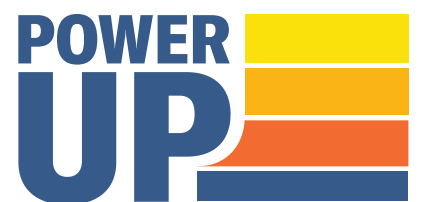


Activist Handbook 2019



Contents

Acknowledgements	3
About the ACLU	3
From Our Executive Director	5
RESISTOR: Laying the Foundation.....	8
Community Agreements.....	8
What is Activism?	10
Moving from Issues to Action.....	10
What is Power?.....	11
Tool: Root Cause Tree.....	12
CIRCUIT BREAKER: Understanding Our Role in the Movement	14
Putting ACLU's Work in Context.....	14
Race Equity Resources & Further Reading	15
ENERGIZER: Strengthening Our Organizing & Leadership Muscles	18
Part I: Building Collective Power	18
Recruiting Volunteers	18
Practice: Craft a Personal Narrative	21
Structuring Leadership	22
Running Effective Organizing Meetings	25
Making Meetings Accessible	27
Part II: Designing the Blueprint	28
Identifying Stakeholders	28
Tool: Circle of Influence Stakeholder Map	29
Identifying Targets	30
Tool: Power Map.....	30
Identifying SMARTIE Goals	34
Crafting a Strategy	34
Tool: Midwest Academy Strategy Chart	35
CONDUCTOR: Navigating the Legislative Process	38
Washington State Legislature 101	38

How a Bill Becomes a Law	42
Resources & Further Education	43
Practice: Get to Know Your District.....	44
AMPLIFIER: Choosing & Using Tactics	46
What is a Tactic?.....	46
Lawmaker Meetings	47
Phone Calls & Emails.....	49
Public Comment.....	51
Bird-Dogging	54
Media Tactics.....	55
Practice: Design a Tactical Action Plan	59
TRANSFORMER: Bringing It All Together	62
Sustaining Your Activism	62
Practice: Make Your Commitments	63
Additional Resources	64

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ACLU of Northern California
ACLU of Southern California
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Beautiful Rising
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National ACLU
The Management Center

About the ACLU

The American Civil Liberties Union is a nationwide nonprofit organization with more than four million members and supporters, and affiliates in all 50 states, Puerto Rico, and Washington, D.C. We work in the courts, legislatures, and our communities to protect and extend basic rights for everyone. The ACLU is nonpartisan and does not endorse or oppose candidates.

The ACLU of Washington is one of the largest state affiliates, with over 130,000 members and supporters statewide. We work to ensure justice, freedom, and equality are realities for all people in Washington State, with particular attention to the rights of people and groups who have historically been marginalized and disenfranchised.

From Our Executive Director



Dear Activist,

Thank you for your commitment to the fight for justice, equity, and fairness. Your support and activism make Washington and the entire country a better place.

I believe in the promises of the Constitution, though I also believe they are still too far from being realized for too many people. At this moment in time, the values that so many of us hold dear are at risk.

This is personally meaningful to me because my ancestors were human beings held in bondage for the profit of institutions that considered them not to be whole humans. The highest court in the land deemed my people to be only three-fifths of a person.

The story of my ancestors is not the only story of legally or institutionally sanctioned inhumanity in the United States. Native Americans were killed and cheated out of their lands. Chinese immigrants experienced hatred, abuse, and legal exclusion. Japanese Americans were incarcerated and continue to experience generational pain and trauma. Immigrants from Mexico and other countries endure false characterization as criminals, while Muslims are branded wholesale as terrorists.

It is not enough for us to shake our heads in dismay. Now more than ever, the ACLU must continue to protect and remain steadfast in our commitment to advance equity and liberty in the face of efforts to erode the rule of law and target communities.

This fight is a community effort which is why I am so glad you have joined with us to “power up” your activism. I look forward to partnering with you to make Washington and the United States live up to their promises. We have a lot of work to do; I am excited about what we will accomplish together.

In Solidarity,

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Michele Storms". The signature is stylized with a large, looping flourish at the end.

Michele Storms



RESISTOR:
Laying the Foundation

RESISTOR: Laying the Foundation

Community Agreements

Effective organizing and activism are built on trust. First, we build trust with each other as ACLU activist leaders, and then we build trust with communities and allies. We facilitate trust building by making community agreements about how we will treat one another in our meetings and conversations.

Guiding Principle

Courage & collaboration – Learning new ways of engaging with others can be uncomfortable and challenging. It requires us all to be brave and embrace our own discomfort, keeping our defense mechanisms in check. It's a big ask, with big rewards in collective power. We can help each other be brave by committing to building a space where everyone is seen, heard, and respected.

We will embody this principle in Power Up by agreeing to:

1. **Observe the “Platinum” rule.** Respect and treat others the way *they* want to be treated, not the way you prefer to be treated. We all come from different walks of life. Be respectful of people's backgrounds, experiences, and learning approaches. Use people's correct pronouns and apologize when you make a mistake.
2. **Acknowledge intent and address impact.** Assume that others are speaking and acting from a place of good intent. At the same time, if our actions negatively impact others, we must take responsibility for that impact.
3. **Be present and lean in.** Engage meaningfully and authentically in the conversation that's going on in the room (not the one on your phone).
4. **Be mindful of technology use.** If you do need to answer calls or texts, please step outside the room.
5. **Hear and be heard.** The more voices that contribute to the conversation, the better. If you haven't given others the opportunity to hear your perspective, speak up. If you're hearing yourself a lot, practice quiet observation and focused listening. We affirm both experiences as important to growth.
6. **Observe the “One mic, one voice” rule.** Avoid crosstalk and speaking over or interrupting others.
7. **Avoid putting people on blast.** What's said here stays here. What's learned here is shared everywhere.
8. **Care for yourself and others.** Practice patience and compassion for yourself and others. Do what you need for your own well-being and support others in doing the same.

9. **Commit to learning.** This training series was designed so that each session builds off the lesson before. Please commit to attending and participating in all sessions to build our collective advocacy and leadership skills.
10. **Have fun.** We want you to enjoy this training. Creating a shared space is about coming together as a community, being mutually supportive, and enjoying each other's contributions.

What is Activism?

Activism is fundamentally about power – it is action people take, individually and collectively, to challenge power imbalances and create positive change. One activist working alone may not have enough access or influence to create lasting, systemic change, but collectively, we can build and apply enough power to transform policies and institutions. In this section, we will examine forms of power, how power informs the issues the ACLU works on, and how we challenge the status quo as constituents of elected decision makers.

Why does constituent advocacy matter? Lawmakers work for you – and what you care about matters to them. Our goal is to build power among constituents across Washington so that everyone can hold elected officials accountable to a vision for our state that is inclusive, equitable, and fair. Whether you're already at your lawmaker's office every week or you're dipping your toe into activism and organizing for the first time, you have power you can leverage and share.

Moving from Issues to Action

The ACLU works on a wide range of civil liberties issues, including free speech, separation of church and state, due process, privacy, police accountability, mass incarceration, surveillance, immigrant rights, reproductive justice, LGBTQ+ rights, and more. Our focus is on giving meaning to the promise of liberty and justice for all, with a clear-eyed understanding of structural, systemic, and social barriers to equal enjoyment of constitutional rights. We pay special attention to the spaces where civil liberties and racial justice intersect, being mindful of our country's history, its institutionalization of racism and white supremacy, and the corresponding impacts on individuals' exercise of civil liberties and civil rights.

Which civil liberties issues matter most to you, and why?

How would the world look different if we won on these issues?

What is Power?

When we talk about power, we're talking about the ability to shape the structures and systems that impact peoples' life experiences, and specifically their ability to enjoy the civil liberties and civil rights promised to us all. It is also the ability to influence the decisionmakers who are positioned to shape those structures and systems.

In order to win on the issues that matter to us and bring our vision of a more just world to life, we must build our collective power. Later in this training, we will explore how to analyze power within the context of goal setting and creating a strategy chart. In this section, we are thinking about power more broadly.

There are four main forms of people power:

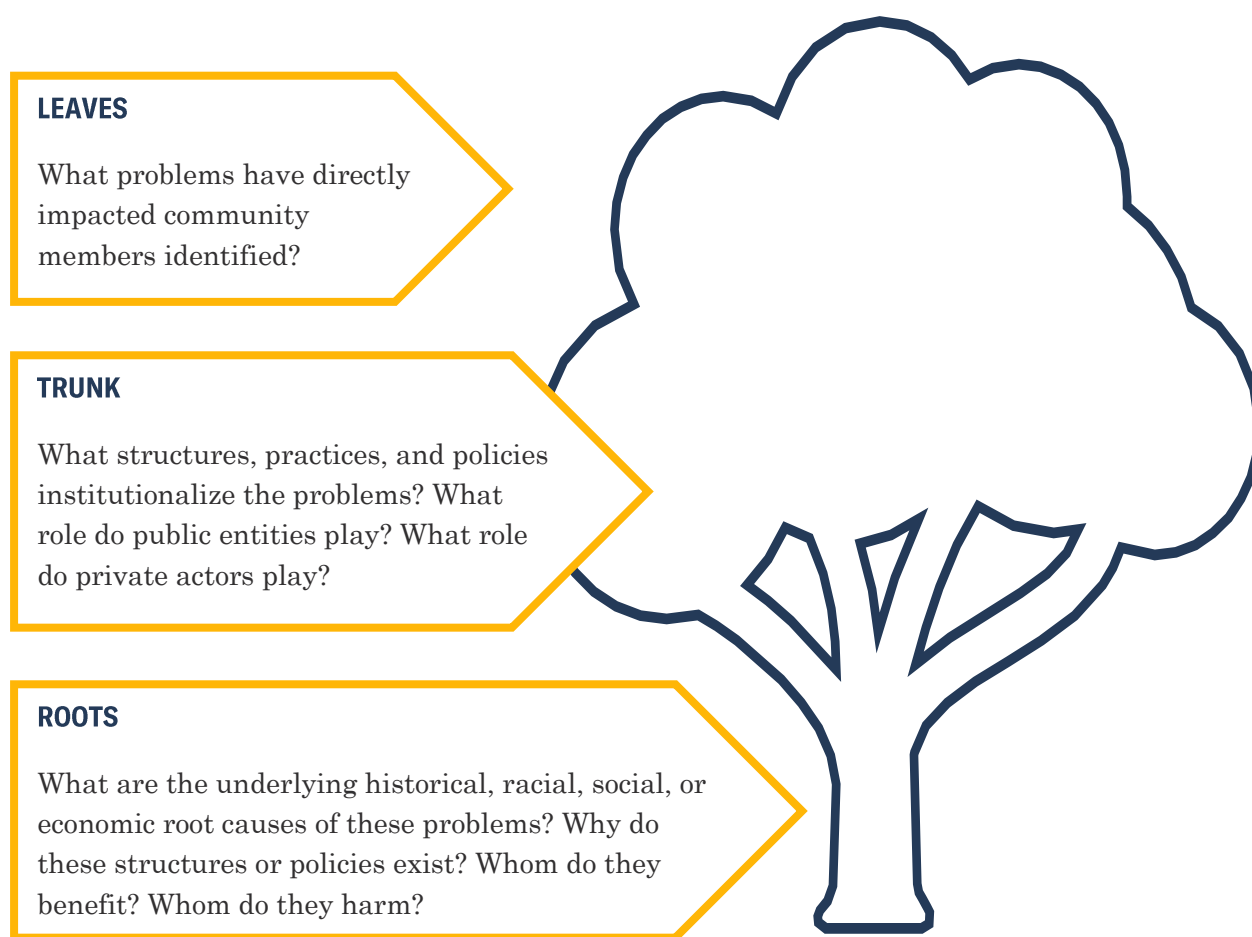
1. **Political Power:** Electing lawmakers who will support your legislative agenda and holding them accountable when they are in office, and changing laws through direct democracy (i.e., ballot initiatives). Political power is wielded by voters and by money for political education to raise awareness, prioritize issues, persuade decisionmakers, and spur action.
2. **Legal/Regulatory Power:** Using the courts and regulatory agencies to hold individuals and institutions accountable for violating people's rights, thereby motivating them to change their behavior.
3. **Disruptive Power:** Using strikes or protests to disrupt everyday business to cut into profits and shame bad corporate actors.
4. **Consumer Power:** Using boycotts or other means of organizing consumers to hit corporations at their bottom line.

As we've seen throughout our history, building people power takes time and perseverance, but the commitment to sustained, organized activism creates far-reaching waves of transformation. While all these forms of power are key to challenging the status quo and driving change, the focus of this training is on political power. Constituents can and should hold elected officials accountable and demand protections for civil rights and civil liberties. But in order to hold lawmakers to the highest standards, it is critical that we understand the problems we are *really* trying to solve. Organized activism should target underlying systems, not just surface-level symptoms.

Tool: Root Cause Tree

Sometimes the issues that motivate us are the symptoms of deeper problems that arise out of institutionalized racism and structural inequity. Take a moment to think about the issues you brainstormed on page 10. Are the things you wrote down “leaves,” the most visible parts of a problem; the “trunk,” the policies and practices that hold these problems in place; or “roots,” the historical and social factors that caused the problem to grow?

In the next section, we will begin to examine our own racial identity and how we are personally impacted by and/or unintentionally benefit from institutionalized racism and white supremacy.



This tool is adapted from Advocates for Youth, who adapted it from the Blueprint for Social Justice, developed by the Movement Strategy Center (MSC) for Young People For. This work is an updated version of the Blueprint for Social Justice Workbook & Curriculum licensed in 2009 to Movement Strategy Center, under the Creative Commons “Attribution-Non-Commerical-ShareAlike 2.5” License.



CIRCUIT BREAKER: Understanding Our Role in the Movement

CIRCUIT BREAKER: Understanding Our Role in the Movement

Putting ACLU's Work in Context

The ACLU of Washington uses a racial equity framework to guide our decision-making about whether and how to engage in any given advocacy project, from deciding whether to distribute literature at a community event to choosing what bills we advocate for in the legislature. Race equity is at the center of every issue we work on, but we are not experts in it. As we learn to become better antiracist advocates at both a personal and organizational level, these are some of the questions we ask ourselves:

What are the assumptions we bring to this decision that relate to racial equity?

What are the outcomes we are hoping to create?

How will we involve community members and other stakeholders in the decision-making process? How will we engage multiple and diverse perspectives?

How will this project increase racial equity? How might it decrease racial equity?

Are there potentially foreseeable unintended consequences?

Who else can we engage to advance opportunities and minimize harm?

How will we communicate our decisions to our allies and stakeholders?

The next section includes a list of helpful resources for unpacking our own individual privileges and biases and applying an antiracist lens to our advocacy.

Race Equity Resources & Further Reading

This is a small selection of publicly available resources relating to race equity, allyship, implicit bias, and the United States' history of institutionalized racism. This list is not comprehensive, and we encourage you to seek out additional sources of information.

Articles & Reports

“Confronting racism is not about the needs and feelings of white people.” Ijeoma Oluo. *The Guardian*. March 28, 2019.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/28/confronting-racism-is-not-about-the-needs-and-feelings-of-white-people>

“Decentering Whiteness.” Jeff Hitchcock and Charley Flint. The Center for the Study of White American Culture, Inc. 1997, 2015.

<http://www.euroamerican.org/public/decenteringwhiteness.pdf>

“Guidelines for Being Strong White Allies.” Paul Kivel. Adapted from *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Social Justice*. 2006.

<http://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/kivel3.pdf>

“Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations.” Anthony G. Greenwald & Linda Hamilton Krieger. *California Law Review*. July 2006, Volume 94, Issue 4.

<https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1250&context=californialawreview>

“Levels of Racism: A Theoretic Framework and a Gardener’s Tale.” Camara Phyllis Jones. *American Journal of Public Health*. August 2000, Vol. 90, No. 8.

<https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212>

“Moving the Race Conversation Forward.” Race Forward: The Center for Racial Justice Innovation. 2014. <https://www.raceforward.org/research/reports/moving-race-conversation-forward>

“A Primer on Intersectionality.” *African American Policy Forum*.

<https://waraceequityandjustice.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/00ba4-59819079-intersectionality-primer.pdf>

“So You Call Yourself an Ally: 10 Things All ‘Allies’ Need to Know.” Jamie Utt. *Everyday Feminism*. November 8, 2013. <https://everydayfeminism.com/2013/11/things-allies-need-to-know/>

“Understanding Oppression: Strategies in Addressing Power and Privilege, Part 3: Skill Sets for Agents.” Leticia Nieto & Margot F. Boyer. *ColorsNW*. March 2007.
https://beyondinclusion.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/ask_leticia_part_3.pdf

“White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.” Peggy McIntosh. 1989.
<https://nationalseedproject.org/Key-SEED-Texts/white-privilege-unpacking-the-invisible-knapsack>

Books

Between the World and Me. Ta-Nehisi Coates. 2015.

How to Be an Antiracist. Ibram X. Kendi. 2019.

The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness. Michelle Alexander. 2010.

So You Want To Talk About Race. Ijeoma Oluo. 2018.

White Fragility. Robin DiAngelo. 2018.

Online Tools

“The 1619 Project Curriculum.” Pulitzer Center in collaboration with *The New York Times*. August 2019. <http://pulitzercenter.org/lesson-plan-grouping/1619-project-curriculum>

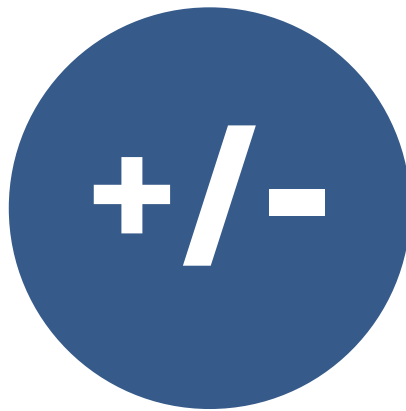
Opportunities for White People in the Fight for Racial Justice: Moving from Actor to Ally to Accomplice. <https://www.whiteaccomplices.org/>

Organizational Race Equity Toolkit. *Washington Race Equity & Justice Initiative*. JustLead Washington. June 2018. <https://justleadwa.org/learn/rejitoolkit/>

Project Implicit: Take an Implicit Association Test. 2011.
<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>

“What is Systemic Racism?” Race Forward. Video series.
<https://www.raceforward.org/videos/systemic-racism>

“When Heritage = Hate: The Truth About the Confederacy in the United States.” Jeffery Robinson. August 24, 2017 (lecture). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QOPGpE-sXh0>



ENERGIZER:
Strengthening Our
Organizing &
Leadership Muscles

ENERGIZER: Strengthening Our Organizing & Leadership Muscles

Part I: Building Collective Power

In order to build the power necessary to take collective action and move our targets, we need to foster authentic one-on-one relationships. Doing so requires organizers to connect with people to build trust and understand what motivates them. In this section, we will explore the process of recruiting new members and sharing our personal stories, as well as examine how to effectively organize teams and run meetings that draw on each person's strengths to build power.

Recruiting Volunteers

Creating long-lasting relationships through organizing requires more than just finding out about someone and making an ask of them – you should also share your story of why you are moved to do this work. On page 21, we will walk through crafting a personal narrative that you can use when recruiting a new member to your cause or deepening an existing relationship. Invite a new person to meet you for a one-on-one meeting and use this tool to help frame the story you will share with them. Personal narratives can also be a powerful tool when talking with decisionmakers by making the problem personal and emphasizing your commitment to finding a solution.

What does a one-on-one meeting look like in practice? You may already have someone in mind you want to meet, or you might find them at an action hosted by another organization or group. Suggest meeting up for coffee or at a public space like a library. These meetings aren't scripted, but they should contain the following five key elements of a successful one-on-one:



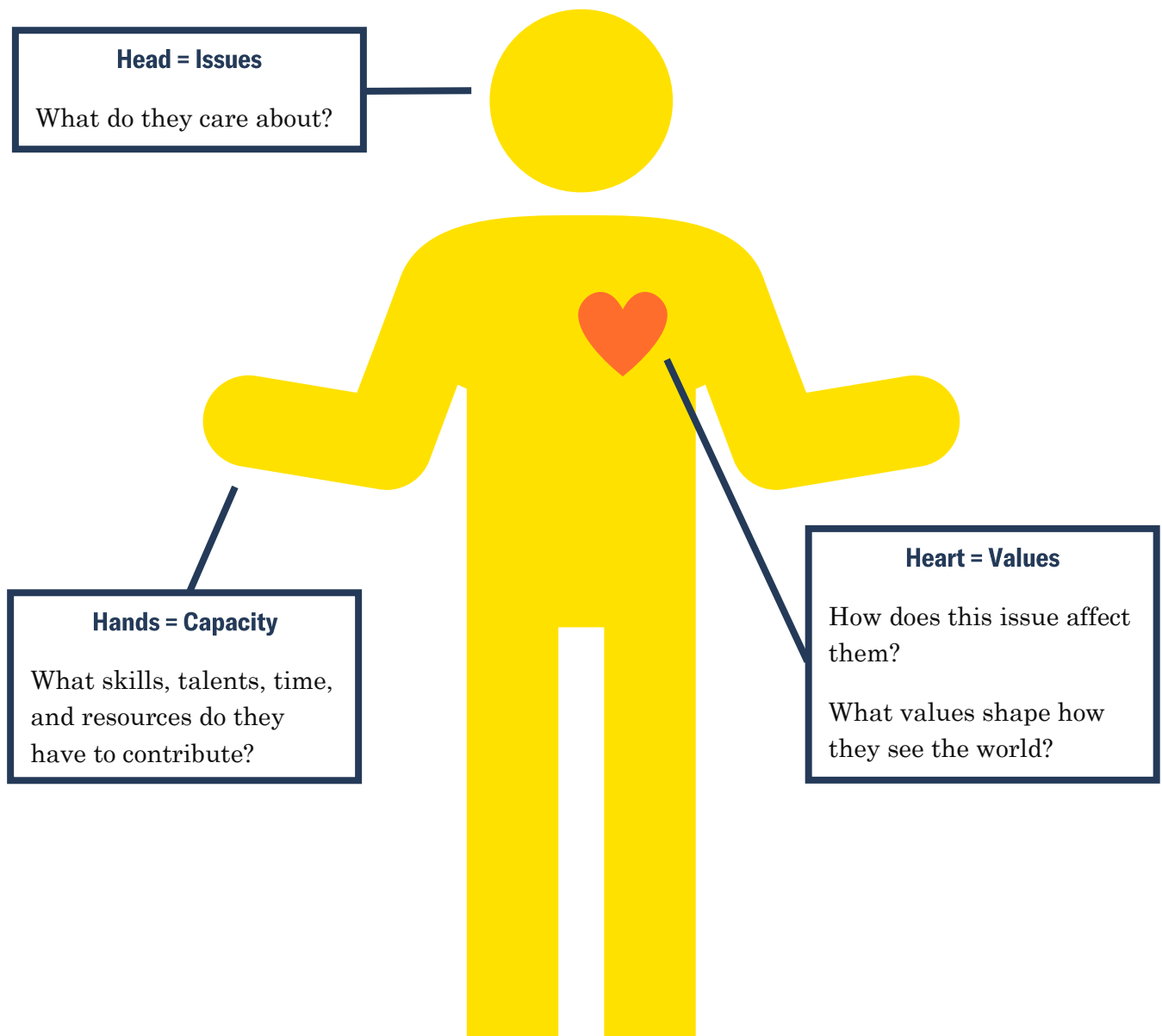
1. **Attention:** Make sure that when you meet, both of you are in a place where you can give each other your full attention. Without being present, you simply can't connect.
2. **Purpose:** Be clear about why you are meeting. Tell them, "I'd like to meet because I know you care about this issue, and I want to hear your ideas about what we can do."
3. **Exploration:** Share your story and ask the other person to share theirs, so that you can understand not just what you each care about but also why. Share how your experiences and values have led you to this work, ask the other person open-ended questions, and practice active listening. This should take up the bulk of your meeting.
4. **Exchange:** Exchange resources such as ideas, information, skills – and the most valuable resource of all – time.
5. **Commitment:** Every successful one-on-one meeting ends with a specific commitment. Commitments don't just have to be about signing petitions or showing up to an action. You can also make a commitment of time to meet again and keep building the relationship.

Knowing what commitment to ask for from a new recruit can be challenging. In order to make an effective ask, you need to know who the person is, what they care about, and most importantly, why they care. Many organizers use the Head, Heart, and Hands model when thinking about recruitment. In this model, the head represents the issues that matter to that person. The heart is the values the person holds, and the hands are the capacity that person can contribute.

Your ask to this person should be:

1. **Personal.** Connect to the 'Heart' and the values that the person holds.
2. **Specific.** Provide details based on what you need and what capacity and resources they have to share.
3. **Urgent.** Compel them to join you by explaining why this action matters now.

Head, Heart, and Hands Model



Practice: Craft a Personal Narrative

In order to build authentic relationships through organizing, it is critical to understand your own story and to share it with others. This framework is adapted from the work of Marshall Ganz, a lifelong community organizer and thinker who organized alongside Cesar Chavez with the United Farm Workers, and now teaches at the Harvard Kennedy School.

Story of self: Why are YOU called to make change in the world? When did you start to care? Why? What personal story can you tell that will help others understand why you fight for civil rights and civil liberties?

Be specific! Show, don't tell. Include details, imagery, and emotions.

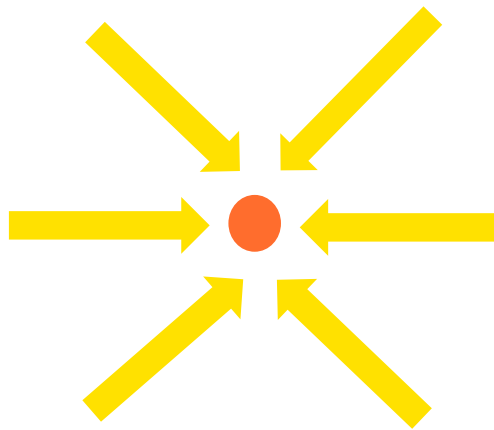
Story of us: What values do you share with the ACLU community? What moments or experiences have you and your community shared that demonstrate these values?

Story of now: What is the change you want to make in the world? Why is it urgent? What can people join you in doing now? (Remember to make an ask!)

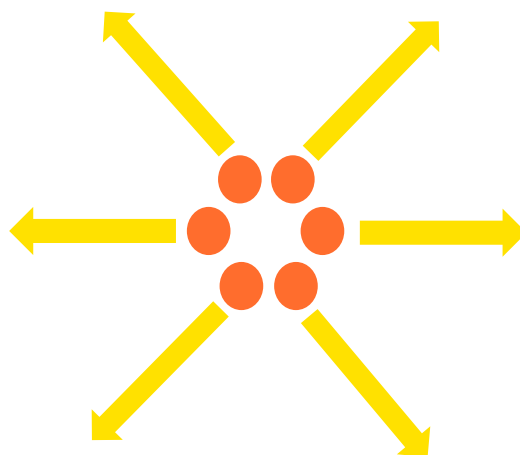
Structuring Leadership

There are multiple styles of leadership, each of which can be effective in different settings. “Dot in the middle” leadership occurs when one leader holds onto all the work and responsibility for the team. Alternatively, in the “We’re all leaders!” model, there’s really no leadership at all. Everyone is busy doing their own work, but without any coordination or communication.

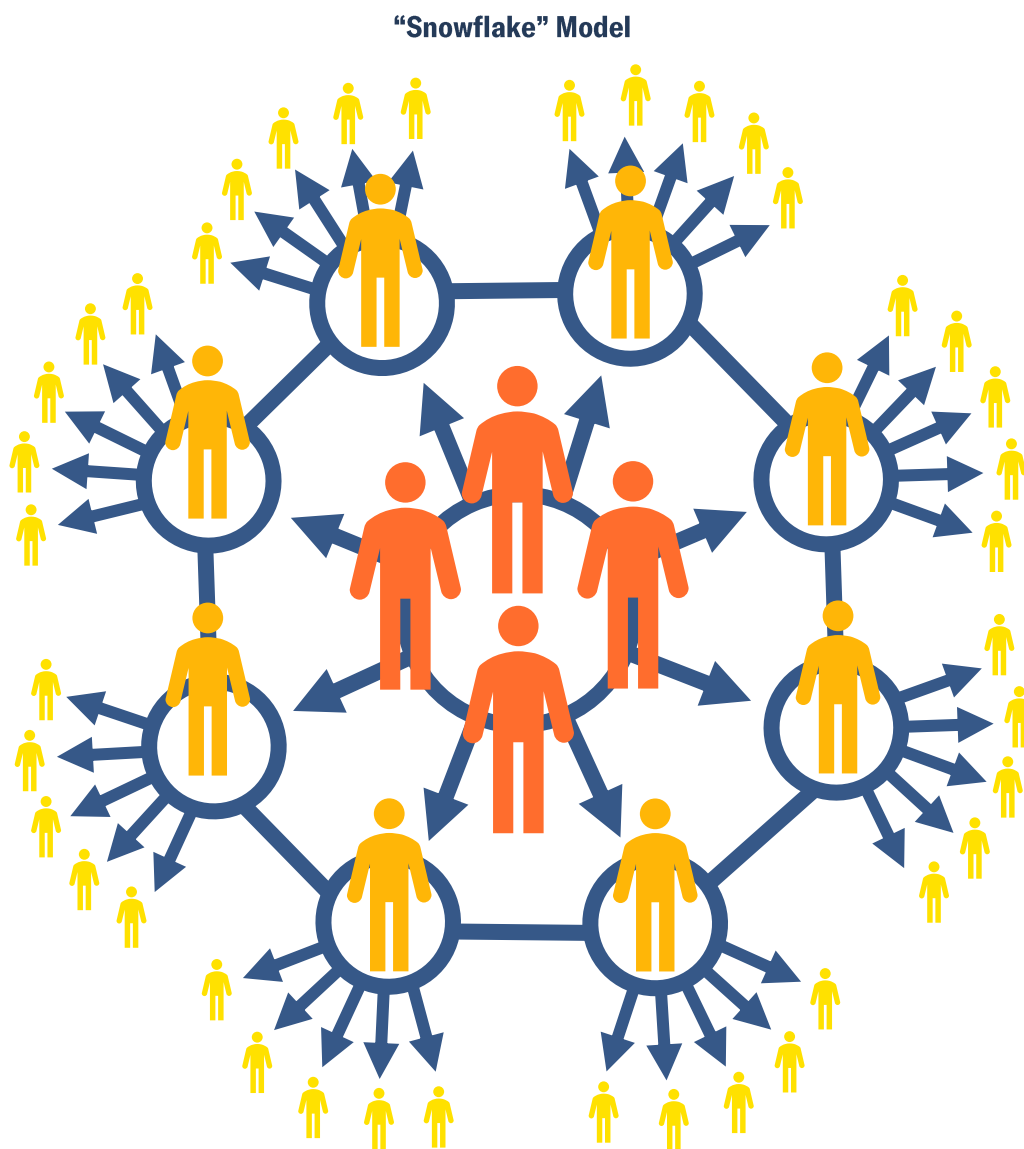
“Dot in the middle”



“We’re all leaders”



In an advocacy setting, an alternative to both models is often more effective. The “snowflake model,” which comes from Marshall Ganz’s framework, has been used by organizers around the world. This is also known as an interdependent team, where the success of the whole team depends on how well individual members collaborate. Each team of leaders are responsible for recruiting and developing other leaders, who then develop others, and so on throughout a campaign. The teams are also interdependent – that is, the success of the team depends on how well individual members collaborate with one another.



Effective, interdependent teams allow us to accomplish things we couldn't individually: achieving goals, building new capacity (team growth), and learning (individual growth).

To build effective teams, we need certain conditions in place:

- **Bounded:** It's clear to everyone who is on the team and who isn't. Boundedness is especially important when you're in a leadership role. The people you're accountable to need to know who's in charge and who they can go to with questions and concerns.
- **Stable:** There's not a revolving door of people entering and exiting the team. It's the same people, on the same team, committed to working together for a set time or to achieve a set purpose.
- **Diverse:** Your team represents a variety of skills, talents, perspectives, and constituencies.

Strong teams also need team-building process that includes a shared purpose, explicit community agreements, and clear roles.

- **Shared Purpose:** This is your group's mission statement – it's the “who, what, and how,” and it helps your team get on the same page about WHY you're a team in the first place.
- **Explicit Community Agreements:** These are your group's ground rules. It's a way to set explicit expectations for how people interact and work together to achieve a common goal.
- **Clear Roles:** For teammates to share the work equitably, you need to clarify roles and responsibilities. Roles should be based both on what is needed for the team to succeed, as well as on the strengths and areas of growth of individual team members.

The following section provides some tips for running effective organizing meetings so that you can harness your group's collective power and make the most out of your time together.

Running Effective Organizing Meetings

Overall, a good meeting:

- Involves a clear before, during, and after. Equal time should be spent on each part.
- Has clear and realistic goals.
- Is a participatory space where all ideas should be heard.
- Encourages frank and constructive debate, but not personal attacks.
- Ends with clear action items and people assigned to them.
- Leaves everyone feeling like progress is being made.

Before the meeting:

- Define the goals of the meeting.
- Prepare an agenda with time frames.
- Share the agenda to collect feedback and ensure participants know what to expect.
- Assign meeting roles (facilitators, note takers, timekeeper, etc.).
- Prep anyone who will have speaking roles.
- Check with attendees regarding any specific needs that you might not think to consider given your identity and experience.
- Make sure all logistics are in place (venue, A/V, food, transportation, childcare, etc.).
- Make reminder calls and/or texts to maximize turnout.
- Create a sign-in sheet.

During the meeting:

- Start and end on time.
- Support each other in succeeding in your meeting roles.
- Make sure everyone signs in.
- Include introductions/space for relationship building.
- Clearly state the goals, intended outcomes, and agenda for the meeting.
- Build a culture of participation through reviewing and following community agreements.
- Finish one thing before going on to the next.
- Ensure everyone has a chance to be heard.
- Review decisions made, capture action items, and assign people to each.
- Evaluate and close the meeting.
- Set the next meeting date.

After the meeting:

- Thank everyone for joining and remind them of the next meeting date.
- Do data entry with the sign-in sheet.
- Make sure people assigned to tasks know which action items they are responsible for and on what timeline.
- Share meeting notes with those who could not attend.
- Decide how subsequent meetings can be improved.
- Team leads should continue checking in on progress of action items.

Sample Meeting Agenda

- 1. Welcome, review agenda, and community agreements (2-3 minutes):** Welcome everyone to the meeting and remind them why they are there. Briefly review the agenda and community agreements.
- 2. Introductions (10 minutes):** Facilitators should introduce themselves with their names, pronouns, where they're from, role, and any other getting-to-know-you prompt. Ask others to do the same in pairs, small groups, or to everyone, depending on the size of the meeting.
- 3. Share updates (5-10 minutes):** Facilitators should share what they know about the issue/campaign and ask others to add any information they have.
- 4. Discuss and decide (20-30 minutes):** This should be the bulk of your meeting. Discuss your goals and what steps you as a group will take to achieve them. If there is an immediate event/action coming up, use this time to build a plan for it.
 - Do you need to show strength in numbers really quickly? How about a calling campaign or postcard party?
 - Do you want to highlight individual stories in the media? How about letters to the editor or an earned media event?
- 5. Next steps (5 minutes):** Now that you have a plan, decide on what actionable steps you will take next. This will include assigning roles and setting benchmarks for your planned action.
- 6. Evaluation and closing (5 minutes):** Capture pluses (what went well) and deltas (what could be improved) for the meeting, set the next meeting date, and close it out.

Making Meetings Accessible

The ACLU is committed to making the shared spaces for this training as physically and socially accessible as possible, and we encourage activists to do the same when organizing community meetings. When hosting organizing meetings, consider the following:

- Spaces should have wheelchair accessibility and access to gender neutral bathrooms.
- Training language should be accessible and interpretation available to all.
- Be aware of sensory sensitivity and be mindful of scents.
- Provide refreshments, with thought given to the length and time of day of your meeting, and possible dietary restrictions.
- Make meetings family-friendly or provide childcare.
- Select meeting locations easily accessible without a car, and culturally comfortable, to community stakeholders.
- Consult community stakeholders and select weekdays and times that don't conflict with other events and accommodate work, school, and family obligations.
- Make video or phone conferencing an option, but keep in mind that in-person communication is always superior for inclusion, understanding, and trust building.

Part II: Designing the Blueprint

Identifying Stakeholders

As activists, we often have a general sense of the change we want to see and possible solutions. However, truly transformational change that promotes equity, is sustainable, builds momentum, and resists backlash must include and account for directly impacted stakeholders and people closely connected to the issue we're tackling—including people invested in the status quo who will oppose our efforts.

Stakeholders include directly impacted individuals with lived experience of a problem; their friends, families, and communities; direct service providers attempting to address the problem; researchers who study it; and people who cause and contribute to it. A stakeholder may be a government entity, academic institution, or other type of organization. We consult with stakeholders to gain clarity about the specific nature of a problem, the scope of the harm it is causing, its priority to directly impacted individuals and other stakeholders, and solutions promising the greatest scope and scale of impact.

The following tool will help you to identify your stakeholders and their level of interest in and influence over the problem you want to tackle.

Tool: Circle of Influence Stakeholder Map

Stakeholders are the people impacted by or connected to the problem you are trying to solve. Sometimes, as activists, we work on problems that do not directly impact us; we may be in the middle or even outer stakeholder rings. It is critical that we acknowledge and work with stakeholders in the innermost ring, who are directly impacted and have the highest degree of interest in the problem. These people have intimate, first-hand experience and are the leaders in determining the solutions we pursue.

This tool comes from *Chronicles of Change: An Organization's Guide to a Theory of Social Change*, by the National Gender & Equity Campaign of Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP).¹



Identifying Targets

Once you have consulted with stakeholders to clarify the nature, scope, and scale of a problem and solutions likely to have the greatest impact, you are ready to identify your targets. A primary target is someone who holds the power to make decisions that can achieve or frustrate your advocacy goal. A secondary target is someone who holds power over or influences a primary target. Unlike a stakeholder, a target is always an individual and never a government entity, academic institution, or other organization.

The following tool will help you identify your primary and secondary targets, the level of power and influence they hold, as well as their relationships to one another. Completing this exercise will inform your strategy and the tactics you choose.

Tool: Power Map

Power mappingⁱⁱ can help you to identify decisionmakers and influencers, understand their relationships to one another, and develop a strategy to leverage those relationships to achieve change.ⁱⁱⁱ Visually mapping relationships between people can reveal the value of these relationships in the context of your advocacy goal and help you to prioritize your outreach. This is key to developing strategy, because your primary and secondary targets are not always obvious.

There are many different approaches to creating a power map. This particular model comes from Andrew Boyd as part of the collaborative Beautiful Rising toolbox for changemakers.^{iv}

Step 1: Identify the problem you are trying to fix

Think back to the Root Cause Tree Tool on page 12. The problem you are trying to solve should be at the trunk, or ideally root, level.

Step 2: Identify the main stakeholders

Once you've identified the problem, think about the stakeholders who impact or are impacted by the issue. The Circle of Influence Stakeholder Map on page 29 can help you identify stakeholders at various levels. Don't forget to include your group as a stakeholder.

Questions to ask:

- Who created the problem you are trying to solve?
- Who is impacted by the issue?
- Who is geographically relevant to the issue?
- Who is trying to fix the problem?

Unlike targets, stakeholders can include institutions and organizations. You should end up with a long list of institutions, organizations, influential people, media, and individuals.

Step 3: Research the stakeholders

Do research to figure out who influences your targets. Think about the individuals at the institutions and organizations that you've identified who make decisions. Influencers can fall into multiple categories, such as:

- Money (campaign contributions, business interests and competitors)
- Media (reporters who cover your issue, newspaper editorial boards)
- Caucus leadership and colleagues
- Other elected officials
- Associations (social groups, sports clubs, places of worship)
- Relationships (friends, family, endorsers, voters)

Step 4: Identify your primary and secondary targets

Targets are the people with the power to fix the problem and the people who influence them.

Questions to ask:

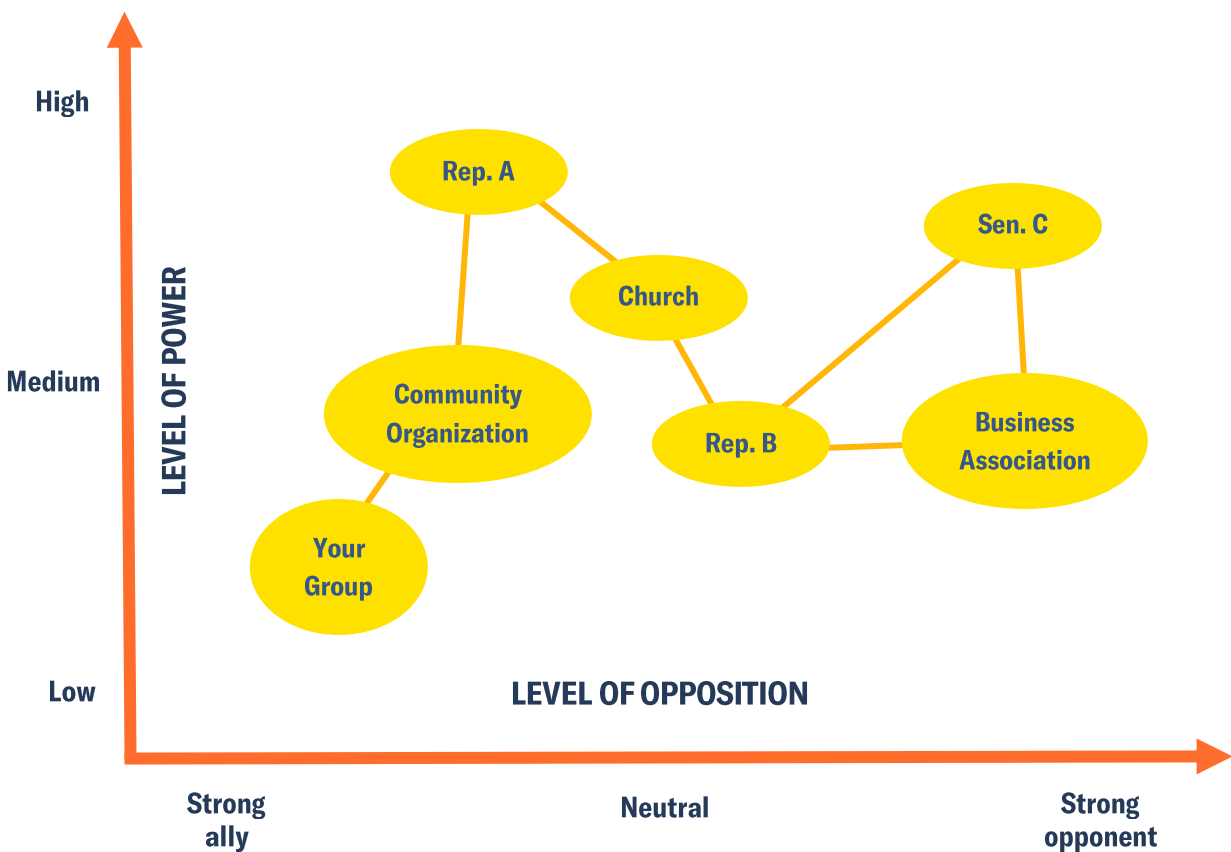
- Who has the power to fix the problem, but hasn't taken action? This is a primary target.
- Who has influence over the person with power? This is a secondary target.

Unlike stakeholders, targets are always individuals, never institutions or organizations.

Step 5: Plot targets and relationships

This is where you create a visual map of decisionmakers, influencers, and relationships – both to the primary targets *and* to each other. Place each individual from your target list on the grid based on their level of power and their position on your issue. Then, draw lines between figures on your power map to represent relationships between individuals. Some influencers will be connected to many other influencers. These are referred to as “nodes.”

You will need to create multiple power maps and tailor each to a specific primary target when multiple decisionmakers need to be persuaded to achieve your goal.



Step 6: Identify priority targets

Once you have mapped relational power lines, prioritize your targets. Ideally, your targets have high levels of power and fall toward the left side of your map, toward a position of support. It's okay if a target is an opponent. You can work with secondary targets to move opponents toward a supportive or neutral position.

Questions to ask:

- Who has the most connections?
- Who has the strongest level of influence?
- Who do you have a relationship with? Are you in a position of power?
- Who is most likely to share in your goal?

Step 7: Make a plan

In a later section, we will discuss tactics that can be used to impact decisionmakers, and specifically elected officials. There are three primary ways you can use your power map to visualize your goals:

1. You can move your targets to the left of your grid, toward greater support of your issue.
2. You can move your partners and yourself up or to the left by making your own group and allies more powerful and/or more committed to the issue.
3. You can add relationship lines that don't already exist by building relationships.

Step 8: Repeat and revise

As you use tactics to move your target(s), the relationships and issue positions on your map will change. You should constantly revisit your power map to see how power has shifted and what changes you need to make to your plan.

Identifying SMARTIE Goals

Sometimes the world we want to create, like the one we envisioned on page 10, will take years or even generations to achieve. A critical piece of sustaining our activism is to break up the work into discrete goals that will inform the strategies we choose. The SMARTIE tool, created by The Management Center^v, is a strategy for crafting goals that are Smart, Measurable, Ambitious, Realistic, Time-bound, Inclusive, and Equitable. A SMARTIE goal is:

Strategic – Reflects an important dimension of what you seek to accomplish.

Measurable – Includes standards by which reasonable people can agree on whether the goal has been met (by numbers or defined qualities).

Ambitious – Challenging enough that achievement would mean significant progress.

Realistic – Not so challenging as to indicate lack of thought about resources or execution; possible to track and worth the time and energy to do so.

Time-bound – Includes a clear deadline.

Inclusive – Brings traditionally excluded individuals and/or groups into processes, activities, and decision/policy making in a way that shares power. (*Source: OpenSource Leadership Strategies*)

Equitable – Includes an element of fairness or justice that seeks to address systemic injustice, inequity, or oppression.

Crafting a Strategy

Once you have determined your goals, the last step is to craft a strategy that considers your capacity, stakeholders, targets, and available tactics. This tool, adapted from the Midwest Academy^{vi}, will help you think through your strategy and decide which steps to take and when. The strategy chart is not a static tool; you should constantly review and revise your strategy as you accomplish goals and hit roadblocks.

Filling out a strategy chart is a significant task. You should plan to devote several hours with your group to completing the chart, then refer to it every time you meet to discuss your progress. More information about the strategy chart can be found in *Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists, 4th Edition*.

Tool: Midwest Academy Strategy Chart

Goals	Capacity	Stakeholders	Targets ¹	Tactics
Long-Term What you really want. Example: People are no longer locked in cages and geographically separated from community and loved ones.	What we have List the resources you and/or your team bring to this issue. This includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People • Time • Meeting space • Skills • Connections • Audience (social media groups, email lists) • Funding 	Who cares about the issue? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whose problem is it most directly? • What do they gain if they win? • Who else will be an ally on this issue? • What power do they have over the targets? • What risks are they taking? 	Primary target The target (decision maker) is the person who has the power to give you what you want! A target is always a person, not an institution.	Tactics are actions taken to move your target to say yes to the goals.
Intermediate What you are trying to win now. Example: End school suspensions to cut off the school-to-prison pipeline.	What we need List the specific ways you need to build your group's capacity. Examples: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruit new members • Develop leadership • Develop organizing skills • Access educational materials or institutional knowledge 	Who are your opponents? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What will your success cost them? • What will they do to oppose you? • How strong are they? • What power do they have over the target? • Can you neutralize or divide any opponents? 	Understanding your target <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What pressure does your target face? • What power do you have over the target? 	Tactics must: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show your power to the target while also building the power of your group. • Be directed toward the primary or secondary targets. • Move you closer to achieving your goals. • Be flexible and creative. • Make sense to your stakeholders. • Be within reach of your own members so they are willing to participate.
Short-Term A step to the intermediate goal. Example: Get Rep. X to vote yes on HB XXXX. Goals are always concrete improvements in people's lives!			Secondary target The secondary targets are those people who have power or influence over your primary target. Examples: donors, voters, employers.	

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¹ See page 30 to learn more about identifying targets.

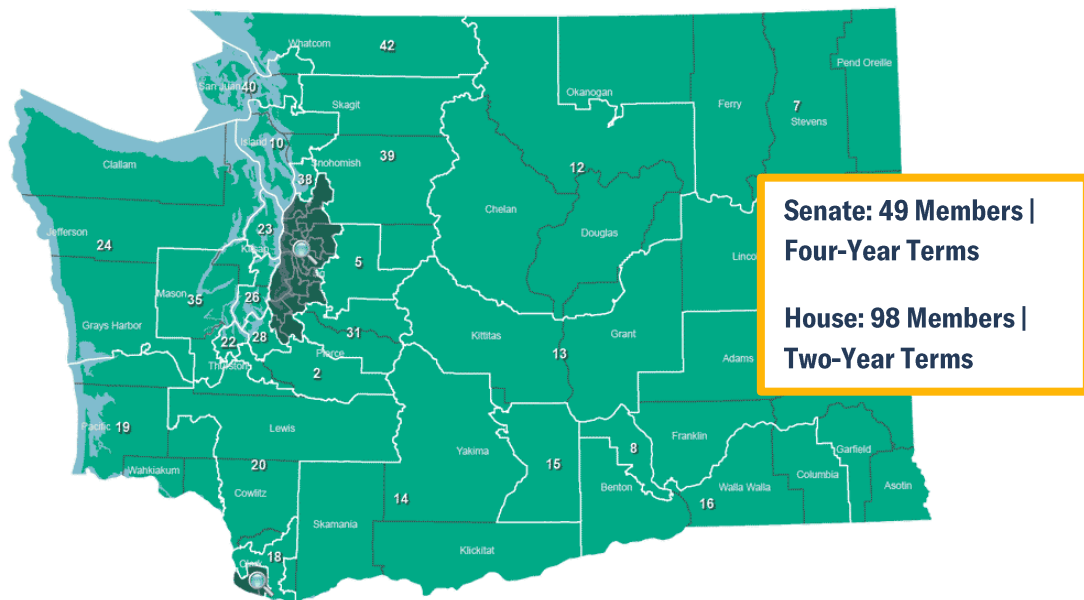


CONDUCTOR:
Navigating the
Legislative Process

CONDUCTOR: Navigating the Legislative Process

Washington State Legislature 101

Washington State has a part-time legislature that meets at the state capitol in Olympia. The state is divided into **49 legislative districts**, each of which is represented by one Senator and two Representatives. Lawmakers must be at least eighteen years old and eligible to vote to be elected. State legislators come from diverse professional backgrounds – there are lawyers, farmers, police officers, small business owners, nonprofit professionals, teachers, and more.



Source: Washington Secretary of State

The Washington State Legislature operates on a **two-year biennium**, meaning one cycle of the legislative process takes two years. The first year is the “long session” (odd-numbered years), which lasts 105 days. This is when the legislature takes on the **state budget**. The second year is the “short session” (even-numbered years) and lasts 60 days. Typically, this is when lawmakers take on more **policy issues**.

Within each legislative session, there are a series of **cutoff dates**. With a few exceptions, bills must make it through different stages of the legislative process by the cutoff deadline, or the bill is “dead” for the year. House bills (indicated by “HB” before a bill number) are bills introduced by a Representative. These bills must go through a **policy committee** in the House, a **fiscal committee** (if the bill has an impact on the state budget), and then be **passed on the floor** of the House before it moves over the Senate to repeat the same process in that

chamber. Senate bills (indicated by “SB” before a bill number) go through the same process on the opposite side.

Once a bill has been passed by both chambers, the Governor has five days, not including Sundays, to sign or veto unless **adjournment** (end of session) would fall during those five days. In that case, the Governor has 20 days. The Senate can override a Governor veto with a 2/3 majority vote. If the Governor neither vetoes nor signs within the prescribed time, the bill becomes law without signature. Except for bills including emergency clauses, or bills against which a referendum is ordered, all new laws take effect 90 days after adjournment.

Below is an example of the cutoff calendar from 2019, a “long session” and the start of the current biennium.

2019 Legislative Session	
January 14, 2019	First day of session
February 22, 2019	Deadline to pass out of policy committee in chamber of origin
March 1, 2019	Deadline to pass out of fiscal committee in chamber of origin (does not apply to all bills)
March 13, 2019	Deadline to pass in chamber of origin
April 3, 2019	Deadline to pass out of policy committee in opposite chamber
April 9, 2019	Deadline to pass out of fiscal committee in opposite chamber (does not apply to all bills)
April 17, 2019	Deadline to pass opposite chamber bills*
April 28, 2019	Last day of regular session

** This deadline does not apply to initiatives, alternatives to initiatives, budgets, and bills designated “necessary to implement the budget” (NTIB).*

It is important for advocates to understand the legislative cutoff calendar because some actions have more impact during certain weeks of session than others. For example, when a bill is waiting for a public hearing or a vote in policy committee, activists will want to contact members of that committee and ask for a “Yes” or “No” vote. Later in the process, targeting House or Senate leadership to ask for a bill to be brought to a floor vote is needed.

Useful Terms

- **Amendment:** A proposed alteration to a bill that adds, removes, or substitutes part of the bill language.
- **Biennium:** A two-year period. The Washington State Legislature operates on a biennium (e.g. 2019-2020).
- **Bill:** A proposed law being considering by the legislature.
- **Caucus:** A group of House or Senate members of a political party, such as the Senate Democratic Caucus.
- **Chamber:** Decision-making body of the legislature; the House and the Senate are both chambers.
- **Companion Bill:** An identical bill introduced in the opposite chamber, which increases the chances of passage. Changes may be made to one or both bills throughout the legislative process, so that they no longer remain identical.
- **Constituent:** An individual who resides within the district of a legislator.
- **Executive Session:** The time when committee members vote to pass or not pass a bill heard in committee.
- **Fiscal Note:** A cost or savings estimate of a bill's impact on the state budget.
- **Floor Vote:** A vote by either the full House or the full Senate, on the actual floor space of the domed capitol building committed primarily to the legislators' desks, that moves a bill out of that chamber or causes it to fail for the session.
- **Initiative to the Legislature:** A citizen-initiated bill that requires a minimum number of petition signatures of registered voters, verified by the Secretary of State (SOS). If the SOS certifies a qualifying number of valid signatures have been submitted, the measure is sent to the legislature to do one of the following: adopt as proposed (which causes the measure to become law without a vote of the people), reject or refuse to act (which places the measure on the statewide general election ballot in November), or approve an alternative (which places both the original measure and the alternative on the ballot).
- **Legislative Committee:** A committee composed of state legislators responsible for holding public hearings and voting on bills in a specific issue area.
- **Necessary to Implement the Budget (NTIB):** A designation that exempts a bill from regular cutoff dates.
- **Public Hearing:** Public discussion on a proposed bill or appointment.
- **Session:** Period during which the legislature meets.
- **Sponsor:** The legislator who introduces a bill. There may be multiple sponsors for a bill (co-sponsors), but the prime sponsor is listed first.
- **Striker:** An amendment that makes substantial changes to a bill.
- **Substitute Bill:** A new bill that replaces the original bill with the same title.
- **Work Session:** Committee meeting in which legislators invite experts to discuss a specific topic. No vote is taken on a bill discussed during a work session.

In addition to understanding the legislative process, advocates should understand leadership and committee structure. Each caucus (House majority and minority, Senate majority and minority) elects its own leadership positions, such as Speaker of the House, Whip, and Floor Leader. The President of the Senate is the Lieutenant Governor, who is elected by the people.

Each legislator is also assigned to policy and/or fiscal committees, and may serve a leadership position on those committees, such as Chair, Vice Chair, Ranking Minority Member, or Assistant Ranking Minority Member. The Chairs of each committee have the power to decide which bills will be given a public hearing and brought to the full committee for a vote.

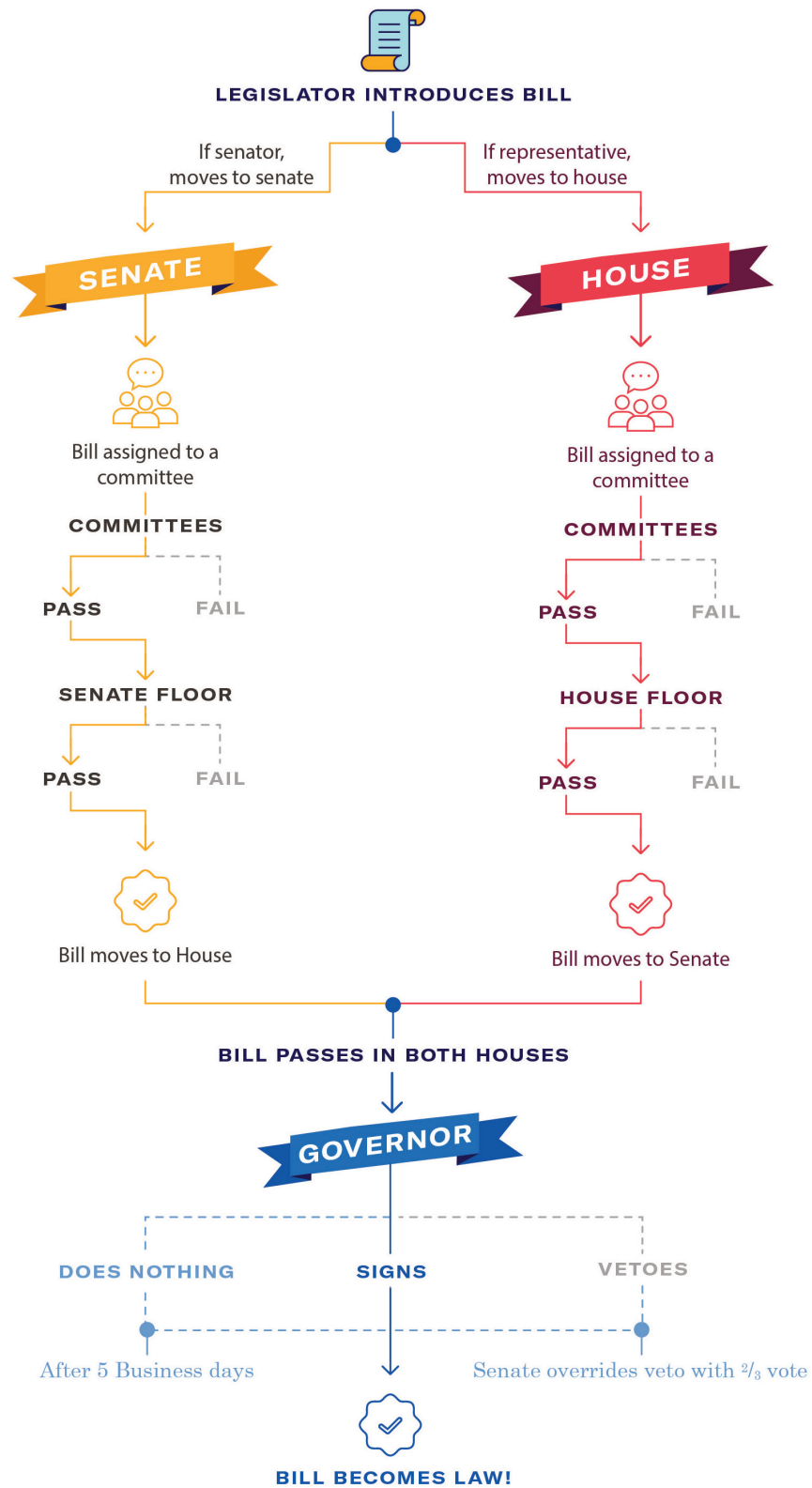
Committees change from year to year; the following is the structure of legislative committees in 2019:

2019 Legislative Committees

HOUSE	SENATE
Policy	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil Rights & Judiciary • Education • College & Workplace Development • Health Care & Wellness • Human Services & Early Learning • Environment & Energy • Housing, Community Development & Veterans • Finance • Rural Development, Agriculture & Natural Resources • Labor & Workplace Standards • Local Government • State Government & Tribal Relations • Commerce & Gaming • Public Safety • Transportation (<i>policy & fiscal</i>) • Rules* • Capital Budget Consumer Protection & Business • Innovation, Technology & Economic Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law & Justice • Early Learning & K-12 Education • Higher Education & Workforce Development • Health & Long Term Care + Behavioral Health Subcommittee • Environment, Energy & Technology • Housing Stability & Affordability • Financial Institutions, Economic Development & Trade • Agriculture, Water, Natural Resources & Parks • Labor & Commerce • Local Government • State Government, Tribal Relations & Elections • Human Services, Reentry & Rehabilitation • Transportation (<i>policy & fiscal</i>) • Rules*
Fiscal	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriations • Transportation (<i>policy & fiscal</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ways & Means • Transportation (<i>policy & fiscal</i>)

* The Rules Committees consider all bills reported from policy and fiscal committees and determine whether, and in what order, to schedule their consideration on the floor.

How a Bill Becomes a Law



Resources & Further Education

Washington State Legislative Information Center: <http://leg.wa.gov/lic/Pages/default.aspx>

The Legislative Information Center offers a variety of in-person courses at the capitol in Olympia on topics ranging from navigating the legislative website to testifying at committee hearings. For more information about classes and tutorials, visit <http://leg.wa.gov/LIC/Pages/classes.aspx>.

Washington Secretary of State Elections: <https://www.sos.wa.gov/elections/>

The Secretary of State website provides information on upcoming elections, initiatives and referenda, and historical voting data for the state.

VoteWA Portal: <https://voter.votewa.gov/>

Visit this voter portal to register to vote, update your mailing address, view your voting record, and find out who is running for office in your districts.

TVW: <https://www.tvw.org/>

Watch committee hearings, Senate and House floor debates, and other public meetings online in real time.

Public Disclosure Commission (PDC): <https://www.pdc.wa.gov/>

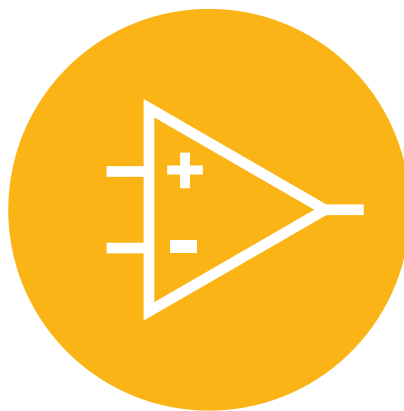
On the PDC website, you can use the Campaign Explorer tool to find candidate donation and lobbyist information.

Ballotpedia: <https://ballotpedia.org/>

Ballotpedia is a nonprofit and nonpartisan online political encyclopedia where you can look up election and candidate information going back decades. It covers federal, state, and local politics.

Practice: Get to Know Your District

Your Address:	
Go to https://app.leg.wa.gov/DistrictFinder/ and type in your address to find your Legislative and Congressional districts.	
Legislative District:	Congressional District:
State Senator: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:	Congressperson: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:
State Representative 1: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:	Senator 1: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:
State Representative 2: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:	Senator 2: Party: Year Elected: Next Election:
County:	City:
County Executive:	Mayor:
County Prosecutor:	City Councilmember(s):
County Sheriff:	
County Commissioner(s):	



AMPLIFIER: Choosing & Using Tactics

AMPLIFIER: Choosing & Using Tactics

What is a Tactic?

Tactics are the actions you take to influence your targets. As we learned with the strategy chart tool on page 35, tactics should:

- Show your power to the target while also building the power of your group.
- Be directed toward the primary or secondary targets.
- Move you closer to achieving your goals.
- Be flexible and creative.
- Make sense to your stakeholders.
- Be within reach of your own members so they are willing to participate.

Deciding on tactics is the very last step, after you have identified your goals and targets, built a strong team of activists, and understand the basic structure of power and decision-making. In this section, we will walk through different tactics for engaging with lawmakers.

Lawmaker Meetings

From your local city councilmembers to your state Senator and Representatives in Olympia, meeting with your elected officials about civil liberties is a lot easier than most people think. Remember, your legislators work for you!

It's not always necessary to travel to Olympia – most legislators have staff working in their home districts when the legislature is not in session. However, if you would like to meet with your state legislator during session, you will most likely need to travel to Olympia during business hours between Monday and Friday.

Before the Meeting

- 1. Request your meeting.** Different offices have different preferences when it comes to scheduling meetings. Call your legislator's office and request a meeting, which typically lasts 15 minutes during session. The staffer may ask you to submit your request via email.
 - a. Clearly state your interest.** Let them know what issue and legislation (by bill number, if you have one) you wish to discuss. Make sure they know that you are a constituent.
 - b. Understand that you may meet with a staff member.** Due to committee hearings, floor votes, and other commitments, you may not be able to meet with your legislator directly. However, legislative staff members are trained to meet with constituents and will take notes and collect materials to pass along to the lawmaker. Take meetings with staff as seriously as you would with a legislator!
- 2. Prepare for your meeting.** Check the ACLU-WA website for materials. We often have information to help you decide on your talking points, as well as materials that you can leave with your elected official.
- 3. Decide who will attend the meeting.** Bringing more than four or five people can be hard to manage. Keep it small but bring people who have a passion for or stake in the issue.
- 4. Agree on talking points.** It's tough to make a strong case for your position when you are disagreeing at the meeting! If a point is causing tension in the group, leave it out.
- 5. Plan out your meeting.** People can get nervous in a meeting, and time is limited. Be sure that you lay out the meeting beforehand, including who will start the conversation.
- 6. Decide what you want to achieve.** What is it that you want your elected official to do – vote for or against a bill? Make a commitment to introduce or co-sponsor legislation? Asking your legislator or their staff member to do something specific is important.

During the Meeting

1. **Be prompt and patient.** Elected officials run on very tight schedules. Be sure to show up on time for your appointment and be patient – it is not uncommon for legislators to be late or to have your meeting interrupted by other business.
2. **Keep it short and focused.** You will have 15 minutes or less with a staff person, and as little as 10 minutes if you meet with your elected official. Make the most of that brief time by sticking to your topic. Bring up any personal, professional, or political connections to the elected official that you may have. Start the meeting by introducing yourselves and thanking the legislator for any votes they have made in support of your issues, and for taking the time to meet with you.
3. **Stick to your talking points.** Stay on topic, and back them up with no more than a few pages of materials that you can leave with your elected official.
4. **Provide personal and local examples** of the impact of the legislation. This is one of the most important things you can do in a lawmaker meeting.
5. **Saying “I don’t know” can be a smart political move.** You do not need to be an expert on the topic you are discussing. If you don’t know the answer to a question, it is fine to tell your legislator that you will get that information to them. This gives you the chance to put your strongest arguments into their files and allows you to contact them again about the issue. Never make up an answer to a question – giving wrong or inaccurate information can seriously damage your credibility!

After the Meeting

1. **Compare notes with everyone in your group** right after the meeting to understand what the elected official committed to do and what follow-up information you committed to send. Each person who took part in the meeting should promptly send a personal thank you letter to the legislator.
2. **Follow up in a timely fashion** with any requested materials and information. Often, if an elected official hasn’t taken a position on legislation, they will not commit to one in the middle of a meeting. If they have to think about it, or if you are meeting with a staff member, ask when you should check back. Be flexible but persistent. If you need to get information to your legislator, set a clear timeline for when this will happen.
3. **Thank the legislator for positive action.** This is important! If your lawmaker ends up voting the way you had requested, send them an additional thank you note. This lets them know you kept paying attention to the issue – and everyone likes to feel appreciated.

Phone Calls & Emails

Writing to Your Elected Officials

Letters and emails are extremely effective ways of communicating with your elected officials. Many legislators believe that a letter represents not only the position of the writer but also many other constituents who did not take the time to write. These tips will help you increase the effectiveness of your message:

1. **Keep it brief.** Emails should never be longer than a few paragraphs and should be limited to one issue. Legislative aides read many emails and letters on many issues in a day, so your message should be as concise as possible.
2. **State who you are and what you want up front.** In the first paragraph, tell your legislators that you are a constituent and identify the issue about which you are writing. If your letter pertains to a specific piece of legislation, it helps to identify it by its bill number (e.g. HB ____ or SB ____).
3. **Hit your three most important points.** Choose the three strongest points that will be most effective in persuading legislators to support your position and flesh them out.
4. **Personalize your letter.** Tell your elected official why this legislation matters in their community. If you have one, include a personal story that shows how this issue affects you and your family. A constituent's personal story can be very persuasive as your legislator shapes their position.
5. **Personalize your relationship.** Have you ever voted for this elected official or donated money to their campaign? Are you familiar with them through any business or personal relationship? If so, tell your elected official or their staff person. The closer your legislator feels to you, the more powerful your argument is likely to be. If you have met with the legislator in person, remind them of your meeting(s).
6. **Your opinion matters.** Remember that your legislator's job is to represent you. You should be courteous and to the point, but do not be afraid to take a firm position. Remember that often your elected official may know no more about a given issue than you do.

Calling Your Elected Officials

In addition to writing to your elected representatives, you can also call them and let them know your position. You can look up their phone numbers on the Washington State Legislature website or contact your legislators free of charge by calling the Washington State Legislative Center at **1-800-562-6000**. The operator will put you through to one of your three elected officials (your Senator or one of your two Representatives) when you provide your residential address. Although it is unlikely that you will get to talk to your legislator directly, you will be able to communicate your position on a given issue to a staff member or leave a voice mail message. The staff member will take notes and relay your message in some form to your legislator. Legislators who learn their positions are unpopular with their constituents often change their minds. Your call can make a real difference.

Here's a sample conversation:



Staffer: Representative [Name]'s office, how may I help you?

Caller: Hi, my name is [Name] from the Representative's district. I attended an in-district town hall last month and spoke with them.

[Note: The staffer may ask to verify your address or zip code to confirm you are a constituent.]

Staffer: Great. How can I help you today?

Caller: Please tell the Representative to oppose the government-funded face surveillance bill. I've talked to many voters in our community and we all agree that we don't want taxpayer money to be used to support government surveillance of communities of color.

Staffer: Thanks for your concern and your call. I'll pass on your views to the Representative.

Public Comment

Testifying in front of state and local committees is another excellent way to advocate for policy change and educate other members of the public. There are opportunities at all levels of government to provide public comment on proposed legislation and public appointments. In the state legislature, bills are scheduled for public hearing before they are voted on by members of a committee. Even if you choose not to testify, you can attend committee hearings in Olympia and sign in at the kiosk in support of, or opposition to, the bill. These sign-ins become part of the public record.

All committee hearings are available to watch on TVW.org. You can refer to past hearings to see an example of what testimony looks like.

Preparing to Testify

- You may only be given two minutes to speak. The committee chair may even limit your time to ninety seconds or one minute if the agenda is packed. Be prepared to give your testimony in less time than what you anticipate.
- Organize your thoughts about what you want to say. Write a preliminary outline, then write out every word, then practice! Time yourself to make sure you are under two minutes.
- Begin your presentation with the following opening: “Chair [insert name] and members of the committee, I am [your name] from [the city you live in]. I am here as a constituent. I support/oppose this bill.” Then tell your story:
 1. First, tell them a little bit about yourself: your background, your occupation, your family – this is your opportunity to introduce yourself to these legislators and help them find a way to relate to you and your experiences on an emotional level.
 2. Then, tell them a little bit about why you are interested in the bill and how it will help or hurt you.
 3. Provide your key points – no more than three – why lawmakers should support or oppose the bill.
 4. Conclude your presentation with an expression of gratitude to the committee members; for example: “Madam Chair/Mister Chair and members of the committee, thank you for your time. Please support/oppose [bill number].”
- Plan on arriving early (about an hour before the start of the hearing to be safe) so that you have plenty of time to park, get to the hearing room, sign in, and orient yourself to the room.
- Dress neatly and in a manner that exhibits respect for the political process. Avoid any clothing with political slogans.

- Legislative committees in Olympia will have tablets where you can electronically sign up to testify, or sign in support of or opposition to a bill. You can also sign up to testify using your mobile device while on the legislature's public Wi-Fi network.

Testifying at Committee Hearings

- The committee chair will determine the order in which bills are heard, and the order in which speakers are called. When you are called, take a seat at the table at the front of the room.
- Speak directly to the legislators. Make a human connection with them by establishing and maintaining eye contact.
- Try not to read directly from your paper. Depending on the lawmaker, they may see that you're reading verbatim from your paper and may ask you to stop, submit what you have written down, and move on to the next testifier.
- The committee chair may use a red/yellow/green light to time your testimony. When time has run out, the light will turn red and the chair may ask you to end your testimony, even if you haven't finished.
- If possible, bring a copy of your testimony for each committee member and staff person. If you don't get to share your entire prepared remarks, you can submit copies of your testimony to the committee staff so it can be distributed to the committee.
- Members of the committee may ask questions. If you don't know the answer, it is perfectly fine to say so. Don't guess! Giving a wrong answer may hurt your credibility or be used against you by opponents. This also provides an opportunity to follow up with the committee afterwards when you have the correct answer.
- There is always the possibility that you will not be called up to testify. Whether or not you are called up is entirely up to the committee chair. If you are not called up, you can submit your written testimony to be distributed to the committee members.
- Committee chairs determine when (and whether) committee votes are taken. In some cases, the chair may call for a vote at the end of the hearing. In other cases, the chair will set the vote for a later committee hearing (called an "executive session").

Sample Written Testimony

Date

Representative/Senator [Name], Chair
Committee Name
Olympia, WA 98504

Representative/Senator [Name], Ranking Minority Member
Olympia, WA 98504

Re: Support/Opposition for HB/SB XXXX

Dear Representatives/Senators,

[Insert testimony]

Sincerely,
Your Name
Address
Phone Number
Email Address

Bird-Dogging

In organizing, bird-dogging is an interaction with an elected official or candidate that draws attention to an issue and gets the target to respond on record. This tactic is particularly effective during election season, when candidates and elected officials are frequently attending public events as part of their campaign.

A successful bird-dog:

- **Is recorded or asked at a public event where media is present.** To build a public narrative, we must allow the public to see the interaction around an issue.
- **A surprise!** The target should *not* know that the question will be asked ahead of time. This distinguishes it from a lobbying meeting, which is usually planned in advance with the target and their staff, and they are informed of the topic of the meeting.
- **Asks an impactful question.** Because bird-dogging takes place in front of a public audience, it is important that your question educates the public to some extent and forces the target to make a commitment.

Impactful questions are close-ended, short (60 seconds or less), focused on only one or two issues, prepared ahead of time, and end with a commitment – such as “will you promise to,” “will you support,” or “will you oppose.”

To find events for potential bird-dogging, look in the event section of local media sites, follow candidates and elected officials on social media, and sign up for candidate and state party email lists.

Media Tactics

Letters to the Editor

Letters to the editor are great advocacy tools. After you write letters to elected officials, sending letters to the editor of your local newspaper can achieve other advocacy goals because they:

- Reach a large audience.
- Are often monitored by elected officials.
- Can bring up information not addressed in a news article.
- Create an impression of widespread support for or opposition to an issue.

Keep it short and on one subject. Many newspapers have strict limits on the length of letters and have limited space to publish them – usually 150-250 words. Keeping your letter brief will help assure that your important points are not cut out by the newspaper.

Follow this outline. Introduce the topic, state your position, tell your personal story, state a few key statistics or facts about the issue, and conclude with your call to action. Space is limited, so stay focused.

Send letters to weekly community newspapers, too. The smaller the newspaper's circulation, the easier it is to get your letter printed.

Be sure to include your contact information. Many newspapers will print a letter to the editor only after calling the author to verify their identity and address. Newspapers will not give out that information and will usually print only your name and city should your letter be published.

Make reference to the newspaper. While some papers print general commentary, many will only print letters that refer to a specific article. Here are some examples of easy ways to refer to articles in your opening sentence:

- I was disappointed to see that *The Post's* May 18 editorial "School Vouchers Are Right On" omitted some of the key facts in the debate.
- I strongly disagree with [op-ed author's name]'s narrow view on reproductive rights. ("Name of Op-Ed," date.)
- I am deeply saddened to read that Senator Doe is working to roll back affirmative action. ("Title of Article," date.)

When you're ready, submit your letter. Go to your local newspaper's website and search for directions for submitting it online. If there is no online form, print, sign, and mail it to your newspaper's physical address or Post Office Box. Make a copy for your records.

Check the paper each day after you submit your letter. That way, you'll know as soon as your letter has been published and you can begin sharing it on social media and email listservs so it reaches an even wider audience.

Email or mail a copy to your campaign target. If your letter is published, send a copy by email or print to your campaign target, such as an elected official, and make your next ask (a meeting, introducing specific legislation, etc.).

If your letter isn't published within a few days, make some tweaks and submit again. You can also try submitting the same letter to another paper – just make sure not to submit the same letter to different papers in the same one- to two-day period. Take what you create and space it out over different publications and wait at least a week's time.

Social Media

Social media is another great way to generate attention to your advocacy. Whether you are using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, or a blogging platform, here are some tips to maximize your impact online:

Be visual. Share a photo or infographic to increase post visibility.

Use hashtags strategically. Trending hashtags are one way to add your voice to an online conversation and increase post visibility. If a hashtag isn't trending, consider not using one at all. And if you absolutely must use a hashtag, keep it as short as possible.

Retweet and comment. Generate conversation by retweeting posts from your lawmaker's account and other organizations, and comment thoughtfully. Don't just rely on original content.

Rallies & Protests

Rallies and protests are another highly effective tactic to draw attention to your issue. Specifically, rallies and protests can work to:

- Apply public pressure to elected officials or other targets and demonstrate how much support there is for the issue.
- Generate publicity by giving the press a compelling action to cover.
- Energize new activists by giving them a fun and easy way for someone not totally plugged into your campaign to get involved.

What's the difference between a rally and a protest? A rally sometimes has a speaking program and a protest is just a gathering. Both can be powerful actions.

Planning the Protest/Rally

1. **Do your research.** Are other community groups planning a similar action? If your rally is in response to a recent news event, it is likely that other groups may be planning something as well. Check the Facebook pages of other organizations and reach out to them to make sure you are not detracting attention from an event hosted by an impacted community or partner organization.
2. **Pick a time, date, and location.** Lunchtime on weekdays tends to be better for attracting reporters, while weekends tend to attract more attendees. Pick a location that's symbolically significant – city hall, for example. The best protests are short and high-energy, so don't plan for your event to run longer than an hour and keep the number of speakers between two and four.
3. **Know your rights.** Some rallies and protests may require a permit depending on the size of the event. Check your county and city's websites for this information and submit a permit request at least a week in advance, if possible.
4. **Recruit attendees.** Post your event at <https://map.peoplepower.org/>, share it on social media, invite your friends and family, and post flyers in public places. More people will make your protest better, so identify other stakeholders (communities, groups, organizations, etc.) who share your cause, and strategize how the planning team will reach out to them.
5. **Make signs.** Remember that any sign you make could end up on the front page of the paper, representing the purpose of your protest, so make sure the message is simple and clear. Making signs is a great activity for a group meeting before your protest. Print out chant and/or song sheets to keep the crowd energized.
6. **Invite the press.** Look online for the contact information for your local media outlets and tell them the exact protest time and the reason for the protest. Appoint a press lead for your group to coordinate communication with the press and act as a spokesperson for the group.

Remember! If you are hosting the event as a People Power activist, you should check in with the ACLU-WA Activism Manager to ensure your purpose and message don't conflict with the organization's positions.

7. Delegate the responsibilities for the day of the event. Depending on how big you expect your event to be, it's best to have a volunteer or volunteer team manage these responsibilities:

- Lead chants and keep energy high.
- Be prepared to talk to press.
- Take photos and video.
- Greet and collect contact information from attendees.
- Be the point person for dealing with any disruptive participants or questions from law enforcement (including having a copy of your permit, if required).
- Share personal stories if there is a speaking portion of your event.

During the Protest/Rally

- 1. Be visible and loud.** Well organized protests will take advantage of key high visibility areas to show off signs and let locals know what you are advocating.
- 2. Take photos and videos.** Designate several people in your group to take photos and videos that you can post on social media during and after your event, as well as distribute to the press later.
- 3. Be safe, but also be aware of your First Amendment right** to be there and protest. Police will typically be most concerned with keeping you out of the street and keeping sidewalks clear for pedestrians. Comply with lawful orders they give you but insist on your right to protest.
- 4. Find reporters and tell them why you're there.** Make it clear that local community members are supporting your campaign.

After the Protest/Rally

- 1. Follow up with local reporters.** Email them photos and videos from the protest and any other important information, including the number of people who attended and spoke out in support of your cause.
- 2. Share your photos on social media** to raise awareness.
- 3. Connect and plan.** Follow up with activists who attended your rally and invite them to your next meeting.

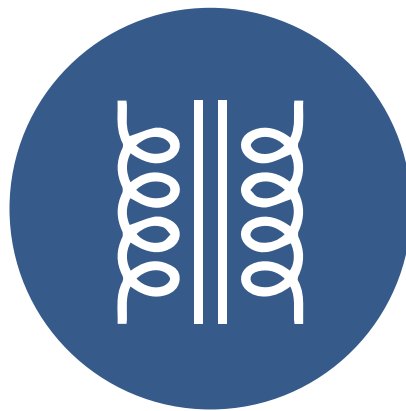
Practice: Design a Tactical Action Plan

Use this worksheet to design a tactical action plan for achieving your SMARTIE goal. Refer to page 34 for a refresher on how to craft a goal that is Strategic, Measurable, Ambitious, Realistic, Time-bound, Inclusive, and Equitable.

Remember! Tactics are the last step in your strategy planning. Before deciding on tactics, you should think through your long- and short-term goals, capacity, stakeholders, and targets. Refer to the strategy chart on page 35.

You especially want to think carefully about whether a given tactic is likely to move a specific primary or secondary target to take the action you desire. Tactics that seem exciting or powerful but don't move a target waste activist time, energy, and resources. Focus on what will matter to your targets.

SMARTIE Goal:				
Tactic 1	Action Steps	Resources Needed	Deadline	Project Owner
	1.			
	2.			
	3.			
Tactic 2	Action Steps	Resources Needed	Deadline	Project Owner
	1.			
	2.			
	3.			
Tactic 3	Action Steps	Resources Needed	Deadline	Project Owner
	1.			
	2.			
	3.			



TRANSFORMER:
Bringing It All Together

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Sustaining Your Activism

Activism is a marathon, not a sprint! In order to use our collective power to create the world we want, we need to take care of ourselves and others. Keep in mind that not everyone feels burnout the same way. Activists of color often face disproportionate barriers and violence in daily life and particularly when doing advocacy work. It's important to respect the different ways in which we each experience the world. Everyone has their own limits and boundaries.

- 1. Find your community.** Advocacy is more effective – and more fun – when done alongside others. Creating or joining an activist group is a great way to energize your advocacy and generate new ideas. If you are involved in other groups, such as a faith-based organization or book club, bring up the issues you are passionate about and invite others to join you in advocating for change.
- 2. Educate yourself.** True advocates are constantly learning. Sign up to participate in an antiracism training, read books and articles by individuals from different backgrounds than yourself, and seek out speakers and authors who challenge you. Look on the websites of community groups and organizations you respect for suggested reading lists and educational resources. The opportunities for self-education are endless!
- 3. Practice self-care.** While so many of the issues we work on are incredibly urgent, it is critical to take care of your mental, spiritual, and physical wellbeing. Avoid burnout by taking breaks when you feel overwhelmed and knowing your limits. Getting plenty of sleep, drinking water, eating nourishing food, and moving your body may seem obvious, but they are necessary to sustain your activism.
- 4. Make a plan.** Undoing centuries of oppressive attitudes, practices, and policies is a tremendous task. Use the tools in this workbook and the resources on page 64 to create a plan to divide your work into manageable goals. Don't let the magnitude of the problem drive you to inaction.
- 5. Celebrate your victories.** Take time to recognize and celebrate your wins when you achieve them. Express gratitude to those who have come before us in this work and to those who are with us now.

Practice: Make Your Commitments

Find people from your neighborhood or community. Share contact information and make a plan for when you will meet and what concrete next steps each of you will take before meeting, such as practicing sharing your personal narrative, creating a power analysis map, or having 1:1s to recruit new volunteers.

My name:	My phone number:	My email address:	My commitments:

Teammates' names	Phone numbers	Email addresses	Commitments

We will meet on _____ [date] at _____ [time] by/at _____ [phone/Skype/local café, etc.]

Additional Resources

For more tools to fuel your advocacy, check out the following resources:

Beautiful Rising. <https://beautifulrising.org/>

Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists, 4th Edition.
<http://www.midwestacademy.com/manual/>

School Board Advocacy Toolkit. ACLU of Washington. 2019. <https://www.aclu-wa.org/school-board-advocacy-toolkit>

This Is An Uprising. Mark Engler & Paul Engler. 2016.

“What is Public Narrative: Self, Us & Now” (Public Narrative Worksheet). Marshall Ganz. Working Paper. 2009. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/30760283/Public-Narrative-Worksheet-Fall-2013-.pdf?sequence=1>

When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir. Patrisse Cullors & asha bandele. 2018.

Youth Activist Toolkit. Advocates for Youth. 2019.
<https://advocatesforyouth.org/resources/curricula-education/youth-activist-toolkit/>

References

ⁱ “Chronicles of Change: An Organization’s Guide to a Theory of Social Change.” The National Gender & Equity Campaign of Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP). http://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/NGEC_OFP_TOSC_Guide.pdf

ⁱⁱ “Power Mapping.” Andrew Boyd. Beautiful Rising. <https://beautifulrising.org/tool/power-mapping>.

ⁱⁱⁱ ACLU of Northern California. 2017.

^{iv} “Power Mapping,” see above.

^v *Managing to Change the World: The Nonprofit Manager’s Guide to Getting Results.* Alison Green & Jerry Hauser. 2012.

^{vi} Midwest Academy. <https://www.midwestacademy.com/>

