INTRODUCTION: THE POWER OF PARTICIPATION

We live at a time when the dominant culture, including the media, elected officials, and corporate advertisers, herald individualism. The stories we hear in school focus on the heroes and heroines of history, rarely on the collective power of organized groups. Although it is true that good stories rely on strong characters, promoting individuals helps those in power to play down the stories of how mass movements, collective struggle, and community-based campaigns have moved resources, shifted power, and improved the lives of many people.

CHANGE THROUGH COLLECTIVE POWER

This book is about the power of participation.

If you want to make a difference, you’re not alone—and you can’t do it alone. Individuals make a big difference when they act together strategically, peacefully, and in large numbers. Our aims are to give you the tools to engage in your own struggles against social and political forces and to continue the long-standing tradition of radical social change through collective power-building.

If you are willing to take on those who make decisions that have negative effects on the many while benefiting the few, this book is for you.

What Is Radical Democracy?

Radical means going to the source or the root; democracy is rule by the people.

In radical democracy, people at the base of society participate in all aspects of the political system, from holding elected officials accountable to running for their
local planning boards. Radical democracy is ordinary people participating in active community institutions where they discuss politics and ideas as they work for a better neighborhood, city, state, nation, and beyond.

**How Do We Build Our Power?**

*The fundamental way you build power is by getting people to understand the source of their social or political problems, then devise solutions, strategize, take on leadership, and move to action through campaigns that win concrete changes.*

Although anyone can use the techniques we describe in this book for any purpose, we hope you use them in the spirit we intend: to build the power of people who have been shut out of or turned off by the political process—people in low- or middle-income communities who are disaffected, disillusioned, and overextended. We are explicit about the need to create communities in which rights, resources, and opportunities extend to everyone, equitably and peacefully.

Throughout this book, we refer to organizations that do this work as “community power-building organizations.”

**What Are the Components and Principles for Building Community Power?**

*The following are what we believe to be the essential elements for building power that is strong and deep, regardless of the problem, issue, or setting. These are core components that we think organizers and leaders need to incorporate into their work in order to be effective. We explore all of these components in greater detail throughout this book.*

1. Build a base of members: more people means more power.
   - *Get people involved.* An organizer gets people involved. This is ongoing work and it never stops. You go to their homes, their jobs, the institutions and agencies where they congregate, and you talk with them. You don’t tell people what they should do, you help them figure out what they want to do and can do to address problems collectively in their communities. You get people to see that it is worth their time to talk to their neighbors or coworkers, come to planning meetings, think, learn, and evaluate. You align them as members of your campaign or organization, keeping track of what they do and what support they need. You build their confidence and help them realize their potential, both for their own personal development and for a
larger, collective good. You support their participation and recognize and respect them.

- **Move powerholders with numbers.** In democratic societies, powerholders respond to large numbers of people making demands of them. By powerholders we mean those decision makers, such as elected officials or CEOs, who are the targets of community power-building campaigns. Numbers are ultimately the bottom line, so you keep many people involved and active in campaigns and the organization.

- **Get members to make decisions.** You engage members in making decisions about how to move campaigns forward and how to develop their own organization. They come to meetings and give their opinions; you also call them periodically to check in. When people have a stake in the outcome and others are listening to them, they stay involved.

2. Get members to understand what organizing is: action fosters commitment.

- **Guide members to see the roots of problems.** An organizer helps people understand how their problems are based in policies, programs, or practices. You convene people with others who have the same problems as theirs so they can see what connects their experiences.

- **Move members to action.** Action shows people what organizing is all about. It is essential to engage members in direct actions—planned, collective activities in which you confront, challenge, and negotiate with a person who can give your community what it wants. You run actions that have clear objectives to move a campaign forward.

3. Develop members to be leaders: leaders learn by doing.

- **Let leaders do the work.** An organizer develops members to be leaders by training and supporting them to facilitate meetings, manage campaigns and their own organization, and by engaging them in the social justice movement. You make sure that members and leaders represent the organization publicly to allies and the media.

- **Conduct political education.** An organizer moves leaders to understand who has power in society and how government, corporate, and private powerholders operate. With this knowledge, leaders make better decisions and engage in more effective planning and campaigns.
4. Implement strategic campaigns: campaigns deliver wins.

- *Run winnable campaigns.* A campaign is a planned series of strategies and actions designed to achieve clear goals and objectives. You guide members to enter into a campaign based on extensive research and a carefully considered strategy. When people get involved in community power-building campaigns, they understand what the objectives are, and they see and understand how their involvement makes a difference.

- *Analyze power.* Power analysis is a distinct process fundamental to an effective campaign. It is a systematic way of looking at who is with you, who is against you, and how important their support or opposition is to the campaign. Members use this information to make honest assessments of their own power and their ability to achieve their objectives. If you implement a campaign based on an inaccurate power analysis, or worse, with no power analysis, it is likely to fail. This only burns members, leaders, and organizers.

5. Engage members in the social justice movement: neutrality is not an option.

- *Build the movement.* Successful campaigns and organizations engage in the larger social justice movement. You build relationships with other community leaders and organizations and expand your community’s base of power. An organizer guides members and leaders to engage in movement-building in order to develop them more deeply.

- *State an ideology.* Corporations, the military, the wealthy, and elected officials all have a clear vision of the world they want to create. They put this vision forth as an explicit ideology or worldview and galvanize support for it. An ideology includes not only the world you envision but how you believe you can realize it. Organizers work with members and community leaders to put forward their own view of the world, including people who are struggling to articulate what they believe or who agree with the vision of your organization but have been convinced by misinformation or lack of access to information to support an ideology that is not in their interests.

*What Are Some of the Main Concepts of Organizing?*

*The following is an overview of the some of the main organizing concepts we refer to throughout this book. Keep in mind that this is an overview, not an inclusive checklist.*
Action. A collective action, which we often refer to simply as “an action,” is a public showing of an organization’s power, such as a march. Actions take place during campaigns. In addition, a person can “take action” as an individual to support a campaign or organization, such as signing a membership card or writing a letter to an elected representative.

Mobilization. The essential process of moving people to action.

Power. Power is the ability to act and to make things happen.

Strategy. In a campaign, strategy is the way or ways that a community power-building organization uses its power to win what it wants. Effective organizations are strategic in everything they do.

Public relationships. Community power-building organizations exist to build members’ collective political power, not their personal social status. The result is a network of “public relationships.”

Political education. Political education is a form of training about issues as well as about social movements and history that you do both formally in workshop sessions and informally in daily or regular contact with members and leaders. Through political education, you communicate and develop the ideology or worldview of the organization.

Winning. Organizing focuses on winning. It results in positive, concrete change in people’s lives.

Evaluation. Evaluation is the process of assessing your actions and determining what worked, what didn’t, and what you would do differently next time. Evaluation takes place after every substantive event, from a day of recruitment to a phone conversation with an ally. Frequent and honest evaluation builds the skills, standards, and excellence of everyone in the organization. We sometimes refer to an evaluation that follows a specific activity as “debriefing.”

Movement-building. In movement-building you use your resources to engage in broader social justice activities that are not solely connected to winnable campaigns or the self-interest of community members.

EFFECTIVE MOVEMENTS
The impact of organizing on the social and political landscape is evident both historically and into the present. In our view, organizing has been critical to creating major socioeconomic shifts through nonviolent means, both in the United States
and across the globe. In this book we talk broadly about the social justice “movement,”
which encompasses the work of individuals and groups worldwide. At specific times
the organizing that causes these socioeconomic shifts is deep and sustained, skill-
fully riding a wave of public unrest and engaging mass numbers of people in lead-
ership and action. When these kinds of movements for justice arise, the types of
organizations we describe in this book, community power-building organizations,
provide leaders and the institutional base to seize the moment and actualize its
potential. By justice we mean expanding rights and economic and educational
opportunities that include everyone, as well as preserving natural resources, en-
suring that government fulfills its role of providing public services and protections,
and using a peaceful approach to resolving conflict, locally and around the world.

Here are some examples: In the United States in the 1860s, the Civil War and
the abolition of slavery were preceded by radicals organizing to raise public con-
sciousness to the need to end slavery. The socialist and populist organizing of the
late nineteenth century across the industrialized world won, in the United States,
the eight-hour work day, child labor laws, and the minimum wage. Also in the
United States, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s galvanized lead-
ers and activists who had been training and organizing for years in their own com-
munities. This movement expanded the right to vote to African Americans and
caused a seismic shift in domestic social policy. It also laid the groundwork for the
movement to end United States military involvement in Vietnam. In the 1980s,
across Eastern Europe, student and labor organizing led to the dissolution of to-
talitarian governments. Currently, movements in Latin America, led by indigenous
communities and workers, are gaining control of governments, changing local pol-
itics, and challenging globalization.

Additional campaigns of the last twenty-five years that have galvanized into
movements include the following:

\textit{Living wage and corporate accountability.} Starting in the 1990s at the local level
across the United States, these campaigns have used strategic alliances among com-
munity organizations, labor unions, and religious organizations to win fair wages
that allow low-wage workers to live above poverty as well as additional improvements
in their lives. Growing out of this work, local community organizations have spear-
headed campaigns to ensure that economic development is equitable and includes
community members—winning jobs, community benefits, and more community
control in development decisions.
ACT-UP. In the 1980s, amid one of the greatest health crises in the century, ACT-UP speeded the development of treatments for AIDS while working to end discrimination and vilification of those who suffer from the disease. It used creative, massive direct actions focused on clear targets and a combination of other strategies, including media, not only to get the nation to understand and feel compassion for those with AIDS but to change the drug-approval process. This activity led to saving and extending the lives of hundreds of thousands of people with AIDS. Even today, AIDS activists across the globe, inspired by ACT-UP, work to ensure that AIDS drugs are available to everyone who needs them.

Student and community movement for corporate divestment from South Africa. The United States movement to divest from white-governed South Africa grew from student organizing in the late 1980s. Students demanded that their colleges and universities stop investing in companies that were doing business in South Africa. This movement soon expanded beyond campuses to include religious and community-based organizations, galvanizing the general public. While it eventually became a celebrity cause, the students who organized on their own campuses were an important component in getting the United States government and U.S. corporations to understand that investing in apartheid was unacceptable. Their efforts also supported local movements in South Africa.

THE RIGHT-WING RISE TO POWER

Right-wing Republicans in the United States have successfully used grassroots organizing to gain power to implement their agenda, using techniques similar to the ones we describe in this book. The right wing has successfully shifted the parameters of the debate, resulting in moving both moderate Republicans and Democrats to target low-income people, people of color, women, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community. We’ve seen the federal government as well as state and local governments abandon their role to provide for people in need while providing huge tax relief to corporations and the wealthy. We’ve seen the government limit individual rights while allowing corporate power to consolidate in ways that not only influence the political process and the financing of electoral campaigns but also drastically curtail the rights and benefits of the workers whose cheap labor feeds corporate profits. We’ve also witnessed the expansion of United States military and police power across the globe.

Introduction
The right wing has been strategic, focused, and well financed. In addition to grassroots organizing, it has worked extensively with membership institutions such as churches. It has funded and supported public-policy think tanks and conservative media outlets and focused on winning electoral and appointed positions of power at the local, state, and regional levels. The fact that the right wing uses organizing tools to advance its agenda only supports the need to identify, train, and activate the broadest possible base of people for our own work.

THE FIELD OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

The following provides a basic framework for understanding the field of community organizing in the United States. A review of Saul Alinsky’s work provides a way to understand how community organizing has evolved in the United States since World War II. In her Introduction to Stir It Up: Lessons in Community Organizing and Advocacy, published in 2003, Rinku Sen describes how Alinsky, an organizer based in Chicago starting in the late 1940s, was the first to devise and write down a model of organizing that others could replicate. The first organization he built, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, was an “organization of organizations,” including churches and labor union and service organizations. The established leaders of each of these organizations brought their own membership to the Neighborhood Council, which won expanded services and educational access for the mostly southern and eastern European immigrants working in the meatpacking plants and stockyards in the Back of the Yards community. Alinsky presented his organizing ideas in two books, starting in 1946 with Reveille for Radicals. In 1970, he wrote Rules for Radicals, in which some of his directives include the need to establish a clear distinction between the role of an organizer and that of a leader, the importance of addressing issues that reflect the self-interest of community members, and focusing on winning over adhering to an ideology. Both books promote the use of bold, creative direct actions to show the power of the people. Sen also describes the feminist and antiracist critique of Alinsky’s principles, focusing on his reliance on formal leadership, the kinds of issues he worked on, and the lack of a deeper analysis to look beyond specific issues.

Alinsky’s ideas continue to be a force in organizing. To form your own opinions about them, it is worth reading his books, especially the concise and provocative Rules for Radicals.

xxvi

Introduction
Community organizing groups operate either as independents or as part of a network. In an independent community organizing group, the individual members of the organization make decisions about all aspects of the organization, including how to raise and distribute resources, what kind staff they need, how to run actions, what principles they want to guide their work, and the issues they want to take on.

Sometimes power-building organizations affiliate with one another through an organizing network. A network is different from a coalition, which builds power on a single issue. A network offers ongoing affiliation and provides additional support to the organizations it includes, such as staff, or formalized training in a specific model of organizing and funding, or access to funding.

Sen reviews the oldest of the organizing networks, the IAF (Industrial Areas Foundation), which Saul Alinsky founded. The IAF now focuses on creating groupings primarily of religious congregations and established religious institutions that engage people in large numbers and have explicit, shared values. The IAF includes dozens of organizations representing tens of thousands of families. IAF organizations have secured many victories, including affordable housing, job creation, and schools. Sen notes that other networks include ACORN (Association for Community Organizations for Reform Now) and CTWO (the Center for Third World Organizing). Wade Rathke founded ACORN in 1970 in Little Rock, Arkansas, as an organization that individuals, not institutions, could join and lead. Now with organizations in more than two dozen states, ACORN has reached out to include those who are traditionally unorganized, winning victories that include local living-wage ordinances and reforming public schools. Gary Delgado and Hulbert James founded CTWO in 1980 in order to pay explicit attention to issues of race. It has trained thousands of organizers and leaders of color and successfully tested new forms of multiracial organizing.

Groups also affiliate with one another through national organizations, alliances, and campaigns, either for ongoing support or to win on an issue. Organizations that engage groups in these kinds of national affiliations include the Center for Community Change and the Northwest Federation of Community Organizations.

In *Democracy in Action: Community Organizing and Social Change*, published in 2004, Kristina Smock describes five types of community-organizing approaches: the power-based model, the community-building model, the civic model, the women-centered model, and the transformative model. Smock observed these models as she examined the experiences of ten community organizing groups in
Chicago and in Portland, Oregon, in 1998 and 1999. The following is an overview of the models, which offer a way to understand the spectrum of strategies and techniques that organizations are using to achieve change at the community level.

**Power-Based Model.** In this model, the community views its problem as a lack of power within the political decision-making process. Therefore, it builds its clout so that it can get its interests better represented in the public sphere. In a power-building model, organizers and leaders create a large, formal people’s organization and use conflict and confrontation to demonstrate their power and pressure powerholders to concede to their demands.

**Community-Building Model.** In this model, the community views its problems as stemming from the deterioration of its social and economic infrastructure. Therefore, it rebuilds itself from within and connects to the mainstream economy. In a community-building model, organizers and leaders create collaborative partnerships among stakeholders, including businesses, nonprofits, and government entities, in order to be publicly recognized as a legitimate representative of the community as a whole.

**Civic Model.** In this model, the community views its problems as being based in social disorder. Therefore, it restores stability by activating both formal and informal mechanisms of social control. In a civic model, organizers and leaders create opportunities for neighbors to meet and problem solve in order to get the city services system to respond to neighborhood problems.

**Women-Centered Model.** In this model, the community views its problems as stemming from institutions at the core of the community that are unresponsive to the needs of women and families. Therefore, it conceptualizes household problems as public issues and builds the leadership of women to pursue collective solutions. In a women-centered model, organizers and leaders create small support teams and provide safe, nurturing spaces for community members to gather and build shared leadership. From this base of support they can interact one-on-one with staff and administrators of public institutions and get them to be more responsive to community concerns.

**Transformative Model.** In this model the community views its problems as symptoms of unjust political institutions that especially disempower low-income people. Therefore, it challenges the way institutions work. In a transformative model, organizers and leaders develop an ideological foundation within the community so that a broad-based movement for social change can emerge and change the terms of public debate.
In our view, an organization can incorporate elements from more than one of these models—with independents being more likely to experiment with different techniques and strategies. For example, Community Voices Heard uses a power-building model with a substantial emphasis on shared power and decision making, building the leadership of women and transforming political institutions—thus creating a hybrid organization with the characteristics of at least three of the models.

The conditions for organizing on your issues and in your community differ from those in other communities and issue areas. Especially when starting out, you examine the various models of organizing and the tools you can use. Understanding how different organizations work is very helpful when you start to build your own campaigns and, potentially, an organization.

**WHO THIS BOOK IS FOR**

This book is for anyone who wants to learn about or engage in organizing for social justice. Although we use examples from our own experience organizing low-income constituents, we believe you can use this book to build organizations, develop community leaders, and win campaigns on the range of issues facing your community. The book will be useful for people new to organizing who want to address a problem in their community; organizers and leaders who want a deeper analysis, particularly of campaigns and of getting members and leaders to participate more fully in running their own organizations; students and teachers of community organizing, public policy advocacy, and political engagement; people working on political campaigns who want to learn how to build effective community-based electoral campaigns; and activists in developing democracies working to expand democracy and build community institutions in their own countries.

**WHAT THIS BOOK INCLUDES**

The book is organized in four parts. Part One describes how to build community power. In Chapter One we introduce the components and principles of building community power and in Chapter Two we clarify the types of power that exist and why organizing groups must understand and talk about power.

Part Two describes the steps in building a base for power. In it we explore how to recruit people to join your campaign or organization (Chapter Three), how to get them involved (Chapter Four), and the absolutely essential task of developing
many different kinds of community leaders (Chapter Five). In Chapter Six we de-
scribe how to use technology to build your base and your organization, including
why you need a database and how to use it.

Part Three describes how to develop and manage campaigns. We explore how
to work with community members to identify an issue they can win (Chapter
Seven), how to engage in campaign research in order to understand the power dy-
namics and the politics of an issue (Chapter Eight), and how to choose and de-
velop the best strategy for your campaign (Chapter Nine). In Chapter Ten, we
describe how to write a campaign plan with clear objectives you can later measure
and evaluate.

Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen cover implementing and evaluating cam-
paigns. We suggest organizational systems and structures for managing a member-
led campaign; look at what actions are, how to run them, and why; and describe
campaign evaluation and how to involve members in it.

Part Four is devoted to building a movement. In Chapter Fourteen we explore
partnerships—when to use them and how to function within them. Chapter Fif-
ten describes how to engage in movement-building in order to sustain leaders
and staff and take on larger social issues. We conclude with ways to put your prin-
ciples into practice and build power over the long term. At the end of the book the
Resources provide overviews of several ways to support your organizing, includ-
ing fundraising and electoral organizing.

Each chapter ends with an overview of challenges related to the topic and how
to address them as well as a checklist of essential elements. Throughout the book
we include sample agendas of sessions to engage members and leaders in a meet-
ing or training related to the topic. At the end of each chapter we include Tools you
can use directly in your own work or adapt, including handouts for trainings,
worksheets, checklists, and training exercises.

Activists and organizers, whether in the United States or in a developing
democracy, can apply the skills, tools, and strategies laid out in this book to build
community-controlled institutions, which lead to the development of vibrant and
active democratic cultures at the local and regional levels.
The main source of examples we use throughout the book is Community Voices Heard (CVH). For more than a decade, CVH has won successful campaigns to improve the delivery of antipoverty programs to tens of thousands of welfare recipients, make jobs available to help them transition off of welfare, and bring thousands of low-income people into the policy-making process. This is the story of how a group of fewer than a dozen poor women in New York City built a powerful organization while raising children, participating in a challenging and sometimes dehumanizing welfare system, and facing an alignment of powerful political, intellectual, and media forces against them. We use it to illustrate the strategies, skills, and techniques that any group of people can use to build their power to address social injustice.

CVH’s focus from 1994 to 1997 was primarily to stop proposals to cut welfare programs at the federal, state, and local levels. Both Republicans and Democrats in the federal government were dismantling the country’s antipoverty programs for women and children. State and local governments started cutting public assistance programs and imposing harsh limitations on benefits and access. Corporate and conservative media outlets were demonizing poor people, targeting “welfare mothers” with particular venom.

The advocacy organizations that had lobbied for years around the fine details of federal welfare policy had no power to resist. They had no base of people to lobby legislators and politicians. They could not effectively mobilize mass numbers of people to demonstrate opposition to the cuts. They had no trained and
effective leaders who were on welfare, who could provide living proof that welfare mothers were hardworking mothers who cared for their children while trying to hold jobs. In some cases, advocates believed that they could negotiate with policymakers to preserve components of welfare programs, which proved to be unsuccessful. And they were not asking mothers who relied on welfare either to make ends meet or as a safety net for their families what they wanted and how they felt about the cuts.

People may have different views of the role or importance of these programs. But the fact that there was no organized opposition, no organizations, no leaders, no movement, meant that a Democratic president signed legislation ending the entitlement to federal assistance to poor women and children in the United States. Programs created by the Democratic Party and that had existed since the Great Depression and expanded in the 1960s’ War on Poverty were gone. It was in this political climate that CVH became one of several organizations of women on welfare to form during this time.

Allies in CVH’s early campaigns included advocacy groups such as the Hunger Action Network of New York State and the Welfare Reform Network, labor organizations such as AFSCME DC 37, CSEA, and the New York State AFL-CIO, and policy groups such as the Fiscal Policy Institute and the National Employment Law Project. We had limited success in the policy arena, but we began to educate and train women on welfare and build an organization.

Between 1996 and 2001 CVH focused on welfare organizing and getting paid jobs for participants in New York City’s welfare program, called the Work Experience Program (WEP). Workfare requires people to work at jobs for no pay—they work in exchange for their welfare benefits. A vast majority of WEP assignments were in city agencies where WEP workers performed tasks traditionally done by paid city employees.

CVH’s Transitional Jobs Campaign or the “jobs campaign” is the main example we refer to in this book. It sought to create paid transitional jobs for welfare recipients. A transitional job is a temporary job that combines a paid wage with on-the-job training and assistance in finding work after the program is over. These jobs often target low-income and hard-to-employ individuals. The campaign started in 1997 when CVH and its allies created and introduced the Transitional Jobs Bill; it ended in 2000 when the New York City Council passed the bill. Allies included AFSCME DC 37, CWA Local 1180, National Employment Law Project,
and the Fifth Avenue Committee/WEP Workers Together, along with other organizations that signed on to the Ad-Hoc Coalition for Real Jobs.

These organizations also helped CVH in its simultaneous attempts to win the Empire State Jobs Program, a state program to provide transitional jobs, on which the city program was based. In addition, CVH worked with NY ACORN on welfare and WEP organizing, and it continues to partner with ACORN on a variety of campaigns.

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani vetoed the New York City Transitional Jobs Bill. Even after the City Council overrode the mayor’s veto, he refused to create transitional jobs. CVH began another campaign and mounted a legal challenge. Finally, in 2001, Mayor Giuliani created a slightly different program than the one outlined in the Transitional Jobs Bill, but in the end, the city created thirteen thousand transitional jobs.

In 2002, Michael Bloomberg became mayor of New York City. While he continued many of Giuliani’s policies, his administration created a dialogue with community groups and advocates, opening up opportunities to affect policies and program administration.

CVH focused on the national level, working with national alliances such as the National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support, the Welfare ENGINE, and Center for Third World Organizing to affect the reauthorization of welfare reform legislation; locally, CVH continued to organize workers who were participating in transitional jobs programs.

As more of our members moved into the low-wage workforce, we took on new issues and campaigns, including working to improve education and training programs for welfare recipients and equitable and accountable economic development. We began forays into global justice and movement-building work. Some of the campaign allies we refer to include AFSCME Local 983, Fiscal Policy Institute, Good Old Lower East Side, Central Labor Council, University Settlement, and the Hudson Yards Alliance.

After a major leadership and membership strategic planning process in 2003, the organization decided to engage more actively in the electoral arena and in new issue campaigns as well as to begin a plan to build statewide power. In 2005, CVH initiated a campaign to organize public housing residents and to address workforce development issues. In these recent years, more men have become active and assumed leadership roles at CVH.
In Chapter One we describe how we met Gail Aska, who channeled her anger at raising a young son on welfare into remarkable leadership for justice and co-founded CVH with us. Throughout the book, we use examples based on other leaders and organizers we’ve worked with. With the exception of Gail, public officials, and the names of ally organizations, we do not use real names. In some cases, we combine campaigns for the purpose of illustration. For instance, the examples we use that refer to the Transitional Jobs Campaign are in fact based on two campaigns for jobs at the city and state levels.

Although the examples we use are based on real people and events, this book is meant as a tool to teach people about the basics of organizing and strategy development, not as a documentation project or promotion for any campaign or organization.

By no means has the success of CVH been ours alone. We have worked with hundreds of strategic and powerful leaders and collaborated with dedicated allies and supporters as well as dozens of committed staff—all willing to work hard, put in long hours, and strive for excellence, often under intense pressure. Without these people, there would be no story of CVH.

If you are interested in learning more about CVH’s campaign for transitional jobs, including an evaluation of its strategies and tactics and documentation of its work through the perspectives of its staff, members, and allies, we recommend reading the report Community Voices Heard: Changing People and Public Policy Through Low-Income Organizing. You can use this as a case study for teaching and training. It is available through Community Voices Heard (www.cvhaction.org).