

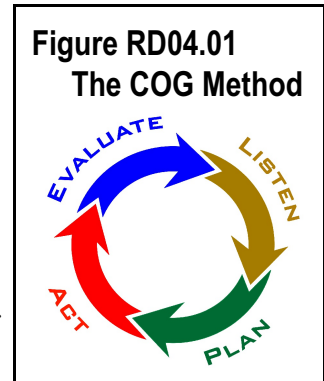
STEP-BY-STEP ANALYSIS IN AN ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN ¹

The Purpose of the Analysis

Organizing for Power² differs from most other organizing approaches. Most unions organize to increase density. Or they think organizing is merely “mobilizing” to deploy some immediate tactic. Organizing for power may result in membership increases, but its primary purpose is to build union power. Organizing for power may involve mindful, well-timed mobilizing, but its primary purpose is to accomplish something important to a union’s members. It makes their goals a reality. Organizing for power makes this possible through building long-term, sustainable organizational capacity.

Planning to Build Power

Organizing for power guarantees success because it focuses on both ends and means. Organizing for power ensures an essential outcome: the capacity to apply principled power—the long-term, sustainable union power necessary to achieve shared goals based on members’ mutual self-interests. Organizing for power relies on a practical process: The Constant Organizing Goals (COG) method. It functions through continuous cycles consisting of four interconnected steps: **LISTEN**, **PLAN**, **ACT**, and **EVALUATE** (illustrated in Figure RD04.01). In each step, it uses systematic procedures and practices to guide action. Together, the outcome-driven orientation of organizing for power and the COG method create a cogent, consistent, mutually reinforcing approach for building and applying union power. Organizing for power using the COG method unites and balances ends and means. Together, they combine outcome and process in a unity of purpose, direction, and action.



Organizing for power ensures success by mindfully building and applying power. By establishing committed relationships with a union’s members and allies, organizing for power builds the power and influence required to prevail in organizing campaigns. By creating, targeting, and managing conflict, organizing for power explicitly advances the five **Constant Organizing Goals** and builds the power required to achieve unions’ organizing objectives in a specific campaign.

This GUIDE’s chapters and appendixes are designed to build organizers’ “*conceptual knowledge*.” The GUIDE deepens and extends organizers’ understanding by exploring the nature and purpose of organizing for power and by explaining organizing concepts, principles, and dynamics. This knowledge is the “Know-What” of organizing. It is the “knowing about” and the “knowing why” of organizing.

More important, this GUIDE is designed to instill “*Performance Understanding*.” This GUIDE prepares organizers to experience, learn, and internalize the skills, procedures, and practices required for effective organizing. These insights develop large repertoires of recognizable organizing fact, behavior, and response patterns needed for powerful organizing. This understanding is the “Know-How” of organizing. Simply, it is the “doing” of organizing. Through its Resource Documents, this

¹This Thinking Tool is most effectively used from this USB drive. The USB drive permits instant access to referenced documents or concepts through hyperlinks. Hyperlinks on this USB drive are identified in blue Arial typeface (*i.e.*, this identifies a [hyperlink](#)).

²This GUIDE’s [Chapter 1](#) presents an overview of organizing for power.

GUIDE instills the “*practice*” of organizing by detailing organizing procedures and practices and by proving organizers tested, proven model organizing tools.

To further improve organizers’ performance, the design of this GUIDE promotes “*strategic thinking*.” It promotes the mindful decision-making that transforms knowledge and practice into the action necessary to prevail in a particular situation. Strategic thinking is the “Know-When” and “Know-Whether” of organizing. Simply, it makes the “doing” of organizing more successful and more powerful. By instilling this disposition toward *strategic thinking*, the GUIDE guarantees organizers a competitive edge.

Purpose of Step-By-Step Analysis

This step-by-step analysis is about the listening and the planning required for a powerful, effective organizing campaign. The design of this analysis improves the practice of organizing. It builds “Know-How.”

However, no organizing campaign is exactly like any other organizing campaign. As a result, no organizing plan is exactly like any other organizing plan. Obviously, campaigns differ in their objectives and scope. Concrete variations in a union’s environments (represented in figure RD04.02, below) create different organizing situations. Realistic, effective organizing plans must account for all these differences. As a result, organizing plans cannot rely on standardized, inflexible rules or check lists. Check lists invariably focus more on checking boxes than on thinking through challenges, identifying unanticipated circumstances, or adapting to evolving situations.

While campaigns differ, our organizing experience demonstrates that good organizing and effective organizing campaigns are nearly always driven by universal core dynamics, principles, and practices. To be effective, organizing requires mindful, advanced planning and preparation for action. Effective organizing relies on: actions that build necessary foundations for subsequent action; well-timed and appropriate actions; and action to assess and adapt to improve future actions.

During a campaign, unions must clarify, elaborate on, extend, and ultimately answer critical questions that determine the purpose, direction, scope, means, and objectives of the campaign. Through such consideration, unions can out-think, out-plan, out-prepare, and then out-maneuver their adversaries in order to shape and adapt to the unfolding circumstances of an organizing campaign. Simply, to be effective, organizing requires mindful analysis at each step. *This step-by-step analysis helps your organizing team answer critical questions and anticipate challenges—before they arise in the heat of a campaign.* It can also identify the discrete, intermediate conditions which must exist for unions to achieve their objectives. We call these conditions “**Critical Success Factors**.”

Guided by the COG method, the tasks recommended in this step-by-step analysis reflect the regularities of good organizing. It functions by raising a series of powerful questions³ that help organizing teams to analyze, assess, take the steps, prepare for, and deploy the actions necessary to develop a powerful, effective organizing campaign. It also encourages organizing teams to fit and adapt their own particular campaigns to their own specific organizing situations. As a result, this step-by-step analysis assists organizing teams to develop their own organizing plans and implement them to take advantage of changing circumstances and evolving situations. Moreover, this GUIDE can help by providing Thinking Tools that lead organizers to good decisions and also help by advising your team on practices and methods proven effective in other campaigns.

³ERIC E. VOGT, JUANITA BROWN; & DAVID ISAACS, [THE ART OF POWERFUL QUESTIONS: CATALYZING INSIGHT, INNOVATION, AND ACTION](#) (Mill Valley, Ca., Whole Systems Associates, 2003)..

Instructions and Procedures for Planning and Implementing a Campaign

The planning of union *public* actions in an organizing campaign can be reduced to the following seven (7) Steps:

- Step 1:** Create, staff, and fund an organizing team to do the organizing.
- Step 2:** Listen to members. Discern their goals.
- Step 3:** Develop situation awareness of the organizing environments.
- Step 4:** Formulate Objectives and Frame the organizing issue.
- Step 5:** Plan each strategy.
- Step 6:** Plan and prepare the actions in each strategy.
- Step 7:** Assess and adapt each strategy and each action to ensure progress.

As alluded to above, the five **Constant Organizing Goals** always guide the planning in these seven Steps. As goals, they are also the long-term standards against which unions assess their progress. Of course, a union's planning ought to achieve the outcomes embodied by union's objectives.

The following analysis delineates these seven Steps—essential to effectively planning an organizing campaign. But remember, good planning alone is not enough. Unions must act to win.

Step 1: Create, staff, and fund a structure to do the organizing.

Structure is a **critical success factor** in organizing. As all organizing campaigns' first Step, unions staff and fund the campaign. Organizing is a labor-intensive process and someone has to do the work. This requires a union to appoint an organizing team. Moreover, unions require an organizing team, a bargaining team, and clear lines of authority between the two teams and among the union's governance body. Additionally, organizing requires at least some expenditure of money. Therefore, an organizing campaign requires a preestablished, dedicated budget. Finally, the members of the organizing and the bargaining teams must be trained on how to do their job and on their respective responsibilities. All of these considerations ought to be planned.

This Resource Document advocates a progression of seven (7) actions to plan for the success of an organizing campaign. The tested actions and model Thinking Tools included avoid the need to “reinvent the wheel” and permit organizers to rely on the successful actions and practices of prior campaigns. These seven actions are the “Know-How” of Step 1. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the “Know-What” and the “Know-Whether” that drive and justify these actions.⁴

Initially, **Organizing Structure and Organization** (in this Resource Document) presents concrete examples of Thinking Tools and practices useful in creating the organizational structures, making staffing decisions, and defining the roles of the people who do the work in union organizing campaigns. The staffing-related tools in **Organizing Structure and Organization** include a guide to various roles and model forms which anticipate critical questions on structure and staffing decisions. They will also prepare your union for the next Steps in the campaign.

⁴For example, this GUIDE's **Chapter 4** on planning and **Chapter 6** on preparation include discussions of the structure and staffing needed in union organizing campaigns.

Step 2: Listen to members: Discern their goals.

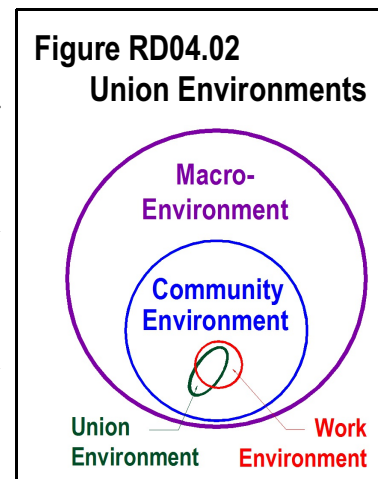
The second Step in an organizing campaign builds commitment to the union and its organizing campaign. The purpose of the COG method's **LISTEN** step is to build both the relationships that lead to commitment and situation awareness⁵ necessary for effective action. Unions accomplish these two aims through listening to their members.

1: Really listen to members:

Organizing for power depends on listening to a union's own members to build bottom-up, **Referent Power**. Listening to members also helps develop situation awareness of a union's own internal environment, and its workplace environment, its community environment, and the macro-environment (illustrated in Figure RD04.02).

In **Resource Document 3**, we detail a progression of nine (9) proven *public* actions in relational organizing. These actions build power through listening to members. Again, the nine actions in this **Progression** are the "Know-How" of Step 2. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the "Know-What" and the "Know-Whether" that drive and justify these actions.⁶

Guided by this **Relational Actions Progression**, organizing teams can rely on several tools to build **Referent Power** in union organizing campaigns. These relational actions include one-on-one conversations with key people; small group meetings with union members; *etc.* These **LISTEN** step actions build power by developing the commitment of union members and their allies.⁷



Based on an assessment of their notes from conversations with members, organizing teams can readily identify members' values, interests, and visions for a better future. Using these conversations, this GUIDE's **discernment process** effectively identifies members' goals.

2: Conceptualize Goals and begin to formulate Objectives:

The COG method's **PLAN** step effectively functions to formulate a **GOST Hierarchy of Action**.⁸ This GOST Hierarchy guides the campaign through the major planning elements. As the acronym suggests, the GOST Hierarchy consists of four elements:

- Conceptualize members' **G**oals,
- Formulate a union's **O**bjectives,
- Develop a campaign's **S**trategies, and then

⁵"Situation awareness," refers to the working understanding of the people, groups, and circumstance in the union's organizing environments needed to plan and act effectively during a campaign.

⁶This GUIDE's **Chapter 3** explores the function of relationship building, relational methods, and union values in organizing campaigns. **Appendix 3** explains: how relational meetings differ from personal meetings; the rationale for relational methods and tools; types and purposes of relational methods and meetings; and **directed active listening**.

⁷To help organizing teams anticipate the critical questions on organizing decisions to build relationships and mobilize around union values, this GUIDE provides a variety of other tools and resources. This GUIDE's **Chapter 3** and **Appendix 3** detail these tools. **Resource Document 3** describes the application of these tools.

⁸This Resource Document provides **forms** to record the GOST planning process.

- Select the *T*tactics that will make the campaign successful.

This Guide's [Chapter 4](#) delineates the four components of the [GOST Hierarchy of Action](#) and explains the linear progression from goals to tactics.

Once it has discerned the members' goals, a union knows where it is ultimately headed. As should now be apparent, discerning and then conceptualizing members' goals is a prerequisite for formulating union campaign objectives. In fact, relational conversations drive and direct union actions throughout the rest of the campaign.

To be effective, organizing campaigns must have express, clear, and measurable objectives. However, a union can only formulate realistic objectives, in particular, concrete organizing environments. A union must have "situation awareness" to formulate its objectives. This information is an essential part of the raw data used in the **PLAN** step. It is an essential prerequisite for organizing teams' work in [Step 3](#) and in [Step 5](#) of this step-by-step analysis.

Step 3: Develop situation awareness of the organizing environments.

The third Step in a campaign requires an organizing team to further enhance the union's understanding of the organizing environment. In an organizing campaign, the third Step further enhances and expands a union's understanding of the organizing environment. The action in this step the situation awareness needed to craft mindful strategy.

In part, a union gains situation awareness by listening to what union members and union allies know about the organizing environments. This information is important. However, listening is not enough. Effective organizing requires more.

Guided by the five (5) proven actions in the [Power Actions Progression](#), organizing teams can use several Thinking Tools to further develop situation awareness of a union's supporters and adversaries. This enhanced situation awareness also informs a union about its capacity to organize. This progression details each of the power analyses and advises on how to effectively implement these techniques. It also anticipates the questions organizing teams must answer to ensure success. These five actions are critically important aspects of the "Know-How" of Step 3.⁹

1: Identify the Power Actors through power analyses:

Initially, through [Force Field Analysis](#), an organizing team begins to develop the necessary understanding of the power relationships operating in their union's organizing environments. From there, an organizing team can [identify power actors](#) that make these power relationships function. John Tait and his colleagues provide and assess four (4) methods for [identifying power actors](#) in the union's environments. Once an organizing team has identified the power actors, it can [map their power relationships](#). Then, organizing teams have the situation awareness to appraise [power actors' incentives and motivations](#) and take actions necessary to effectively influence particular power actors.

2: Identify constraints and opportunities in the organizing environments:

This GUIDE's [Resource Document 4](#) also offers organizing teams a variety of other tools needed to develop situation awareness. These organizing planning tools include a [SWOT analysis](#) to determine a union's strengths and weakness and the opportunities and threats it faces.

⁹Other parts of this GUIDE explain the "Know-What" and the "Know-Whether" that drive and justify these actions.

In combination with the situation awareness gained from listening, these tools help organizing teams to deepen their awareness of their organizing environments.

Once a union knows where it's headed from identifying members' goals it must determine how to get there. In an organizing campaign, "getting there" requires a union to decide on the interim stops on the journey. In terms of the **PLAN** step, organizing teams must formulate objectives and framing the organizing issue. **Step 4** discusses these two actions. It also requires a union's organizing team to craft and deploy the strategies need to achieve the objectives. **Step 5** of this step-by-step analysis discusses crafting strategies.

Step 4: Formulate Objectives and Frame the organizing issue

Based on the members' goals, organizing teams must formulate a campaign's objectives.¹⁰ To be effective, objectives must be clear and explicit. Most important, objectives must be measurable. An organizing team must formulate these measurable objectives so that the union will attain its members' shared goals. Achievement of the objectives must ultimately attain the members' goals by a specified time.

When formulating objectives, organizing teams must apply their situation awareness of organizing environments. They must also expressly account for the **critical success factors** needed to actually achieve these objectives.

The fourth Step in a campaign also requires an organizing team to clearly establish the campaign's focus by framing the organizing issue. Organizing teams frame the organizing issue as simple a statement. It explains why achieving the union's objective is "100%" right.

Three Thinking Tools are essential to determine the focus of an organizing campaign.¹¹ This trio of tasks required to **frame the organizing issue** consists of: (1) "cutting and validating" the organizing issue; then (2) formulating the "organizing statement"; and finally (3) formulating the organizing theme. This critically important trio can mean the difference between success and failure.

1. Cut and validate the organizing issue

Cutting the issue, requires a union to determine whether it is possible to organize in order to rectify an objectionable situation. As Alinsky recognized, not every matter of concern to a union and its members is an organizing issue. Unions can organize around "issues," but not around "problems."

"Issues" are the discrepancy or disparity between the concrete circumstance and what everyone has come to accept as fair, just, appropriate, or right. Issues are the difference between "The World As It Is" and "The World As It Should Be." For a "Problem" to also be an "Issue," certain predictable characteristics of the situation must be present. If these situation characteristics are present, a union can make the problem into an organizing issue controversy. **Cutting and Validating an Organizing Issue** explores these characteristics.

¹⁰Depending on the scope of an organizing team's authority, the formulation of a union's objective(s) in a campaign often requires approval from the union's governance body. In most case, however, a governance body's formulation of the objective(s) may need to be refined for organizing purposes.

¹¹In Step 4, organizing teams frame and direct unions' subsequent actions in the **PLAN** and the **ACT** steps of the COG method. This GUIDE's **Chapter 4** explores the concepts, principles, and methods of the COG method's **PLAN** step.

Cutting the issue from the problem raises certain critically important questions. [Cutting and Validating an Organizing Issue](#) helps your organizing team anticipate issues that arise in efforts to determine which problems can be resolved through organizing.

2. Frame the organizing statement

Once a union has established an organizing issue, it must frame a statement that conceptualizes what the campaign is all about and what is required to conduct the campaign. Organizing teams must answer essential questions about the campaign.

Focus by thinking how to answer these threshold questions:

- ▶ **Who** are we organizing?
- ▶ To do **What**? By **When**?
- ▶ **Who** will oppose it? **Why** do they care?
- ▶ **How** can we succeed?

The answers to these questions frame an organizing statement. Answering these questions guides planning and strategy development. Commit them to writing and repeatedly refine them throughout the campaign. Organizing teams and members alike will repeatedly need to refer to this “reality check point” as the campaign progresses.

Importantly, [Framing an Organizing Statement](#) helps organizing teams anticipate many questions their unions must answer to effectively conduct an organizing campaign. In effect, the framing of the union’s organizing statement effectively determines the scope of the organizing campaign. Thus, it establishes the nature and extent of what the union needs to understand about its organizing environments and what raw facts in the environment are relevant to the campaign.

3. Formulate the organizing theme

The third essential task is to craft an organizing theme so that the dispute can be understood by the audiences to the union’s organizing campaign. A persuasive theme summarizes a union’s positions and goals during an organizing campaign. Specifically, an effective organizing theme must combine the following three elements into a single, concise statement:

1. Name the decision-maker(s) (*i.e.*, the organizing Targets) responsible for the problem situation;
2. Articulate the union’s “100% Right Position” on the organizing issue; and,
3. Describe the objectionable situation as a controversy. This polarizes the issue into “them” and “us” positions.

Note: The union’s persuasive articulation of the “100% Right Position” for an audience in one of the union’s environments may not be appropriate for another audience in another organizing environment.

As discussed above, the mechanics of combining the three essential elements into a single, concise statement is usually fairly straightforward exercise. However, in practice, [formulating the organizing theme](#) helps organizing teams anticipate and resolve several critically important questions. Certainly, a well-articulated theme permits an organizing team to persuasively justify the organizing issue, making it both compelling and readily understandable. While effectively formulating an organizing theme is essential for success, alone it cannot overcome planning and action deficiencies in subsequent stages of the organizing campaign.

Step 5: Plan each strategy

In an organizing campaign, the fifth Step requires an organizing team to craft and deploy the strategies needed achieve the union’s objectives. These strategies guide the union’s actions during the organizing campaign. [Resource Document 5](#) details the analyses needed at this Step These Thinking Tools which are the “Know-How” of Step 5, including [The Strategy Star](#) which is a particular powerful tool for strategy formulation. Several other Resource Documents also provide tools needed to formulate strategy. The organizing planning documents in this Resource Document 4 detail some of these tools. The organizing preparation documents in [Resource Document 6](#) provide organizing teams additional tools. These tools detail the use of calendars and time lines to anticipate and account for appropriate timing in organizing campaigns. The strategy-related tools introduced here function as essential components of the “Know-How” of Step 5. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the “Know-What” and the “Know-Whether” that drive and justify these actions.¹²

Despite rank-and-file union members’ generally myopic focus on tactics, effective organizing campaigns are not limited to organizing tactics alone. In organizing for power, the strategic “big picture” is multifaceted, effective union action. The strategic components of this big picture consist of:

1. An “offense” to make progress;
2. A “defense” to counter the adversary; and,
3. “Score keeping” to gauge the progress produced by the offensive strategy.

Effective campaigns are driven by these “[Grand Strategies](#).”¹³ Each of these Grand Strategies advance unions’ [endgames](#). Organizing to achieve bargaining objectives illustrates the Grand Strategies organizing teams must plan:

- The offensive organizing Grand Strategy to induce an employer to accede to a union’s bargaining positions.
- The defensive litigating Grand Strategy to defend against both an employer’s failure to bargain in good faith and any attempt to enjoin a union’s offensive organizing tactics.
- The bargaining score-keeping Grand Strategy to gauge the progress the union’s offensive organizing tactics have made toward inducing an employer to accede to a union’s bargaining proposals.

¹²This GUIDE’s [Chapter 4](#) on strategic planning for organizing campaigns, [Chapter 5](#) on strategy development, and [Chapter 7](#) on tactics selection explore various aspects related to planning effective, powerful *public* actions. In [Appendix 4, Points of Influence in Organizing & Bargaining](#) explores the development of environmental situation awareness to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action as they arise. *See also Strategic Planning the Desired Outcome of the Organizing Campaign, in Appendix 4.*

¹³We referred to these three core strategies as “Grand Strategies” because they provide broad direction regarding general courses of action. As Grand Strategies, they do not specifically direct particular *public* actions in specific organizing situations. Rather, they establish an overall means or orientation for these specific strategic courses of action.

Unions must formulate a plan for each of these Grand Strategies in their organizing campaign. Each Grand Strategy can be deployed or implemented following the process of the COG method. For each Grand Strategy, **LISTEN** to build Referent Power through commitment and to gain situation awareness. **PLAN** to build Expert Power and to out-think, out-plan, out-prepare, and then out-maneuver the union’s adversary. **ACT** to deploy the actions that influence outcomes. **EVALUATE** to assess and adapt, which ultimately guarantees success.

Planning of the specific strategies that comprise each Grand Strategy must be based on particular concrete organizing situations and campaign objectives. However, the regularities of good organizing permit illustration of the elements of the Grand Strategies in a campaign for bargaining objectives. The following bargaining campaign examples may clarify the function of [Grand Strategies](#).

Example RD04.00

Grand Strategies in a Campaign to Achieve Bargaining Objectives

1. Alinsky-inspired organizing for power functions as unions' offensive strategy to achieve bargaining objectives.
 2. Litigating to enforce the Labor Law's duty to bargain in good faith and to protect unions' concerted activities from judicial interference functions as unions' defensive strategy.
 3. Collective bargaining (or negotiations in other forums) functions as unions' score keeping strategy tracked through the Blueprint process.
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Thus, each Grand Strategy serves a specific function in an organizing campaign.¹⁴ Each specific campaign strategy must be crafted to guide the actions needed to achieve one of a union's desired objectives. Each specific campaign strategy must be crafted to advance a Grand Strategy. Each specific campaign strategy must be crafted to anticipate, prepare for and guide needed action. Each specific campaign strategy must be crafted to establish the sequence and timing of the *public* actions need to prevail.

1. Plan the offensive organizing strategies

Organizing teams must mindfully craft¹⁵ the organizing strategies which will comprise the offensive Grand Strategy. The required planning relies on organizing teams' work from the prior Steps. Using the tools in [Resource Document 5](#), organizing teams craft (and later deploy) strategies designed to attain the goals discerned in [Step 2](#). Attaining these goals requires clear, measurable objectives. To achieve these objectives, strategies must be well crafted. These strategies rely on the framing of the organizing issue from [Step 3](#) and the situation awareness gained in [Step 4](#). Organizing teams must ensure that these strategies complement and harmonize with the particular strategies deployed to achieve the other two Grand Strategies.

Building from both the [Power Actions Progression](#) and the [SWOT analysis](#), organizing teams can target their strategies and then prioritize their tactics through [Power, Interest & Effort Priority Analysis](#). Building on this situation awareness developed in [Step 3](#), organizing teams must establish to other prerequisites for effective action, by identifying:

¹⁴This GUIDE's [Chapter 4](#) further elaborates the nature and function of the three Grand Strategies.

¹⁵The planning analyses used the **PLAN** step are detailed in this Resource Document. It explores various planning analyses and advises on how to effectively implement these techniques. This Resource Document outlines a [Planning Actions Progression](#) which anticipates the questions organizing teams need to consider to ensure success.

- Each of the [critical success factors](#) which must be accounted for in order for a union’s organizing campaign to be successful. The essential information can be obtained through [Critical Success Factor Analysis](#).
- The leverage or “influence points” (*i.e.*, points in time or windows of opportunity) during the organizing campaign at which union action may influence the campaign’s outcome. These windows of opportunity can be anticipated through an [Influence Point Analysis](#).

2. Plan the defensive litigating strategies

The COG method’s **PLAN** step also includes planning defensive litigating strategies. Defensive strategies are inherently reactive. As a result, the strategies and tactics in any defensive Grand Strategy are heavily contextual. They are driven by specific concrete situations and objectives of a particular organizing campaign. The most common defensive Grand Strategy involves litigating to protect unions’ and members’ rights while promoting the campaign’s [endgame](#).

For an example, consider the union’s endgame in an organizing campaign to achieve collective bargaining objectives. [The three outcomes](#) permitted under National Labor Relation Act drive the defensive litigating Grand Strategy. Specifically, unions file bad faith bargaining unfair labor practice charges to defend against employer violations of the duty to bargain in good faith and to support claimed unfair labor practice strikes that preclude employer “permanent” replacement of striking unit members. In such campaigns, unions must plan and prepare both to create opportunities for employers to breach their duty to bargain in good faith and then respond by filing unfair labor practice charges.

3. Plan the score-keeping bargaining strategies

In the COG method’s **PLAN** step unions must also plan for how to assess (*i.e.*, keep score) the extent of the progress made by the offensive organizing Grand Strategy toward the union’s campaign objective(s). Here too, union bargaining score-keeping Grand Strategies are inherently contextual and must be driven by the specific concrete situations and objectives of a particular organizing campaign.

In an organizing campaign to achieve a union’s collective bargaining objectives, planning should develop bargaining standards and utilize the [blue printing process](#), detailed in [Resource Document 6](#). Using these tools, unions can keep score of their progress at the bargaining table.

Step 6: Plan and prepare the actions in each strategy

This GUIDE’s [Chapter 6](#) explains the imperative to create the conditions necessary to support an Organizing for Power campaign. [Step 5](#) emphasized the need to craft mindful strategy to drive organizing campaigns. To conduct a successful campaign, your organizing team must craft and prepare to deploy its strategies through action. However, merely mobilizing union members to engage in undirected, unprepared, impromptu organizing tactics is almost never sufficient to attain their long-term goals. The sixth Step plans and prepares the tactics (*i.e.*, the *public* actions) which implement each strategy.

After using the tools and practices recommended above, your organizing team’s awareness of the organizing situation should be well-developed. Again, these tools and practices included, listening to what union members and union allies know about the organizing environments, the tools detailed in the [Power Actions Progression](#), and [SWOT analysis](#). Given this situation awareness, your team can begin to select and prioritize needed tactics. These tactics consist of the actions necessary to deploy the strategies your team crafted. Then, use a [Power, Interest & Effort Priority Analysis](#) to prioritize needed tactics.

An essential component of this Step 6 requires organizing teams to determine a campaign's **critical success factors**. Organizing campaigns must establish these necessary conditions and execute these essential actions. Campaign must put these factors “in place” to attain the members’ goals and achieve the union’s organizing objectives. With the critical success factors in place, *public* actions transform an “endgame” from a mere plan into a concrete reality.

1: Based on the identified constraints and opportunities, select organizing tactics

Resource Document 7 details the analyses used in selecting tactics. It explores various tactical considerations and advises on how to effectively deploy powerful tactics. A useful Thinking Tool, **Tactics Assessment Process**, helps organizing teams anticipate solutions needed to ensure success. **The Tactic Star** is also a powerful tool for assisting unions to identify and select tactics that advance specific functions in their organizing campaigns. These tactics-selection tools are essential aspects of the “Know-How” of Step 6. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the “Know-What” and the “Know-Whether” that drive and justify these actions.¹⁶

The planning and selection of *public* actions (*i.e.*, tactics) should promote one or more of the three (3) functions of organizing. These functions of organizing tactics are:

- ▶ *Relational*;
- ▶ *Interpretive*; and,
- ▶ *Influential*.

The most prominent targets for *public* actions almost always consist of a union’s adversaries.¹⁷ In most situations, such actions advance an *Influential* organizing function through tactics designed to put pressure on an adversary’s control group. However, pressure tactics must be designed to actually influence a union’s adversary’s incentive structure enough to induce the adversary to accede to the union’s demands. In this sixth Step, organizing teams can apply their situation awareness to target the appropriate control group members in a way that can actually influence their motivations. Again, this situation awareness was developed from power actor identification, power relationship, and incentives structure analyses previously conducted in **Step 3**.

While union adversaries are frequently the targets for many *public* actions and the organizing function is often *Influential*, the purposes of organizing tactics are more complex than mere “economic warfare” with the employer. At the beginning of most campaigns, union organizing tactics generally focus on *Relational* and *Interpretive* functions by building commitment and educating people about the nature and importance of the organizing issue. Moreover, to maximize the time, effort, and commitment of the tactic’s participants, organizing teams should also design their *public* actions to serve multiple functions. Even pressure tactics should not merely serve an *Influential* function. Good tactics should also be designed to serve *Relational* and *Interpretive* functions, too.

¹⁶This GUIDE’s **Chapter 7** on tactics selection explore various aspects related to planning effective, powerful *public* actions. **Chapter 6** explores the preparation needed in organizing campaigns. It also provides concrete examples of actions and practices commonly used in union organizing campaigns. In **Appendix 4, Points of Influence in Organizing & Bargaining** explores the development of environmental situation awareness to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action as they arise. *See also The Foundation for a Successful Strike, in Appendix 7.*

¹⁷Of course, unions commonly target their adversaries using influential pressure tactics. However, adversaries are not the exclusive targets of the tactics needed to prevail in an organizing campaign. Frequently, unions must employ *Relational* and *Interpretive* tactics with members and allies. In some situations, *Influential* tactics may also be appropriate.

Picket line conduct is an obvious example. Well-designed strike and other picketing certainly should influence the Targets' incentive structure to induce capitulation. However, the camaraderie built while walking picket lines also serves an extremely important *Relational* function. Similarly, the content of picket line chants and picket signs serves equally important *Interpretive* functions.

For an effective organizing campaign, mere action and reaction is not enough. Advanced preparation for effective action is essential. Unions *plan the preparation* needed to execute each of the *public* actions taken as a part of each Grand Strategy. With a **down board perspective**, unions can *reverse plan* the "opening" and "middlegame" of their organizing campaigns. This perspective prepares the union to apply power and other resources that assure the victory inherent in their **Endgame** strategies. Thus, preparation functions to secure a union's initial positional advantage. Preparation builds the capacity to act *effectively*. Master organizers know that they must maneuver and mobilize to establish the essential conditions and the critical success factors required to prevail in a campaign. Preparation ensures that these essential conditions exist and that these critical success factors can be put in place at the right time and in the right way in an organizing campaign.

2: Based on identified constraints and opportunities, prioritize the organizing tactics

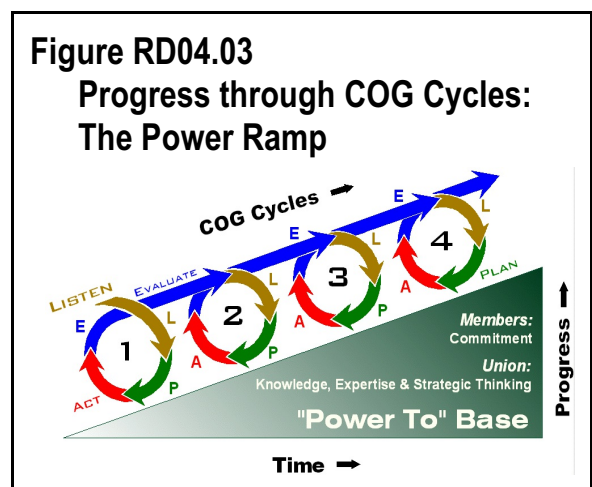
Preparation ensures that the essential conditions exist for success in a campaign. Planning and preparation ensures that the campaign accounts for each **critical factor** needed for success. However, these critical success factors must not only be in place to ensure success. They must be put in place at the right time and in the right way. Use a **Power, Interest & Effort Priority Analysis** to prioritize the tactics needed to put these factors in place, in time, and in the right manner.

Step 7: Assess & adapt each strategy and action to ensure progress

The seventh Step in this analysis requires unions to evaluate all the strategies and actions in a campaign. Your organizing team must evaluate each strategies and every *public* action to assess whether they produced the results anticipated. Using the results of these evaluations, your organizing team must adapt the strategies and the actions for use in the future. The rigorous practice of consistently assessing and adapting each strategy and action immediately after their execution ensures progress.

Effective evaluation is absolutely essential to ensuring that a union will prevail over its adversaries in an organizing campaign. Figure **RD04.03** illustrates how evaluation ensures constant progress toward a union's objectives. Organizers must consistently evaluate to maintain the link between one COG method cycle and progress in the next cycles. If a union breaks the link between cycles (by failing to evaluate), the campaign cannot progress. The union will merely repeat one cycle of **LISTEN, PLAN, and ACT** steps after another. Without the **EVALUATE** step, a union never learns what it needs to change in order to succeed.

In organizing for power using the COG method, evaluation is a purposeful action. It provides unions a systematic process for assessing and adapting their organizing performance. At its simplest, evaluation provides unions a means to detect and correct their errors. However, it should also produce both direct, immediate performance improvement and long-term learning. Therefore, an appropriate process should



also continuously assess the performance of each strategy and each individual action or tactic and then adapt it to ensure progress. The appropriate evaluation process should contemporaneously assess each *public* action and recommend how future actions can be adapted. To maximize the effectiveness of an evaluation process, the people who actually implemented a tactic must also be the people who assess its effectiveness. An appropriate evaluation process should also assess each campaign through a campaign debrief to adapt the next campaign so that it can be even more effective than its predecessor.

Organizing teams can implement this kind of evaluation by consistently conducting an [After Action Review](#) (AAR) after each action. Emergency responders and the military have proved the effectivity of AAR evaluation process. The AAR is well-suited for assessing and adapting union organizing strategies and *public* actions. [Resource Document 9](#) details the use of this powerful evaluation tool. The AAR evaluation process Thinking Tool is the “Know-How” of Step 7. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the “Know-What” and the “Know-Whether” that drive and justify the AAR process.¹⁸

After the Planning Steps: Planning makes success possible, but it’s not enough

Planning makes success possible! This fact cannot be emphasized enough. But even good planning by itself is not sufficient. To actually succeed, unions must go further than the **PLAN** step. They must act! To guarantee the union prevails, the organizing team has to actually evaluate on a rigorous, consistent basis. This moves a union from the **PLAN** step through the **ACT** step to the **EVALUATE** step of the COG method.

Organizing teams do not have to make perfect decisions. In a well-planned campaign, the organizing team must exercise at least “pretty good” judgment on how and when to actually put the plans into effect. A union must move from the **PLAN** step to the **ACT** step. Simply, to prevail, the union has to actually act.

Of course, in every organizing campaign the last step is a celebration. Like everything else in organizing, good planning for the celebration will actually produce a good celebration.

¹⁸This GUIDE’s [Chapter 9](#) and [Appendix 9](#) explore evaluation and the After Action Review process in union organizing.