

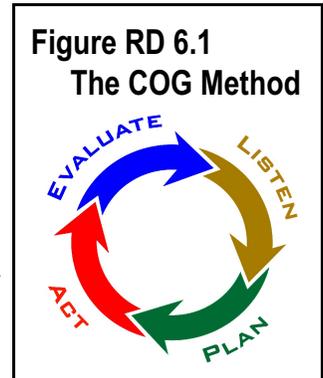
STEP-BY-STEP ANALYSIS IN AN ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN ¹

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. 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 RD 6.1). 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 are designed to build organizers’ “*conceptual knowledge*” 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. Through its Resource Documents, this GUIDE is designed to instill the “*practice*” of organizing by describing organizing procedures and practices and by proving organizers tested, proven model organizing tools. This practice is the “know-how” of organizing. To improve unions’ performance—to give them a competitive edge—this GUIDE’s chapters and appendixes are also designed to promote “*strategic thinking*”—the mindful decision-making that transforms knowledge and practice into the action necessary to prevail in a particular situation. This strategic thinking is the “know-when” and “know-whether” of organizing.

Purpose of Step-By-Step Analysis

This analysis is about the listening and the planning required for a powerful, effective organizing campaign. It is about improving the practice or “Know-How” of organizing.

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

²The GUIDE’s [Chapter 1](#) summarizes organizing for power.

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 RD 6.2) 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 decide the answers to 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. A step-by-step analysis can help your organizing team anticipate and answer these critical questions—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.

Instructions and Procedures for Planning & Implementing An Organizing 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:** Frame the organizing issue.

³ERIC E. VOGT, JUANITA BROWN; & DAVID ISAACS, THE ART OF POWERFUL QUESTIONS: CATALYZING INSIGHT, INNOVATION, AND ACTION (Whole Systems Associates, 2003); E. Vogt, *The Art and Architecture of Powerful Questions*, CORP. LEARNING J. (Micromentor, 1994 [Available from: www.cashflow88.com/decisiones/powerfulquestions.pdf]).

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. It must also expressly account for the **critical success factors** needed to actually achieve these objectives.

The following analysis delineates seven steps essential to effective planning in an organizing campaign. 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. The first step in an organizing campaign is to staff 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 pre-established, 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 6 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.

Step 2: Listen to members: Discern their goals.

The second step in an organizing campaign is to connect with and listen to members. The purpose of the **LISTEN** step of the COG method is to build both the relationships that lead to commitment and situation awareness⁵ necessary for effective action.

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 the union's own

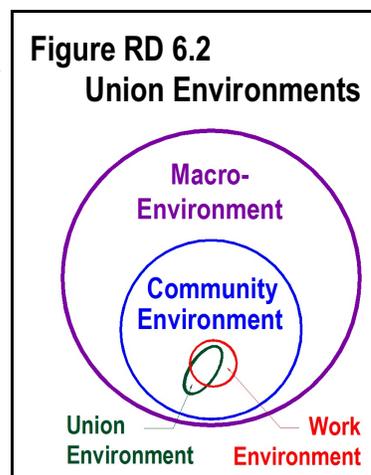
⁴For example, this GUIDE's **Chapter 4** on planning and **Chapter 6** on preparation include discussions of the structure and staffing needed in union organizing campaigns.

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.

internal environment, and its workplace environment, community environment, and macro-environment (illustrated in Figure RD 6.2).

[Resource Document 1](#) on relational methods advocates a progression of eight (8) tested actions for the planning and practices of relational organizing related to listening to members. Again, these eight actions 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 the [Relational Actions Progression](#) advanced in [Resource Document 1](#), organizing teams can rely on several tools to build [Referent Power](#) in union organizing campaigns. For example, these relational organizing *public* 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. This GUIDE’s [discernment process](#) effectively identifies members’ goals.

2: *Conceptualize Goals and begin to formulate Objectives:*

One of the most important functions of the **PLAN** step of the COG method is to formulate a [GOST Hierarchy of Action](#) to guide the campaign. As the acronym suggests, the GOST Hierarchy consists of these elements:

- Conceptualize members’ **Goals**,
- Formulate a union’s **Objectives**,
- Develop a campaign’s **Strategies**, and then
- Select the **Tactics** that will make the campaign successful.

As should now be apparent, discerning and then conceptualizing members’ goals is a prerequisite for formulating union campaign objectives. In fact, these relational conversations drive and direct union actions throughout the rest of the campaign. This Guide’s [Chapter 4](#) delineates the four components of the [GOST Hierarchy of Action](#) and explains the linear progression from goals to tactics. Then, using both the [Power Actions Progression](#) and the [SWOT analysis](#), organizing teams can develop a sense of how to prioritize their actions through [Power, Interest & Effort Priority Analysis](#).

⁶This GUIDE’s [Chapter 3](#) explores the function of relationship building, relational methods, and union values in organizing campaigns. [Appendix 7](#) 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](#) explores the function of relationship building, relational methods, and union values in organizing campaigns. [Appendix 7](#) on relational techniques 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](#).

Moreover, these actions also build situation awareness of a union's environment by listening to what union members and union allies know about a union's organizing environments. 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 is to further enhance the union's understanding of the organizing environment.

Guided by the five (5) tested 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 and 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 a critically important aspects of the "Know-How" of step 3. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the "Know-What" and the "Know-Whether" that drive and justify these actions.⁸

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 6](#) 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.

In combination, these tools help organizing teams develop awareness of their organizing environments. Together with the member' goals discerned in [Step 2](#), this situation awareness permits organizing teams to effectively formulate and refine a campaign's objectives⁹ and then to develop the strategies necessary to achieve them. This is also an essential prerequisite to framing the issue, discussed in [step 4](#).

Based on the members' goals discerned, organizing teams should now be able to formulate clear, measurable objectives for their organizing campaign. In turn, this planning permits organizing teams to develop the particular strategies that can achieve unions' objectives in a campaign and then select the tactics that advance the strategies.

⁸This GUIDE's [Chapter 2](#) explores the bases of power which may be used by power actors in organizing campaigns. [Appendix 2](#) explores three "faces" of power used power structures to limit progressive social changes. It also summarizes three models of power dynamics which control or influence the outcomes in power conflicts.

⁹Depending 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.

Step 4: Frame the organizing issue.

Now, after completing the first three steps, an organizing team should have discerned its members' goals and formulated the campaign's objectives. The fourth step is to clearly establish the campaign's focus by framing the organizing issue. At its foundation, framing the organizing issue is simple a statement of why the objectives the union is organizing to achieve are "100%" right.

Three Thinking Tools are essential to determine the focus of an organizing campaign.¹⁰ 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.

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](#) which further 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

¹⁰In 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.

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, in order to polarize 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 an 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.

The fifth step is to plan the strategies that guide the actions in an organizing campaign. [Resource Document 12](#) details the strategy development 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. [Resource Document 6](#) on planning includes sections which detail some of these tools. [Resource Document 7](#) provides additional tools for using calendars and time lines to anticipate and account for appropriate timing in organizing campaigns. These strategy-related tools are essential aspects 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.¹¹

Despite the obsessive focus of rank-and-file union members, 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 overarching, big picture consist of:

1. An "offense" to make progress;

¹¹This 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 8, 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 8.*

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 at least three such “[Grand Strategies](#)”¹² that 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.

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 RD 6.1

Examples of 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.

Thus, each Grand Strategy serves a specific function in an organizing campaign.¹³ The formulation and planning of the specific strategies that comprise and advance each Grand Strategy guides the course of union actions toward achieving the desired objectives. Each Grand Strategy also functions to

¹²We 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.

¹³This Guide’s [Chapter 4](#) further elaborates the nature and function of the three Grand Strategies.

anticipate and prepare for action by establishing the sequence and timing of the *public* actions need to prevail.

1. Plan the offensive organizing strategies:

Planning¹⁴ the organizing strategies which will comprise the offensive Grand Strategy relies on organizing teams' work from the prior steps. Using the tools in [Resource Document 12](#) organizing teams formulate (and later deploy) strategies designed to attain the goals discerned in [Step 2](#) by formulating actions which will achieve clear, measurable objectives. The strategies also rely on the framing of the organizing issue from [Step 3](#) and the situation awareness gained in [Step 4](#) to develop the campaign's organizing strategies and to ensure that these strategies complement and harmonize with the particular strategies developed in 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:

- 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.

¹⁴The 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.

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 10](#). Using these tools, unions can keep score of their progress at the bargaining table.

Step 6: Plan and prepare the actions in each strategy.

The sixth step is to plan and prepare the *public* actions (*i.e.*, tactics) which advance each strategy. [Resource Document 13](#) 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.¹⁵

Specifically, the planning and selection of the *public* actions (*i.e.*, tactics) should promote one or more of the three (3) functions of organizing (*i.e.*, the *Relational*, *Interpretive*, and *Influential* functions of organizing). Effective *public* actions must also actually put a campaign’s [critical success factors](#) in place. Effective *public* actions transform an “endgame” from a mere plan into a concrete reality.

The union’s adversaries are the most conspicuous organizing targets for *public* actions. 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 the target for many *public* actions is the union’s adversary and the organizing function is often *Influential*, it is essential to understand that the purposes of tactics in an organizing campaign 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. 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.

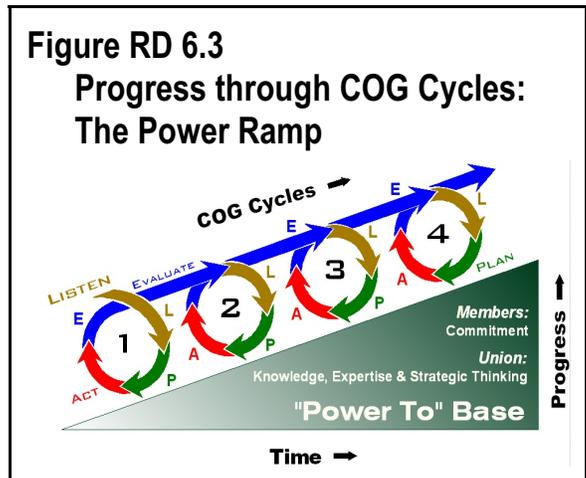
¹⁵This GUIDE’s [Chapter 7](#) on tactics selection explore various aspects related to planning effective, powerful *public* actions. [Chapter 6](#) explores the preparation needed in organizing campaigns. It also provides concrete examples of actions and practices commonly used in union organizing campaigns. [Points of Influence in Organizing & Bargaining](#)—In [Appendix 8](#)—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 13](#).

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 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.

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

The seventh step in formulating an organizing plan concerns planned evaluation of all actions in a campaign to assess and adapt future actions. [Resource Document 17](#) advocates use of a powerful evaluation tool, the After Action Review, to assess and adapt unions’ organizing strategies and their *public* actions. This Thinking Tools is the “Know-How” of step 7. Other parts of this GUIDE explain the “Know-What” and the “Know-Whether” that drive and justify these actions.¹⁶

Effective evaluation is absolutely essential to ensuring that a union will prevail over its adversaries in an organizing campaign. Figure RD 6.3 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, for each Grand Strategy in a campaign, 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 really be effective, the people who actually implemented a tactic must also be the people who assess its effectiveness. Organizing teams can implement this kind of evaluation by consistently conducting an “[after action review](#)” after each action. An appropriate evaluation process should also

¹⁶This GUIDE’s [Chapter 9](#) and [Appendix 14](#) explore the evaluation and the After Action Review process in union organizing.

assess each campaign through a campaign debrief to adapt the next campaign so that it can be even more effective than its predecessor.

After the Planning Steps:

Planning makes success possible, but it is 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. Organizing teams do not have to make perfect decisions. In a well-lead campaign, the organizing team must exercise at least pretty good judgment on how and when to actually put the plans into effect. Simply, to prevail, the union has to actually act. This moves a union from the **PLAN** step to the **ACT** step.

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

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.