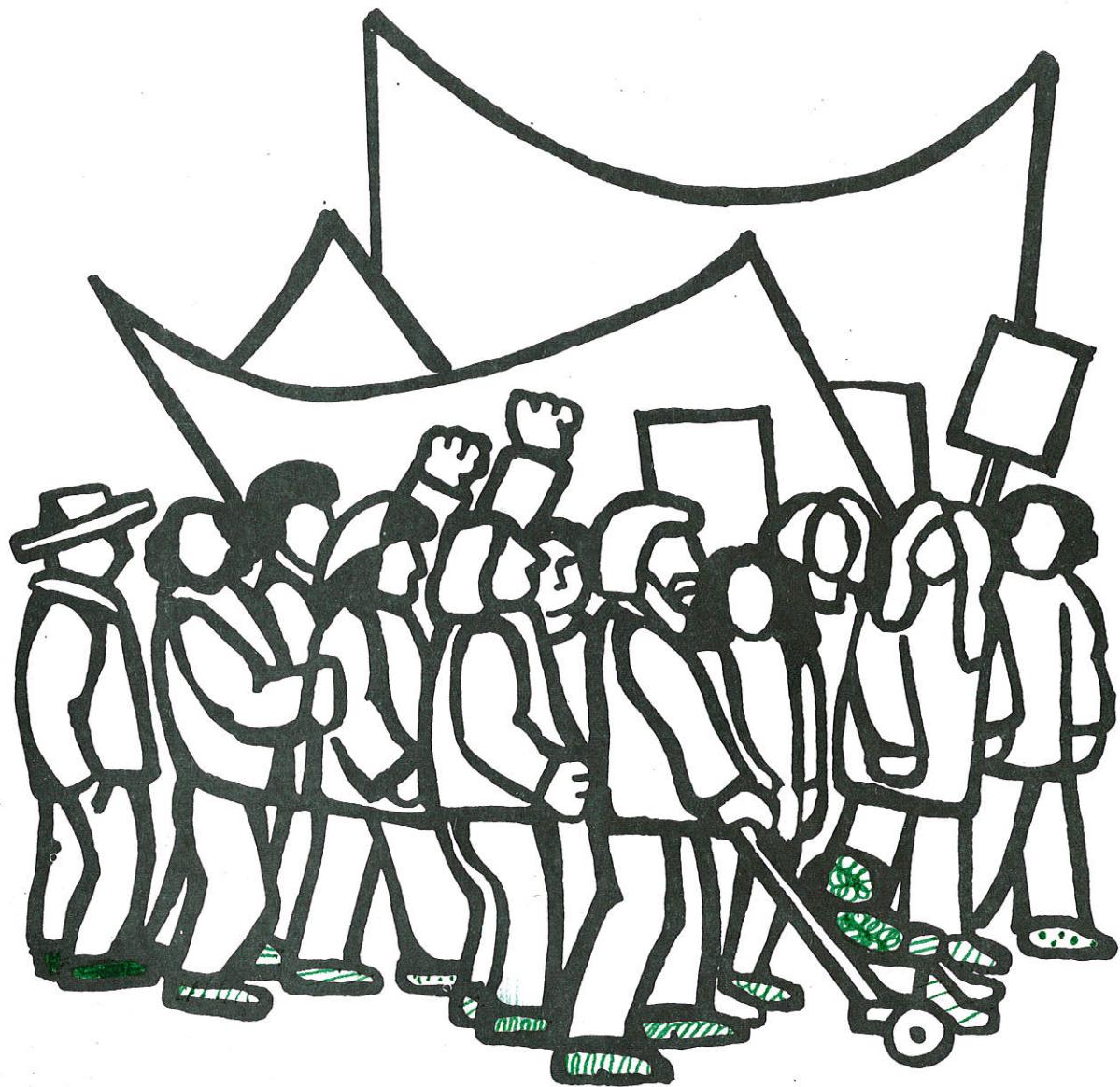


Organizing for Action



Ann Marie

California Institute for Rural Studies

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Do not burn yourselves out. Be as I am. A reluctant enthusiast and part-time crusader. A half-hearted fanatic. Save the other half of yourselves for pleasure and adventure. It is not enough to fight for the west. It is even more important to enjoy it while you can, while it's still there. So get out there, hunt, fish, mess around with your friends, ramble out yonder and explore the forests, encounter the griz, climb a mountain, bag the peaks, run the rivers, breathe deep of that yet sweet and elusive air. Sit quietly for a while and contemplate the previous stillness of the lovely, mysterious, and awesome space. Enjoy yourselves. Keep your brain in your head and your head firmly attached to the body, the body active and alive. And I promise you this one sweet victory over our enemies, over those desk-bound people with their hearts in safe deposit boxes and their eyes hypnotized by their desk calculators. I promise you this:

You will outlive the bastards.

Edward Abbey, a speech
to environmentalists in
Missoula, Montana, 1978.

From Preventing Burnout

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Community Jobs \$12/yr (individuals); \$15/yr (non-profit groups)
1520 Sixteenth St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Features articles on problems facing community based groups and strategies for dealing with such problems. Resources section describes up-coming meetings and conferences, the latest films and books, training programs, as well as the latest advice on organizational details.

Books

9226 Kercheval: The Storefront That Did Not Burn, Nancy Milio
The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1970

One of the best books describing how community based organizations are actually built by the person who did the organizing.

The Successful Volunteer Organization, Joan Flanagan \$8.95 (paper)
Contemporary Books, Inc., 180 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60601, 1981

Excellent handbook on how to build a healthy organization.

→ How to do Leaflets, Newsletters and Newspapers, Nancy Brigham \$5.95 (paper)
PEP Publishers, P.O. Box 289, Boston, MA 02112, 1982

Well illustrated guide for literature production.

Research for Action, Don Villarejo \$9.45 (paper, includes tax & postage)
California Institute for Rural Studies, P.O. Box 530, Davis, CA 95617, 1980

A guidebook to public records investigation for community activists that features illustrated case studies.

The Grassroots Fundraising Book, Joan Flanagan \$8.75 (paper, postpaid)
The Youth Project, 1555 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, 1982 (2nd ed.)

Required reading for anyone trying to build a grassroots organization.

DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING

I. STRATEGY PLANNING

We Americans have an unbroken history of protest organization against social and political injustice. Within the lifetime of the men and women who fought alongside George Washington, abolitionist and feminist organizations were established which worked courageously to extend the liberties of the American Revolution to the entire population. After the Civil War ended the struggle against slavery, the veterans of Gettysburg, along with the newly arrived immigrants, were working fourteen and eighteen hours a day in the factories, mines and mills. Hundreds of thousands of them joined the nationwide strike for the eight hour day. As this movement rose and faced fierce opposition, Eugene Victor Debs was already organizing on the path which would take him to the leadership of a growing trade union and social change movement. In the western states, the seeds of populism which would flourish under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan were being sown. Many of the generation which had organized with Debs lived to see the success of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930's, and with it, the legal right to organize, the minimum wage and the eight hour day. This tradition was carried on by the activists of the 1960's and the movements for the rights of women, minorities and the poor.

Today, at the end of the 1970's, most Americans are discovering that without organization in the work place and in the community, our quality of life will not only cease to improve, but will actually start to deteriorate. Today, most of the population is feeling the effects of inflation, unemployment, and the decline of the cities. New organizations are forming across the country which express the sentiments and needs of the majority of the people. Today's struggles include campaigns for: fair taxes, lower utility rates, lower prices, community preservation, occupational health and safety, environmental protection, security for senior citizens, equality for working women, better housing and rent control, mass transportation, adequate and humane welfare laws and opening the process of government to the people. It is for the people engaging in these struggles that this pamphlet is written.

This is a handbook on the fundamentals of Direct Action organizing. Direct Action is not the only form, nor the only right form of organizing. Service, educational and legal organizations also play a necessary role in advancing our goals. However, experience has shown that Direct Action



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Fifth Edition, December, 1977. Revised by Steve Max, December,
1977. (Copies available through the Midwest Academy, 600
West Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614.)

methods best develop successful mass based citizens and community membership organizations. These mass based organizations are the type on which this pamphlet will focus.

HOW DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING DIFFERS FROM OTHER FORMS

1. The type of organization which most people are familiar with is the service organization. Whether they handle consumer complaints, aid rape victims or find jobs for ex-offenders, service organizations have one thing in common -- the expertise of a small number of people is devoted to helping a series of single individuals. In our society there is nothing to substitute for this kind of organization and it performs a needed function. Those involved in service work and social work often say that while they find gratification in helping people, their main frustration is that they never change the situations which cause the problems in the first place.

2. Legal organizations exist in almost every arena of social change from environmental conservation to ending job discrimination. Legal organizations attempt to use the courts to change conditions. There have been many successes, and legal work has become indispensable to popular movements. Unlike legal organization, in which only a handful of dedicated lawyers can participate, Direct Action organization starts with the goal of mobilizing large numbers of citizens and using the power of numbers to win victories. In the course of a particular campaign, a Direct Action organization may well go to court, but it does so as a back up to mass organizing, not as a substitute. In this way, when victories are won, people understand that they themselves have a role. This increases their confidence and willingness to organize on other issues.

3. Recent years have seen a growth in the number of organizations devoted to education and research. Many of these function as vital adjuncts to Direct Action organizations which also engage in education and research to a certain extent. Research is valuable only when it is used, and to know what the problems are without having any sense of what can be done about them is less useful. Direct Action organizing holds that most people learn best by actual experience rather than in formal classroom situations. Direct Action organizing also rejects the view that social problems are a state of mind which can be eliminated by substituting a more positive state of mind through self improvement alone. Rather, social problems are seen primarily to result from conflicting economic and political interests between those who cause the problem, who profit from the problem, or who have the power to solve the problem, and the majority of citizens.

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING

There are three basic principles of Direct Action organizing which make it the most effective form for organizing. The First Principle of Direct Action organizing is that it aims to win real and immediate improvements in people's lives. Whether the improvement is ending job discrimination or lowering utility rates, Direct Action organizing attempts to win it for large numbers of people rather than helping a person with an individual problem.

The Second Principle of Direct Action organizing is that it gives people a sense of their own real power. In this way, membership feels the sense of accomplishment that is necessary to continue and to win further victories.

The Third Principle of Direct Action organizing is that it attempts to alter the relations of power between people's organizations and their real enemies. The enemies are often unresponsive politicians, tax assessors, utilities, landlords, government agencies, large corporations, or banks.

DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING IS ABOUT POWER

The objective of Direct Action organizing is to find ways of gaining enough power to win a clear cut victory on a specific issue. Just as a lens can concentrate the rays of the sun to start a fire, a Direct Action organization concentrates the power that people have in order to win a victory. Direct Action strategy deals with the specific ways to concentrate power. Planning and tactics deal with the ways to carry out that strategy. Citizens organizations have the power of numbers, the power of votes and the power of their consumer dollars. Our opposition most often has the power of wealth, and consequently inordinate influence over government and the media. Our success depends on finding ways to match our power to the power of the opposition. Too often citizens organizations have been reluctant to use the strategies of power, either because they are not used to having power, or because we do not want to play the same "game" that the opposition does. Instead we try to rely on being morally right. True, our battles must be based on a just morality and when we are morally right we should say so, but victories are not won by morality alone. Our enemies are very conscious of their power. It is time that we became aware of our own power.

ELEMENTS OF STRATEGY

In a recent campaign, community organizations joined together to try to stop an interstate highway which threatened their neighborhoods, a relatively small part of a major city.

The community groups wanted the Federal highway funds transferred, under law, to subway and bus improvements. In a campaign which has lasted over four years, part of their strategic thinking went like this:

1. The power to stop the highway lies with the Governor and the Mayor.
2. Since the part of the city through which the highway will go is not large, we do not have the voting power to directly take on the Governor or even the Mayor. Therefore, we have to find ways to increase our power.
3. We do have the voting power to unseat several members of the city council and the legislature, if necessary.
4. We must tell our council members and legislators that it is not enough for them to say they support us. They must trade their votes on unrelated issues to get us more support.
5. We next seek allies outside the community with whom we have some common interest:
 - a. A major group of downtown merchants past whose stores truck traffic from the Interstate will be dumped.
 - b. The Council members, legislators and members of Congress who represent those merchants.
 - c. The longshoremen who would lose jobs on the docks which will be taken out by the Interstate.
 - d. The owners and employees of the wholesale meat markets which will also be destroyed by the Interstate.
 - e. The dock worker's and meat worker's unions.
 - f. The politicians to whose campaign the unions have contributed.
 - g. Transit riders around the city who want better service.
 - h. City wide transit and environmental organizations.We contact all of the above and ask for specific kinds of support.
6. Who has the power to intervene? Who might we be able to influence?
 - a. State and Federal environmental protection agencies.
 - b. Courts.
7. Since the regulatory agencies and even the courts are political bodies to some extent, we need to get all possible elected officials who have any input whatsoever into appointments to these bodies to intervene on our behalf. We ask the elected officials from the districts in which we have votes (or allies) to reach the other officials.
8. When the next Mayoral primary election came, after three years, the strategic situation changed dramatically. The fact that seven candidates were running for mayor meant a very close race, so close that the votes of the threatened community could determine the outcome. Several of the winning candidates for city wide office were forced to campaign on the issue of their opposition to the highway.

In this example, much abbreviated, the community groups attempted to build up their power and influence in a systematic way.

ELEMENTS OF TACTICS

In implementing the above strategy the following tactics were used.

1. Rallies and demonstrations to both educate the community and make a show of strength.
2. Visits to local politicians where specific demands were made, such as, "Will you get the State Assembly to pass a resolution in opposition to the Interstate?"
3. Letter writing campaigns and petition drives to back up the visits to politicians, followed by more visits after hundreds of letters had arrived.
4. Expert testimony at environmental hearings backed up by large numbers of community people.
5. A law suit, still pending, which has won long delays and which was one element in enabling the groups to hold out until the mayoral elections.
6. Friendly visits to potential allies.
7. Mass turnouts and dramatic actions at community hearings held by local planning boards to insure cooperation of these influential city agencies.
8. A massive pledge drive in which tens of thousands of people committed themselves not to vote for any candidate who supported the highway.
9. Systematic visits to all candidates backed up by the pledge cards, during which candidates were asked to oppose the Interstate in their campaign literature.
The possibility of the community organizations issuing a rating of candidates was discussed with each candidate.
10. Lobbying trips to the state capital and Washington, D.C.

Each tactic listed here was chosen to implement part of the strategy. At the same time these tactics provided an opportunity for people to participate, and consequently build the organizations.

PLANNING A CAMPAIGN

A major error which many organizations make is forgetting about strategy altogether and engaging in a series of hit or miss tactics with no particular plan. Once you have decided on an issue, plan a whole campaign around it. A campaign has a beginning, a middle and an end. It anticipates where a victory can be won, what the victory will look like and

what action by the organization will be required. Of course new elements will enter the picture once the campaign has started and changes in strategy will have to be made, but it is nonetheless necessary to have several months of activities planned at the start. There are five major elements to consider in planning a campaign. They are:

1. PRINCIPLES AND GOALS
2. ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES
3. CONSTITUENCIES
4. INSTITUTIONAL TARGETS
5. ACTIONS AND OTHER TACTICS

PRINCIPLES AND GOALS

As already stated, the basic principles of Direct Action organizing are 1. Winning real improvements in people's lives. 2. Giving people a sense of their own power. 3. Altering the relations of power. The first question in planning a campaign is how will it meet these three criteria?

What specifically does winning mean.... Will regulations or laws be changed? Will the community be improved? Will prices be lowered or housing improved? Will the people's lives be improved in a way which is meaningful to them? To gain a sense of their own power, people need to participate in the campaign and see a victory in response to their pressure. If the victory comes through a deal made behind closed doors, people will not believe that they won it. If a politician takes the credit, people will only believe that they won if they were there to pressure the politician and see him or her give in. Altering the relations of power means that those who have power must make a concession to your organization. Often the first concession is agreeing to meet with you. Giving in to you comes later. When power relations are altered, your organization becomes a factor which has to be taken into account when decisions are made which affect you. It can also mean winning new structures for democratic control such as, neighborhoods school boards, open meetings of regulatory agencies, advance notice of city council agendas, a grievance procedure for clients, workers, students, etc.

LONG TERM AND SHORT TERM GOALS

Each campaign has specific issue goals which fall into two categories, short range goals and final goals. The campaign is based on winning a series of increasingly more

difficult short range victories until, in the end, the long range issue itself is won. In the highway example above, the shortest range goal was to win support of the community and make the support visible. This was done through a petition drive and rally. The next goal was to win support of the local politicians. This was done through visits of groups of citizens backed up by more petitions and letters. The next goal was to win the support of the Borough President. This was done by pressure on him from the local politicians. At each step a victory was declared by the organizations and people were encouraged to try for the next goal. In planning a campaign, these goals should all be laid out in advance.

Once you have listed your short range goals, take each of them in turn and for each list the steps which must be taken to achieve that particular goal. Your plan might look like this: (See Chart I, next page)

To complete the planning process, start with Goal #1, step (a), and list all the activities needed to accomplish that step. Then proceed to step (b) in Goal 1, then do the same for the remaining steps, then on to Goal 2. This will give you a complete table of operations for your campaign.

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

Since the organization is the tool used in making social change, its maintenance and general health has to be considered at all times. Plan to come out of each campaign with a stronger, larger organization and a more experienced leadership than before. Victories once won can later be lost if the organization is no longer around to police its earlier agreements.

When you start to plan a campaign, list the needs of the organization. Some of them might be: to get new members, to become better known, to find allies in other communities, to train new leadership, to raise money or to take on additional staff. Probably your organization needs all of these things, so plan them into the campaign. For example, the best time to raise money and get new members is right after a significant short term victory. This is the time to hold a party for the new people who have begun working with you. They will not join unless you ask them to, so when you plan the party, plan who will do the asking. It is always easier to raise money on the basis of program during a campaign than to raise it for overhead between campaigns. Avoid the temptation to put the fundraising off until things quiet down; plan your fundraising events into the campaign. One group which was fighting industrial air pollution held a pollution ball to tie the fundraising in with the issue.

CHART # 1

<p>Goal #1.</p> <p>Community Support</p>	<p>leads to --> Goal #2.</p> <p>Get support of State Assembly- man, who is also Majority Leader</p>	<p>Activities Necessary to Achieve Goal</p>	<p>Activities Necessary to Achieve Goal</p>	<p>Get support of Borough President</p>	<p>Activities Necessary to Achieve Goal</p>
		<p>a) Get State to confirm that Interstate plan exists.</p> <p>b) Map our affected communities and facilities such as parks.</p> <p>c) Prominent individuals and organization leaders hold press conference to announce opposition.</p> <p>d) Conduct educational meetings throughout community.</p> <p>e) Begin research on laws and procedures, pinpoint every place where a decision has to be made. Note those where political or public intervention is possible.</p> <p>f) Start petition drive.</p> <p>g) Hold mass rally with extensive leafleting prior.</p> <p>h) Invite already friendly politicians to speak at rally.</p> <p>i) Announce participation in first public hearing.</p>	<p>a) Visit district (ward) leaders. Ask them to call State Assembly- man.</p> <p>b) Determine what will be requested of him. A general expression of opposition is not enough.</p> <p>c) Delegation goes to see him, makes specific request.</p> <p>d) He expresses general opposition but will not take initiative in the legislature.</p> <p>e) Conduct letter writing by people in the heart of his district, ask them to express disappointment in him.</p> <p>f) Conduct another visit with a lesser request which he can meet more easily.</p> <p>g) Hold celebration with the press at his office to thank him when he meets request.</p>	<p>a) Ask Council members and State Reps to call him.</p> <p>b) After successful outdoor rally and indoor community meeting ask for appointment with him.</p> <p>c) Conclude petition drive.</p> <p>d) Take delegation to see him.</p> <p>e) Attempt to persuade friendly staff members that the right decision will advance Borough President's political career.</p> <p>f) He gives in. (But sells out two years later when seeking machine backing for mayoral campaign.)</p> <p>g) Hold celebration with the press at his office to thank him when he meets request.</p>	<p>leads to --> Goal #3.</p> <p>leads to --> Goal #4, etc.</p>

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Another example of planning organizational needs into the campaign is if you are considering public service announcements, they do not give the members anything to do. You will develop your leadership by getting potential leadership in charge of leafleting or door knocking teams to get people to the rally.

An organization is a self-sustaining, powerful, growing unity which is the tool of its members. It is their organ for achieving expression, strength and direction on the issues. Only through organization can people have authentic power. Plan campaigns so that they build your organization; use its growth to measure your success.

CONSTITUENCIES

Your constituency is all the people who are affected by a particular issue and consequently are potential members, supporters or allies of your organization. When you plan your campaign make a list of every possible constituency. First ask, "Whose problem is it?", then, "What do they see as their stake in the problem and what kind of solution would they support?", then, "What power do they have?". People will join an organization because it gives them something they need (self interest). These needs must be clearly understood. A group fighting for better day care analyzed the problem this way:

1. What are the possible constituencies?

Mothers with small children were an obvious constituency, but it took some experience to find that the owners of small day care centers also wanted realistic licensing procedures and more outside funding.

2. Are they organizable?

Mothers needing day care were very interested in the issue but because they had no day care they could not get to meetings or keep up with organizational tasks. It turned out that the day care center operators were initially more organizable than the mothers. Obviously an alliance had to be built in this situation.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS OF CONSTITUENCY

1. Importance of concern

Organizers fighting a telephone rate increase found that people were concerned enough to sign a petition but not enough to come to a meeting. The big exceptions were senior citizens

and poor people on fixed incomes. Bringing these two groups together posed major problems. When the matter was looked at from the point of view of organizability, it became clear that seniors were already highly organized and that their groups could be mobilized. The poor, being less organized, had to be contacted individually. With seniors as the main base of support, there wasn't enough strength to defeat the rate hike. At that point the issue should have been changed to one that concerned seniors specifically, such as a Lifeline message unit package.

2. How will a constituency influence tactics?

In a union organizing drive, the risk of being fired is evident. In other campaigns people often fear that they risk embarrassment in the community, due to the use of tactics with which they are not comfortable. People will more readily join an activity which they consider to have a low initial risk. Each constituent group brings with it some limitations on the type of tactics the organization can use. If your constituency is strongly tied to their local Church, you don't want to portray the local Church official in some undignified manner, as one group did.

3. What are the social needs of the individual involved?

People usually join an organization for two reasons. One is the issue, itself, the other is social. On the social side, people want to make new friends, learn new skills, or enjoy the sense of excitement and power that comes from being in a direct action organization. Care should be taken to insure that the membership has an opportunity to experience all of these things.

4. How long will they stay?

When bringing different constituent groups into a campaign, consider how easy it would be for the opposition to satisfy the demands of each of them. In the Highway example, the merchants group was satisfied by a promise to move the exit ramp a few blocks. This, however, dumped the trucks into another community which then became a potential constituency. Residents of an area which used a threatened park area would have dropped out if the city had been able to convince them that the park was not in danger. The city tried - unsuccessfully. Environmentalist groups were a major constituency, but their concentration on air quality alone alienated labor organizations which might have been better appealed to on the basis of neighborhood preservation and more jobs through mass transit.

5. What power do they bring?

Potential constituent groups and organizations should be evaluated in terms of the power they bring with them to the fight. For each constituency ask, Who in power cares what these people think? Also ask, Will the group expand your campaign into a new legislative district or a new county? Do they open up a field of organizational support, for example, farmers coming into a state tax campaign. Are they registered to vote?

For already organized constituent groups ask: What is the size of their membership and the quality of their staff? What is their reputation? Is their name alone an asset? Do they command respect at City Hall because of their past work? Can they put money into the campaign? What other activities are they presently committed to? Which of their enemies would we inherit if they join us?

These criteria are particularly important when choices must be made between different constituent groups which can not comfortably be brought into the same coalition or campaign, or when limited staff time makes assigning priorities necessary.

TARGETS, INSTITUTIONS AND HANDLES ON THE ISSUE

Direct Action organizing focuses specific demands on specific institutions or individuals. The institutions and individuals are often called targets. The combination of a specific demand and the power to back it up is referred to as a handle. A major strategic consideration is always what kind of power can you get to use against the institution or individual who has become your target.

A successful campaign needs many targets, many issues and many handles, not just one demand or one slogan. For example, if your issue was prices in one store, the store would of course be your main target. However, unless you could organize a successful boycott, an extremely difficult task, you have no real power over the store. There are, however, other targets. The local consumer protection agency, the Board of Health, the Building Department, the Bureau of Weights and Measures, all of these can be bombarded with complaints about the store as a form of pressure which you would stop in exchange for lower prices. If these agencies do not carry out their responsibility to investigate the complaints where a complaint is really justified, then the agencies and their personnel become targets from which you demand code enforcement. These might be called secondary targets and you would have power over them as voters. A third level target is the social club, church or cultural

activities of the store's top management. Picketing or other tactics can be used at these places to pressure the manager into meeting price demands. A citizens organization fighting pollution from a steel mill caused a major steel executive to lose his election as lay head of a church by demonstrating where the vote was being conducted.

A major consideration in choosing tactics is to avoid the bureaucratic or procedural channels which have been created to sidetrack citizens organizations. Rather, attack where it is least expected. For example, a public service commission is able to absorb endless protest over telephone rate increases, but they are not used to dealing with sex discrimination charges aimed at the phone company. They are unprepared to handle the demand that a rate hike be tied to ending discrimination. A state legislature is quite experienced in absorbing protests over budget cuts, but would be taken off guard by demands that it bypass the public service commission and deal directly with a rate case. Even a vote not to consider the issue might look bad on a legislator's record.

Be ever on the lookout to play targets off against each other, Republican vs. Democrat, Up-State vs. Down-State, In Group vs. Out Group. Your enemy's enemy may be your ally. Your potential ally may be a target until it becomes an active ally.

THE STRATEGY CHART

The strategy chart on the following page is designed to help you plan an issue campaign. Where a campaign has many phases, it will be useful to go over the chart once for the whole campaign and again for each phase of the campaign. The chart should be reviewed by leadership and by membership. A large roll of wrapping paper can be used to draw the chart at meetings.

In working out the chart, be as expansive as possible. List even the most remote constituencies and targets which you may not actually involve. Later in the campaign, if you are in a slump, you may want to come back to them in order to start in a new direction.

(See Strategy Chart, next page.)

STRATEGY CHART

After choosing your issue, fill in this chart as a guide to developing strategy. Be specific. List all possibilities.

VISION OBJECTIVES GOALS	ORGANIZATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS	CONSTITUENCIES members & allies	TARGETS	TACTICS
<p>1. List: purpose and long range goals of your organization. Align stronger than it went in.</p> <p>2. State the goal for this issue. What constitutes victory? How will it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> --Win concrete improvements. --Give people a sense of their own power. Increase experience level of existing leadership. --Begin to alter the relations of power. <p>3. What is the relationship between 1 & 2, above?</p> <p>4. To win goal #2, what short term victories must you first win? (ie. support of local politicians or regulatory agencies) before winning city-wide or state issues.</p> <p>5. List steps necessary to accomplish each short term goal listed under #4.</p> <p>3. List internal problems which have to be considered or overcome.</p>	<p>The organization must come out of the campain stronger than it went in.</p> <p>1. List the specific ways in which your organization needs to be strengthened:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase size of leadership group. Build size of membership base. Consolidate existing membership. Raise money - find new funding contacts, etc. 2. List the resources your organization brings to this campaign, ie. membership, staff, money, reputation, facilities, press contacts, allies etc. <p>6. Over which do you have power as - voters, Consumers, Tax payers.</p> <p>7. What is the self interest of each?</p> <p>4. For each constituency consider: Self interest Depth of concern Risk How hard are they to reach and organize?</p> <p>Who else would they bring in? Who would their presence alienate?</p> <p>5. Which targets are appointed?</p> <p>6. For each target list: Specific demands you would make? Who can best make them? What power do you have? What tactics will show your power? What tactic does the target fear the most?</p> <p>7. Who would have jurisdiction if you redefined the issue? ie. Turned a utility rate issue into a pollution issue.</p> <p>9. Who would have jurisdiction if you redefined the issue? ie. Turned a utility rate issue into a pollution issue.</p>	<p>1. Who has the power to solve the problem and grant your demands? List.</p> <p>2. Who must you get to first? (See short term goals.)</p> <p>3. For 1 & 2, list specific names.</p> <p>4. List strengths & weaknesses of each. (RESEARCH)</p> <p>5. For each constituency consider: Self interest Depth of concern Risk How hard are they to reach and organize?</p> <p>6. Over which do you have power as - voters, Consumers, Tax payers.</p> <p>7. What is the self interest of each?</p> <p>4. For each constituency group, List the specific power (RESEARCH)</p> <p>2. List the resources your organization brings to this campaign, ie. membership, staff, money, reputation, facilities, press contacts, allies etc.</p> <p>5. List steps necessary to accomplish each short term goal listed under #4.</p> <p>3. List internal problems which have to be considered or overcome.</p>	<p>Tactics: Actions in context.</p> <p>flexible & creative.</p> <p>Must make sense to membership.</p> <p>Must be directed at a specific target.</p> <p>Must be backed up by a specific form of power & not just rely on bad publicity for the target. Ask: Why would each target care about bad publicity?</p> <p>1. For each target list: Specific demands you would make? Who can best make them? What power do you have? What tactics will show your power? What tactic does the target fear the most?</p> <p>Tactics include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actions Confrontations Public Hearings Strikes Law suits Pickets, etc., etc. 	

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SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF STRATEGY

1. Your power is your ability to hurt the target or withhold something the target wants. The hurt can be immediate, as in a strike or boycott, or it can be potential, as when bad publicity will cause a politician to be unseated. You should always know exactly what kind of power you are using and how it will work.
2. Always assume that a people's organization is strategically weaker than the target. The target usually has more money, more influence, more access to press and more initial credibility. Therefore the organization must concentrate all its effort on the target's weakest point, for example, a conflict of interest charge against a single individual in a targeted government agency.
3. An organization's strength can be enhanced by playing one target off against another. For example, instead of fighting an employer directly, an organization demands that the Occupational Health and Safety Administration fight the employer, or two politicians are made to compete for the support of the community.
4. Numbers count more than anything else because they carry the threat of still larger numbers. If your organization can bring out five hundred people, then it can probably bring out thousands, but if you only have twenty-five people, you are limited in some way and your target knows this. Your target is usually quite subjective in what he or she will consider large numbers and will often unconsciously base such a judgement on whether the room or area for a meeting, action or demonstration is filled. Politicians are another story. They actually count votes.
5. Your target does not have to defeat you directly. It can go around you and find an alternative base of support. Today, this is often done by saying that whatever you want will cause unemployment, higher taxes, inflation or all three. Thus the target tries to emerge as the protector of people who are economically threatened. Your strategy must include consideration of the alternative base your target will try to create and you must plan ways of reaching those people first.
6. Try to use the principle of encirclement. The more tactics you can use at once, the better off you will be. For example, if you have a law suit in progress, and then bring in a regulatory agency to investigate, while at the same time you are exposing the target's non payment of taxes and picketing the target, you are in better shape than if you do all of these things one at a time. The target, be it an institution

or an individual, has only so much personnel and so much time to deal with you. If the target can be overloaded, you are more likely to win.

7. A people's organization has the strategic advantage of being able to get large amounts of volunteer labor, including legal help, research assistance, etc. The target must pay a salary to everyone involved in fighting you. Thus, every time a letter is written about you, or a reporter's inquiry is answered, it has a specific dollar cost to the target. Defense against legal action or government investigation is particularly expensive. The target must weigh the dollar cost of giving in against the dollar cost of fighting you. This point is particularly true for businesses and less true for government agencies which exist to waste money. Only a large and well developed organization can take advantage of this type of strategic weakness in the target. Smaller organizations must avoid over-extending themselves.

8. Time is not on our side. Because our opposition is usually a large institution which employs people to fight us, it can wear us down. It is much harder to maintain active interest in a community or work place on a certain issue than it is to hire a professional to oppose the community. Wherever possible, choose short campaigns over long ones and don't get caught up in legal or administrative procedures, which can last for years, unless you can sustain momentum on other fronts.

A NOTE ON TACTICS

There are any number of tactics which are useful in Direct Action organizing. Here are a few comments on the most used ones. Remember that your power does not derive from your tactics, rather your tactics are a reflection of your actual strength of numbers and the influence of your supporters. For example, if your issue had the support of trade union officers who customarily make campaign contributions to politicians, then their support is a form of power. Asking the trade unionists to testify on your behalf at a public hearing is a way of displaying their support, but the power comes from the size of their membership and the amount of their campaign contributions, not from the words of their testimony. Similarly, the power of a rally or a picket line lies in the number of people who attend and the amount of press coverage it gets. Avoid the tendency of some organizations to view a picket line as a symbolic act in which half a dozen people express their moral outrage.

The threat of any tactic such as a boycott or a picket or a demonstration or even a law suit, depends on how little

experience your target has had in dealing with similar tactics. The threat of these tactics is always greater than their actuality. Once a tactic is announced, a period of negotiations with the target should follow. Be open to accepting a concession and backing off, then press on a few weeks later.

1) CONFRONTATIONS (ACTIONS)

Actions are particularly useful tactics for citizens organizations. They involve a group of people going to the person who has the power to grant your demand and making a specific request of that person. The Action can be orchestrated with props, songs, posters, etc. It has the added advantage of being considered newsworthy if the target person is considered newsworthy. Most actions are aimed at secondary targets. For example, your group goes to a prominent merchant to demand that he call the head of the Chamber of Commerce and ask that your group be given a meeting with him. A working woman's organization used this method after being denied an appointment by the Chamber of Commerce. Meeting their demand did not cost the merchant anything. Their power in the situation came from the size of their membership, who were the merchant's potential customers. The merchant's power over the Chamber came from the fact that he paid dues, partly so that he would not have to deal with such problems in his store. (Because Actions are such a useful tactic, they are covered more fully in the Midwest Academy paper Direct Action Organizing II.)

2) PUBLIC HEARINGS

There are two kinds, those which you sponsor and those which are sponsored by official agencies. When you are the sponsor, make sure that you maintain control even though you may ask prominent people to sit on the panel which hears the testimony. Plan all testimony in advance so that the issue is defined the way you want it to be. Provide a visual setting to make TV coverage more interesting. Make sure that the room is slightly too small for the crowd to give it that packed feeling. The value of your own hearing is:

- a) It establishes that you are now a force on a particular issue.
- b) It somewhat educates members.
- c) It can get press.
- d) It is a way of showing off your important supporters who are on the panel.
- e) It is a show of numbers.
- f) Its preparation provides many types of activities in which your membership can participate.

If you attend someone else's hearing, keep the following in mind:

Official hearings usually last hours or days and are boring.

Limit your participation to the amount of time it takes your speakers to make their presentations, then have everyone leave.

Try to get an appointment for a specific time to testify. Combine your testimony with a picket line or rally, but bring everyone inside when your spokesperson speaks.

Technical hearings are even more dull and should probably be attended only by your expert witnesses and lawyers. In either case have copies of your testimony for the press.

Avoid appearing at the same time that an opposition group is present, unless you want the issue to be presented in the press as a confrontation.

(For more information on hearings, see: Notes On Planning Your Own Public Hearings by Day Creamer, available from the Midwest Academy.)

3) EMBARRASSMENT

Ridicule and sarcasm are not properly tactics as much as they are a matter of style. Use them often to break down the morale of the opposition and build that of your members.

4) GUERRILLA THEATER

These are humorous, theatrical and unexpected entertainments. A working woman's organization gives an annual award to the worst employer. A leader of a citizen's group appears at a rate hearing dressed in a gorilla suit calling himself "King Comm - The Electric Gorilla", (Commonwealth Edison). Events like these are good for morale and for press. They have little inherent power and are useful only in conjunction with tactics which show your strength. Keep in mind what your membership considers to be in good taste.

5) MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

They are a good show of numbers; also a lot of work. If you conduct more than one during a campaign, remember that each demonstration must be larger than the preceding one or your opposition will think you are loosing momentum. A major problem with mass demonstrations is that they don't lend themselves to specific demands on specific people. It is useful to combine them with actions in which a delegation goes in for a specific committment from your target, while the demonstration continues outside.

6) EXPOSES

If you have damaging information on your opponent, you can break it yourself or give it to a friendly reporter. The main criteria is which will give you maximum coverage. An expose should always be accompanied by a specific method for correcting the evil you are exposing. An expose can be combined with an action. Before getting into an expose, ask yourself, "Who really cares about this?"

7) CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ARREST

Because of the intensity of the issue, the civil rights movement was able to use this tactic to underscore the lawlessness of its opposition. Civil disobedience frightens most people, and so is not generally a good mass recruitment tactic. There are some exceptions. A community group which was protesting the diversion of rush hour traffic onto its streets found that by having several hundred people cross a strategic street corner at rush hour, cars could be prevented from making a right turn on a red signal and traffic would be backed up for miles. The leadership was unjustly arrested but maintained the active support of the community because nothing illegal had been done. The issue must be very deeply felt and well understood for this approach to engender support.

8) DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES (LEGAL)

Strikes, pickets, boycotts, removing items from store shelves, etc. Here the power lies in the tactic itself. The picketing is not symbolic but designed to keep people from crossing the picket line. Members of a woman's organization all opened accounts at the same bank. One day they arrived quietly at the bank and got on the teller's lines. One member asked to speak to a woman executive. When told that the bank had no women executives, the members of the group all proceeded to close their accounts. They announced that they would be back in three months to see if a woman executive had been hired. Here the power of the event lay in the cost to the bank of opening and closing a lot of very small accounts. Faced with the threat of further disruptions, the bank gave in. As with civil disobedience, it is very important to assess whether your actions will increase support or isolate you. Supporters, not just your core group, must feel such actions are justified by the opposition's response.

9) ACCOUNTABILITY SESSIONS

These are meetings with politicians to demand their support for specific legislation. If possible, the spokes-

people should be the politician's own campaign workers or contributors. The power here is the power of votes. Large numbers of your supporters should attend the session. Petitions should be presented showing the support of even more voters. You want to come away with a yes or no answer.

10) PETITION DRIVES

Petition drives, where the signatures are simply sent to the politician, are basically useless. When the signatures are presented at an action, accountability session or hearing, they can be very valuable. A petition where voters pledge not to vote for a candidate unless he does what they want him to are particularly useful if the number of names is large. Don't ever give your petitions away, just display them and then take them home. You can, over time, conduct several petition drives in the same campaign and just keep adding the names together. You can also follow up on the names by mail or phone for recruitment.

11) LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGNS

Very useful only if combined with personal visits to the recipient of the letters. Letters should only be one or two lines supporting the position of the organization. The organization can send a detailed letter stating what it actually wants the politician to do. Community groups have conducted successful street corner letter campaigns with a sample letter taped to a clip board. Ask the writer to address the envelop and to make a contribution for postage. The best time to use letters is during negotiations with political representatives. A letter campaign shows that you have a base of support in their districts and that your base is aware of the negotiations and watching your progress. Since state and city representatives don't get much mail, several hundred letters leave an impression.

12) EDUCATIONALS AND TEACH-INS

A public Teach-in with name speakers can also be a publicity event and a show of strength. An educational meeting is just that. The major problem with both is how to make them interesting and how to have them lead to further activity. Even though the event is educational, try to have everyone leave with something specific to do, a petition to circulate, an action to attend or at least the next planning meeting of your organization to go to.

CLOSING NOTES

Organizing is about making democracy work. It is about building content to the values of equality and fair play. It is about gaining or returning to people the rights and respect that is justly theirs. Organizing is about becoming the majority. Our organizations represent the interests of the great majority of the population against the special privileges of the powerful few. The approach to strategy and tactics suggested here is an approach for gaining power to exercise the will of a demonstrable majority. It doesn't work in other situations. For this method to work, the issues raised and demands made have to be ones which most people will support, if not actively work for. Similarly, your opponents can't successfully use the same approach that we do. Their power comes from different sources and can't be mobilized in the same way that ours is. Their power is based primarily on the control of money, media resources, armies and bureaucracies.

The fact that we are about putting together majorities and majority coalitions in communities, cities, states and, at times, nationally, means that our type of organizing is inherently democratic in content. Our organizations must be democratic in structure if they are to work. Because it is majoritarian, Direct Action organizing legitimately demands that government be democratic. We often use the tactic of requiring that official bodies play by their own rules when the rules are more democratic than the actual practice. A useful by-product of this tactic is that wherever it is used, democratic values are tested and strengthened. Government is made more responsive at the local level and can be forced to remain that way as long as the organization remains strong. Without the organization, the situation usually reverts to its former state. Vigilance is the price of liberty.

The victories won through Direct Action organizing, and the process of winning them, gives the membership experience, confidence and a more accurate understanding of how the political process really works. On many occasions, coalitions are required which cross racial and ethnic lines, bringing people into contact with each other who might otherwise remain known only as stereotypes. The overall effect is a growing sophistication about social change and clarity on the point of who the real enemy is. All of this lays the ground work for future social movements and political organizations which will be based on today's activity but which will far surpass the necessarily limited objectives of the present period.

DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING

II. PREPARING FOR ACTION

Direct Action Organizing Part I discussed direct action as a distinct form of social change organizing and outlined methods for strategy development for people's organizations. This section discusses the criteria for choosing an issue and provides a detailed outline for carrying out the popular tactic known as the action. Part III of Direct Action Organizing compares the action with other tactics commonly used by mass based citizens organizations and provides a systematic guide to choosing tactics.

CHOOSING ISSUES

Issues are the specific expressions of broad social concern. An issue is a problem to be solved, but every problem does not make a good organizing issue. One of the skills which must be developed by direct action organizations is the ability to choose among problems and pick out the ones which make the best organizing issues.

What makes a problem a desirable issue to work on is not just a matter of how bad the problem is or how good the solution is. The problem should meet all or most of the following criteria:

1. Winning should result in a real improvement in people's lives.
2. Winning should give people a sense of their own power.
If the problem is solved by a public official doing a favor for people, it will not give them any sense of power.
3. Winning should alter the relations of power. The organization and its members must become a factor in future decision making which politicians, employers or public officials must take into account.
4. Build the organization. The issue must be one to which new members can be recruited and for which money can be raised.

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5. Be worthwhile. Members must feel that they are fighting for something which they feel good about and which merits the effort.
6. Be manageable. The problem must not be so large or the solution so remote that the organization is overwhelmed. The members must be able to see from the start that there is a good chance of winning.
7. Be strongly and deeply felt.
8. Something which people can easily grasp. The issue must fit into people's experience.
9. Something felt now: The issue should either be a new problem or an old problem which has flared up recently. It should not be a permanent problem to which, however serious, people have become accustomed.
10. Have many phases. The issue should present several opportunities to make demands on a number of institutions and individuals so that the organization builds strength and momentum in the process. A one-shot issue is not as good unless you are quite sure it can be won.

STARTING TO ORGANIZE

Once identifying groups likely to move on an issue, the organizer focuses on reaching those groups. In starting out you must:

1. Know why you are involved. You must have a believable role so that people trust you. Are you affected by the issue? Is it your job to be working on this? You need a cover.
2. Be organized yourself. Start a card file. Keep name, address, phone number, crucial facts and who introduced you, for all the people you meet. Keep it up to date as a resource.
3. Find the leaders. You do not recruit one by one, but try to find the people who really can turn out other people. A leader may be a housewife with five friends who come for coffee. You can count on them because they come with her. She may be more reliable than the self-proclaimed leader who ends up with no troops.

4. Know the community. It is important to understand patterns of relations before you become identified with one faction or another. People so often have been kept competing one against another, that it is important to start out with a respected entree to the community.
5. Research must serve action. You must begin to enter the political arena. Doing research and planning is not, in itself, entering the arena. Action is the reason for organizing. This is a problem especially with college graduates used to doing research. For most people, a little afraid of conflict, intimidated by the experts, there is a problem of waiting until they know all the answers. We must realize that we do need some information, but primarily we need to take action to force the men in power to provide the answers. That is what they are paid to do. Our research should guide us to their weak spots.

ACTIONS

Actions are a particular tactic which can be used in a campaign to mobilize large numbers of people against a specific target. Actions are designed to win a concession, highlight an issue, demonstrate a group's real and potential power, clarify the position of the "enemy" and move the organization toward victory. The underlying function of an action is to build the organization. Actions are not the only tactic which should be used in an issue campaign, but as the campaign develops over weeks or months, actions will be one of the most useful tactics. (See Direct Action Organizing III, by the Midwest Academy, for further information on tactics.)

To plan an action, you must have a sense of how to get a grip or a "handle" on the issue and on the target. This means first figuring who has the power to grant the demands of the organization. Whoever has that power is the main target. People or institutions which can be used to pressure the main target are secondary targets. As a tactic, actions are usually more effective against secondary targets because actions in and of themselves don't have enough power to force a large concession, or one which costs a great deal of money. Actions do have the power to force procedural concessions. Example: A neighborhood organization wanted to prevent a motel in a residential area from erecting a high neon sign. The members, working people whose homes represented their life savings, felt that the sign would cause a decline in property values. The motel claimed it was losing business because it didn't have a sign which could be seen from the highway. An action aimed at the motel manager would not have had the power to change

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his policy because there was no direct economic or political link between the motel and the home owners. There were, however, business and fraternal organizations which rented monthly meeting space at the motel. Although the motel didn't care about the good will of the community, it did want to keep these organizations as customers.

The organizations did care about the good will of the community because: a) The community consisted of the customers of many of the members of the business association. b) Some fraternal groups got funds from United Way and other public donations. c) The fraternal organizations relied on their image as helpers of the community to get members. Some of their members were also home owners. These organizations were vulnerable to low key actions by the community group, which demanded that the motel be called and told that meetings would be moved elsewhere if the sign went up. Another main target in this campaign was the zoning board which had the power to order that the sign not be erected. Because the board was appointed, the community organization had little direct political power over it on which to base an action. Tenure of zoning board members depended somewhat on their not making too many enemies in city government, therefore City Council members were influential at zoning hearings. Because, unlike the board, Council members needed votes and a pro-community image to get elected, they were good secondary targets for actions which demanded that they appear at the zoning hearings. Getting a "handle" on the issue means understanding in very precise terms just why it is that your main target must respond to the secondary target and why the secondary target should respond to your organization. Beware of jumping to the conclusion that the target will respond to bad publicity or a bad image. You must know exactly what, if anything, the target will lose because of bad publicity and whether it will outweigh the benefits of taking the unpopular action. Remember that whenever you designate someone as a secondary target, you create an opportunity for that person to gain by turning against you. In the example above, targeted City Council members were put in a position of being able to covertly approach the motel for campaign contributions in exchange for neutrality on the sign issue. They will weigh the number of votes that the organization can cost them against the votes which the campaign contribution can buy them, and they estimate a profit or loss. Community organizations usually have the upper hand in these calculations if they follow a policy of choosing issues where there is majority sympathy in the community.

Before actions can be conducted, people must under-

stand that they have the right to make demands on institutions and individuals , and to fight for necessary gains for themselves. It is often difficult for people to see a situation in terms of right and wrong, because they have been taught to avoid conflict, to "see all sides of an issue." People tend to be intimidated by authority and to feel that the "experts" know best. Many of these responses result from having been denied the power to influence decisions which affect their lives.

The following ideas will help you involve the members of your organization in actions. They are summarized from Rules for Radicals, by Saul Alinsky.

1. Personalize the issue. Even though the enemy may be an institution, a bank, a corporation or a regulatory agency, identify a leading individual as the target. Everyone "knows" that you can't fight a bank, but a banker is a person like themselves and is less intimidating.
2. Polarize the issue: It must be clear cut* and sharply defined. "Are you with the people or with the landlords?" If you accept the idea that "everything is so complicated and there are no easy answers," you set yourself up for confusion and being sidetracked by sincere looking opponents (who are paid to look that way to defeat you).
3. Have FUN. People should enjoy actions.
4. Give people a "taste of blood." Push your opponents so hard you can see them squirm. Let all of your members feel that they also pushed and were a part of the victory. A working woman's organization discovered that an officer of the Chamber of Commerce shook during an action. They brought several groups of women back to additional actions so that all could see him shaking and thus gain confidence in themselves and in their organization.

It is common in campaigns (especially in the beginning, where your enemy is surprised by the strength of your organization) that you win more, and win it more often than you imagined. Often this leaves the members with the unsatisfying feeling that the opposition gave in too easily and that maybe the action wasn't needed after all. This is the time to push further, to add to your demands and try for another concession. When the opposition agrees to something, ask for a written statement as a next step.

5. Build the organization. It is your tool for winning things important to the lives of your members. An action should be planned because it will give members more strength through organization. Strength can be measured in new members, prestige, publicity or experience. Be sure that members know why you are doing a certain action and its benefits for the organization, as well as its benefits for winning the issue.
6. Keep morale high within the organization. Congratulate each other's successes, applaud presentations well made. Let people know when they do a good job. So often we are taken for granted by everyone else, let us not take each other for granted.
7. Set up fixed fights. The first action must be a sure winner. In order to build people's confidence, they must see that they can win something fast and clearly. There are many actions which you can not easily lose. Demanding that a regulatory agency or municipal department investigate something within its jurisdiction is usually a winner. For example, demanding that the Fire Department investigate fires in an abandoned building or that the Sanitation Department investigate garbage accumulating on a vacant lot, are usually winning actions. They don't get you a commitment to remove these hazards, that comes later with more pressure. These actions do get you a fast win and a foot in the door. The next step is to follow up with a demand for a time line to correct the situation.

PLANNING AN ACTION

Each action has its own character, yet in general an outline for planning an action would include:

1. Setting the timeline -- when do you want the meeting? What will you demand? What steps will you take if you do win? How specific can you make your opposition's response? (Generally, actions should be short -- first actions much less than an hour.) To keep it brief have few demands in any one action. (You can always raise others later.) Be specific.
2. Assign someone to make the appointment -- if the target refuses to meet, say that a delegation from your organization will be at their offices on a certain day and you expect to see them (if you have reason to believe you will get to see someone this way.) The phone call to get the appointment is a difficult task for someone new to assertive politics. Role-play that call.

3. Organize people to come.

- a. Plan a pre-action meeting to which you invite people you are recruiting. Its functions are two-fold: to make plans and to build enthusiasm.
 - b. Know how numerous your troops will be. The easiest way to do this is to have squad sheets. People organizing the action estimate the number of people they can insure will be there. Members sign up the people they are sure will come (not the maybees or the people they know did not show up the last two times). At the pre-action meeting or meetings members should publicly say the number they will turn out. At first some will inflate numbers to impress others, but after the action people should be held accountable for their estimate. If they said ten and only bring three, they will be more responsible next time. They should go back to their lists and find out why their people did not come.

In estimating likely turnout discount the projections by a reasonable percentage (30%). The discount will be lower as your organization develops and you know your members better.
 - c. To insure that your people can get to the event, you may have to provide transportation or pools, directions, etc. (You may need to arrange child care or to have some people looking after the kids at the action so the parents can talk.)
 - d. Arrange the time so that it is convenient for your members, keeping in mind the need to pick a time when you can get press coverage. (Before 11 AM is best for press in most media markets.) Make sure it does not conflict with naps, school pickups, etc., or if possible include the kids in the action.
 - e. Tell people to come fifteen minutes or so before your scheduled meeting for briefing, talk, etc. Organizers should be there thirty minutes early.
4. Prepare a leaflet outlining your demands and include a brief statement about your organization. This can be distributed both prior to and at the action.

5. Contact the press both through a written press release and phone calls the day before the action. (For more information on press, see Publicity and the Press, by Don Rose, available from the Midwest Academy.)
6. Plan the pre-action meeting.
 - a. Decide on the exact conduct of the action: who chairs or acts as spokesperson, the chain of events, how to get everyone involved (testimony, order of speaking). This should be written out in advance, as a script. The statement to be made to the press should be written down, as should the lines you want to use in the action. To insure participation of people who have never done this kind of thing, all comments should be written on three-by-five cards. As many people as possible should have some line (even "stop stalling" or "don't give us that").
 - b. Survey the location -- visit it and tell the organization what it looks like.
 - c. In assigning roles, insure that people do not fail in that role and thus lose confidence. Take the time to carefully outline what everyone is supposed to do. Have some people assigned to pick up if others falter. Some people learn by going through adversity alone, but most people have gotten beaten down that way. Organized support will make them face a new struggle with confidence and a sense of unity with others.
7. Pre-action meeting. All of the following help plan for the unexpected.
 - a. Role play. People should know their parts. The feel of it should be familiar. Generally people will be more intimidated the less familiar they feel in a situation. The strongest and loudest in pre-meetings may be meek and quiet in the real action.
 - b. Discuss and write down good slogans and lines. Keep lines brief and clear.
 - c. One or two people should be assigned to make decisions during the action. People must know to whom they are to turn if they are confused, or if the situation changes.

- d. You may want to assign some people to be "inciters" and move about to heat up the action getting people angrier and encouraging them to show their anger. You may at other times want some "calmers" to stand near people who may be disruptive to the focus of the action.
 - e. Discuss and inform everyone of the style, tone of the action.
 - f. Your planning meeting itself should build excitement and confidence for the confrontation. Describe the scenario and make people feel more familiar with the action.
 - g. Prepare enough closing lines and post-meeting press statements to cover all possibilities.
8. Just before the action:
- a. Before going into action, have a rally and reinforcing speech. Help people overcome their fear of an imposing place, e.g., "This is an intimidating place, but we have the right to be here, we're taxpayers, paying their salaries so they can buy this fine marble building and plush carpeting. They probably bought it so they can have plenty of space to sweep under the dirt that they do." Re-state the demands. Suggest to individuals the lines they might say to the person you are meeting. "You know why we are here; we are here to tell that lying Mr. Smily that x, y, and z." Tell your group exactly what you are going to do.
 - b. You must be able to simply state your reasons for the action, and your demands. There should be no more than three points which can be said in three simple sentences. In the confusion and tension, you may forget or be sidetracked unless you keep to your points.
 - c. Have a sign-up sheet (name, address, zip, telephone) so you know who came. Assign one person to keep track of this.
 - d. Keep the name of the organization visible. Say the name of the organization, not just "we" in speaking demands.
 - e. Have someone assigned to the press to explain the action and that the chairperson will be available at the end for statements.

9. In the action:

- a. Keep it brief.
- b. Don't try to convert the opposition to your side. Remember that you are involved in political conflict, not a misunderstanding. Don't get diverted from your demand. All you want is a response.
- c. Keep to your own agenda. This is your meeting, your action. You may have to bring the discussion back to your points several times; but you have the responsibility for keeping the focus. Take points one at a time. Get a "yes" or "no" response.
- d. Generally it is better to go ahead with the original plan than to change in midstream. Whatever you are going to do, do it with confidence and boldness. However, if really confused, CAUCUS.
- e. After an action, caucus quickly before meeting the press. Decide what your line will be. Do you claim victory or not? If you lost, be self-righteously angry. If you won, what is your next step? You won't speak clearly about the situation if you try to write a new statement on the spot -- stick close to the outlines developed in advance.
- f. Something should come out of every action to carry on the momentum and give the feeling of victory (even if only moral). Announce the next step, even if it's only a meeting of the organization.
- g. After every action, have a "de-briefing". Decide what happened, encourage people and reinforce them. Summarize what has been agreed to at the end. Applaud the members and spokespeople.

SCENARIO

While it is difficult to know exactly what will happen, prior research and planning can help you make a pretty good guess. You should at least know the alternatives. Typically institutions are not used to their clients making demands and being organized. Even if they know you are coming to meet, your organization and tone (even if it seems a bit disorganized to you) is likely to throw them off guard. This is important to do -- throw them off guard, get a reaction, make them defensive.

There are two common ways in which institutions try to deal with grievances. One is the understanding, liberal, co-opting approach. This is usually the job of a professional "flak catcher," the public relations man, or affirmative action counselor. The other is the hard-line, offensive and offending, repressing approach. This is usually done by an older person on the job, who is used to getting his way and thinks little of the public. Direct action throws the opposition off balance, especially when used by groups not expected to be militant, like old-folks, secretaries, etc.

At the end of the action, quickly review the few demands you raised and the answer, time lines and commitments on each. Make sure you end the action. If you are getting nowhere, you can turn to your group and, talking to them (not the "important man"), say "It is clear that Mr. Flak Catcher is not able to do anything for us, or for himself. We will have to go over his head and see x, y, and z. It is pointless to continue this debate with a sniveling drivvel. Let's go."

Once out of the room, review for the group what they won. "Today we laid down the gauntlet and they won't have peace and quiet again. Did you see them scurrying around when we first came in? And Mrs. Jones, that was wonderful how you just laughed in his face. We have taken a most significant step and forced them to comply with x, y, and z. Now we must go to the next level for redress of our other just grievances."

"Remember we will plan the next event in this effort tomorrow night, at 8 pm at Sarah Sims' house, 2305 N. Geneva. There will be plenty of punch so we can celebrate this victory. And remember tonight to look at channel 4, they were filming the whole time. Tell your friends."

PROPS AND STUNTS

Props and stunts serve to highlight, focus, clarify and symbolize the issue. They add flavor and fun. Remember that they exist to serve the action. It is easy to get lost in gimmicks and slogans. Your ability to win in an action depends on your actual power and on how well you have estimated your handle on the target.

Stunts should be familiar to your constituency and unfamiliar to your opposition. For example: In an anti-redlining campaign, women went to the headquarters of a bank to get investment information. They were told that the information they wanted was in another building in another county and were left waiting. Some of the women began to change their kids' diapers on an executive's desk. The information they wanted rapidly appeared.

You may want to develop symbols to identify your organization. Make sure that during each action someone is assigned to hold a large sign with your group's name and logo in whatever direction the TV cameras are pointed. Buttons, songs and banners help to keep up visibility and morale. Only attempt singing if your members are comfortable with it, if you have song sheets for everyone and if you know you have one strong, on key voice who will carry the whole group.

Make what the opposition is doing or not doing sound scandalous. It generally is scandalous, but the edge may have been dulled by the routine manner in which it is normally treated.

Stunts can help you get media publicity. If for example, a politician won't meet with you, tape a sign across his office door which says, "This Office Closed to the Public." If someone won't come into a debate, put a dummy in the chair and debate that for dramatic effect.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

Organizing is necessary if we are to really transfer power to the majority of the people. It is difficult and exhausting and is learned through trial and error. It is exciting to see people feeling their strength and coming into their own. But remember: your power lies primarily with your numbers. All tactics should be used to build those numbers, unite them and focus their strength.

DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING

III. CHOOSING A TACTIC

INTRODUCTION

Part I of Direct Action Organizing outlines methods for developing strategy and mentions the tactics most commonly used by direct action organizations. The tactic referred to as the action is discussed at length in Direct Action Organizing II. This paper evaluates the action and other tactics commonly used by direct action organizations. It discussed their implications for the campaigns of which they are a part and for the organizations using them. The Midwest Academy has prepared materials on how to organize and carry out most of the tactics mentioned here.

Before discussing tactics, a review of strategy is required:

1. Strategy is about power and winning specific concrete demands. The three criteria which any good strategy must meet are:
 - a) Does it win concrete improvements in people's lives?
 - b) Does it give people a sense of their own power?
 - c) Does it alter the relations of power between people and their enemies? Does it build the organization?
2. Strategy starts with specific goals and objectives. For example, to force a landlord to make repairs and to strengthen the tenant's association.
3. Power is always specific. Strategy requires an evaluation of the power of your opposition. From what is the opponent's power derived, and how is it used? For example, if your target is a landlord, you might analyze his power as follows:
 - a) Laws and leases are written to favor landlords over tenants.
 - b) The Real Estate Association is known to have supported certain judges.
 - c) This landlord made campaign contributions to the Mayor's election campaign.

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Fifth Edition, December, 1977. Revised by Steve Max, December,
1977. (Copies available through the Midwest Academy, 600 W.
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- d) The landlord has frightened the tenants with threats of evictions and service cuts.
4. Strategy proceeds with an analysis of the weakness of your target which can be used to your advantage. Using the same example, you might say:
- a) The building has several uncorrected violations of the building code.
 - b) The landlord owes three years' back taxes on the building.
 - c) Public opinion is generally pro-tenant.
 - d) There are other apartments available in the area.
 - e) The landlord owns only two other buildings which are smaller than this one.
- The landlord's weaknesses are also your strengths.
5. The development of a strategy must also consider potential allies and the organizational needs of your group. In this example, the tenants in the other buildings owned by the landlord may be allies. Your group could be expanded by organizing the other buildings.

A possible strategic plan might look like this:

- a) Force the City Buildings Department to follow the code and make the landlord repair the violations.
- b) Tell the landlord that if the violations are not fixed, the organization will expose his tax situation and will claim that taxes were not collected because of his special relationship with the mayor.
- c) Avoid going to court if possible.
- d) If further action is required, consider a rent strike. For full impact, the other buildings that he owns would have to be involved in the strike. Consider, however, that a three building settlement may cost the landlord more cash for repairs than he has available at one time. Questions for further research: Does the landlord have other sources of income? Is there a low-cost state housing loan program from which he could borrow to repair three buildings?

At this point, and only at this point, can the question of tactics be considered: how to mobilize the tenants, how to make the Buildings Department enforce the code, how to expose the tax situation, how to organize a rent strike. These are all tactical questions. They involve the use of meetings, picketing, demonstrations, actions, strikes, educational events, press exposés and possibly law suits. Tactics flow from strategy.

A considerable amount of confusion over the relationship of tactics to strategy stems from several well known situations in which a broad social movement appeared to crystallize around a particularly good tactic: the sit-in movement, the freedom rides, the teach-ins and, more recently, the grape boycott and the J.P. Stevens boycott. In each case, the media focused so much attention on the tactic and so little on the strategy of the organizers that it often appeared that the tactic and the strategy were one and the same. This gave rise to the false view that social change organizing consists of thinking up a dramatic tactic and then building an organization around it. Tactics are often dramatic, clever and headline catching, but ~~must~~ always be a part of a larger issue campaign and a strategic plan which involves a number of targets and a wider choice of tactics. (See Direct Action Organizing I.)

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING TACTICS

Tactics useful in one organizing situation may be counterproductive in another, not necessarily because they have any less impact on the target, but because the value and cost to the organization may be different. The following nine criteria are a good starting point for evaluating tactics. After explaining the criteria, we will analyze a number of tactics.

1. Is the Timetable of the Tactic Internal or External?
It is useful for the organization to be able to control the rate at which the campaign unfolds. In an election, the time table is completely external. Each step of the campaign is prescribed by law. The time table of a boycott is, depending on seasonal factors, completely internal. It can be started and stopped as the organization wishes. A campaign to stop an interstate highway is mixed. The law provides a series of hearings and points at which various levels of official approval are required. These are good occasions for the organization to intervene and they provide a time frame for the whole campaign while leaving the organization free to develop the timing of the fight in other areas.
2. What are the Legal Constraints?
Almost all of the tactics discussed here are subject to

some form of legal constraint. This does not mean that they are illegal. In some states, there is no law covering rent strikes. In other states the law recognizes them as a legitimate form of tenant protest, if they are carried out as the law requires. While most boycotts have gone unnoticed by the law, the NAACP was recently sued by a Mississippi town for restraint of trade. Boycotts by unions are generally not legal, unless they are carefully targeted.

3. What Relationship does the Tactic Establish Between Leadership and Membership?

Tactics such as giving technical testimony at official hearings or the preparation of law suits can set the leadership up as experts, causing new people to feel that they could never understand the issue as well, and therefore could never take on leadership roles. In an election campaign, the candidate becomes the leader, even if the organization which endorsed the candidate had a previously elected leadership.

4. Will the Tactic Bring in Allies Who Have a Common Interest?
How Will it Affect Allies Already in the Campaign?

A decision to hold a community hearing led to the participation of the officers of several block associations who came to testify. The same individuals would not have joined in bringing people out to a rally which was outside their usual scope of activity. Parents chose to sit-in in a school to protest the shortening of the school day. This limited participation in the major tactic of the parents organization to those parents who didn't have to work. The organization then found that to prevent vandalism, non-parents had to be excluded. Because the leadership of the parents organization was locked up in the building, there was little way to reach other groups in the community and less way for sympathetic groups to support the parents.

The decision of an organization fighting an Interstate Highway to endorse a candidate for City Council cost the group some support among people who thought that community organizations should be non-partisan or that this was a people vs. politicians issue.

5. What Relationship is Established Between the Organization and the Target?

A public picket line at the home of a member of Congress established an atmosphere of hostility and made it more difficult to get the Congressperson to support other activities of the organization when their interests did coincide. An indoor confrontation, without press, would have left the way open for reconciliation later. When

a utility accepted the challenge from a citizens organization to debate a pollution problem in the community, it elevated the organization to a level equal to that of the utility in the eyes of the community.

6. What is the Inherent Power of the Tactic?

A strike by vital employees has a great deal of power inherent in it. Production is stopped and the employer loses money. A rally has comparatively little inherent power, unless it is a large show of numbers by people who have some other form of power, votes for example. A sit-in has considerable power if the occupied facility is of importance to those with the power to meet the demands of the organization. A sit-in has less power if it is in, say, a welfare center where the officials don't really care if service is disrupted.

7. What is the Permanence of the Result?

A decision won in court usually holds unless appealed. An agreement by a bank to make mortgage money available in the community must be monitored constantly by the organization.

8. What Resources does it Require?

Resources can be measured in money, members, staff, time and favors owed the organization, among other things. A law suit often pits a small group against a large institution or government body, which uses public funds to pay for the case while the organization must raise its legal fees privately.

9. What Reaction does it Elicit from the Opposition or What Forces are Put in Motion?

Ideally, the target should react quickly to any tactic, so that the membership can see an immediate response. Often the response takes the form of a counter attack against the organization. A press conference at which a community organization revealed documents showing that the city planned to put a highway through a park, was met by a counter attempt to set up a citizens organization for the highway. The attempt failed.

With these criteria in mind we can now proceed to examine the following tactics: actions, election campaigns, law suits, education & service, and strikes.

ACTIONS

The Action is a staple tactic of citizens organizations. It involves a direct confrontation between the members of the organization and a political or corporate individual. The action centers around a specific demand to which the target person is asked to respond. The citizens organization attempts to figure out what the target would least like to have happen, and then make that threat implicit in the action. For example, a working woman's organization went to the head of the Chamber of Commerce and asked that he send a letter to all the members of the Chamber saying that sex discrimination was a violation of federal law. The Head of the Chamber was in a difficult position. The thing he least wanted was to have the women go to the press and say that the Chamber of Commerce had refused to advise its members of their responsibilities under the laws of the land. Such publicity would give the impression that he was encouraging the business community to violate the law, which he was, but which he wanted to do covertly. On the other hand, he did not want to recognize the woman's organization, much less give in to any demand that it might make. Giving in would encourage the women to organize and demonstrate to office workers that the employers were not invulnerable. The women understood this quite well, when they came up with the one demand he could not refuse to meet.

An action has only modest power behind it compared to a strike, a boycott or a law suit. An action usually does not have enough power to achieve a victory which represents a large monetary cost to the target. For that reason, the target of an action is usually a secondary target and not the person who has the power to grant the demands of your organization. For example, an action would probably not have the power to force a company to end pollution, but it might have the power to make a state agency investigate the pollution and enforce the law. The monetary cost is not to the state agency, which is only being asked to do what it is legally supposed to do. The agency, on the other hand, does have the power to force a company to spend the money to come into compliance with the law.

As the example of the woman's organization indicates, the power of an action lies in the organization's ability to make life unpleasant for the target of the action. The power does not lie in the militancy displayed by the organization's members during the action. Of course the members must indicate anger, but they should also feel comfortable with the overall tone of the action.

(For a fuller treatment of Actions, see Direct Action Organizing II.)

Time Table:

The time table for actions is internal. The organization decides when and where to hold them. Actions may be timed to coincide with stock holders meetings, spring sales, etc. If press is involved, actions have to be timed to meet media deadlines.

Legal Constraints:

Basically, there are no legal constraints. Many actions do hover somewhere between the legal and the illegal. When a large number of people show up at an official's office without an appointment, the target may threaten to call guards or police. Since actions are by nature short, the group is usually on its way out by the time police come. An action is not civil disobedience and most of them are conducted by appointment. Do not get anyone arrested unless you had planned in advance to get arrested and have lawyers with bail money standing by. The power of an action rarely lies in disruption, or a militant tone, it lies in who comes, how many come and what they represent.

Relationship Between Leadership and Membership

An organization which uses this tactic a lot can make it the basis of leadership development. Leadership becomes those people who can turn out others for actions and who, because they have done so, are chosen to be spokespersons and to represent the group. When leadership actually has a base in the community and in the organization, it is apt to be more in touch with the membership and more democratic than leadership chosen on any other basis.

Because there are many tasks requiring responsibility and planning, actions are good tactics around which to develop leadership on all levels of the organization.

Potential for Allies:

If the issue (and the strategy which the action is a part of) is one which will attract allies, the action is a fine tactic around which to cement the alliance. The allies are not required to do much more than show up. Because the action is short and exciting, the members of allied organizations will more easily be mobilized. Organizations can trade off coming to each other's actions when they have other common interests. The only caution is to be sure that the style and tone of the action is one with which your allies will be comfortable.

Relationship Between Organization and Target:

The nice thing about an action is that it is like the instant lottery, the response comes right away. The target is standing there and either meets the demand or refuses, but in either case you know. The requirement of a quick response gives the organization an advantage, as most government or corporate officials are used to responding to situations in writing and after consultation with lawyers, superiors, etc. They are ill prepared to be put on the spot. Politicians are better skilled at handling these situations than are administrative personnel.

Because the target of an action is always a person, rather than an institution, it is important that the membership be reminded that it is the institution, not the person, which is the real cause of the problem, and that we are about structural change, not just getting nicer bureaucrats to confront. The value of personalizing a target by having the action against an individual is that the membership can see that "important people" are really people like themselves, who have the same human responses of nervousness, fear or confusion that the rest of us have when put in a difficult situation. This tends to demystify the enemy and makes the campaign seem more winnable.

Inherent Power

Compared to a strike or boycott, an action has little inherent power, although it does have some, as mentioned above. The power derives from the power of the participants as voters, consumers, tax payers, etc. The power of the action is enhanced by bringing along local politicians, clergy and other community leaders. Having the press present adds another dimension of power, as does slight disruption of the facility at which the action takes place. A group of women went to a bank headquarters as part of an anti-redlining campaign. They were told the information for which they had come was not available, and were left waiting in an executive's office. Several women had to change their babies' diapers, and did so on the executive's desk. The information they wanted was suddenly brought to them. Because an action has relatively little inherent power, the demand is usually not a monetary one. The target is often not the main target of the overall campaign, but a secondary target. When a citizens group fighting air pollution at U.S. Steel wanted an appointment with the President of U.S. Steel, they had actions at Sears shopping centers, because the President of U.S. Steel also sat on the Board of Directors of Sears. Sears executives got them the appointment.

Permanence of Result:

Unlike a law suit or a strike where the whole issue may be decided at once, rarely does the success of the main issue

of the organization ride on a single action. Rather, a series of actions are used, combined with other tactics, in a long campaign. Each action sets the organization up to make stronger demands of a higher level person. Thus, it is difficult to talk of the permanence of the result of a single action. Whatever concession is made to you should be gotten in writing and signed on the spot. If the concession is made in front of the press or if you can get it carried in the press, it is more likely that the target will keep his or her word to the organization.

Resources Required:

Of financial resources, almost none are required. The main resource needed for actions is active membership.

Reaction From Target:

The categories of response from the target are usually these:

- a) Make a whole or partial concession.
- b) Refuse to make a concession and hope that people will get discouraged.
- c) Attack the leadership in front of the members and try to drive a wedge between them. "You have misled these good people because you're out for personal publicity" or "I was just about to do what you want, but since you acted this way I won't."
- d) Overreaction. Calls to the police or loses temper or acts crazy. Apart from calling the police, most overreaction is good for your organization and convinces people that the target isn't 'all there.'
- e) Co-opt. The target agrees to study your demand or set up a committee to discuss it. Such reactions are not as good as winning but can be claimed as a partial victory. At least you got recognition and whatever procedure is set up can be the occasion of further actions.

ELECTIONS:

Most adults are used to going periodically to the electoral arena to do their political duty. Since the voters are going to be there anyway, it can be useful for citizens organizations to enter the electoral arena for specific purposes. There are four basic approaches to elections:

1. Campaigns to elect someone.
2. Campaigns to defeat someone.
3. Referenda, charter amendments or bond issues.
4. Campaigns to do something else (educate the public or raise an issue). Many anti-war campaigns were of this kind.

In addition, citizens groups can inject an issue into a campaign without actually working for a candidate. (See Direct Action Organizing I.)

Time Table:

Completely external. The dates of the phases of an election are determined by law. In addition, the need to concentrate most of the campaign publicity and money in the last week does not allow a great deal of flexibility. (An exception to this is presidential campaigns.) The big advantage of the external time table is that many people will be willing to work long and hard in the campaign, knowing that it is officially over on a certain day. Output is therefore much higher than during any other organizational activity.

Legal Constraints:

There are legal constraints throughout the election process. There are requirements for candidacy, petitions, financial reports, etc. These require a considerable technical proficiency but are not road blocks.

Relationship Between Leadership and Membership:

Even when a candidate is put forth by a citizen's organization, the candidate becomes the leader during the campaign. The voters relate to the candidate rather than to each other, and the members of the organization tend to be similarly affected. There have been exceptions, such as the Mississippi

Freedom Democratic Party, but these are rare. Opposition candidates become the enemy, making it difficult to keep the election campaign focused on issues and off personality. It should be understood that personal ambition is the engine which drives election campaigns. Only the strongest, most cohesive organizations can hold a candidate accountable during and after the election.

Candidate elections and referenda are fine activities for developing leadership. The actual organizing tasks at the local level are relatively simple, mechanical and repetitive (petition signing, literature distribution, door-to-door canvassing, etc.). The territory can be broken down into parts as small as are desirable, wards, election districts, blocks, apartment houses, etc. and a committee put together for each subdivision. The smaller the pieces, the more opportunity for leadership development. There is some experience to indicate that leadership which comes out of election campaigns tends not to be transferable to other forms of action. Campaigns tend to attract people who believe that voting is the key to social change.

Potential for Allies

In election campaigns, more than other tactics, the whole key to success is in building up alliances with other organizations. The general rule that such an alliance should start with a clear understanding of what the responsibilities of each party are is particularly important. Each allied organization should agree to do some measurable thing, canvass a certain number of homes, raise a certain amount of money, distribute a specified number of leaflets, etc. In return, the candidate should be committed to a certain position on the issues of the organizations, and to ongoing consultation with the organizations after the election is over.

The question of jobs for organization members or leaders in return for participation in an electoral alliance is a difficult one. It can benefit the organization to have its people put in administrative positions where they can help the organization or community. As a practical matter, there are never as many jobs as there are people who feel that they deserve to have one. If the leadership accepts patronage jobs, the membership is likely to feel that they have been used. The organization can ask to be consulted on political appointments which relate to its issues. But on the whole, patronage can lead to internal fights and should be avoided.

Relation Between Organization and Target:

Where the target is an opposition candidate, a number of problems are created which make it necessary to carefully consider the value of community and other citizens organizations going directly into election campaigns. The main danger, of course, is that the opposition will win, leaving you with two or four years of an elected official who sees your organization as a potential threat, and who consequently has a personal stake in your being viewed as losers in the community. It should not be considered a foregone conclusion that the official who opposed you on one issue is going to oppose you on all issues, but campaigning against him or her can create that situation. The second problem is that soon the candidate you supported will be endorsing and campaigning for or against other people on subsequent elections. Unless some organizational distance is kept, the candidate's enemies become yours when they need not be. The third major problem is that unless a campaign is based on a central issue around which the community is united, you will find that you have members who want to support the opponent. It can easily turn out that your treasurer is the opposition's cousin or that the chair of your ad book committee has "always voted Republican." Before you know it, the organization and community are split. It has happened that once a community organization becomes active in elections, it is viewed as a power base for launching political careers. People join and attempt to rise into the leadership and then announce that they are running for office and expect an endorsement. Since the chances are that if this thought has occurred to one person, it has occurred to several, the organization then becomes embroiled in internal fighting which has nothing to do with the issues.

Inherent Power

There is considerable inherent power in a tactic which can oust an enemy from decision making power and replace him or her with a friend. Beyond this rather obvious observation, the inherent power is determined by the permanence of the result. The reader is referred to that section below.

Permanence of Result

On one level, the permanence is measured by the length of the term won. The real question, however, is how long will the candidate remain loyal to the issues or to the constituency that your organization represents. This can be measured in years or in minutes. The determining factor is partly personality, but mainly it is your ability to hold your elected representatives accountable through your organized strength.

There are events large and small which so deeply affect the monied interests that they seem to unfold with a momentum of their own, regardless of who is elected or on what platform. The escalation of the VietNam war by Lyndon Johnson, who had run as the peace candidate, is the prime example of this process. On the municipal level, another example is the existence of a "hidden government" of banks, real estate interests and the construction industry, which influences key decisions, regardless of the party in power.

What Resources are Required?

More money is required by elections than any other tactic discussed here. Since amounts vary with location and office there is no estimate which can be given. It is also true that a campaign is one of the easiest tactics to fund raise around. Elections are the accepted way of doing politics in this country and people feel that they understand them and know what the money is going for. Asking for "Citizens money" to oppose the opposition's "Big money," can be used as an aid to fund raising.

What Reaction is Elicited from the Opposition, What Forces Put in Motion:

Citizens organizations are generally regarded as somewhat public spirited institutions. Just about the only way they can be attacked is by being attacked as un-American or on the grounds of improper fund raising methods. In the recent past, both of these claims have generally been shown to be false. Once a citizens organization enters the electoral arena, however, it loses its holiness and is open for any kind of criticism, as is the candidate. This includes looking for flaws in people's personal and private conduct, close scrutiny of

finances, etc. Referenda which strike at business interests meet the strongest opposition. Vast amounts of money may be poured in and efforts will be made to raise a loss of jobs issue or tax hike issue which will split the community. We have seen that utilities faced with referenda can call in financial contributions from other utilities around the country. Your organization is sure to be outspent, if not out-organized.

LAW SUITS

This category of tactics includes court proceedings against individuals, corporations and government agencies as well as proceedings before quasi-judicial bodies such as the Office of Contract Compliance.

A law suit is often the communities' first line of defense against an unpopular action by state or local government or by a local corporation or landlord. Sometimes an injunction can be won which gives the community time to organize. Even without an injunction, the slow pace of the courts can often delay an unpopular project. Citizens traditionally put more faith in a law suit than in direct action organizing. For this reason, as long as the organization does not have to pay extensive legal costs, a suit may give the community increased confidence in the organization.

Time Table

You decide when to start the action, but after that it is largely out of your hands. You can take steps to delay it but rarely to speed it up.

Legal Constraints

While the legal system is shaped by, and largely reflects the interests of, the ruling class, it can, nonetheless, be used to advantage by the forces of social change. The discovery procedure, for example, can force your opposition to make information public which could be gotten no other way. Legal actions are useful to delay the start of anything from construction projects to new procedures by government agencies, in order to give you time to organize popular opposition. Law suits can keep the issue alive until the next election, or help you hold out until a deadline expires. It has been observed that our opponents, when defeated, seldom like to admit that we were right. They are more likely to give in to pressure if a law suit provides them with a limited technicality on which to capitulate.

Relationship Between Leadership and Membership:

Legal actions can be useful tactics for organizations which simultaneously employ other tactics, particularly direct action tactics. Relying on legal tactics alone creates the following problems:

1. The organization tends to become lawyer dominated. The lawyer's sense of the legal requirements overshadows the judgment of the leadership and the will of the membership. Many lawyers will tend toward a cautious approach and may actually restrain the organization from engaging in dramatic or direct action tactics for fear that the judge will view the suit as a non-serious orchestration of a larger campaign and throw it out of court. The result is that there is little activity for the membership to participate in.
2. The organization becomes divided into two groups, those who are interested in, and able to follow, the legal complexities of the suit and those who carry on support activities which, by necessity, consist mostly of fund raising. Because of the emphasis on the legal action, the former group tends to dominate the organization, while the latter does the most important work.
3. The issue has usually died away before the results of the legal action can be seen.

Potential For Allies

Legal actions are a useful tool for putting together large groups of sponsors, plaintiffs, etc. The problem is that just about the only thing for any of the allies to do is raise money. The result is that organizations which have an active program of their own which they must also fund are less likely to join in the suit. Paper organizations will, however, be attracted.

Relationship Between Organization and Target:

The sense of combat is often lost when legal tactics alone are used, while the fight is carried out entirely by the lawyers for both sides. Unless your lawyer is employed full time by your organization, he or she is likely to feel professionally closer to the opposition lawyer than to you. When public agencies are being sued, the suit does seem to enhance the status of the organization in the eyes of the target and of the press, perhaps because you are being "sensible" and using "proper channels."

Inherent Power

A suit can produce the requested relief with greater finality than any other tactic. Getting a court decision changed again is a long and costly process which your opposition must initiate. A law suit is also a good delaying tactic where the purpose is to prevent something from being done. It can give you the chance to hold out until an election takes place, a new administration takes office, a zoning change goes through, etc. It can also produce a legal fiction. For example, Bell Telephone was forced to agree to promote certain categories of women employees, but the court did not impose a time table for the promotions. A corporation may find that it is cheaper to pay a fine and continue to violate the law than to comply with it. During a suit to stop an Interstate Highway, organizations found that the Congress was busily amending the law to remove the very grounds for the suit, while it was in court.

Permanency of Result

A decade ago, legal victories seemed to outlast victories won by other means. Today we are seeing environmental laws repealed and past legal actions revoked. A similar trend seems to be at work in the civil rights area. In the final analysis, the law is political and it changes as political events move to the left or to the right over a period of years. Partially, this reflects changes in the Supreme Court as Presidents change and appoint new members to the Court.

Resources Required

Unless your lawyer is on staff, legal actions are very expensive. This is particularly true when the opposition is financed out of public funds and is free to try to drive you broke by delay. New organizations formed to fight a particular community issue tend to start out by going to court since this is the most accepted way of handling a problem. The danger is that the organization winds up with a lawyer instead of a full time organizer and then moves directly into fund-raising for the suit. The result is that they are barely able to keep up with the legal fees and court costs, and never able to hire an organizer. Thus, they remain a one-tactic organization. It is essential to start with organizing staff even if you do have to rely on a suit. Professional staff will ensure a more skillful fundraising operation and be able to develop a more balanced strategy.

A suit can give you a chance to approach government agencies, like the Environmental Protection Agency, for example, to file a friend-of-the-court brief on your behalf. Far-and-away the best method for handling suits is to get an appropriate governmental agency to take the case to court and pay the bills while you become the Friend-of-the-Court.

Reaction From Opposition

One of the big drawbacks of law suits is that the reaction of the enemy is rarely public. Attempts to delay or to change the law have been mentioned. Other than that, the reaction tends to be behind-the-scenes pressure on the judge. When a corporation is being sued in issues such as discrimination or plant safety there is likely to be pressure on witnesses who are also employees. Few forces are set in motion by a law suit. A successful suit, if it is precedent setting, will engender more suits. Cases such as Brown vs. Board of Education* are rare.

ABOUT EDUCATION AND SERVICE CAMPAIGNS.

EDUCATION

There are many organizations which exist solely to do research and prepare educational materials. These organizations are a vital adjunct to community organization. They are able to develop expertise on political and economic issues which direct action organizations simply do not have the resources to develop. Sometimes a massive education campaign precedes the development of a popular movement, as the Teach-ins laid the basis of the anti-war movement of the sixties. Today, there are some issues, such as cutting the military budget, where it is not currently possible to organize mass based direct action groups. Here, educational organizations are playing a vital role in keeping the issue alive. In the present context, however, we are discussing those education campaigns which citizens organizations undertake themselves and which are just one tactic in a larger campaign involving direct action tactics as well as education.

There is often an assumption, particularly on the part of organizing staff who have been to college, that most people learn best by reading or through sitting in classes. Of course many people do learn this way, and when an organization takes on a complex issue, all of the relevant information should be available in fact sheets and position papers. However, you can not assume that most of your membership or most of the community will read or understand these.

* In 1954, the Supreme Court declared that separate school facilities for Negroes and Whites did not fulfill the requirements for equal educational opportunity.

The first question to ask in preparing educational materials is, What do people have to know? They have to know what their stake in the issue is and that they are right. More than that, they need to know the answers to the most common questions that their friends and neighbors will ask them. They also need to know how to refute the arguments which appear in the press. A good gauge of how much to educate people is the counter education of the opposition. Most people do not need to know the complexities of how a utility rate base is determined, for example, but they should know how a rate hike will affect them. As the campaign unfolds, the membership will learn more and want to learn more. The common error is to throw a lot of professional research at people at the very start, which discourages them from even trying to understand the issue.

Over time, leadership and staff may come to understand the issue too well and thus become unable to explain the simple basics to new audiences. An entry level presentation should be developed and reviewed very carefully from time to time to make sure that it is not developing into something too complex.

Having determined what people need to know, you can proceed to figure out ways to teach it. Role playing is one method. A series of door-to-door visits can be re-enacted, in which all the relevant points are made. Slide shows can be useful, but [redacted] are often over-ambitious and are completed too late to be of use. Charts, graphs, and cartoons are also useful. People telling how the problem affected them, and why the proposed solution is good for them, is a nice method. In using any of these techniques, leadership, not staff, should do the speaking. Staff can help work up the presentations.

Education in the community is more difficult than membership education, since most people will get their information from the media. Before education can start, a context has to be built for it. Your organization and your issue have to be in the news to be talked about. This means that actions precede education, so that when your leaflet is handed out, people say, "Oh yes, that's the group trying to keep the library open." Your activities will be more real to people if they are seen first on TV. If your leadership has been on TV, they will be celebrities when they go to speak to other community groups. At that point, you can start teach-in's, community education meetings, leaflet drives, debates, a speaker's bureau, etc. Conducting your own hearing in the community is a good way of combining organizing with education. Specialized meetings can be held

in the community. A group fighting an Interstate Highway conducted an information meeting for candidates for public office and their staffs. A later meeting was held for members of Democratic clubs. Similar events can be held for clergy, small businessmen, merchants, etc. Each briefing approaches the issue from the point of the self interest of the group attending.

Members and friends of the organization who teach school can help the community education drive by inviting speakers from your organization to address classes and by assigning papers on the issue. If you lack such contacts, approach schools and colleges directly and offer the resources of your organization.

House meetings are another useful educational device. Each member invites the people on his/her street to the house for coffee and a brief talk on the issue. Whatever the educational form you use, all presentations should end in a specific suggestion for what the group can do to help. For example, ask them to come to the next action, circulate a petition, volunteer in the office, etc. Sign up people on the spot. Never say "We'll get back to you with something to do."

Questions are often raised as to how to educate the community about the underlying political and economic relations behind an issue, or how to present an analysis of the situation which goes beyond the immediate issue toward a generalized perspective of social change. What we are really talking about here is less a problem of education and more a problem of experience. When a community organization was fighting an Interstate Highway, the organizers knew that big banking interests were, in part, behind the highway plan. As long as the hand of the banks remained invisible, no amount of "education" on the subject would have had an impact on the community. When David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan Bank put himself at the head of the business-labor group campaigning for the highway, the whole situation became quite clear and no particular education was needed. Community groups readily picketed the bank. Confrontations with bank officials during redlining campaigns have educated the participants about the role of the banks in community deterioration far better than all of the leaflets and lectures on banks and capitalism could have done. People learn best through their own experience in activist organizations. Of all tactics, the results of education are hardest to evaluate. You haven't educated people unless you ask them to do something and they do it.

SERVICE

The level of public service available in the United States is so low compared to other industrial countries, that much needed service work falls to voluntary organizations. Such groups handle everything from legal assistance to hot lunches to abortion counseling. Thousands of people's lives are made better because of such organizations. It is not generally the mission of such organizations to deal with the causes of social problems nor to build mass popular organizations. Generally they consume all their time serving, not alleviating the causes of poverty.

There is a commonly held view that certain kinds of service organizations, food co-ops for example, are a good way of educating people for social change. Co-ops and similar organizations, it is said, teach lessons about economic cooperation, the politics of nutrition, public ownership, non-traditional division of labor and new or anti-management methods. Perhaps this is so. We only note that since the Shakers founded their cooperative society in 1792, co-ops have brought many benefits to their members. However, the track record of co-ops as a method of social change has not been overwhelming.

Often, a group wishing to develop a direct action organization decides to start by providing a service to the community: schools, women's centers, crisis centers, co-ops, legal aid and consumer aid are all forms. This approach is most often taken by a small group of organizers who are from outside of, and different from, the community, and who feel that they will be better accepted if they are giving something away.

Experience indicates that it is indeed rare for a service organization to evolve into anything else. There are several reasons for this.

1. The person who comes for a service has a problem and needs help. Usually the problem is an individual one and does not affect enough people to be a good organizing issue. A direct action organization would start by identifying a problem which affected a substantial part of the community significantly.
2. A person who comes to a service organization comes primarily to get the service and is not thinking about becoming a member or an active participant in an issue campaign. People who join a direct action organization, on the other hand, tend to have both an interest in the issue and are at a point in their lives where they would like the social and personal growth opportunities that an organization provides.

3. When a service organization has solved the problem for a person in need of assistance, be it counseling or inexpensive food, the person leaves, having gotten what he or she came for. In a direct action organization, about 1/3 of the people who have been recruited to campaign on a specific issue will stay with the organization as it moves on to another campaign. If the new campaign is on an issue which is closely related to the original issue, then the percentage will be much higher.

There has been some positive experience in the consumer field, where organizations have attempted to use direct action methods to solve individual consumer complaints. The person with the resolved complaint is then obligated to stay in the organization for a specified period of time to help others. This approach also had some failures.

Generally speaking, a service program is not a good way to build a direct action organization and it is by no means a necessary first step. Very recently, some direct action organizations have started to experiment with service projects as benefits to members. Food co-ops in low income areas are one example. The organization maintains a direct action program. Its members may join the organization's co-op as a privilege of membership. Other possible benefits for members include discounts from local merchants, blood plans, travel plans, charter flights, and even summer camps. There is not yet enough experience to say whether these activities help to cement the organization to a sufficient degree to be worth the effort and staff time. But the whole approach seems quite promising. The key element is that the direct action program is set up before the service component, and that membership is required to participate in the action program of the organization as well as in the service component.

There are times when a service approach does tie into building a direct action organization. A group in Chicago wanted to organize a community on the issue of property tax reform. They went door-to-door telling people that an organization was being formed which could help them determine if their home was over-assessed. "You should apply for an individual reassessment," they told the homeowners, "but a better approach is for the whole community to get together to demand that the assessor's office reassess the entire area." This combination of individual and collective action worked well. Had the organization attempted to provide technical assistance to actually get each individual home owner's case through the assessor's office, the resources of the organization would quickly have been exhausted, and no community organization would have been built.

STRIKES

The essential function of the strike is to withhold something which the target wants or needs. In a labor strike, labor power is withheld. Slow-downs, work-actions, sick-ins, etc. are variations of the strike, but entail lower risk. Boycotts can be considered a form of strike, as can rent-strikes.

Time Table:

Largely external in labor strikes and internal in all other forms. Most labor contracts prohibit strikes during the life of the contract, which limits them to expiration periods, usually once every two or three years. Strikes for recognition or against unfair labor practices can take place at other times.

Boycotts of all types are limited by seasonal factors. Boycott products when they are available or in greater demand, grapes in summer, snow tires in winter, etc.

Once the strike or boycott is under way there are no external time factors except for the ability of the strikers to hold out and the possibility of court restraining orders or injunctions in the case of unions.

Legal Constraints:

Greatest for unions, medium in other situations.

Labor strikes may be subject to contract limitations, Taft-Hartley injunctions and, for public employees, state laws. Picketing may be subject to court injunction.

Federal laws prohibit labor organizations from organizing boycotts against the distributors of struck goods (Secondary boycotts). There has been one case where a non-labor organization was brought to court for restraint of trade in a boycott.

State laws and local ordinances regarding rent strikes must be researched in each locality. They are legal in some places, subject to court approval.

Relationship Between Leadership and Membership:

A labor strike is often a life and death situation. It requires considerable confidence in the leadership, as only a limited amount of information on the progress of negotiations can be made available during the strike. It has been observed

that the individuals who rise to leadership on the local level in the course of a strike are often not the ones who are later elected to administer the contract. The membership often perceives that the temperament of a good strike leader is not the same as the temperament of a good business agent.

Organizing a rent strike often necessitates bringing the most respectable and established tenants into the leadership, as the strike committee is asking to be entrusted with very large sums of money belonging to the tenants. The need for frequent court appearances during the strike makes retired persons logical choices for leadership. Since this is not usually the group which initiates the strike, the leadership group must be kept open at the start.

Potential Allies

Labor strikes and rent strikes are quite limited in their ability to attract allies, at least in the present period. They are generally considered to be strictly in the narrow financial interest of the people involved. There are two exceptions: within labor there is often trading of strike support between unions. The second exception is when allies feel it is in their self-interest or may be in the future. The rent strike of the Co-op City tenants in New York City was supported by the tenants of other publicly financed middle-income housing who felt they might find themselves in the same situation. The strike also became a cause for people of good will throughout the city. There was, however, little material assistance which anyone could give from outside.

Boycotts depend almost totally on the organization's ability to put together a very broad coalition or alliance. The nature of a boycott allows unlimited opportunities for the direct participation of all interested people. The grape strike is an exceptional situation. It is almost impossible to organize a successful boycott when the people called on to participate don't benefit directly from the boycott. A boycott of local stores and public facilities, while also difficult, can be organized around demands from which all the patrons will benefit.

Relationship Between Organization and Target:

Labor Strikes and boycotts are aimed at institutions rather than individuals. While the target of a rent strike is often the landlord, it is more likely an agent, realty company or municipality. This makes it difficult to employ the usual approach of personalizing the target.

All three forms of strike require constant negotiations while they are in progress. It should always be remembered that any form of strike is like a revolver with one bullet in the chamber. Once you shoot it, it's gone. The threat of this tactic is always greater than the actuality.

Inherent Power

These tactics have more inherent power than any other available to citizens organizations. They are also the hardest to win. The key is to accurately estimate what you can actually withhold and how much it will be missed. When social workers struck the New York Welfare Department, they only succeeded in showing that the Department ran as well without them. In subsequent years the functions of thousands of them were taken over by lower paid clerks.

It is essential in a labor strike, and useful in boycotts, to work out the dollar cost of the demands over, say, a three-year period. This will give you some idea of the amount of damage you have to do. There is more to the situation than arithmetic however; an enterprise may fear for its reputation or the loss of markets to a competitor. The boycott and rent strike tactic seldom work alone, and need a variety of support tactics.

Permanence of Result:

In a labor strike, the result is a several year contract, but it is only useful if the union has the strength to enforce it. Rent strikes often end with a court order or other written agreement, but again, constant followup is needed to hold the landlord to the agreement. A boycott should end in a written agreement, although it will seldom be legally binding.

Resources Required:

A labor strike requires vast resources for strike benefits, lawyers' fees, court costs, bail, etc. More than any other form of protest, the success of a strike depends directly on the cash reserves of the organization. Rent strikes are comparatively cheap. The biggest single expense is lawyers' fees, but there are many legal organizations which can provide lawyers at low cost or free. This must be arranged before the rent strike starts. Since communications within the building are easy, organizing costs are low and the number of staff needed is also low. Boycotts of a local merchant or public facility are also very inexpensive to conduct. Boycotts of anything larger than a department store start to get quite expensive as the number of outlets to be covered rises. Boycotts

involving more than one city are usually beyond the means of citizens organizations.

Reactions From Target:

All three forms are most often met with threats of legal action. Labor strikes and rent strikes often elicit threats of loss of job or home. The response to a boycott is usually indirect; public relations and advertising are stepped up but the boycott is never mentioned. As the stakes get higher, the reaction to a boycott is stronger. The grape growers arranged to have the U.S. Army buy an entire crop and send it to VietNam. In labor strikes, the reaction is strongest and employers have used police, courts, the press, and government intervention, as well as hired scabs and criminals.

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Perhaps another criteria should have been added to our list for evaluating tactics: Is it fun? Organizing is a serious and often difficult business, but it can be enjoyable. One of the groups fighting an interstate highway conducted a "Fish-In" on a city owned recreation pier which would be destroyed by the highway. Food was sold, there was entertainment, a marathon swimmer swam across the Hudson River, a diver went to the bottom and brought up a bottle of sludge, music was played on the pier and piped under water for the fish, then a microphone was lowered so that the fish could communicate with the people if they cared to. (They didn't care to.) Coming a few weeks before the Mayoral election, the Fish-In had political significance, and it was a good media event, but more important it was fun. People brought their children and spent an afternoon on the pier. The community and the organization were brought closer together in the process.

In trying to be creative about tactics, we need to keep in mind that no tactic has any particular significance outside of the strategy of which it is a part. The strategy only has meaning in relation to the specific issues to which it is applied and the issues, while important in their own right, should also be part of an overall conception of restoring democracy in our country. Direct action organizing is about bringing power back to people and to communities. It is about restoring that human dignity which is lost when we can no longer control our environment, our community, our jobs and our lives.

Focus

"This is the story of a venture in the ghetto, of the development of a ghetto health project which still lives, and of its meaning as I saw it as director. It is a tale told twice, in alternating sections: first as a factual account of events, then as a personal interpretation of those events - the story from the inside of the white outsider who was present.

"The unfolding is literally and allegorically a story of involvement and change, the evolution of a new institution and of the people who made it. It is, in its parallel construction here, the public and private stories behind a benignly named storefront in a Detroit ghetto, the Moms and Tots Center, and of the inevitable intertwining of the two.

"It speaks to those who are seeking a way to make a dent in the world, a dent to jar it into something more healthful and whole. It is not intended as a "how-to-do-it" text. That it cannot be. It is a story of what happened in a particular place at a particular time in the contemporary history of the city.

"This book does say at least two things. First, that health as quality of life, as "wholeness, unfolding," must be mirrored in the process of undertakings intended to improve health. And that those who would involve others, especially the poor, in the process of healthful change, must themselves be involved: the one who would change others must himself be changed."

It is dangerous

to encourage people to talk--to express their feelings in words, to shape their ideas into coherent forms. The person in charge cannot predict what will happen; he cannot control the words. It is an open situation, and everyone becomes more vulnerable, more exposed, and thus more equal.

And the whole process is threatening to people. They will be frightened by their own feelings, by their fears and longings, and by the possibilities of their own ideas. Hearing themselves talk raises new expectations of themselves and their circumstances. They will no longer be satisfied with being given answers and being told what to do. And once they have begun, they will expect to continue to talk and to criticize.

It is threatening to the person in charge. He cannot stay the same. Nothing is ever over and done with, final, completed. He must continue responding to a changing milieu: sometimes the change is erratic, sometimes it is flowing, but always there is movement. As he hears people learning to talk with their souls, he has an awesome responsibility: he must listen and help them focus and channel what comes before them both. It cannot remain in

limbo. For this he needs his best energies, his most alert self. They will expect it. As he hears the hopes and anxieties of others, the leader in charge will recognize the similarities with his own situation; and then he has his own self to deal with.

The whole process is inherently dangerous. Only a belief in the human rightness of it, in its importance to human wholeness, makes it worth the effort.

Having developed an expectation for talking-listening at the Center, I wanted to provide the means for it to continue consciously after I was gone. After discussion with the staff, a mental health consultant, a young white woman, was invited to come regularly to the Center. Apart from her professional credentials as a graduate instructor in child psychiatric nursing, the consultant was qualified, to my mind, because she accepted the philosophy of the Center as well as her status as an outsider; she had had experience working in a ghetto, and most importantly, she was the only visitor to the Center to receive the explicit, unsolicited approval of the staff. As Felecia said, referring to her, "Everyone don't have to be black."

The staff saw her as coming primarily to help them understand the interactions of the children in day care. My hope was that this would allow them the opportunity to continue to look at themselves and their relationships with each other, as well as help ease the inevitable discomforts of the transition phase.

Other structural arrangements which I made in preparation for my leaving were centralizing certain mechanical procedures, as I have described (see p. 206), and dissolving the position of project director. This in effect required the VNA to assume more of the time-consuming paper work, as well as the worries of adequate funding. The VNA could no longer view the Center as a tentative "project" but as an established entity which expressed the VNA's concern for health. The VNA would carry the responsibility for its financial and structural support. The new person in charge of the Center needed to be a supervisor—one who was responsible for the quality of relationships and development of people. She should not have to be encumbered with administrative problems as well. By using the term "supervisor" I hoped to minimize for Carlene Williams the difficulty of being viewed as "replacing" me, either in function or personality. The Center no longer required either the personality or functions of a "project director."

After April 1, I no longer went to the Center. To aid in the transition, however, I met two or three hours weekly with Mrs. Williams for a period of three months at the administrative offices of the VNA. We were joined every two weeks by the mental health consultant.

Before leaving I wanted also to make structurally clear the decision-making process between the Center and the VNA. Internally, the Center had evolved what I would call a dynamic rather than hierarchical arrangement for decision-making. Visually, this arrangement would look like interlacing rings rather than a pyramid: each group of participants (whether those in the four children's clubs, the prenatal or birth-control clinic patients,

parents- or mothers-groups, ad hoc or permanent neighborhood groups) would decide among themselves their own activities. When they wanted program changes they would convey their suggestions through their group sponsor (as Ann or Bernard or Mrs. Jefferson for the clubs, or through Johnnie for the clinic groups, or through Linda for the day care parents, or through Mary Louise for the neighborhood groups) to the Center staff group. There the final decisions would be made. On the whole, the pattern personalized the operation of the Center, since the staff tended to identify with the neighborhood.

But during the transition period as my time to leave drew near, I sensed the staff was dubious about the ultimate link between their "final" decisions and the administration of the VNA, which held the purse strings and managed contractual arrangements with health service agencies. What would happen if their new supervisor did not agree with them? After six months they did not feel confident about what they knew of her, partly because of their own prejudices about "educated" Negroes who had "made it," partly because she was ambivalent about whether her primary identity was "black" and therefore akin to the Center, or "professional" and thus allied to the VNA.

So I made the question explicit with Linda. I asked specifically: would they want the prerogative, officially, to go to the executive director of the VNA if that seemed necessary to them? After two weeks of discussion among themselves, they made their decision: they would work out any disagreements they had with Mrs. Williams among themselves. Somehow my suggestion had implied that they needed to go to whitey in order to settle their problems, even problems with the supervisor who would communicate them to whitey. Having seen it that way, their decision reflected their determination to be self-reliant, it proclaimed a desire for independence. I was pleased with that. At the same time, it precluded a clear channel for appeal—which could frustrate them in the future. Nevertheless, they had decided. I held my breath for them.

Although preparations for transition were complex, they were much simpler than those going on inside of us. In midwinter, I spoke with some of the staff individually about my leaving, both to allow them to react, and to give them time to think about possible changes in the internal organization of the Center. I wanted them to be free to express their doubts and fears, and to look at the whys. But I was torn inside. I wanted them to miss me, to feel a sense of loss. But I wanted also for them to feel a sense of growth in themselves, that I could now go, that they no longer needed me. During the many hours of talking with them individually, listening to the ambivalences, I did not let myself express to them the sense of loss that I was feeling.

I wanted them to focus on melding new relationships, and to express their feelings to each other. I could feel them trying, each in his own way. At one point I, in effect, refused to talk with Mary Louise privately until she began to say what she felt about the transition and about Carlene Williams in front of Carlene and me. What I did was arrange for the three of us to meet together regularly. But I could recognize the puzzlement and pain behind

those seemingly vacuous eyes. After a couple of weeks I followed her downstairs to the food cellar and explained not only what I was doing and why—she knew too that she had to try to talk openly with Carlene—but also how hard, how painful, it was for me to do it.

Individually, they let me know when it was time to “announce” my leaving to the staff as a whole, even though, of course, each of them already knew. But it was important to say it to them together. I had spent hours telling them in my head. I wanted to tell them what beautiful people they were, and what beautiful complexities, what unending dimensions to reality had come to my awareness because of them. But I did not, directly.

At the staff meeting, after their initial responses to my “announcement,” Linda, rightly enough, shifted the emphasis to them with a statement on the meaning of black power. She could understand that the Center and they could no longer have a white “head”; that the Center could not, even on a symbolic level, perpetuate the pattern so common among the organizations of our society of the white leader and black followers. Linda’s statement concentrated their energies, and I did not want to fragment those energies again by focusing on myself, nor take the chance of breaking into tears.

They asked me what I was going to do after I left, what I wanted to do most. I said I wanted to write about them. I wanted to let people in my “category” know what they were like. To my surprise and pleasure, they asked me to use their names, even if I was going to tell the “bad” things. “After all,” said Johnnie, “we make mistakes like everyone else; then people will know that we’re human too.” And they blessed my departure with, in Linda’s words, “If y’all want to write, that’s what you ought to do. Everyone ought to do what will make them happiest.”

Epilogue

Health is wholeness, unfolding.

It is pink skin covering a wound.

It is a book in the hand of the ghetto-dweller,

 and soul music on the lips of the suburbanite,

It is the preschooler's first whoop in day care.

It is knowing,

 not only *I* and *You*

 but *We*.

Health is wholeness, unfolding.

And it is present

Only when we continue to seek

 in ourselves, in our institutions,

 together with others,

A sharing which is significant,

 in the possibilities of man,

A growing awareness of self,

And the feeling of self-worth

 which is the result.

Finding and Keeping Volunteers
By: Jane Straus and Ann Harrington (W.A.V.M., Chico)

Finding

Start with friends.

Widen the circle to contacts, sympathizers, friends of friends.

Attract folks using educational events, social activities, films, speakers, etc.

Network with other organizations.

Make new people feel welcome at meetings by acknowledging, introducing.

Keep reminding the core group to recruit.

Have a brochure if possible; this makes your organization seem real.

Other ideas:

Keeping

Make sure everyone agrees to the same goals.

Keep volunteers busy, never idle.

Thank them for their work each time.

Learn names.

Personal contact keeps people returning.

Never accept a "maybe" when asking for help. Either get a commitment or a "no."

If they say they don't like that kind of work, always have an alternative.

Ask their opinions.

Give them information and responsibility; this will increase commitment.

Publicize meetings; publish minutes if applicable.

Share unenjoyable tasks.

Emphasize minor successes; congratulate.

Have volunteers work in groups when possible.

Letting volunteers give money or goods increases commitment.

Give folks ways to be active, not just to believe.

Keep the core group strong before extending further.

Axiom Number One: "Facts Alone Never Persuade"

PERSUASIVE SKILLS

I. One to One

70% of persuasion is listening
accept the person
understand where they are

Active Listenting:

listen for content
listen for overall feelings
direct questions that you want them to think about
best to start with open ended questions

example: How do you feel?

avoid questions such as: Have you heard? Why don't you. .
these questions intimidate people

To listen effectively: paraphrase and summarize their comments,
this proves that you are listening

*Know what you want when you talk to them
what results do you want to achieve?

Begin with self identification: name, badge, comment; don't frighten them

Carry your persuasion in steps: questions and answers and again.

II. Group Persuasion

Introduction must include that you have prior knowledge about your audience and their views. This requires analysis. Do your homework,

A. Audience Analysis

1. kind of community
2. demographics
3. their reasons for being at the meeting
4. what is their vested interest
5. voluntary attendance
6. why is the speaker there
7. prior attitude toward the speaker and the topic
8. knowledge of the issue
9. level of awareness
10. their values

Audience Analysis - continued

11. physiological and psychological state
12. what power do they perceive they have
13. what is their potential power

- *14. what action do you (the speaker) want to provoke
15. tell them what you want them to do
16. give them a task

III. Speech Analysis

Understand: What do you want to persuade people to do?
How will this speech accomplish this goal?

A speech has three parts: Introduction, body and conclusion

A. Introduction

The most important part of a speech!

1. define purpose
2. develop rapport
3. develop receptivity
4. include speaker identification
- *5. tell them what you are going to talk about
6. what is important about this topic
7. personal involvement: why is it important for me to be there
8. credentials of the speaker
9. develop interest: so they want to listen to you
10. convey prior understanding of the audience
11. start with similarities

B. Tools for an Introduction

1. analogy
2. compare them positively
3. develop interest
4. USE HUMOR
5. create a story - paint a picture
6. acknowledge their assets
7. use a quotation
8. use props - visual aids
9. begin with a question
10. reference to a current event
11. use commonality to your advantage
12. plant a seed - "we'll get to that later"

C. Purpose of the BODY of the speech

1. narrow your subject
2. make your arguement

How to make an arguement:

- a. statistics or facts
- b. scenario - specific instance
- c. quote an expert
- d. personal experience
- e. testimonial
- f. contrasts

Axiom Number Two: "You Never Argue Values"

Show the consistency of their values and your arguement

D. Purpose of a CONCLUSION

Think why

1. summarize
2. call to action
3. where do we go from here?
4. emphasize important points
5. remind them what they can think about
6. facilitate discussion
7. leave them with a feeling. Create an emotion
8. give them specific resources
9. closure (applaud, etc)

IV. Speaker Analysis

In order to be credible. . .

1. convey your knowledge
2. convey your depth of feeling and commitment
3. watch out for slang and loaded words
4. appropriateness of language
5. keep it simple

V. PERSUASION TECHNIQUES

- identify yourself early
- begin with a fair introduction (of yourself, your topic and your goals)
- don't deceive the audience
- quote your sources for statistics

Make your objectives clear

Remember these points for an effective speech:

- * HUMOR
- * testimonial
- * facts/statistics
- * contrast
- * personal story
- * paint a picture
- * feeling and commitment

VI. CONFLICT

"Facts Alone Never Persuade"

"Never Argue Values"

1. try to set up your introduction that tells them you know who they are
2. conclude with recognizing who the audience is
3. acknowledge that the group can disagree with each other and the speaker. Explain that you are here to present the issue.
4. acknowledge conflict

A. Hecklers ~ some types

1. Yes, butter

"Yes, but that can't be done"

2. Pessimist/Cynic

"If we're all going to die anyway, we might as well just party"

3. Spotlights

they need to be recognized, they are not speaking to ask a question

4. Computers

they have the latest facts and statistics

What you, as the speaker should do:

- * don't retreat
- * don't panic
- * the audience has empathy for you
- * acknowledge the heckler (or the situation)
- * keep control of the talk

B. Methods

1. reflect back on their argument
2. tell them how you feel (be human)
3. posting: write their comment on the board, we'll get back to this later...
4. the wolves: open the audience to criticizes the heckler (how do the rest of you feel about his/her comment?) THEN, rescue the heckler (you'll have an ally for life)

Hecklers - continued

What if you would like to be the heckler, that is what if you would like to make a comment, ie that the entire discussion is sexist, etc.

Introduce yourself. Give yourself a little credibility.

Legitimize what you want to say.

example: "I'm not trying to be disruptive though I would like to make a comment, I feel that . . .

C. Structure

The speaker is in control of time.

- * set the limits
- * set the rules

example: at the beginning, state that you have a minute to comment or respond, please direct your comments to.

- * explain the logistics of the meeting at the beginning. People will get restless if they can't anticipate breaks, topics, etc.
- * don't hand things out until they are meant to be read.

OTHER COURSES

Facilitating meetings - group interaction
Body Language

Public Speaking: Speech writing
Speech delivery
Impromptu speaking

Problem/Solution Pattern of Argument

1. Problem - state the issue, then
 - a. What should be happening? (the ideal)
 - b. What is or is not happening?
 1. What evidence do you have to support your opinion?
 - c. What is wrong with this? Why is it wrong?
 - d. Why is problem important?
2. Effect/Cause
 - a. What effect does it have?
 - b. What are the possible causes?
 - c. Which cause do you feel is the most likely one? Why?
3. Solution
 - a. What are some alternative solutions?
 - b. Which alternative should be chosen?
 - c. Why is it the best one?
4. Action
 - a. What action do you want the audience to take?
 - b. What will be the result(s)?
5. Conclusion
 - a. What feeling(s) do you want to leave the audience with?
 - b. Summary or re-emphasis.

Considerations before giving a speech:

1. The Occasion
 - a. the nature and circumstances of the meeting
 - b. the historical background
 1. issues and events giving rise to this situation
 2. present status of the situation - what are opposing forces and why? what is audience's position?
 - c. the immediate cause for discussion of this subject
 - d. what may be generally expected of a speaker on this occasion
2. The Audience
 - a. characteristics of audience- age, size, status, race, religion, educational level, previous information, special interests
 - b. general thoughts and problems in the minds of the audience
 - c. attitude towards speaker and subject
3. The Speaker
 - a. reasons for speaking on this subject
 - b. qualifications
 - c. general and specific preparation
 - d. reputation
4. The Speech
 - a. general purpose - persuade, inform, entertain
 - b. specific purpose
 - c. organization and development of ideas
 1. introduction - to gain attention and interest, establish goodwill, make aim clear
 2. body - points and sub-points unfolding with unity and progression. Is evidence acceptable?
 3. conclusion - Is it logical? Does it follow from aim stated in introduction?
 - d. style - appropriate vocabulary and sentence structure
 - e. delivery - pronunciation, rate, pitch, physical action

SPEECH EVALUATION SHEET

1. Did you know soon enough what the topic was?
2. Were you drawn into the subject?
3. Were you convinced of the importance of the problem?
4. Were you convinced of the speaker's stated cause(s)?
5. Were you convinced that the speaker chose the best solution (if the speaker had a solution)?
6. Was an audience action step proposed by the speaker?
7. Any rambling? Anything not seem related?
8. Was the conclusion really a conclusion or did the speaker just stop talking?
9. What could the speaker have done to be more convincing or effective?

"You can't be effective politically if you don't get money. And you can't get money if you don't have a strong specific program to attract support."

A. Zeitz

National Citizen Political Action Committee
1946

Excerpt from The Grassroots Fundraising Book, Joan Flanagan
The Swallow Press, Chicago, 1977

"Money is like sex. Everyone thinks about it, but no one is supposed to discuss it in polite company. Everyone has a lot of inhibitions about money, especially asking for money; think of all the cartoons of the office worker afraid to ask for a raise. In our society fears about money are normal.

"Most people are afraid to ask someone else for money. They are afraid they will fail and afraid they will lose face. A few admit they are afraid, but others will give a lot of excuses: I can't make calls at the office; I don't know anyone rich; I can't get a baby-sitter. Or they postpone forever: I can't do it until after the kids are back in school, the holidays, the election, the tennis season, the vacation, the promotion. Volunteers often make asking for money sound like a bothersome chore, like taking out the garbage. It is not a chore; it is a challenge. Asking for money is like going out to beat up a bear. The larger the amount, the more frightening it becomes, because you have to beat up a bigger bear.

"One of the jobs of a good fundraiser is to teach volunteers how to conquer their fear of the unknown. The first step is understanding that each person comes complete with his or her own set of fears and hang-ups, and the package of inhibitions usually includes a fear of asking for money. The second step is realizing that this is normal and nothing to be ashamed of. The third step is working with the volunteers so that they can get control of their own fears.

"It is imperative that you understand and appreciate your volunteers' real feelings, because when members succeed at fundraising they do more than bring in money for the organization. They have also overcome their own fear. When they raise money, they have won a personal victory, they have conquered the bear. When people can raise money, they can do anything."

Some pointers on fundraising • by California Institute for Rural Studies

1. Set your goals

Community based organizations raise funds to make it possible to accomplish definite goals. Therefore, fundraising is carried out to meet clear needs. The first step in fundraising is to address the question: what will the money be used for? Once the goal is identified the amount of funds needed to accomplish the goal will be more readily determined. If you're having trouble identifying a fundraising goal the problem may be that your group is unclear about its program.

2. Develop a plan

Once you have determined your needs and set a definite goal try to figure out what type of fundraising event(s) are feasible for your group that can raise the needed funds. Monthly bake sales, benefit dinners featuring home-made specialty dishes (International Night theme), raffles, benefit dances, rummage sales, wine tasting socials, auctions and ad books are among the types of events that have worked consistently to raise money for community based organizations.

Your plan for fundraising should keep as its motto: fundraising equals fundraising. People like to participate in events that are fun. Folks who spend \$4 or \$5 on a movie will be just as happy to give that amount to your group provided

they can have just as much fun with your group.

In making your plans be sure to allow plenty of lead time to adequately prepare your event. Be sure to involve everyone in your group in some capacity. Each person in the group can sell at least one ticket (hopefully more) to a wine tasting social, or can ask a neighbor for items to offer at the rummage sale.

3. Get donations of services and supplies wherever possible.

Successful fundraisers maximize the number of participants and minimize overhead costs. Local merchants will often donate sponsorships of events (\$25 or more donation) if they get prominent recognition for having done so. Moreover, if you or one of your group's members are regular customers of the merchant they will often be open to donating some item of merchandise for an auction at the event. Local amateur musicians may be persuaded to perform for free at a wine tasting event, a local store might donate cheese at cost for snacks, and a local printer might be persuaded to print your materials for publicity at cost. It never hurts to ask!

4. Keep careful records.

Only by keeping good records can costs be controlled. Moreover, planning of future events can be more accurately accomplished once a record of true costs has been established. Finally, your group will want to know how well the goals were met and feel pride in having done so.

5. Thank everyone for their help.

All donors or sponsors should be thanked with a personal letter. Every volunteer in the group should be thanked for their effort. People who feel good about having supported your group are the most likely people to be repeat donors.

CONDUCTING MEETINGS

Organizational meetings are your opportunity to get all of your activists into one room and make the decisions that will later be implemented. To maximize results you must be sure that the agenda is well thought out and the business conducted efficiently. No one likes to waste their time. If your meeting is boring and accomplishes nothing you will have a very hard time getting the people back for another meeting.

BEFORE THE MEETING

There are a few things that must be done in preparation for the meeting. First, spend some time becoming clear on why you want to hold a meeting. Talk with your leaders to clearly define the goals and objectives of any one particular meeting. Write the agenda down before you meet. You may even want to mail out the agenda to those you want to attend. This will develop a commonality of objectives. The people coming will know what to expect. Pick a time and place that is convenient to those attending. Working people usually can not take off for a daytime event. Others are unable to attend on weekends. Do not pick a time randomly and do not

pick a time simply because it is convenient for you. Sometimes you may want to do some initial phone calling to find out what times are most convenient for your membership. Generally 7:30 or 8:00 PM is the best time for an evening meeting. This will allow working people time to go home and get dinner, yet will leave you time to get the work done before it gets late. Pick a location that is central for the people attending. Also as the group continues to meet everyone should help plan and provide for child care so that parents can be involved. If you have an office which also acts as a community center, you may want to have the meeting there because it will help people identify the office as the focus of the organization. A conveniently located and somewhat comfortable public place (an office, community center, school, union hall, church basement, ect.) will be less intimidating and more inviting to new people than asking them to someone's home who they may not know.

On the other hand, holding the meeting in someone's living room offers the advantage of being comfortable and cosy. Do not hold meetings in restaurants. It is too distracting with the hubbub of waiters, bussers and eating to accomplish anything of substance.

Outreach to insure attendance is essential. If you are expecting twenty and two show up, the meeting is disheartening for you and your members. Outreach is generally a three step process. First, call your leadership people to establish the

time, date and place, as well as to clarify objectives and develop an agenda. Second, send out an announcement at least one week in advance. This form of communication should be short and pithy. Lastly, starting three or four days before the meeting call everyone you want to attend. The purpose of the call is to remind them of the time, impress upon them the importance of attendance, and to remind them that their participation is important. You should have a good idea of how many people will be attending by the night of the meeting. If you don't, you haven't done your homework.

DURING THE MEETING

You should always be the first to arrive at a meeting that you call. It is important that you are there to greet people as they arrive and help your new members feel at home. It is often a good idea to set up only as many chairs as people you expect. If you are meeting in a hall where the hall has set up more chairs than you need, remove the excess chairs. This is important for psychological reasons. You want the meeting to look well attended, even create the illusion that more people showed than you were expecting. Try to delegate as much of the outreach and logistics of the meeting as possible, but stay on top of the people to whom you delegate responsibilities. If you have ten people helping put together the meeting, you will be sure to have at

least ten people show up.

Always try to start the meeting on time, never more than fifteen minutes late. This sets the tone of the meeting. If you are late and disorganized, the participants will pick that up and be less enthusiastic the next time. Being late sets a pattern, if you start late this time people won't show up until late the next time. The meeting, itself, should not last more than an hour and a half.

Pick your chairperson ahead of time, if you do not already have officers who would normally chair. The chair should be someone . . . everyone respects. It should be someone who is not intimidated to step in and move the agenda when things get boring, and someone sensitive enough to call for a consensus when that point arrives. The chair should promote discussion and input from everyone and limit those people who tend to monopolize discussion. It is very important that the meeting stay focused on the points you want to discuss. It is better to be firm and gently scold those people who divert the subject, in the name of keeping the meeting going, than letting the meeting get bogged down in worthless talk just because the chair can not tell someone to keep to the point. After all it is better to end a meeting early so that people can chat afterwards than let it go too late and have people leave before you are done. Do not let someone chair just because they may want to and you don't have the heart to say no. Chairing a meeting is an important task and should be

done by someone with strong interpersonal skills who knows the goals that need to be accomplished.

It is often helpful to review the agenda with the meeting participants before you get into the heart of the subject matter. This is because it helps people get an overview of where the meeting is going and cuts down on interruptions during the meeting for business that would be brought up afterwards anyway. Try to allocate specific time periods for discussion of agenda items. You can always extend discussion if you need to, but you also want to avoid discussing the first point for two hours and the last for only thirty seconds. When pushing for a decision on tactics or principles discussion should stay open until there is a clear consensus. Votes that are close indicate a lack of clear consensus on an action and will result in later problems when you need participation. Try to avoid discussing particulars around specific events unless you do not have a committee working on the event. The meeting should be for general decisions and can get bogged down in detail. It is always best to set up committees to deal with particular events or fundraisers etc. Then the committee reports back to the general body.

You should close the meeting with a summary of the work that you accomplished in that meeting. Clearly remind people of the decisions that were made and what responsibilities and tasks must be accomplished before the next meeting. Give the meeting a sense of closure. If appropriate close with

a song or unison clap. This is a good method of unifying people and giving a little energy shot.

AFTER THE MEETING FOLLOW UP

The day after the meeting you should, or someone else, assigned to the task, prepare minutes. Minutes are good at pulling together all the information and decisions that were made into an orderly format. Mail the minutes to key people who may have been unable to attend. You may also want to mail the minutes to those who did attend but that is generally not necessary. The minutes are also a good reminder for you at the next meeting for things that you need to do follow up on. You should try to call all the meeting participants during the next week to "check in". Solicit their comments on what they liked or disliked about the meeting. Show them that you are interested in their opinions. Finally try to make the next meeting better than the one before.

CHECK LIST

- Plan your meetings so they are informative, informal, & interesting
- Choose a comfortable meeting place.
- Publicize the meeting at least a week in advance.

- Keep your meeting short-no more than an hour and a half.
- Keep the discussion moving and involve everyone.
- Identify the decisions to be made & work for a consensus.
- Assign tasks for people to carry out.
- Meetings should lead to action.

The more people who know about your meeting the better,
keep those who were unable to attend informed on your actions.