged by cognitive scientists such as Daniel Kahneman (who won the Nobel Prize in economics for his theory) and Amos Tversky, who have shown that people do not really think that way. Nevertheless, most of economics is still based on the assumption that people will naturally always think in terms of their self-interest.

This view of rationality comes into Democratic politics in a very important way. It is assumed that voters will vote their self-interest. Democrats are shocked or puzzled when voters do not vote their self-interest. “How,” Democrats keep asking me, “can any poor person vote for Bush when he hurts them so badly?” Their response is to try to explain once more to the poor why voting Democratic would serve their self-interest. Despite all evidence to the contrary, Democrats keep banging their heads against the wall. In the 2000 election Gore kept saying that Bush’s tax cuts would go only to the top 1 percent, and he thought that everyone else would follow their self-interest and support him. But poor conservatives still opposed him, because as conservatives they believed that those who had the most money —the “good” people —deserved to keep it as their reward for being disciplined. The bottom 99 percent of conservatives voted their conservative values, against their self-interest.

It is claimed that 35 percent of the populace thinks that they are, or someday will be, in the top 1 percent, and that this explains the finding on the basis of a hoped-for future self-interest. But what about the other 65 percent, who have no dream that they will ever get that tax cut but still support it? They are clearly not voting in their self-interest, or even their hoped-for future self-interest.

A similar phenomenon happened in the 2003 California recall election. Labor unions invested a lot of money presenting facts that Gray Davis’s positions were better for people, especially for working people, than Arnold Schwarzenegger’s. In focus groups, they asked union members, “Which is better for you, this Davis position or that Schwarzenegger position?” Most would say, “The Davis one.” Davis, Davis, Davis. Then they would ask, “Who you voting for?” “Schwarzenegger.”

People do not necessarily vote in their self-interest. They vote their identity. They vote their values. They vote for who they identify with. They may identify with their self-interest. That can happen. It is not that people never care about their self-interest. But they vote their identity. And if their identity fits their self-interest, they will vote for that. It is important to understand this point. It is a serious mistake to assume that people are simply always voting in their self-interest.

A third mistake is this: There is a metaphor that political campaigns are marketing campaigns where the candidate is the product and the candidate’s positions on issues are the features and qualities of the product. This leads to the conclusion that polling should determine which issues a candidate should run on. Here’s a list of issues. Which show the highest degree of support for a candidate’s position? If it’s prescription drugs, 78 percent, you run on a platform featuring prescription drugs. Is it keeping social security? You run on a platform featuring social security. You make a list of the top issues, and those are the issues you run on. You also do market segmentation: District by district, you find out the most important issues, and those are the ones you talk about when you go to that district.

It does not work. Sometimes it can be useful, and, in fact, the Republicans use it in addition to their real practice. But their real practice, and the real reason for their success, is this: They say what they idealistically believe. They say it; they talk to their base using the frames of their base. Liberal and progressive candidates tend to follow their polls and decide that they have to become more “centrist” by moving to the right. The conservatives do not move at all to the left, and yet they win!

Why? What is the electorate like from a cognitive point of view? Probably 35 to 40 percent of people —maybe more these days —have a strict father model governing their politics. Similarly, there are people who have a nurturant view governing their politics, probably another 35 to 40 percent. And then there are all the people in the “middle.”

Notice that I said *governing* their politics. We all have both models, either actively or passively. Progressives see a John Wayne movie or an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie, and they can understand it. They do not say, “I don’t know what’s going on in this movie.” They have a strict father model, at least passively. And if you are a conservative and you understand *The Cosby Show*, you have a nurturing parent model, at least passively. Everyone has both worldviews because both worldviews are widely present in our culture, but people do not necessarily live by one worldview all of the time.

So the question is, Are you living by one of the family-based models? But that question is not specific enough. There are many aspects of life, and many people live by one family-based model in one part of their lives and another in another part of their lives. I have colleagues who are nurturant parents at home and liberals in their politics, but strict fathers in their classrooms. Reagan knew that blue-collar workers who were nurturant in their union politics were often strict fathers at home. He used political metaphors that were based on the home and family, and got them to extend their strict father way of thinking from the home to politics.

This is very important to do. The goal is to activate *your* model in the people in the “middle.” The people who are in the middle have *both* models, used regularly in different parts of their lives. What you want to do is to get them to use your model for politics — to activate your worldview and moral system in their political decisions. You do that by talking to people using frames based on your worldview.

However, in doing that, you do not want to offend the people in the middle who have up to this point made the opposite choice. Since they also have and use both models in some part of their lives, they might still be persuaded to activate the opposite model for politics.

Clinton figured out how to handle this problem. He stole the other side’s language. He talked about “welfare reform,” for example. He said, “The age of big government is over.” He did what he wanted to do, only he took their language and used their words to describe it. It made them very mad. Very smart technique.

It turns out that what is good for the goose is good for the gander, and guess what? We get “compassionate conservatism.” The Clear Skies Initiative. Healthy Forests. No Child Left Behind. This is the use of language to mollify people who have nurturant values, while the real policies are strict father policies. This mollifies, even attracts, the people in the middle who might have qualms about you. This is the use of Orwellian language — language that means the opposite of what it says —to appease people in the middle at the same time as you pump up the base. That is part of the conservative strategy.

Liberals and progressives typically react to this strategy in a self-defeating way. The usual reaction is, “Those conservatives are bad people; they are using Orwellian language. They are saying the opposite of what they mean. They are deceivers. Bad. Bad. ”

All true. But we should recognize that they use Orwellian language precisely when they have to: when they are weak, when they cannot just come out and say what they mean. Imagine if they came out supporting a “Dirty Skies Bill” or a “Forest Destruction Bill” or a “Kill Public Education” bill. They would lose. They are aware people do not support what they are really trying to do.

Orwellian language points to weakness —Orwellian weakness. When you hear Orwellian language, note where it is, because it is a guide to where they are vulnerable. They do not use it everywhere. It is very important to notice this, and use their weakness to your advantage.

A very good example relates to the environment. The right’s language man is Frank Luntz, who puts out big books of language guidelines for conservatives only, which are used as training manuals for all conservative candidates, as well as lawyers, judges, and other public speakers —even high school students who want to be conservative public figures. In these books, Luntz tells you what language to use.

For example, in last year’s edition, the section on global warming says that science seems increasingly to be going against the conservative position. However, conservatives can counter the science using right language. People who support environmentalist positions like certain words. They like the words *healthy*, *clean*, and *safe* because these words fit frames that describe what the environment means to them. Therefore, Luntz says, use the words *healthy*, *clean*, and *safe* whenever possible, even when talking about coal plants or nuclear power plants. It is this kind of Orwellian weakness that causes a piece of legislation that actually increases pollution to be called the Clear Skies Act.

Similarly, a few years ago Luntz wrote a memo for talking to women. How do you talk to women? According to Luntz, women like certain words, so when you are talking to an audience of women, here are the words you use as many times as possible: *love*, *from the heart*, and *for the children*. And if you read Bush’s speeches, *love*, *from the heart*, and *for the children* show up over and over again.

This kind of language use is a science. Like any science it can be used honestly or harmfully. This kind of language use is taught. This kind of language use is also a discipline. Conservatives enforce message discipline. In many offices there is a pizza fund: Every time you use the “wrong” language, you have to put a quarter in the pizza fund. People quickly learn to say *tax relief* or *partial-birth abortion*, not something else.

But Luntz is about much more than language. He recognizes that the right use of language starts with ideas —with the right framing of the issues, a framing that reflects a consistent conservative moral perspective, what we have called strict father morality. Luntz’s book is not just about language. For each issue, he explains what the conservative reasoning is, what the progressive reasoning is, and how the progressive arguments can be best attacked from a conservative perspective. He is clear: Ideas come first.

One of the major mistakes liberals make is that they think they have all the ideas they need. They think that all they lack is media access. Or maybe some magic bullet phrases, like *partial-birth abortion*.

When you think you just lack words, what you really lack are ideas. Ideas come in the form of frames. When the frames are there, the words come readily. There’s a way you can tell when you lack the right frames. There’s a phenomenon you have probably noticed. A conservative on TV uses two words, like *tax relief*. And the progressive has to go into a paragraph-long discussion of his own view. The conservative can appeal to an established frame, that taxation is an affliction or burden, which allows for the two-word phrase *tax relief*. But there is no established frame on the other side. You can talk about it, but it takes some doing because there is no established frame, no fixed idea already out there.

In cognitive science there is a name for this phenomenon. It’s called *hypocognition* —the lack of the ideas you need, the lack of a relatively simple fixed frame that can be evoked by a word or two.

The idea of hypocognition comes from a study in Tahiti in the 1950s by the late anthropologist Bob Levy, who was also a therapist. Levy addressed the question of why there were so many suicides in Tahiti, and discovered that Tahitians did not have a concept of grief. They felt grief. They experienced it. But they did not have a concept for it or a name for it. They did not see it as a normal emotion. There were no rituals around grief. No grief counseling, nothing like it. They lacked a concept they needed — and wound up committing suicide all too often.

Progressives are suffering from massive hypocognition. The conservatives used to suffer from it. When Goldwater lost in 1964, they had very few of the concepts that they have today. In the intermediate forty years, conservative thinkers have filled in their conceptual gaps. But our conceptual gaps are still there.

Let’s go back to *tax relief*.

What is taxation? Taxation is what you pay to live in a civilized country —what you pay to have democracy and opportunity, and what you pay to use the infrastructure paid for by previous taxpayers: the highway system, the Internet, the entire scientific establishment, the medical establishment, the communications system, the airline system. All are paid for by taxpayers.

You can think of it metaphorically in at least two ways. First, as an investment. Imagine the following ad:

Our parents invested in the future, ours as well as theirs, through their taxes. They invested their tax money in the interstate highway system, the Internet, the scientific and medical establishments, our communications system, our airline system, the space program. They invested in the future, and we are reaping the tax benefits, the benefits from the taxes they paid. Today we have assets —highways, schools and colleges, the Internet, airlines —that come from the wise investments they made.

Imagine versions of this ad running over and over, for years. Eventually, the frame would be established: Taxes are wise investments in the future.

Or take another metaphor:

Taxation is paying your dues, paying your membership fee in America. If you join a country club or a community center, you pay fees. Why? You did not build the swimming pool. You have to maintain it. You did not build the basketball court. Someone has to clean it. You may not use the squash court, but you still have to pay your dues. Otherwise it won’t be maintained and will fall apart. People who avoid taxes, like corporations that move to Bermuda, are not paying their dues to their country. It is patriotic to be a taxpayer. It is traitorous to desert our country and not pay your dues.  
  
Perhaps Bill Gates Sr. said it best. In arguing to keep the inheritance tax, he pointed out that he and Bill Jr. did not invent the Internet. They just used it —to make billions. There is no such thing as a self-made man. Every businessman has used the vast American infrastructure, which the taxpayers paid for, to make his money. He did not make his money alone. He used taxpayer infrastructure. He got rich on what other taxpayers had paid for: the banking system, the Federal Reserve, the Treasury and Commerce Departments, and the judicial system, where nine-tenths of cases involve corporate law. These taxpayer investments support companies and wealthy investors. There are no self-made men! The wealthy have gotten rich using what previous taxpayers have paid for. They owe the taxpayers of this country a great deal and should be paying it back.

These are accurate views of taxes, but they are not yet enshrined in our brains. They need to be repeated over and over again, and refined until they take their rightful place in our synapses. But that takes time. It does not happen overnight. Start now.

It is not an accident that conservatives are winning where they have successfully framed the issues. They’ve got a thirty- to forty year head start. And more than two billion dollars in think tank investments.

And they are still thinking ahead. Progressives are not. Progressives feel so assaulted by conservatives that they can only think about immediate defense. Democratic office holders are constantly under attack. Every day they have to respond to conservative initiatives. It is always, “What do we have to do to fight them off today?” It leads to politics that are reactive, not proactive.

And it is not just public officials. I have been talking to advocacy groups around the country, working with them and trying to help them with framing issues. I have worked with more than two hundred advocacy groups in this way. They have the same problems: They are under attack all the time, and they are trying to defend themselves against the next attack. Realistically, they do not have time to plan. They do not have time to think long-term. They do not have time to think beyond their particular issues.

They are all good people, intelligent, committed people. But they are constantly on the defensive. Why? It is not hard to explain it when we think about funding.

The right-wing think tanks get large block grants and endowments. Millions at a time. They are very well funded. The smallest effective think tanks on the right have budgets of four to seven million dollars a year. Those are the *small* operations. The large ones have up to thirty million dollars a year.

Furthermore, they know that they are going to get the money the next year, and the year after that. Remember, these are block grants —no strings attached. Do what you need. Hire intellectuals. Bring talent along. One of the think tanks is putting up a new building. It is going to be an eight-story building with a state-of the- art media auditorium, and one hundred apartments for interns who cannot afford apartments in Washington.

These institutions also build human capital for the future. The interns and scholars are people who want to be there, who have talents and abilities that may well make them important in their fields. Through the think tanks, they get to know each other. And the interns are building lifetime networks: They are likely to know each other closely throughout their lives because they lived together while they were interns. These are social networks that will pay dividends for years and years. The conservatives who built the think tanks are not dumb people.

There are very few grants like this from progressive foundations. Progressive foundations spread the money around. They give twenty-five thousand dollars here, maybe fifty thousand, maybe even a hundred thousand. Sometimes it is a big grant. But recipients have to do something different from what everyone else is doing because the foundations see duplication as wasting money. Not only that, but they are not block grants; the recipients do not have full freedom to decide how to spend the money. And it is certainly not appropriate to use it for career development or infrastructure building or hiring intellectuals to think about long-term as well as short-term or interrelated policies. The emphasis is on providing direct services to the people who need the services: grassroots funding, not infrastructure creation. This is, for the most part, how progressive foundations work. And because of that, the organizations they fund have to have a very narrow focus. They have to have projects, not just areas they work on. Activists and advocates are overworked and underpaid, and they do not have time or energy to think about how they should be linking up with other people. They mainly do not have the time or training to think about framing their issues. The system forces a narrow focus —and with it, isolation.

You ask, Why is it like this? There is a reason. There is a deep reason, and it is a reason you should all think about. In the right’s hierarchy of moral values, the top value is preserving and defending the moral system itself. If that is your main goal, what do you do? You build infrastructure. You buy up media in advance. You plan ahead. You do things like give fellowships to right-wing law students to get them through law school if they join the Federalist Society. And you get them nice jobs after that. If you want to extend your worldview, it is very smart to make sure that over the long haul you have the people and the resources that you need.

On the left, the highest value is helping individuals who need help. So if you are a foundation or you are setting up a foundation, what makes you a good person? You help as many people as you can. And the more public budgets get cut, the more people there are who need help. So you spread the money around to the grassroots organizations, and therefore you do not have any money left for infrastructure or talent development, and certainly not for intellectuals. Do not waste a penny in duplicating efforts, because you have to help more and more people. How do you show that you are a good, moral person or foundation? By listing all the people you help; the more the better.

And so you perpetuate a system that helps the right. In the process, it also does help people. Certainly, it is not that people do not need help. They do. But what has happened as budgets and taxes get cut is that the right is privatizing the left. The right is forcing the left to spend ever more private money on what the government should be supporting.

There are many things that we can do about all this. Let’s talk about where to start.

The right knows how to talk about values. We need to talk about values. If we think about it a little, we can list our values. But it is not easy to think about how the values fit the issues, to know how to talk about every issue from the perspective of our values, not theirs. That is something that our institute, the Rockridge Institute, is working on. We are looking at the values behind the issues.

Progressives also have to look at the integration of issues. This is something that the right is very, very savvy about. They know about what I call *strategic initiatives*. A strategic initiative is a plan in which a change in one carefully chosen issue area has automatic effects over many, many, many other issue areas.

For example, tax cuts. This seems straightforward, but as a result there is not enough money in the budget for *any* of the government’s social programs. Not just not enough money for, say, homelessness or schools or environmental protection; instead, not enough money for everything at once, the whole range. This is a strategic initiative.

Or tort reform, which means putting limits on awards in lawsuits. Tort reform is a top priority for conservatives. Why do conservatives care so much about this? Well, as soon as you see the effects, you can see why they care. Because in one stroke you prohibit all of the potential lawsuits that will be the basis of future environmental legislation and regulation. That is, it is not just regulation of the chemical industry or the coal industry or the nuclear power industry or other things that are at stake. It is the regulation of *everything*. If parties who are harmed cannot sue immoral or negligent corporations or professionals for significant sums, the companies are free to harm the public in unlimited ways in the course of making money. And lawyers, who take risks and make significant investments in such cases, will no longer make enough money to support the risk. And corporations will be free to ignore the public good. That is what “tort reform” is about.

In addition, if you look at where Democrats get much of their money in the individual states, it is significantly from the lawyers who win tort cases. Many tort lawyers are important Democratic donors. Tort “reform” —as conservatives call it —cuts off this source of money. All of a sudden three-quarters of the money going to the Texas Democratic Party is not there. In addition, companies who poison the environment want to be able to cap possible awards. That way they can calculate in advance the cost of paying victims and build it into the cost of doing business. Irresponsible corporations win big from tort reform. The Republican Party wins big from tort reform. And these real purposes are hidden. The issue appears to be eliminating “frivolous lawsuits” —people getting thirty million dollars for having hot coffee spilled on them.

However, what the conservatives are really trying to achieve is not in the proposal. What they are trying to achieve *follows* from enacting the proposal. They don’t care primarily about the lawsuits themselves. They care about getting rid of environmental, consumer, and worker protections in general. And they care about defunding the Democratic Party. That is what a strategic initiative is.

There have been a couple of strategic initiatives on the left — environmental impact reports and the Endangered Species Act — but it has been thirty years since they were enacted.

Unlike the right, the left does not think strategically. We think issue by issue. We generally do not try to figure out what minimal change we can enact that will have effects across many issues. There are a very few exceptions. For example, at the present moment there is a strategic proposal called the New Apollo Initiative. Simply put, the idea is to put thirty billion dollars a year —which is the amount that now goes in subsidies to support the coal and gas industries —into alternative energy. What makes this strategic? It is strategic because it is not just an energy issue or a sustainability issue. It is also:

* A jobs issue: It would create two to four million jobs.
* A health issue: Less air pollution means less childhood asthma.
* A clean water, clean air issue.
* A species issue: It would clean up environments and habitats.
* A global warming issue: We would be making a contribution to lowering greenhouse gases without a program specifically for global warming.
* A foreign policy issue: We would no longer be dependent on Middle Eastern oil.
* A Third World development issue: Every country, no matter how “underdeveloped,” can make its own energy if it has the appropriate alternative technologies. Such countries would not have to borrow money to buy oil and pollute their environments. And they would not have to pay interest on the money borrowed. Furthermore, every dollar invested in energy in the third world has a multiplier effect of six.

In short, a massive investment in alternative energy has an enormous yield over many issue areas. This is not just about energy; it is about jobs, health, clean air and water, habitat, global warming, foreign policy, and third world development. It is also about putting together new coalitions and organizing new institutions and new constituencies.

Thirty billion dollars a year for ten years put into alternative energy would have massive effects. But progressive candidates are still thinking in much smaller terms, not long-term and strategically.

There also strategic initiatives of another kind —what I call slippery slope initiatives: Take the first step and you’re on your way off the cliff. Conservatives are very good at slippery slope initiatives. Take “partial-birth abortion.” There are almost no such cases. Why do conservatives care so much? Because it is a first step down a slippery slope to ending all abortion. It puts out there a frame of abortion as a horrendous procedure, when most operations ending pregnancy are nothing like this.

Why an education bill about school testing? Once the testing frame applies not just to students but also to *schools*, then schools can, metaphorically, fail —and be punished for failing by having their allowance cut. Less funding in turn makes it harder for the schools to improve, which leads to a cycle of failure and ultimately elimination for many public schools. What replaces the public school system is a voucher system to support private schools. The wealthy would have good schools —paid for in part by what used to be tax payments for public schools. The poor would not have the money for good schools. We would wind up with a two-tier school system, a good one for the “deserving rich” and a bad one for the “undeserving poor.”

The Medicare bill was another slippery slope initiative. The HMOs can use their size to bargain for lower prices on drugs, while the government is forbidden from using its size to get discounts. Moreover, Medicare will be forced to compete with private drug companies after a few years on uneven grounds; the drug companies will get a twelve-billion-dollar subsidy to help attract senior citizens. The conservative strategy is to lure seniors out of Medicare and into private accounts with temporarily lower drug prices. Eventually, more and more people will leave Medicare, until it collapses. From the conservative moral worldview, that is how it should be.

And yet a prominent Democratic senator voted for it, on the grounds that it would give immediate help in billions of dollars to seniors in her home state. She called it a “good first step.” To the edge of the cliff.

The conservatives don’t have to win on issue after issue after issue. There is a lot you can do about it. Here are eleven things progressives can do.

*Assignment:*

*Review these four news stories about Sierra Club’s campaign against a proposed tar sands oil pipeline, and underline key strategic messages and frames. Find those that come from the Sierra Club’s perspective, and those from our opposition. Think about which are the best messages – connected to the public interest – and those which are less effective at persuading the public to support our campaign. Also consider which messages are most effective to persuading U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton – our policymaker target in this campaign.*

EXAMPLES:

* *Tar sands oil is dirty – even dirtier than regular crude*
* *Tar sands oil causes air pollution*
* *TransCanada is abusing its authority to grab land*
* *A toxic oil spill would threaten us all*
* *Tar sands oil threatens our families, neighborhoods, backyards*

<http://michiganradionews.org/post/refinerys-neighbors-protest-tar-sands>

**Refinery's neighbors protest tar sands**

**Michigan Public Radio**

**Sarah Hulett**

**November 18, 2010**

PHOTO CAPTION: Theresa Landrum lives near the Marathon oil refinery, seen in the background.

People who live near Detroit’s massive [Marathon Oil refinery](http://www.detroithoup.com/) came out as part of a national [protest](http://www.sierraclub.org/dirtyfuels/tar-sands/report.aspx) against a proposed pipeline in the western U.S.

The [Keystone XL](http://www.transcanada.com/keystone.html) tar sands oil pipeline would transport heavy crude oil from Canada’s tar sands. That’s the same type of oil the Detroit plant is being retrofitted to be able to process.

Jackie Smith lives just a couple of blocks from the refinery. She says it’s not just people living near the proposed pipeline who should be worried.

"Crude oil from Canada is the dirtiest oil to refine. We do know this," said Smith. "And don’t be fooled by it, because pollution don’t have no boundaries, and it will finally come to your neighborhood."

Officials with Marathon say the refinery will continue to operate within allowable air pollution limits. The company says technology upgrades mean the plant will actually have fewer emissions when the expansion is complete than it did in 2004.

**http://journalstar.com/news/local/0c3dc33e-3c78-586c-b626-9c4884150a78.html   
Pipeline opponents question eminent domain authority  
Lincoln Journal Star  
Art Hovey  
November 18, 2010**

Many people associate the Nebraska Sandhills with guys in cowboy hats, and the Nebraska chapter of the Sierra Club called in one Thursday to highlight concerns about the proposed Keystone XL petroleum pipeline.

Ben Gotschall, part of the fifth generation of an Atkinson ranch family, was happy to oblige but not at all happy with TransCanada's plan to bury a 36-inch steel pipe about two miles from family property.

During a press briefing in the Capitol Rotunda, Gotschall, 30, said the more important consideration is the Ogallala Aquifer and "too precious natural resources to risk on a project that, in my eyes, is not completely necessary."

Construction of Keystone XL is all about "a foreign corporation and out-of-state union workers," he said.

After construction, a major environmental incident is certainly among the possibilities for what could happen, opponents say.

"For a lot of people like me and my family, the land and water is all we have. If we lose that, we lose everything," Gotschall said.

TransCanada can't proceed with construction until it gets the go-ahead from the U.S. State Department. When or if that will happen remains unclear.

An arm of government more closely associated with matters of war and peace is in charge because the $7 billion project would cross an international border.

The U.S. State Department needs to act on a final environmental impact statement and decide if the project is in the national interest.

TransCanada spokesman Jeff Rauh said he's still expecting action on an environmental impact statement in early 2011. There's a 90-day interval between that and the finding on national interest, Rauh said.

He was responding to questions just hours after the Schuyler area, about 65 miles northwest of Lincoln, was hit by an earthquake that measured 3.3 on the Richter scale.

Schuyler is along the route of TransCanada's first Nebraska project, the 30-inch Keystone pipeline that began carrying oil from the tar sands of Alberta earlier this year.

Colfax County officials reported no damage from the quake, but Rauh did address questions about it.

He said both Keystone and the proposed Keystone XL "have the toughness and flexibility to deal with those events, and they're designed to operate safely in the event of an earthquake."

Rauh was in York on Thursday for the latest in a series of informal meetings with landowners and others looking for answers about Keystone XL.

Back in Lincoln, Ken Winston followed Gotschall to the podium to hammer away on other points, including contesting whether TransCanada has the authority to use land condemnation to acquire easements.

"We think there are national security implications to allowing a foreign corporation to come into Nebraska and exercise eminent domain, particularly when they don't have their permits," he said.

Winston said the Sierra Club and other pipeline opponents plan to meet with landowners along the Keystone XL route and to put them in touch with attorneys who believe TransCanada doesn't have eminent domain authority.

If they don't, that suggests "all their negotiations are therefore invalid," he said.

Another highlight of the Thursday event was the release of a report called "Toxic Tar Sands: Profiles from the Front Lines" that calls attention to environmental effects and risks in Nebraska and elsewhere.

Responding to questions from reporters, Winston also said TransCanada has declined requests from state senators and others who want to see its emergency response plan.

Rauh said TransCanada does have U.S.-based ownership of its U.S. operations through TransCanada Keystone Pipeline LLC.

"But I think more important than where the owner is based is that this is a project that will meet U.S. need for energy," he said. "And this is a project that cannot be built on any easement unless it's found that this is a project that meets national interest."

Rauh also said there are security restrictions on who can see TransCanada's formal emergency response plan because it contains sensitive information, for example, about tribal and other archaeologically significant areas.

However, federal officials have full access to the document, he said, "and we have provided information about the emergency response plan to Nebraska officials."

**http://app1.kuhf.org/houston\_public\_radio-news-display.php?articles\_id=1290208335**

**Toxic Pipeline?**

**KUHF-FM (NPR affiliate)**

**by Pat Hernandez**

**November 19, 2010**

Many Houstonians who have never heard of the Alberta Tar Sands soon will. Environmentalists are worried about a proposal to expand imports of Canada's controversial oil for refining in the Houston area. Pat Hernandez has more.  
  
Canada's Tar Sands contains the largest oil extraction project in the world. It covers an area the size of Florida and is being mined for the sand oil mixture. The proposed Keystone XL pipeline, to be built by TransCanada, would bring the oil to Houston and Port Arthur, where 90-percent of it will be refined.

Angela Boag is with the Sierra Club. She says research shows it is also one of the largest, dirtiest and most destructive projects on Earth.

"Tar sands oil contains eleven times more sulfur and nickel, six times more nitrogen, and five times more lead than conventional crude oil. The pipeline will bring 700,000 barrels per day, of the world's lowest grade crude oil to the Gulf Coast to be refined."

She says exposure to these toxins has been linked to asthma, emphysema and other lung diseases.   
  
Terry Cuhna is with TransCanada, the company that would be moving the crude down through a network of refineries and pipelines. He says he's aware of the controversy surrounding the product, but he sees it as a very important part of securing energy across North America.

"It would create over thirteen thousand construction jobs across the United States. It would result in roughly twenty-billion dollars of economic benefit to the U.S. Economy."

Houston City Councilwoman Jolanda Jones says she didn't know much about the product until she did a little research that tar sands oil was environmentally more destructive than regular crude oil.

"The greenhouse gas emissions would be approximately 82 percent greater than the average refined crude oil. It also concerns me that there's increased damage to air and water. It concerns me that it might require additional emergency response planning if there were a spill from the pipelines."

Jones wants TransCanada to appear before council to try and dispel any concerns she has about project. Pending approval by the state department, the Canadian crude could begin processing at three refineries near the ship channel by the middle of next year.

**Despite protestations, foreign oil pipeline will go through Wood County family's backyard**

[**http://www.cbs19.tv/Global/story.asp?S=13552307#**](http://www.cbs19.tv/Global/story.asp?S=13552307)

**CBS 19 KYTX-TV**

**Nov 22, 2010**

ANCHOR: On Friday, a foreign energy company wants to build a new pipeline through East Texas and they're getting ready to break ground. CBS 19's Field Sutton has been investigating this story and spoke with a Wood County family who say they've been fighting Trans-Canada for two years now.   
  
REPORTER: It was August of 2008 when the Trans-Canada Energy Company started looking for land in Wood County. It's just a small part of a plan called Keystone XL, which would transport so-called 'tar sands' all the way from Canada to the Texas Gulf Coast. But first it has to travel through a Wood County family's back yard.   
  
"This is where it starts. This is the eastern edge at this white stake right here," David Daniel said. Daniel has had two years to get used to the fact that the Trans-Canada Energy Company is determined to put an oil pipeline right in his back yard.   
  
"We were looking for a nice place to raise our daughter," Daniel said. He and his wife bought their property six years ago. "This is the spot we found."  
  
He built a house in the middle of the hundred-year-old trees just in time for his daughter to be born. "From the yellow to the yellow is what they would completely take out," Daniel said.   
  
Daniel sold the property rather than taking the chance of losing an eminent domain battle. A huge chunk of the property will be cleared to make way for a massive three-foot-wide pipe. It's going to carry oil sand, which is thicker than most crude.   
       
Daniel says he was upset to learn the pipe will also carry toxic chemicals meant to loosen it up. Trans-Canada says their lines won't carry anything unusual. "We're not adding anything toxic to it. We're not adding any additional chemicals," said Trans-Canada representative Jim Prescott.   
  
The EPA reviewed Trans-Canada's plans for the pipeline. The agency's report says those Canadian oil sands are different than most mixtures processed on the Gulf Coast, and whatever they contain includes a lot more pollutants.  
   
Daniel's efforts to fight Trans-Canada have met dead ends. "We're finding it really difficult to get any representative in Texas to help us out," Daniel said.   
  
The EPA also said Trans-Canada's report fails to take into account some serious problems that could happen if the pipe breaks, and it should be subjected to public review.   
  
"In some instances the issues they've raised in there are, in our view, beyond the scope of the regulatory review process," Prescott said.   
  
But Daniel is tired of the red tape and regulations. He's focused on his biggest fear, now in his own back yard. "An oil spill. And a very toxic oil spill at that," Daniel said.       
  
Trans-Canada told us today they're still working on the issues the EPA had with their proposal. They also said they're confident they'll resolve the problems and they will put that pipeline in the Daniels' back yard.  
   
Daniel told us he's ok with it being there as long as he's satisfied it's safe.

ANCHOR: “But the EPA is a watchdog for all of us citizens here in America, and they don't think it is safe!”

REPORTER: That’s right, they actually have a system for scoring the proposals that come in, and they gave TransCanada’s the lowest score possible.

ANCHOR: Doesn't sound good. Thanks, Field.

**How does this *tactic* fit into a campaign?**

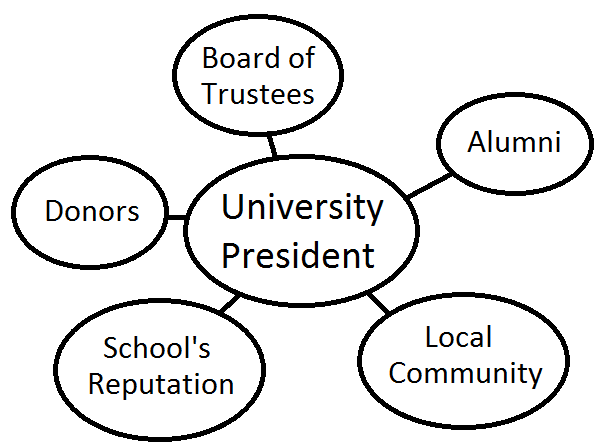
Your whole campaign shouldn’t revolve around meeting with decision-makers.  Instead, these meetings should fit into a larger campaign – and most of the time, decision-makers should be seen more as resources than as targets.  For example: When starting a new campaign, you might first meet with an official to see where they stand on your issue. If it’s not what you had hoped, you could go back to your community, generate massive support for the issue, and then schedule another meeting – and bring evidence of the constituent support you generated.  Maybe they will have changed their mind, maybe not – but either way, your campaign team will make a new plan of attack based on what you learn.

**How can meeting with a decision-maker help our campaign?**

* Get background info about the situation
* Find out what’s happened with your issue already
* Figure out who else you could talk to
* Test ideas/gauge support
* Deliver community support (petitions, etc.)
* Move the campaign forward (give them information, research, etc.)
* Ask for meetings with other people
* Establish a relationship
* Gather information to inform your strategy
* Gain support for specific policy/action
* Create accountability (make sure your campaign doesn’t stop after a vote)



**Power Mapping**

When preparing to meet with a decision-maker, step one is to think a little about the individual you’re planning to meet with.  Who are they, and what values might they hold? What are their responsibilities? Who do they report to? Who has influence over them, and who are they accountable to?  In other words, where are they coming from?

A useful visual tool for thinking about who influences decision- makers is a Power Map or Influence Map.  There are many different ways to draw maps visualizing power and influence.

**Preparing for Meetings**

**Tips for Successful Meetings**

Before you get into setting meeting roles and agenda, make sure that you talk about these points with your group and that everyone is on the same page.

* **Know the person you’re meeting with**.Think about the individual you’re planning to meet with. What values might they hold? What are their responsibilities? What kind of power do they have to make decisions about your issue? Who has influence over them and who are they accountable to? In other words, where are they coming from?
* **Come with questions and goals**. Be clear on what you want to achieve from the meeting. If you want something from the person you’re meeting with, be ready to make a specific ask. If you’re trying to get information, make sure you know what questions you’ll need to ask.
* **Know your deal-breakers**. If you have a specific ask to make and you’re preparing to negotiate, be sure you team agrees about what you are and aren’t willing to compromise on. Choose your compromise points carefully: there are too many examples where the environmental movement and movements led by mainstreamers have made compromises and thrown marginalized people under the bus. Choose compromise points that stay true to your values.
* **Consider whose voices are represented**. This is both a strategic consideration and an AO practice. If you’re meeting with a decision-maker who represents a specific group of people, you should send people to the meeting who belong to that group. If you are entering a community an an outsider or working in solidarity with a frontline community, the people who are most directly impacted by the issue should be in the meeting. They should also be involved with every step of crafting the meeting plan – just as they should be in planning your overall campaign. Speaking roles in the meeting should also be divided up evenly – don’t let one voice do all the talking.
* **Have clear meeting roles**. Go in knowing who’s doing what and who’s speaking when – and don’t forget to designate a notetaker!

**Setting Up an Appointment**

If at first you don’t succeed… keep calling back!

1. Send an email introducing yourself and requesting the meeting
2. Call to follow up on the email
3. Call again if you don’t get a response within 5 days
4. Talk to someone who could help you get the meeting – in the toughest cases, if you’re not getting a response from your target, enlist the help of a secretary, colleague, or even higher-up
5. If all else fails, just show up!

#### What to bring:

* Yourself
* Someone else from your group (it’s good leadership development!)
* Coalition partners (if applicable)
* Public/constituent support (petitions, photos, etc.)
* Relevant research or info (fact sheets, reports, etc.)
* Your own notes

#### **Tip:  Consider asking the person you’re meeting with first if what you are thinking is possible. You can map and strategize to get to them, but you should always just ask first if what you are thinking about is feasible – and if they say no, work on using other contacts to pressure them. Who knows, they could say yes immediately!**

**Tricks to Watch Out For**

* **Snowballing/Filibuster**
* **Deflect Any Ask**
* **Bringing Their Own Agenda**
* **Leaving Early**
* **Sending an Aide**

*NOTE on staff/aides:* More often than not, when attempting to meet with an elected official, you will not meet with the actual official, but rather with one of their staff – usually someone who focuses on a specific policy area for the official.  The staff may have a portfolio of many issues that they cover, and the issue you are concerned with is just one.

Where are aides coming from?

* Don’t necessarily know about your issue
* Get lots of meetings
* Are super busy
* May have different views than the public official
* May be cocky (personally or for their public official)
* May have multiple issues they are responsible for (e.g. environment, health care, etc.)

**The 9-Step Process for Effective Meetings with Decision-Makers**

**1. Introduce yourself and your organization**

* Tell a little about yourself (e.g. what neighborhood you live in, your year/major in college), and explain the mission of your organization and who you’re representing
* Establish a connection to district/community/area of school they represent

**2. Thank them for meeting with you**

* Thank them for meeting with you today, as well as for any previous help they’ve given you or previous good stuff they’ve done
* Be specific – reference particular policies or decisions if you can

**3. Build the relationship** – **Ask questions and chat!**

*Note:  This step depends on whether the campaign is at a campus level or state/national level; the higher the level of the decision-maker, the less time they have to give you in a meeting, so be careful not to waste all your time on idle chat.  Make sure you have time to gather information and make your ask!*

* Ask them about themselves (position in the university/state, how long they’ve been around) and share about yourself (e.g. your major) – *Most applicable to campus decision-makers*.
* Use this as an opportunity to gather information about the Lay of the Land – learn about their position, responsibilities, concerns, connections to other committees/departments/people, etc.
* Getting to know the person and building a friendly relationship with them will only help your efforts, and will make the meeting all the more pleasant.
* When meeting with elected officials it is useful to research them beforehand.

**4. Introduce Your Issue/Concern**

* Present your issue and establish your arguments, but keep it to a few main points.
* Try to connect your argument to their values (to the extent that you know them).
* Tell a personal story related to your issue - perhaps your story of self, us, or now. Keep it short, but remember that stories are what change hearts and minds.

**5. ASK for their support**

* Ask them to take a specific, measurable action – e.g. Will you… arrange an energy efficiency audit for campus? …speak in favor of this to the Board of Trustees? …vote for this policy?
* Assign one person to make a clear and direct request.

**6. LISTEN**

* Remember the 50/50 rule – they talk half the time!
* Listen to what they have to say.  You can learn a lot about them by listening carefully to how they respond, and there may be a good reason why they can’t do what you’re asking.
* Don’t be afraid to ask questions – e.g. Why don’t you support this?  What would need to change for you to support this? Who else do you think I should talk to about this?”

**7. Respond and Restate Your Ask**

* Restate your argument, addressing concerns you heard them raise while you were listening.
* Ask them to take action again
  + The key point here is not to ask the *same* question twice, but to make a secondary ask.  There may be a good reason why they can’t or won’t do what you initially ask of them, but that doesn’t mean they can’t or won’t help in other ways.  (e.g. Maybe they won’t recommend 100% renewable energy because the university has a contract it can’t break, but they might be willing to recommend increasing energy efficiency efforts).
  + If you’re talking to a staffer/aide and they give the “I can’t speak for…” line, ask them if they will recommend the action you’re asking for.  That’s an ask they CAN respond to.
* If they’re going to say NO, make them say NO twice.  People don’t like saying no, and by changing your ask you are giving them another opportunity to say YES!
* Don’t make anything up!  If you don’t know the answer to a question, say “I don’t know, but I can find out and get back to you.”  Stay credible!

**8. Establish Next Steps**

* Chances are, you won’t get an answer in your meeting, so make a plan to follow-up – e.g. “Can I give you a call at the end of the week to see what the Governor says?”
* Review any commitments that were made (by you or them) and clarify the timeline for action.
* Thank them again!

**9. Post-Meeting/ Follow-up**

* Write down what you’ve learned as soon as you leave, and debrief with others who were there.
* Share the information with allies coordinating the campaign.  Give a call to anyone who helped you prepare and let them know how it went!
* Send a thank you note to the DM restating your arguments and any commitments made.
* Follow through with any commitments you made during the meeting.

**Meeting with a Decision Maker Worksheet**

*This worksheet is to help you prepare for a meeting with a decision maker. Really think about why you are having the meeting, what you want to accomplish, and how this person fits into your power map! This can help you plan out meetings you have in the future.*

**1. Why are you meeting with this person? What can they add to your campaign? What background information on them do you have that might be helpful?**

**2. What is your  “ask” of the person you are meeting with? What do you want them to do as a result of your meeting with them?**

**3. What are some answers that you need to get to move forward with your campaign? List some questions if you have any.**

**4. Are there any materials you need to prepare to give to the decision maker that can add to the information you are giving the decision maker?**

**What is news?**

Working with the media is a key tactic for reaching your goal. But how do you even get coverage in the first place? News organizations don’t cover every single story that gets put in front of their desk. Especially in today’s world, when many newspapers are struggling to stay in print, it’s important to editors that articles capture a reader’s attention. So what makes something newsworthy?

* **Impact** - A story that highlights a problem which affects many people and has big consequences.
* **New –** A story that is current, timely, and fresh.
* **Timely –** A story that is relevant to what’s happening now. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement organized to #ReclaimMLK on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day each January, because MLK’s legacy is especially relevant in America near that particular day.
* **Local -** Tied to the particular community that the newspaper services. Even if your organization is talking about a federal problem, it’s important that you find a local angle, such as a potential impact on local air quality.
* **Human Interest –** There is a human face and personal angle to your story. The reader hears the story of a fisherman who fishes in the local river that is threatened with pollution, or a local child who suffers asthma attacks on bad smog days.
* **Conflict -** A story with good guys and bad guys makes good news. It’s important to cast these characters within the messaging frame that you use.
* **Visuals -** The image of youth leaders in the People’s Climate March has graced the pages of many publications. Visuals of hundreds of people fighting for change can captivate an audience.

Stories that fulfill each of these categories are much more likely to get picked up by reporters and TV producers. Your first step towards getting news coverage should be identifying what in particular makes your event newsworthy.

**Pitching a Reporter**

There are two main ways you can pitch a reporter - a written press release and a verbal press pitch.

A **press release** is a written statement that gives the media context and information about an event your organization is hosting. A press release should be straightforward: the first sentence should say exactly what is happening. From that point, the release should provide background context reported **as the campaign would like it to appear in print.** Many reporters do not have time to research background information on their own, and will just copy from the press release. Most press releases also include relevant quotes from campaign members, who put a human perspective on the issue. If you would like the reporter to attend the event in person, the press release should include event information such as where, when, and what time an event will be held.

In addition to a press release, you might also want to **pitch reporters** on your story over the phone. Pitching your story uses the same frames that you use in writing a press release, yet the art of it is very different. A pitch is traditionally done over the phone, which means that you need to be ready to answer questions and use a message box, like we talked about in Communications 101.

Reporters often have no knowledge of your issues or have their own political views and agenda. Social justice issues often get little coverage, or the coverage of them is distorted. Even if they are sympathetic, they aren’t your friend. They’re usually on a deadline, and they have very little time and may work on multiple stories at once. Their editors want to sell papers or produce popular news segments. However, it is possible to develop a great relationship with a reporter, and give them a compelling news pitch that results in media coverage! The best way to do this is to build a relationship rooted in respect and professionalism.

**Tips for Pitching a Reporter**

* **Tailor the pitch to the reporter.** Know what a reporter usually writes about, and how that overlaps with your event. Your pitch can reference their past work and make the reporter feel like you are pitching them something right up their alley.
* **Just start talking.** If you ask a reporter if they want an update about your campaign, they might say no. Don’t give them that chance! A good first line is, “I really wanted to update you on our Seize the Grid campaign at the University of Illinois. We recently…”
* **Be flexible.** Be ready to pivot or talk about a new angle on your story, depending on the reporter’s response. If you sense that a reporter isn’t interested in your story, try to use a different angle to recapture their attention. For example, if you began talking about a story that revolved around conflict, but realized a reporter wasn’t interested, you could try to emphasize the human interest angle going forward.
* **Do the work for them.** Ideally, you will have a press release to send a reporter after you pitch the topic to them over the phone. The idea is to make writing an article on your campaign as easy as possible!
* **Make a direct ask.** Ask the reporter straight up if they will cover your event.
* **Treat reporters with respect.** Return their calls and emails on time. Call a reporter if you think that they misrepresented your campaign, but never yell or scream at them.
* **Stay cordial and brief.** Not only is chit-chatting not “off the record”, it also makes writing your article much more time consuming for the reporter. Build a relationship through constructive dialogue and a good working relationship, not by asking personal questions.

**The ‘RULES’ of Working with the Media:**

* **Stay on message!** Don’t confuse the reporter with too much information.  They will often choose odd things to highlight in their coverage, so only give them the information you want to get across.  It is good to have a short message that you can repeat constantly.
* **Never lie.**  It destroys your credibility. If you don’t know an answer, admit it, but say that you can find it for them and get back to them – promptly (remember, they are on a deadline)
* **Never thank them for writing a story.**  It’s their job!  Particularly, don’t thank them if they write a *good* story;  it makes them question their objectivity and whether they were too biased towards your position or issue.
* **There is NO off-the-record.**  Remember, the reporter is not your friend; they are out to get a story and sell papers. If you tell them something “off the record” it will still end up in the story – it just won’t have your name attached to it.
* **Stay on message!** Repeat it, and repeat it again; if you aren’t sick of saying it, you’re not saying it enough!

**Some Useful Tips:**

* Do the work for them.  If you provide all the information they need to write a story, it makes their life easier (remember they are on a deadline).  Furthermore, it allows you to give them the information you want them to have.
* When you call a reporter, always ask if they have a minute to talk. Often times they will be on deadline and will not be able to talk to you then. If they are busy, ask when a better time would be to call them. The reporter will appreciate this greatly and be more receptive.
* You can’t be on the phone enough.  Fax your press advisory or release, but call to follow up.   Be direct: Ask if the reporter plans to show up.
* Develop a relationship (not a friendship). Find out who the environmental reporter is and make sure to send information to them directly. If you are credible, helpful and timely, they will come to you when they are looking for information. It is good to have one person from a group be the press contact for consistency reasons, but this is virtually impossible in student groups with such high rates of turnover.
* Reporters are looking for specific things that make a story newsworthy.  Here are some ‘hooks you can use to ‘catch’ a reporter: conflict, dramatic human interest, new announcement, trend, local spin to national or global issues (or vice versa); controversy; a fresh angle on an old story; milestone, anniversary, celebrity, special event, etc.  Young people like us get covered. Visuals always get attention and send a message that is less corruptible than a verbal one.
* Before talking to a reporter, see if what you are planning to say passes the “cousin” test. In other words, run it by your cousin or someone who doesn’t have any knowledge of your issues – to make sure that you are sending the right message, and that it is clear.  If you’re talking to a reporter and feel like things aren’t coming out right, just stop, say “let me start again,” and do so.
* If you are having a rally or large event, have your members practice their sound bites beforehand.  That way they can be prepared when a reporter asks why they are there. Although, not everyone needs to be an expert.  Have one or two people who know the issues well be designated as press liaisons. This way the information you give to the media can be controlled.  Make sure everyone at the event knows whom to direct the reporters to after they have given their sound bite.

**Media Tools:**

**Media List:**The first thing you need is a media list.  It should have reporters names, faxes, phone numbers, addresses, and emails for TV, radio, and newspapers in your area.  To build this list take a look Beacon’s (which can be found in the library).  Take a look at local publications for reporters who deal with your issues.  Call your local Sierra Club office for help.

**Press Advisory:**  An advisory is written in simple form, stating the basics of an upcoming even (Who, what, where, when, and why) without giving away the substance of the event. It is a way to alert journalists to events that might interest them. An advisory should be sent out several days before an event and be followed up with phone calls to the reporters.  The follow-up call encourages them to cover the event, and is an opportunity for you to answer any questions the reporter might have.

**Press Release:**A release should be written exactly like an ideal story would be written, including quotes. Place the most important items at the beginning of the release.  It should generally be kept to one page and should be sent out the day of the event. Follow-up with a phone call to make sure that the release has been received, and urge them to cover the story.

**Associated Press (AP):  T**here’s an AP bureau in every major city and in the State House.  The AP is a news wire, which means that they send out things to other news outlets.  Always send your press advisories and releases to the AP because if they cover an event, it will reach many more papers, radios, etc. than you could.   This isn’t to say that you should expect the AP to do all the work for you; you will still have to do work. The point is that sending your advisories and releases to the AP will increase your chances of getting covered.

**Letters to the Editor:**  The editorial page is the second most widely read page of the newspaper after the front page.  A letter to the editor should be short – not more than 250 words (varies with paper) – clear, direct and simple, with a maximum of two or three points.  Avoid personal attacks. Try to find a local angle, and try to pick a timely issue (or send a letter when it is most timely). Be sure to sign it and include a way for the press to contact you to confirm that you wrote the letter.

**Radio:**Radio is a great, but often untapped, way of getting press.  Radio news editors usually work alone in small dark rooms. Give them a call to let them know about an event or story.  They might not be able to send anyone, but you could ask to do a “radio actuality” right then and there. Often they’ll say yes, and you’ll get to give a little statement, which they’ll play on the radio all day.

**Public Service Announcements:**  Normally they're not the most effective way to get a message out; however, college radio stations are often an exception, and every station is required by law to air a certain number of PSAs every year.  First, with a lot of college radio stations, you can get away with just sending in a script that DJ's can read on the air. The key to these is to keep it short. 30 seconds is pushing it; 15 seconds is ideal.  Try reading scripts out loud at a normal pace to get the right timing. Writing for broadcast means avoiding long words and long sentences. Try to say what you need to say in the simplest and shortest way. You're going to have to leave out a lot of details, so it's good to use PSA's to get people to check out a meeting, table, rally, concert, or website, etc. where they can get more information.  To place your PSA, call the local radio stations and find out what their policy on PSA's is. Bigger stations will have a person who specifically handles PSA's and other ads. Often you can then simply fax or e-mail the script to the station. But always call in a day or two to follow up and see if they are reading the ad on the air.

**Visuals:**Visuals are a great way to get TV and photo attention.  You can build giant puppets or objects to represent your issue.  Visual messages are not as easily distorted as verbal ones. If you see a reporter taking an interest in your visual make sure that you approach him or her to put in a few words.

While our strength as organizers is in the power of people, not money, we still need money sometimes to help us in our organizing efforts. We’ll never have the money to go toe-to-toe with corporate interests using money as a source of political power. However, sometimes we need money to help us organize people to effectively counteract and overcome the influence of money in the political system.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Fundraising Types:** | **Why People DO Give:** | **Why People DO NOT Give:** |
|  |  |  |

**Principles of Fundraising**

* **Fundraise for a purpose—**One of the largest flaws is trying to raise money without a purpose in mind; just like events for the sake of events isn’t strategic, raising money for the sake of raising money isn’t strategic and it is generally a lot harder. It is better to say “we’re raising money to send people to Sprog” or “we’re raising money for a solar panel for our school’s roof”.
* **Move Beyond the Bake Sale—**Bake sales are way overdone, and you can be more creative than that. Try to come up with fundraising tactics that not only raise money, but also support your campaign goals. Like a Nintendo Wii tournament (fun and reaches different groups) or posting a video in YouTube.
* **Make a specific ASK and start HIGH—**It’s important to make a specific ask and to ask for more than you think you’ll get, so that (hopefully) you’ll get what you actually need.
  + Not just money, but in-kind donations, too. Example: (400 cups of yogurt for the Re-Energize Texas Summit).
  + If you ask for $100, you might get $50. If you ask for $50, you can bet they won't offer to give you $100.
* **People give to people—**In-person asking will produce a much higher response than asking over the phone by imposing urgency and pressure to respond on the spot.If that’s not possible, you can still have great success by sending a letter and following up with a phone call.Personalize your appeal as much as possible.
* **It costs money to raise money—**For example, if you’re selling t-shirts, you have to have the t-shirts made first, which costs money.
* **Do your research—**If you’re approaching individuals, groups, or businesses for donations, know as much as you can about them so that you can appeal to their interests, and frame your ask in the most beneficial light.
* **Cultivate your donors—**Thank them. For example, make sure to send thank you notes to businesses that donate to your raffle. Continue to make them feel part of the organization or campaign: stop in to businesses or have coffee with major donors to keep them updated on your work. Send them important press clips.
* **Staging--**Plan your fundraiser so that you target certain people at different times, thereby building momentum and maximizing the amount you receive. For example: send emails to specific people with your fundraising ask, then, 2 weeks later, blast out the same fundraising ask through social media. You will reach again the first people with a friendly reminder tone and also gather new possible donors.
* **People want to give to winners—**Consider having some folks who will give money before you send out the majority of your asks, that way you already have money and folks will view their contribution as being a part of something larger than themselves.
* **Just Ask!—**You don't get what you don't ask for. You should feel free and confident to ask in many different situations.

An important thing to remember is that a lot of potential donors give out of self-interest, not just to help an organization or further the issue. Consider your organization’s needs, but also consider your donor's needs. Fit your pitch to your audience and what they are looking for - use Public Narrative to do this.

**Planning**

Here are some simple steps to creating a great fundraiser from the Sierra Club Grassroots Organizing Training Manual:

1. **Have a fundraising plan** - When developing your fundraising plan, the key is to be ambitious but realistic. Your written fundraising plan should establish an overall financial goal for the campaign, as well as goals by source (different accounts, organizations, and individuals) and solicitation method (mail solicitations, neighborhood coffees, and "dialing for dollars" phonebanks).
2. **Develop a campaign budget** so you know what you need.
3. **Know who to ask** - Who has money to spare? Who has a vested interest in the outcome of this campaign? Who can be persuaded to contribute? Make lists, starting with the easiest targets (your family, close friends, other people involved with groups of the coalition, colleagues at work, etc.), and then move outward toward more distant targets (members of similar organizations, community leaders, politicians, etc.)
4. **Know what to ask** - How much can this particular individual contribute? It is generally advisable to aim too high and flatter people with your overestimation of their personal wealth than to aim too low and end up with much less than they were prepared to give. If you ask for $50, they might end up giving you $25. But if you ask for $25, you can bet they won’t offer you $50.
5. **Ask!** - Asking for money is often uncomfortable for the asker. Instead of assuming that people don’t want to give, assume that they do, and convey that with your body language and words. Tell them (rather than ask) how they can make a significant investment in protecting the environment through contributing a specific dollar amount. If the response is no, ask what they think they can contribute and offer them another choice or two. If maybe or yes is the response, ask them to write the check or give you the cash right then and there or make arrangements to pick it up. Keep in mind that some of your expenses may be met through in-kind donations. These should be included in the fundraising section. Sometimes printing costs, food, or technical assistance can be provided by local businesses that may be affected by your issue or are simply interested in supporting the cause for free publicity.

**Example Fundraising Communications:**

Here are some example fundraising communications - make sure to personalize these to the donors you are reaching out to!

**Letter:**  
*Date  
Your Name and Address*

To whom it may concern:  
  
I am contacting you today to tell you about the Student Sierra Club Summer Program. This program is a week-long series of trainings that is targeted to empower young leaders and organizers to work on environmental issues in their local communities. It is an incredible way to get youth involved and to get them really thinking about the environment around them.  
  
However, not everyone has the ability to attend because our program is not free unless generous donors such as yourself help us fund travel scholarships, fee waivers for the program, food, and items of that sort. This gives every youth the opportunity to be a part of this program so they can learn the skills to organize in their communities. If you could help us with any gift at all we would all be greatly appreciative.  
  
Thank you for your support.  
  
[Name]  
  
**Example Fundraising Call:**

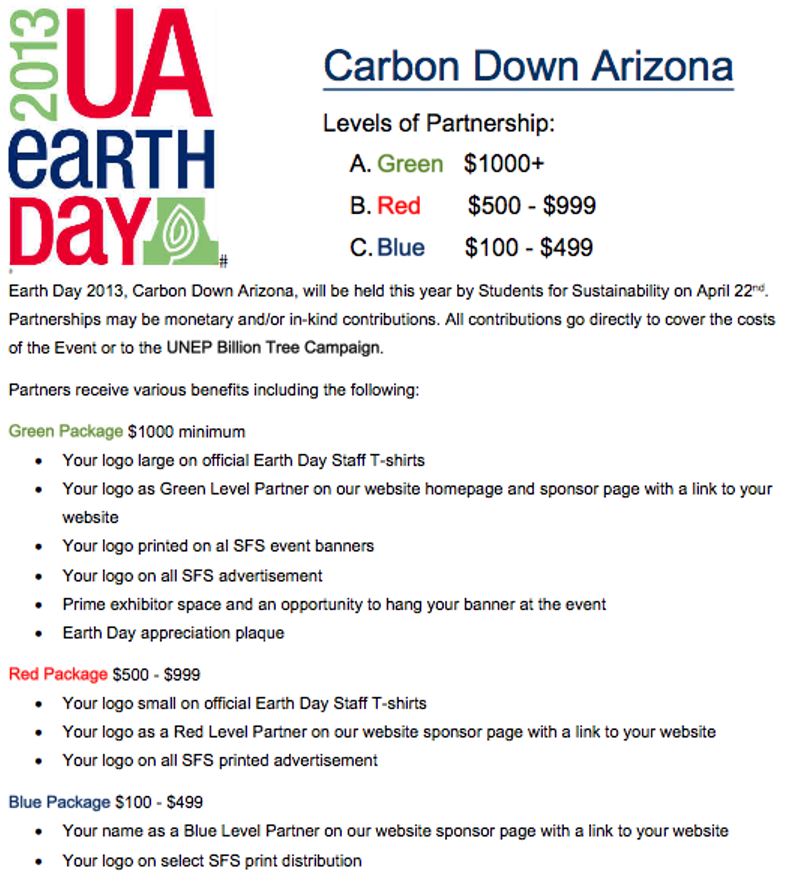
“Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ and I am a volunteer with the Sierra Student Coalition.  
Every year, we coordinate leadership programs for hundreds of youth, called summer programs or SPROGS in several locations across the nation. This year, I am going to be training at the SPROG in the [region]. This program will empower youth across the [region] to make a difference in their community with the knowledge and skills that they learn at this program. The only way we can make this program possible is to receive contributions from organizations/businesses like yours!  Would you be willing to donate $\_\_\_ today to help support this program?”

\*\* If they would like more information, we can get it to them.

If No:

“I can appreciate that. Every year, hundreds of students go through this program. Not only does it empowers them with opportunities to make a difference, but also allows them to help protect the environment around them. We can also put your logo on our marketing materials that we use specifically for Southwest SPROG. Would you be willing to give (less money) $\_\_\_ today? Well thank you for your time today. I greatly appreciate it. Have a great day and if you have any further questions please let me know.”

If Yes:  
“Great! Thank you so much. You have no idea what kind of difference this makes. I went to this program and it changed my life. Then provide information as to how they donate the money. “

**Example Sponsorship Form:**  
   
  
On the next page would be a form where sponsors could check off which package they   
would want, and then also enter in their personal information for follow up.

*Adapted from Sunrise Movement and the Momentum Community.*

**Songs are Culture**

For as long as there has been organized struggle, there have been people singing about it. When we sing songs, we are calling upon a deep movement culture and history. It is important that we say where songs are from, how we learned them, and a bit about their history when we sing them. We do this to preserve history, to avoid appropriation, and to honor our movement ancestors. Many of our movement tactics come from the civil rights movement and the labor rights movement, and singing songs in no exception. Many of these songs are rooted in African American spirituals, gospel, and folk music.

People can spend their whole lives studying movement songs - below is some information about just one from NPR. This comes from [*The Inspiring Force Of 'We Shall Overcome'.*](https://www.npr.org/2013/08/28/216482943/the-inspiring-force-of-we-shall-overcome)

*"We Shall Overcome" began as a folk song, a work song. Slaves in the fields would sing, 'I'll be all right someday.' It became known in the churches. A Methodist minister, Charles Albert Tindley, published a version in 1901: "I'll Overcome Someday."...The first political use came in 1945 in Charleston, S.C. There was a strike against the American Tobacco Co. The workers wanted a raise; they were making 45 cents an hour. They marched and sang together on the picket line, "We will overcome, and we will win our rights someday."...In 1947, two of the union members from South Carolina traveled to the town of Monteagle, Tenn., for a workshop at the Highlander Folk Center. Blacks and whites had been meeting together about labor issues at the Highlander for many years....The tobacco workers brought their song to Tennessee, and Zilphia Horton, Highlander's music director, started using it in workshops in Tennessee and beyond.*

*In 1947, Horton went to New York City, as she did every year, to raise money for Highlander. She sang the song there for Pete Seeger, who adopted it and added his own touches..."I remember teaching it to a gang in Carnegie Hall that year, and the following year I put it in a little music magazine called People's Songs," Seeger adds...  
  
Organized in Albany, Ga., by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, The Freedom Singers were Cordell Reagon, Charles Neblett, Rutha Harris and Bernice Johnson-Reagon… Johnson-Reagon was a preacher's daughter and knew the song as "I Will Overcome." She recalls the change to "We Shall Overcome" as a concession that helped bring whites and blacks closer in the civil rights struggle.  
  
On March 15, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson appeared before Congress and 70 million Americans watching on television, calling for legislation that would ensure every citizen the right to vote. "It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life," Johnson declared in the speech. "Their cause must be our cause, too, because it's not just Negroes, but really, it's all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome."...There may have been some in the civil rights movement who felt that President Johnson co-opted the phrase. But John Lewis watched the speech that night with Martin Luther King Jr. About the president, Lewis later wrote, "His were the words of a statesman and, more, they were the words of a poet," adding, "Dr. King must have agreed. He wiped away a tear at the point where Johnson said the words 'We shall overcome.'"*

*The song was carried by the civil rights movement throughout the South, a song that rose in air that was tinged with tear gas, that was a murmur of men and women at night in a Southern jail, and an affirmation sung by hundreds of thousands within sight of the Capitol dome.*

**Movement Songs We Love:**

[**The Same Thing by Rachel Schragis**](http://www.whenwefightwewin.com/the-same-thing-a-climate-human-powered-scroll-by-rachel-schragis/)

*Often paired with a physical scroll illustrating scenes of climate injustice and resistance in the USA and Canada, Rachel generated the idea for this piece at a residency 350.org put on for artists engaged in climate work. The piece was made based on collaboration and research with climate activists around the North East.*

*Chorus:*  
There is one question with a thousand answers  
Or perhaps only one answer to a thousand things to ask  
But hey, don’t you know, there’s no need to feel dejected   
Because all of our grievances are connected  
  
There are some places I’ve been that you have not been to  
There are some places I’ve been that you have been to too  
There are some places you’ve been that I have not been to  
There are some places that we have not been to yet.  
  
*Chorus*Everywhere I go I see a different situation, but  
Everywhere I go I see the same thing.  
Everywhere we are we see a different situation, but  
Everywhere we are we know the same thing.  
  
*Chorus*

**Courage**

*Adapted from the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement, sung as protesters were being taken to jail and as a way to learn people's’ names in the jail cells. Original song titled "Singing the Spirit Home" written by the Australian/Scottish folk singer, Eric Bogle.*

Courage, my friend, you do not walk alone..

We will, walk with you, and sing your spirit home.

**Freedom Fighters**

*By Freedom Side, a collective of young leaders of color, standing together at the front lines of the fight for racial justice today*

Ella Baker was a freedom fighter and shetaught me how to fight.

I’m gonna fight all day and night until I get it right.

Oh, Which side are you you on? Which side are you on.

[**They Told Us It Was Over**](https://www.facebook.com/yashmorifilm/videos/1355981241094306/) **(Umi Selah of Dream Defenders)**

They told us it was over

They told us the world gets colder

They told us too much on our shoulders

But we -e -e believe that we will win

We -e -e believe that we will win.

**FloodWallStreet (Climate Justice version)**

*Created for Flood Wall Street action, Audio:* [*Original version audio*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-WE5ZIwlOOA) *by Peace Poets,* [*Adapted version*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mYZBNAPWMKI)

People gonna rise like the waters,

gonna calm this crisis down.

I hear the voice of my great granddaughter

saying ‘climate justice now!’

**We’re Gonna Rise Up**

*Created by the Momentum Community - Audio:* [*We’re Gonna Rise Up*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USmKl8xCKXs) *(Chance the Rapper’s Blessing)*

We’re gonna rise up, rise up till it’s won (repeat)

When the people rise up, the powers come down (repeat)

They tried to stop us, but we keep coming back (repeat)

**Went Down to the Courthouse**

*An old union song re-popularized by Ohio Student Association and Dream Defenders (Freedom Side)*

Went Down to the [Courthouse]

And I took back what they stole from me

And I took back my dignity

And I took back my humanity

And it's under my feet it's under my feet it's under my feet

Ain't nobody gonna walk all over me

**The Tide Is Rising**

[*Rabbi Shoshana Friedman, rabbi and climate activist in the Boston area*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MV-fsE-2J8w)

The tide is rising and so are (3x)

This is where we are called to be.

The land is holy...

The task is mighty...

The storm is raging...

The sun is shining…

**We Rise**

*By Batya Levine with collaborative support from Nom Lerman, both contemporary Jewish songwriters and IfNotNow members. This song was inspired by the powerful, prayerful resistance they witnessed and experienced at Standing Rock. This song is an attempt to remember and to hold that model of resistance in our hearts and in our minds.*

We rise... humbled hearted

Rise... won't be divided

Rise... with spirit to guide us

Rise!

(Chorus) In hope, in prayer, we find ourselves here

In hope, in prayer, we're right here!

We rise... all of the children

Rise... elders with wisdom

Rise... ancestors surround us

Rise!

(chorus)

We rise... up from the wreckage

Rise...with tears and with courage

Rise... fighting for life

Rise!

(chorus and repeat verse 1)

[**Song Leading with Intention from Movement Partner IfNotNow**](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1LNkXlsWotZOD9TPWn9saUcqBKYa3mZ5fKgmo8Itx5Jo/edit?usp=sharing)

* **Always teach songs:** Even if some people know it, this will help everyone feel at home and able to bring their voice to the movement.
* **Because song is a form of ritual** and ritual can be holy, sacred, and/or inspire significant emotional transformation, work to develop your craft as a song leader. Song leading is high level facilitation.

Introducing the Song

* Words are **accessible**: Have them written up for all to read, and/or repeat-after-me if they are tricky.
* Teach its **origins**/where it comes from.
* Set your **intention** for the song: what is the deeper meaning to hold while singing it?
* If appropriate, invite people to go into **silence** after &  let the song land/go up/go in!

Techniques for Teaching a song

* **Line by Line** repeat-after-me (sing or say smart-sized chunks, one at a time). Use your hands to gesture when *you* sing and *when people repeat*.
* Sing it **Over and Over** until people get it, then call out for harmonies!
* Sing the **melody without words** for a while, and then add the words once you can tell folks know the tune.
* If it’s a complicated melody, **use your hand to show the pattern of the notes**. Or ask a friend to gesture while you sing!
* If the words are complicated, **have folks repeat the words after you** before putting them to the melody.
* **Explain the complexities** of the song and how to sing it together (ie: “with Courage, people can swap in other words or names besides courage, we will go for a while so many people can try it out”).

Techniques for Ending a song

* **Say “last time”** at the start of the round you want to end on, or **“one more time”** at the end of the round before the last one.
* **Slow it down** and hold out the last word. Use your body language to show. You can raise your hand or voice too, as a cue.
* If you’ve been clapping or stomping, **stop keeping the beat** to show that it’s coming to a close.

Tips for leading songs at ACTIONS:

* **Coordinate with the script-writers and action MCs before the action** to get a sense of the overall message, vibe, and goal of the action so that you know how to hold yourself and lead with purpose. Is this an action of anger? Of sadness? Of celebration? Will we be mournful and focused on slow songs or slow pacing to pull at heart strings? Will we be joyful and focused on songs of power that are fast and hype?
* **Keep your voice on the megaphone or mic for the whole song.** Your voice is keeping everyone together and in rhythm. It’s your voice everyone is following. Lead them!
* **Give an intention** that is simple and direct, based on the history, context, or message that this song is bringing to this action in this moment. What do you want the people at your action to be FEELING? What do you want them to be THINKING ABOUT while they are singing? Invite them into that feeling or framing before you start singing.
* This is a good time for leading songs that a lot of **people already know**.

Tips for leading songs at TRAININGS, MEETINGS, AND NON-ACTION GATHERINGS:

* **This is a good time to teach new songs.** If you want folks to really learn it, use it more than once: Use the melody to bring folks back after a break out, use the melody to transition to another part of the day, and sing it more than once with the words over the course of your time together.
* **This is a good time for going deeper** into a song’s history or bring an intention or meditation based on a song. You can use a song and its story to bring the group to grounding, connecting with each other, or re-rooting towards what we need to do in order to win. This can be especially fun and meaningful when you do this with songs that feel “over-sung.”

*Bonus: Build your own singing practice!*

Get to know each song as a friend. Play with the songs on your own, as a way to help you through challenging moments, to express gratitude, etc. and notice the ways their energies change your day or your demeanor.  The more comfortable you get, the easier it will be to call on a song - like a good friend.

**I. Principals**

**What is facilitation?**

Facilitation is essentially a tool that helps direct and guide discussions, meetings, and decision-making processes. It allows everyone a chance to speak their mind, and thus to feel like they are a part of the group. Often several members of the group will take on one of the roles involved in the facilitation process: facilitator, time-keeper, note-taker, and vibes-watcher.

**Why is facilitation important?**

Facilitation keeps things focused, allows everyone a chance to participate, and helps the group get tasks accomplished and decisions made. It empowers less confident group members to step up and contribute ideas to the conversation that might have otherwise been missed. If your meetings are not facilitated, most likely they will be filled with tangents and side conversations – which make the meetings grueling and just plain boring. Furthermore, two or three people may end up dominating the meetings, leaving everyone else feeling unwelcome, and unimportant.

**The role of the facilitator**

It is important to emphasize that a facilitator is not in control of the group. They do not ultimately make the final decision on anything (in fact, any member of the group can be the facilitator, and the position can rotate from week to week). The facilitator is simply responsible for ensuring that the meetings are inclusive, productive, and effective. To do this, they should help the group establish some ground rules so that everyone knows how the meetings will proceed. Then they must make sure that everyone sticks to them.

**II. Here are some examples of ground-rules**

**Method of decision-making:** You can work by a simple majority vote. You can use majority consensus, where points of view in the minority are often addressed, and can somewhat modify the final decision. Or you can work by absolute consensus, where no decision is made without full agreement in the group. Different methods can be used based on the importance of the decision at hand.

**Directed questions:** It may be decided that the facilitator can call on those who haven’t raised their hands or said anything at the meeting. And, of course, those who are called on have the right to pass.

**Bike rack:** If something important arises but isn’t on the agenda or is way off-topic, you can put it on a “bike rack,” a list of subjects to be discussed at a later time.

**Stacking:** In large groups, stacking is almost essential for meetings. With a stack, a list is kept of those who raise their hands, and people are called on in the order that they have raised their hands. In small groups, a stack is usually not necessary, as long as the group stays on topic and all participants have an opportunity to speak.

**Hand signals:** Oftentimes, a hand signal is better than saying it, since it minimizes interruptions in the discussion. For example, sometimes people wiggle their fingers for “I agree.” or they form a P with their hands to indicate that they have a “point of information” on someone’s comment.

**III. Other important roles**

* **Time-keeper:** It is useful to set time limits for each item on the agenda. Otherwise, the meetings become too long, and folks won’t want to come back. The time-keeper lets the group know how much time they have prior to each agenda item. If someone suggests that more time be taken, the time-keeper should ask for agreement from the whole group.
* **Note-taker:** It is important that one member record what is discussed and decided during the meeting so that the same discussion or decision is not repeated unnecessarily. In addition, it is good for the note-taker to begin the meeting with a review of the notes from the previous meeting – to refresh folks’ memories, and help those who weren’t there catch up.
* **Vibes-watcher:** Sometimes things get a little tense or just plain boring. A vibes-watcher is essential for monitoring the atmosphere and making sure things don’t get out of hand. If they do, the vibes-watcher can call a time-out, and then folks can regroup in five minutes or whatever the set break time happens to be.

**IV. Agenda**

It’s important to have an agenda so that you can stay on track and have a clear focus for each conversation. A good agenda will make the most of the valuable meeting time when all members of the group have their come together. Try to load the agenda with items that really benefit from having the entire group together at once like brainstorming and decision making. If your group is really dedicated you can even send out announcements and proposals before the meeting and have folks read them in advance. Then most of the meeting can be used for discussing plans or proposals that people are already familiar with. Don’t forget to work backwards from how much time you have for the meeting to allot a certain amount to each agenda point so that you can effectively work through everything without having five hour long meetings!

**Example agenda: Beyond Coal Meeting**

***Agenda***

1) Working with outside groups

2) Event

***Discussion***

*Working with outside groups*

We need to do this

Shelly agreed to contact the Music Humans\*

Mike agreed to contact Greek Life.

*Event*

To Infinity and Beyond Coal Party will be the title.

***Action Items***

Shelly contacts Music Humans by next meeting

Mike contacts Greek Life by next meeting

\*Tip- color code the notes so people just have to look for their color in order to know what they have to do

**1) Capitalism**

DEFINITION: An economic system where the means of production are privatized. *Means of production* refers to the things that are used to make or transport goods (factories, technology, land, etc). When these things are *privatized*, it means they are owned and controlled by individuals or companies, rather than by the government. Decisions about production (what goods to make, how much to make, how to distribute them, etc) are made privately. When those goods are sold, the profit is controlled by whoever owns the means of production, not by the workers who made the goods.

CONTEXT: The origins of Capitalism can be traced to medieval Europe. The dominant social system of the time was Feudalism, a system with very strict class divisions. Feudalism used a *hereditary* system, where nobility and ruling classes passed their power and land on to their children. Peasants could not own land, but they grazed their cattle on communal land, or **Commons**. In the late 17th Century, peasant uprisings were happening all across Europe. Some peasants were challenging the feudal order and demanding equality. To crush this rebellion, the powerful ruling classes privatized the commons and barred peasants from using it. This was called the **Enclosure Movement**. When they lost access to land, many peasants had no choice but to move to cities and take low-paying factory jobs. This influx of low-wage workers in cities helped bring about the Industrial Revolution in England, which was a period of great economic production and extreme labor injustice.

EXAMPLE: The fossil fuel industry is a grim example of Capitalist exploitation. Evidence has recently come to light which proves that ExxonMobil, one of the biggest oil and gas companies in the world, has known for decades that burning fossil fuels causes climate change. But instead of encouraging a worldwide shift to renewable energy sources, ExxonMobil buried its research and started an aggressive media campaign claiming that climate change was a hoax – all to protect the company’s profits. Today, the largest fossil fuel companies are among the richest companies in the world, and their CEOs rake in billions while their actions cause massive environmental damage and human suffering.

* *Further Learning:*
* Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*
* Chris Hedges & Joe Sacco, *Days of Destruction, Days of Revolt*
* Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate* (book and film)

**2) Indoctrination**

DEFINITION: A process in which a group is taught to fully and uncritically accept a set of beliefs.

CONTEXT: Indoctrination can be used as a method of controlling a marginalized population if members of that population are taught over time to believe the negative stereotypes, believes, or narratives about their group. It can also be a means of reinforcing the prejudices held by members of a dominant group.

EXAMPLE: During the 19th and early 20th centuries, indigenous children in North America were forcibly removed from their communities by settler governments and sent to mandated boarding schools. These “Indian Schools” were meant to indoctrinate Native students by teaching them histories of the world that did not include narratives from their own culture, instead teaching only Christian narratives.

* *Further Learning:*
* Carolyn Marr, “Assimilation through Education” (*essay available online*)
* Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (novel)

**3) Assimilationist Narratives**

DEFINITION:  Stories – such as those presented in the media or commonly passed by word of mouth – which assume that the ultimate goal of social justice movements is to change structures in society to be more inclusive of marginalized groups. These narratives also assume that marginalized groups must have a goal of fitting in with mainstream, dominant systems. In fact, many social justice movements call for inherently oppressive or violent systems to be dismantled altogether.

CONTEXT: Assimilationism comes from refusal to acknowledge the inherent violence or oppression in a system, and the insistence that existing systems *can* be reformed and made better for everyone. It often results in a large-scale dismissal of the groups and people who call for dismantling violent systems, and in those groups’ voices being excluded from historical narratives.

EXAMPLES:

* The legalization of same-sex marriage is often described as *the* LGBT issue, and the mainstream narrative around LGBT rights focuses on the struggle for gay and lesbian couples to be accepted and included in the institution of marriage. This struggle is very important to many people – but when the media presents marriage as the only goal of the LGBTQ movement, it downplays other important issues (such as hate crimes, transphobic laws, and access to healthcare). This narrative also erases stories from radical queer history, such as the 1969 Stonewall Riots, which were led by trans women of color and are considered to be mark the beginning of the LBGTQ movement.
* In the US, we often hear the ideas that we are now a “post-racial society” because we have had a Black president, or that the US is a “melting pot” where many distinct cultures mix and all become American. These narratives are harmful because they erase the real diversity that exists in the US – and the racism that Black and immigrant communities still experience.
* *Further Learning:*
* Mike Funk, “Stonewall 1969” (comic – available online at *flickr.com/photos/mkfunk/albums*)
* Various authors, *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*

**4) Displacement**

DEFINITION: When a group or population are forced to move from their home and relocate.

CONTEXT: For many centuries, people have been displaced when their territories are conquered in acts of *colonialism*. Displacement can follow the destruction or territory in natural disasters or war, or social changes such as economic crisis, discriminatory laws, or rising rent costs.

EXAMPLES:

* Gentrification is a trend in urban neighborhoods. When a neighborhood becomes attractive to higher-income people moving in, property values rise in response to the increased demand for housing and lower-income residents and small businesses can no longer afford rent. Gentrification is often manufactured by city governments or corporations, which work to alter a neighborhood in ways that are specifically designed to be attractive to wealthier people. When cost of living rises in response to gentrification, longtime residents often have no choice but to move.
* In 1930, US President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which forced indigenous people living in the Eastern US to leave their lands and walk thousands of miles west to a specially- designated “Indian territory” across the Mississippi River. Thousands of people died of cold, illness, and starvation on the course of this brutal walk, which is called the Trail of Tears.
* *Further Learning:*
* Multiple authors, *The Gentrification Reader*
* PBS, *We Shall Remain, Episode 3: Trail of Tears* (film)

**5) Colonialism**

DEFINITION: The establishment, maintenance, acquisition and expansion of colonies in a territory by people from another territory or country. When a territory is colonized, its entire social structure may be changed – including government, laws, and economics – and new systems are imposed by the colonizers. The colonizers have power over the colony and the people who live there.

CONTEXT: Humans have been conquering territories since before the beginning of recorded history, but colonialism was most widespread from the 1600s to mid-1800s, when the dominant economic system in Europe was *Mercantilism*. A common practice under Mercantilism was for a European country to import only raw materials and export only finished products. In order to find cheap raw materials, Mercantile nations conquered colonies. The colonizers seized lands and took control of the natural resources, and they also kept the profits from their export.

EXAMPLE: There are many examples of colonization in the history of the African continent. One such example is the history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly known as Zaire, the Belgian Congo, and the Congo Free State). This area was first colonized by King Leopold II of Belgium in 1885 and he exploited its resources – especially rubber. Millions of indigenous people were displaced from their homes and died from disease as a direct result of Belgian colonization. In 1960, the country achieved its independence and held the first independent elections. However, even though it has been self-governed since then, its resources are still exploited by outside forces – an example of *neocolonialism*.

* *Further Learning:*
* Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost*
* Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*
* Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (novel)

**6) Neocolonialism**

DEFINITION: When one country or power controls another country, economically or culturally, through means *other* than military occupation or colonization. These means might include *business globalization* or *cultural imperialism*. Neocolonialism often leads to *assimilation* of neo-colonized peoples.

CONTEXT: Following the era when European countries were colonizing the world at a rapid pace, there came a period known as *decolonization*. Throughout the 1800s to mid-1900s, European colonial powers stopped controlling their colonies politically. The former colonies became independent nations with their own governments. However, the European powers were still interested in their old colonies – particularly in their natural resources. The former colonizers found new ways to control their former colonies from afar, such as through economic means.

EXAMPLE: The World Bank is an international structure that provides loans for industrializing countries to improve or modernize their infrastructure. But these loans are very high-interest, so the borrower countries incur debt at a rapid pace. Many governments that accept the loans end up with massive debts to the World Bank that only increase every year. These countries often end up pouring a large portion of their national income to the World Bank, and this income gets funneled back to wealthier countries in the West. In this way, debt repayment disguises what is essentially still a colonial relationship.

* *Further Learning:*
* Robert Richter, *The Money Lenders* (film)
* Stephanie Black, *Life and Debt* (film)

**7) Neoliberalism**

DEFINITION: An economic system and political trend that advocates for free trade, privatization, open markets, deregulation, and no government intervention. In other words, it says that the private sector (businesses and corporations) should be permitted to act as they see fit, with little or no taxes, tariffs, subsidies, regulatory laws, or other interventions from the government.

CONTEXT: Neoliberalism began in the 1940s as a fringe economic structure. At the time, it was thought that a neoliberal system would be a disaster for society. However, neoliberal ideas were pushed into the mainstream by those who stood to benefit most from the system and who had the monetary power and influence: corporations, foundations, and institutions. Neoliberalism began to be institutionalized in the West in the 1980s, and at this point is quite completely adopted by the US and much of the world.

EXAMPLE: The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) allows for free trade between the US, Canada, and Mexico. This means that corporations based in any of these three countries can do business in another North American country without paying heavy taxes. NAFTA has had terrible consequences for people in North America. One example is *outsourcing*. Free trade has made it easier for industries to move factories to countries where they can buy cheaper materials and pay lower wages. This can greatly increase the industry’s profit – but it often means that companies get away with poor working conditions and human rights abuses. And when a company shuts a factory down to move it overseas, workers from the factory in the company’s home country lose their jobs.

* *Further Learning:*
* David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*
* PBS and the Independent Television Service, *Maquilapolis* (film)
* Mark Achbar, Jennifer Abbott, and Joel Bakan, *The Corporation* (film)

**8) Cultural Appropriation**

DEFINITION: When members of a dominant group take icons, rituals, symbols, and other elements from another culture and use them for their own economic or social gain, while ignoring the opinions and voices of the oppressed culture. Appropriation occurs without any real understanding of the significance behind the stolen elements, which results in culturally-significant artefacts, practices, or beliefs being given a completely different meaning or becoming somewhat “meaningless” in mainstream pop culture.

CONTEXT: Cultural appropriation involves a specific power dynamic between two cultures: members of a dominant culture take elements from a culture or people who have been systematically oppressed *by that dominant culture*. This makes it different from cultural exchange, where cultures share with each other willingly; and from assimilation, when marginalized people adopt elements of the dominant or mainstream culture in order to survive. Cultural appropriation can trivialize historical oppression, allow people with privilege to profit from things they did not create, spread mass lies or misinformation about marginalized cultures, and perpetuate racist stereotypes. It also frequently results in people from the dominant culture recreationally enjoying activities that people from the marginalized culture were historically (or are currently) targeted and penalized for.

EXAMPLES:

* The company Urban Outfitters is infamous for selling clothing with Native American prints or Native accessories. Imitations of sacred Native items have been sold by Urban Outfitters as party accessories, a practice that is trivializing of sacred beliefs and deeply disrespectful to the Native peoples who these symbols are appropriated from. Of course, all of the profits go to the company.
* The example of white people wearing dreadlocks is often used to explain cultural appropriation. Dreadlocks are rooted in Rastafarianism, a pan-African religious/spiritual movement for healing, decolonization, and resistance to white supremacy, and are associated with Black pride and the Black Power movement. When white people wear dreadlocks, the meaning and history of the symbol is erased. The power dynamic at play is evident in the double-standard of how dreadlocks are seen on white and Black people: while white celebrities with dreadlocks have been praised for bold fashion choices, Black people have been historically targeted and persecuted for wearing locs.
* *Further Learning:*
* Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*
* Black Girl Dangerous, various authors and entries (blog)

**9) Incarceration and Criminalization**

DEFINITION: Incarceration is the large-scale imprisonment of a group or population. Criminalization is the process by which a previously legal action or behavior is made illegal, and thus becomes subject to policing and punishment.

CONTEXT: Different countries have been imprisoning debtors, delinquent juveniles, enslaved people, minor misdemeanants, and felons for centuries. Today, incarceration has reached unprecedented heights in the US, with the penal rate at *four times* its historic average. This is largely a result of criminalization that has targeted or disproportionately affected specific marginalized groups, particularly immigrants, people who are homeless, people with mental illnesses, and Black people.

EXAMPLES:

* The explosive prison growth in the US is explained by the term *prison-industrial complex* (PIC). This is defined by scholar/activist Angela Davis as a business-government linkage: prisons are planned and invested in by businesses *first*, and populations of people are found to fill them *second*. Many prisons today are for-profit institutions that require a certain number of people to be imprisoned in for their business models to function.
* In the US, incarceration has been used as a means of social control, and one example of this is the criminalization of behaviors associated with homelessness. In recent decades, act such as sleeping in public or panhandling, which were previously civil offenses that could only result in fines, have been turned into criminal offenses that people can be incarcerated for. People from marginalized or vulnerable populations are already more likely to experience homelessness: for instance, 1 in 5 transgender people in the US has experienced homelessness at some point in their lives, and an estimated one-third of people in the US who are homeless also have mental illnesses.
* *Further Learning:*
* Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*
* The Real Cost of Prisons Project, *The Real Cost of Prisons Comix* series
* Alice Skirtz, *Econocide: Elimination of the Urban Poor*
* Angela Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*
* George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*
* Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Live from Death Row*

**10) Militarization**

DEFINITION: (1) The process by which a society organizes itself for military conflict and violence. (2) A process where structures of civilian control, such as police or immigration enforcement, adopt military tactics, equipment, and protocols.

CONTEXT: For many millennia, societies have used military power to conquer each other, often for the purpose of controlling and exploiting natural resources. More recently, in the age of neoliberalism and privatization, militarization has become more intertwined with business. The production of bombs, guns, and tanks is a multi-billion-dollar industry that numerous private business profit from greatly. On a global and a more localized scale, militarization is highly racialized and gendered.

EXAMPLES:

* A major motivation for the US’s wars in the Middle East was for the US to hold onto its access to Middle Eastern oil sources, which are needed to keep the US economy growing infinitely. The US government has used many different narrative tactics to try to justify these wars to the public – including demonizing Islam and encouraging a fear of terrorism.
* Naomi Klein’s theory of the Shock Doctrine explains how both free-market economic policies and militarism increase in Western countries when citizens are already reacting to disaster or upheaval. She points out that not only does militarization increase in times of crisis, but militarization can set the stage for even more intense neoliberal economic policies.
* *Further Learning:*
* Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (book and film)
* Jeremy Scahill, *Dirty Wars: The World is a Battlefield* (book and film)
* Radley Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America’s Police Forces*
* Alleen Brown, Will Parrish, and Alice Speri, “Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used At Standing Rock To ‘Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies’” (article on TheIntercept.com)

**1) #BlackLivesMatter**

**https://lh6.googleusercontent.com/nM46yiGszy8BVYarSxB5YE80XO14B4IHqgB3hDvJBPCGMkaJilrLCse5VDVcmk5PMwakFv8b0wpb1UvUxK9a_Z1yMhfO9oei9YXouwX6Br1RJhOyFJ3jmIZWR_b97iHRHigQkm0**

WHO/WHAT: Black Lives Matter affirms the lives of Black queer and trans folks, disabled folks, black-undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black lives along the gender spectrum.  It centers those that have been marginalized within Black liberation movements. It is a tactic to (re)build the Black liberation movement.

HOW: Find out here! [http://blacklivesmatter.com](http://blacklivesmatter.com/)

**2) Black Panthers**



WHO/WHAT: The Black Panthers were a radical organization working for Black liberation primarily in the 60s and 70s who believed in the need to replace, rather than reform American institutions.  They valued direct action as a means to effective change-making, and an Afrocentric approach to mobilization, movement-building, community and education. They were an anti-assimilationist group that worked to combat dehistoricization and assimilationist narratives.

HOW: Liberation & freedom schools, required teachings for membership, breakfast programs, direct action, popular education

**3) Gay Shame**

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WHO/WHAT: “Gay Shame is a Virus in the System. We are committed to a queer extravaganza that brings direct action to astounding levels of theatricality. We will not be satisfied with a commercialized gay identity that denies the intrinsic links between queer struggle and challenging power. We seek nothing less than a new queer activism that foregrounds race, class, gender and sexuality, to counter the self-serving “values” of gay consumerism and the increasingly hypocritical left. We are dedicated to fighting the rabid assimilationist monster with a devastating mobilization of queer brilliance.”

HOW: Direct Action, performance art, anti-assimilationist narratives, resistance to neoliberalism

**4) The Radical Faeries**



WHO/WHAT: A loosely-affiliated, worldwide network and countercultural movement seeking to reject hetero-imitation and redefine queer identity through spirituality.  The movement started in the US among gay men during the 70s sexual and counterculture revolution. Faerie culture promotes radical individualism, the mythopoetic men’s movement, the therapeutic culture of self-fulfillment, self-actualization, sustainability, spiritual solemnity, gay liberation and drag.

HOW: Commune living, queer visibility, rejection of hetero-imitation, drag, subsistence farming

**5) Southerners On New Ground (SONG)**



WHO/WHAT: “SONG believes all our identities, issues and lives are connected across race, class, culture, gender, and sexuality. SONG is a membership-based, Southern regional organization made up of the working class, people of color, immigrants, and rural LGBTQ people. We envision a world where the double shift factory worker and the drag queen at the bar down the block see their lives as connected and are working together for liberation.”

HOW: Organizing schools, coalition-building, intergenerational movement building

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**6) INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence**

WHO/WHAT: INCITE! is a national activist organization of radical feminists of color advancing a movement to end violence against women of color and our communities through direct action, critical dialogue and grassroots organizing.

HOW: Media justice, anthology editing/distribution/news production, public talks and online presence

**7) Lakeland Community Heritage Project**



WHO/WHAT: Lakeland Community Heritage Project’s mission is to collect, preserve, and interpret the heritage and history of those African Americans who created, lived in, and/or had association with the Lakeland community of Prince George’s County, Maryland from the late 19th century to the present.  The African American community that was once based out of Lakeland was displaced as the local white college expanded, losing their homes and schools to the project.

HOW: Historical visibility, conferences, community restorative justice, archival work, healing spaces for the children of Lakeland

**8) Highlander Center**

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WHAT: Formerly known as the Highlander Folk School, it is a social justice leadership training school and cultural center located in New Market, Tennessee.  Founded in 1932, it was originally located in Grundy County, TN. Highlander has provided training and education for the labor movement in Appalachia and throughout the Southern US.  During the 50s, it also played a critical role in the American Civil Rights Movement. It trained civil rights leader Rosa Parks prior to her historic role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, as well as providing training for many other movement activists including the members of SNCC.  Backlash against the movement led to the school’s closure by the state in ‘61, but it reorganized and moved to Knoxville, where it reopened and became the Highlander Research and Education Center.

HOW: Popular education and the establishment of activist spaces, coalition-building and re-establishment of subjugated histories.

**9) Catholic Worker Houses**



WHAT: A collection of Catholic communities founded by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in 1933. One of its guiding principles is hospitality towards those on the margin of society, based on communitarianism, personalism, and Christian Anarchy. Catholic Worker Houses are not official organs of the Catholic Church. The movement campaigns for nonviolence, opposing war and unequal distribution of wealth globally. They are also known for their newspaper *The Catholic Worker*. They eventually grew into a “house of hospitality” in the slums of NYC and then a series of farms for people to live together communally.

HOW: Anti-war demonstrations, meeting immediate needs of those experiencing poverty, news production, popular education, community center, coalition-building

**10) Mariposas sin Fronteras**



WHO: A group based in Tucson, AZ that seeks to end the systemic violence and abuse of LGBTQ people held in prison and immigration detention.

HOW: “We envision a society that no longer finds solutions in the system of immigration detention or the prison industrial complex. As we work toward that goal, we support LGBTQ people currently detained in Eloy and Florence, AZ through visits, letters, bond support, advocacy, and housing upon freedom from detention.”

**11) Bayard Rustin and the March on Washington**

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WHO: An American leader in the civil rights, socialist, pacifist and gay rights movements. Rustin was a leading activist of the early civil rights movement in the 50s, helped to initiate the Freedom Rides in ‘47 helped organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He was the chief organizer of the ‘63 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and an influence on young activists in organizations like the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He later became the head of the AFL-CIO’s A. Philip Randolph Institute, promoting the integration of formerly all-white unions and the unionization of African Americans. Rustin was a gay man who had been arrested for a homosexual act in ‘53 and was shamed publicly on this account.  Because of this, he only rarely acted as a public spokesperson.

HOW: Intersectional organizing, intergenerational organizing, nonviolence, nonviolent direct action (NVDA)

**12) bell hooks & Audre Lorde**

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WHO: bell hooks and Audre Lorde were two of the major players in the development and dissemination of Black Feminist and Black Womanist thought.  Each were activists and authors of fiction and theory, and their work has served as the backbone of Black Feminism and the Feminist movement itself. hooks can be noted specifically for her discussion of the intersection of gender, race and capitalism, and Lorde for her work on “the authenticity of experience” and intersectional politics.

HOW: Critical theory, radical writing, Black Feminist thought, womanism, feminist critique, self-naming

**13) Eli Clare**



WHO: Eli Clare is a writer, speaker, activist and teacher based in Vermont whose work addresses the intersections of disability, gender, and sexuality. He is a transman and has cerebral palsy. He is a major player in the development of Queer Theory and (Dis)Ability Studies.  He is noted for his two books, *Exile and Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation* and *The Marrow’s Telling: Words in Motion*.

HOW: Radical theory, queer theory, teaching, intersectional activism, queer visibility

**14) Dennis Banks**



WHO: A Native American leader, teacher, lecturer, activist and author, also called Nowa Cuming..  An Anishinaabe born on Leech Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota, he co-founded the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis in 1968. Banks worked to ensure the rights of Native Americans living in urban areas and to protect their communities from corrupt law enforcement. He was active in the Red Power movement, and with AIM became involved in the movement to oust the corrupt chairman of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Richard Wilson. He and others led the armed takeover of Wounded Knee. He faced trial for this and was convicted of riot incitement and assault.

HOW: Direct action, movement building, armed resistance, education