Finding Strategy:

A Survey of Contemporary Contributions to Progressive Strategy

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Introduction

Power is the ability to achieve a purpose. Whether or not it is good or bad depends upon the purpose.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Strategy is how we turn what we have into what we need to get that which we want. It is the conceptual link we make between the targeting, timing, and tactics with which we mobilize and deploy resources and the outcomes we hope to achieve.

Marshall Ganz

You can't exercise power purposefully without clear goals. In order to get to a particular somewhere you have to have some idea where you are going. For a purpose as simple as getting some provisions from a grocery store you must start with an idea of where the grocery store is located. But, of course, it takes more than that; you have to make some decisions about how you are going to travel there, and then make the journey while keeping some sort of plan it in your head. People who can't put those steps together sequentially usually have to rely on others to keep them in groceries.

There isn't a lot of strategy required for getting to a grocery store, at least for many Americans whose living environment is replete with commercial enterprises and means of transport. Getting to a political objective is quite another matter. If you don't have a developed strategy you almost certainly will fail to reach your objective.

Politics requires strategy because its problem sets are much more complex than planning a trip between two points. And importantly, politics requires sophisticated strategy because there is human opposition which is capable of using strategy to defeat you.

This report is motivated by our prior impression of an impoverished strategic discourse among contemporary progressives in America. The word 'strategy' is used frequently by progressives, and for the most part incorrectly. Many progressive writers and organizations use the term 'strategy' synonymously and interchangeably with 'goals' and 'vision' or simply with 'policy', often without addressing tactics and operations, much less resources and the likely response of adversaries. Other times 'strategy' is conflated with tactics or with plans of action. Tactics and plans are distinct subordinate aspects of a strategy, and pursuing them without a strategy will almost surely leave you well short of your goals.

We have made it our initial task in the Progressive Strategy Studies Project to survey contemporary progressive thinkers and activists to find those who have an articulated a strategy or have substantially contributed to one. There are many levels of strategy. It is quite possible, and useful in its own terms, to have a good campaign strategy or resource strategy and not address building power more generally for progressives.   We have looked specifically for strategies for building progressive power in the United States – power, that is, to achieve progressive goals.

> This report surveys contributions to *strategy for building progressive power* in the U.S.

Even with a focus on progressive power building we recognize some *apples and oranges problems* in our sample. These are explained in part by the differing levels of strategy being considered. So far we have been unable to find a method to eliminate this effect that doesn't also reduce the members of our survey class to low single digits. So, for this report we will present for review a mixed set of strategies that articulate to progressive power on one or more levels.

Power takes a number of forms in society – commonly used categories include power in personal/familial relations, power in economic relations, and power in political/formal-governance relations. A comprehensive progressive strategy would address all these relations of power in society. We are unaware of any progressive who has attempted such a grand strategy[1] formulation for 21st Century America.

Luckily we can frame our strategic investigation in a narrower manner which nevertheless has great relevance for most progressives. This question is:

What strategies are there for moving effective progressive power from its present weak minority status in the social/political structures of America to a much more influential and consequential minority status (minimally) or to a lasting majority status (maximally)?

Framing our investigation this way does not mean we are only interested in strategies that contend for state power. Keeping in mind that there are many loci of power in society, some progressives consider state power to be of only secondary interest. A majority would say that contending for state power or influence has a place in their strategy.
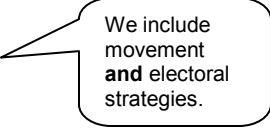
In the pages that follow strategies for winning elections (and often for winning Democratic Party power) are well-represented. This is not because the authors of this report are partial to these strategies, but rather because at this moment large numbers of people who call themselves progressives are focused on

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[1] *Grand strategy* refers to the complex of strategic elements necessary for achieving very large-scale objectives such as winning a war or changing the political course of a nation.

electoral politics, and a majority of them work within the Democratic Party . Ten years from now if right-wing conservatives are no longer dominant in Washington other sorts of strategic orientations are likely to come to the fore.

The strategies included in this report are presented in three groups:
- electoral strategies;
- movement-electoral strategies;
- and movement strategies.

> We include movement **and** electoral strategies.

We believe these categories are meaningful and useful in thinking about differing strategic orientations. At the same time we do not want to overstate their meaning and usefulness. For instance, we do not wish to imply that all progressive strategies fall neatly on some linear continuum.

Meaning for the electoral category is easiest. Most *electoral strategies* concern themselves almost exclusively with plans to win elections. Some electoral strategists may, in addition, think about how to use position in office to change relations of power elsewhere and thereby effect change more deeply than at the level of formal governance. However, we have not found instances where that type of strategic thinking is an articulated part of electoral strategies.[2]

Making meaning of *movement strategies* is more difficult. It is worth a few moments to address the meaning of "movements." Much of the American left understands its victories in terms of movements – rights won, changes in power relations, and reforms achieved through social movements. Important ones in modern times have been the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam anti-war movement, the women's movement, the disabilities rights movement and the gay rights movement. Movements that have mass (broad and deep engagement by millions) are thought to transform people, institutions, and the culture in ways that are much deeper than what officials in a government can achieve from the top. Movements have the potential to change a society's dominant worldview (or ideology), which is thought to be a deep and determining level of power since it shapes our perceptions, values, desires and interests concerning what kind of society and world we live in, and what kind of world and society we might aspire to live in.

The American left has a grand narrative of successive movements for social change and for liberation, and of the intervals when there is little movement activity. There is a common notion of preparing for the next movement during the

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[2] For instance, one of the shortcomings of the Clinton presidency was that very few efforts were made to use the power of the presidency to make long lasting changes beyond Washington that could boost progressive power in communities, private institutions, or at the state level. The strategic objective of the Clinton Whitehouse appeared to be quite narrow: holding on to the oval office for eight years and doing whatever could be done to advance the Clinton policy program from there.

intervals by training organizers and keeping a tradition of radical social engagement alive.   There is also a tradition of struggling locally on the shop floor, in the town hall, and on the streets against injustices or oppressions – sometimes winning small reforms and protections. Besides whatever immediate effect this action has, it is thought to keep the progressive flame burning and prepare activists for the opportunities that the next movement will bring.

Many movement progressives work with what we call 'sectoral strategies' and recently there have been efforts to develop cross-sectoral strategies which seek to combine the resources and opportunities of two or more sectors. Sectors can be thought of in constituency and issue terms, such as women's groups and issues, civil rights groups and issues, etc. or in terms of class and location in the economy and society, such as the labor movement (for many on the left the success of the labor movement is the *sine qua non* of a strong left), or organizing power and position in the non-profit and academic communities. Rarely are sectoral strategies fully articulated, especially in regards to their place in a grand strategy for progressive power. An exception is labor movement strategies where there is sometimes considerable articulation (S.E.I.U.'s Change to Win strategy is included in this report as an example.)

What we call *movement-electoral strategies* are those which emphasize both movement and electoral work for objectives that include building both official state power and other sorts of power outside the state apparatus (minimally, well-organized citizens who can hold elected officials accountable.) Movement-electoral strategies are a type of so-called *inside/outside* strategy, meaning they seek to attain goals by simultaneous engagement and activity both inside and outside of powerful institutions.

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Our task of cataloguing and classifying progressive strategies requires some definition of terms. For our project the terms 'progressive' and 'strategy' are critical. We note that the appellation 'progressive' is used by a variety of people who have differing political orientations, ranging in conventional terms from centrists, to liberals, to radicals. In addition, there are important differences in the way the term 'progressive' was used in the U.S. in the early part of the last century (1900-1917), a later part (1965-1975) and most recently. Rather than tackle the thorny problem of who is a 'true progressive' we have decided to include in this first survey all those who self-identify as 'progressive.' In this sense 'progressive' is an odd fellowship.[3]

> For this report 'progressive' includes all who so self-identify.

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[3] As a result of our inclusive approach, we expect that nearly all readers will find some strategies and groups listed herein not only wrong-headed but also objectionable as in 'part of the problem.' We suggest to the reader that in those cases it is quite easy to move on to the next listing where greater value may be found.

For the term 'strategy' we use this definition:

> Strategy is the art and science of marshalling human and material resources and planning for action on multiple levels and on complex 'terrain' to reach articulated goals. The most challenging conditions for strategy are when there is concerted human opposition, as in politics, sports or warfare.

We have found it useful to distinguish six components that make up a fully articulated strategy:
- objectives,
- assessment,
- operations/tactics,
- dynamics,
- resources,
- evaluation.

Goals or objectives are the starting point of strategy. Ultimate objectives help determine the content of the other components. At this level, we also find those things strongly related to ultimate ends, including values, visions, worldview, and ideology.

Assessment refers to the analysis and interpretation of *a priori* reality, of the terrain, as it were, shaping judgments as to what is realistic and possible through purposeful human agency employing strategy. It also has to do with 'knowing the enemy' and being able to prepare effectively for counter-moves as operations proceed.

Tactics refer to the techniques employed to achieve objectives. In politics they include various forms of organizing, campaigning, framing, messaging, etc. Here the question is whether we are doing things right. It is about the how, the way we go about accomplishing our goals. Tactics tend to be focused on details of action and engagement. *Operations*, in turn, are the coordinated activities that groups and organizations engage in to further the strategic plan. Generally, operations involve the simultaneous employment of many tactical capacities.

Dynamics is the interplay of one strategic actor against another and the actors with their environment. An effective strategy must prepare for the chaotic field of battle and for the options available to the opponent. There must be provision for absorbing losses, regeneration, and reengagement on favorable terms. Dynamic analysis allows the strategist to correctly locate necessary interim or intermediate objectives (strong points) on the road to the ultimate objective. It informs crucial decisions about priorities and sequences of action. What should we concentrate our efforts on? What should we do first, next, and last? There is also a dynamic relationship between the component parts of strategy.

Resources are about institutions, organizations, money and people. Resources must be amassed and managed to undertake strategic operations. Closely related is the concept of infrastructure, but resources and infrastructure are not identical. Access to lots of resources does not automatically translate into strong infrastructure. Rather, strong infrastructure depends on how effectively people, money, and other resources are organized, institutionalized, networked and integrated.

Finally, *evaluation* is a critical component of strategy in which operations are systematically studied as the strategy is pursued and ongoing assessments provide feedback guidance to all levels on how to improve strategic plans and achieve strategic ends.

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The main goal of this report is to hold a mirror up for American progressives and provide a reflection of the state of progressive strategic thought. At a minimum, it gives an overview of the field, provides some clarifications and hopefully a better orientation and basis for strategic development.

Whenever possible we have chosen to let strategists speak for themselves, either carefully abstracting from their work or directly quoting. In this report we attempt to avoid making judgments as to the viability or even the coherency of strategies. We do not assess the relative influence of the various strategies in progressive politics. So-called 'marginal' voices are presented with the same attention as those of that are close to or in 'the mainstream.' We do not compare and contrast, but rather present the strategic components systematically so that comparisons by the reader are facilitated.

> We make no judgments about the viability of strategic components nor do we rank the strategies.
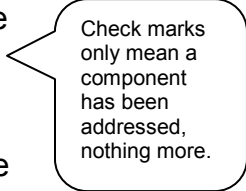
In the sections that follow we have written up brief abstracts of eighteen strategies and then grouped them in three categories. We have also included two examples of sectoral or cross-sectoral strategies.

We have found no full strategy in the sense of substantially addressing all six of the components of strategy we discuss above. We have included here those that address at least three components.

We have also found numerous significant contributions to strategy that for one reason or another don't meet our criteria for inclusion in this report. In many cases these are important contributions to one or two components of strategy and they were never meant to be a full strategy. We have honored a number of these by references to them in the bibliography of this report.

Our write ups are extremely brief; each being closer to an item in an annotated list than an anything like a full description of the strategy. Readers who find particular strategies of interest are referred to the source material listed at the end of each write up and in the appended bibliography.

For the convenience of the reader we have included a table at the top of each write up that has check marks for those components we have been able to confirm are addressed in the strategy. These check marks only mean that the strategy has something substantive to say about those components. Check marks are not an endorsement of a particular strategic component – it says nothing about the validity or usefulness of that contribution – it just means it is addressed in somewhat more than a superficial way. Therefore we advise the reader: Do not assume that a strategy with four or five check marks is a better one than a strategy with three. A strategy that earns six check marks could still be bunk – that is, fully articulated bunk.

> Check marks only mean a component has been addressed, nothing more.

As an illustration of the threshold we use for awarding check marks, consider the component of *resources*. It is really of little value for a strategist to mention in passing that his/her strategy will require large resource investments and leave it at that (and we were surprised in how many cases that sort of statement was apparently deemed sufficient.)   Marshalling resources is a central component of strategy (see our definition of strategy above) and if a strategy doesn't address the problem of marshalling resources in some detail we have not awarded it a check mark for that component.

Electoral Strategies

Jerome Armstrong & Markos Moulitsas Zúniga

Democracy Alliance

Democracy for America (DFA) & Democratic National Committee (DNC)

Green Party

New Democrat Movement

Progressive Majority

Ruy Teixeira & John Halpin

Jerome Armstrong & Markos Moulitsas Zúniga: "Crashing the Gate," 2006

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

Crashing the Gate, written by the two leading political bloggers, attempts to articulate a "netroots" strategy for transforming the Democratic Party in a way that increases its chances of winning elections. It focuses on the tactics of this new Democratic electoral strategy. The overriding objective of their idea of progressive netroots is to achieve election victories for the Democratic Party. In their assessment, they criticize certain aspects of how the Democratic Party is organized and operates, and they suggest what they believe to be better alternatives.

Throughout much of the book, they try to apply the lessons that they have learned from conservative success. One of their key assumptions is that in order to win an increasing number of elections, the Democratic Party has to be rebuilt from the bottom up in all 50 states. In so doing, pragmatic partisanship should consistently trump ideology in order to achieve greater party unity. According to their analysis, the fragmentation of the Democratic Party is one of its key weaknesses. They attribute much of this fragmentation to the power of single-issue groups, and recommend that power should be shifted away from them to unify the party and improve its chances of winning elections.

Another major criticism focuses on the role of consultants based in Washington, DC, who they hold responsible for losing many elections and wasting hundreds of millions of dollars. Armstrong and Moulitsas advocate replacing Washington consultants with more local consultants, who they believe better understand the specific features of campaigns, and with ones who are better able to use sophisticated technology and new media, thereby increasing the chances of electoral success. Closely related to the role of consultants, they charge that progressives, again in contrast to conservatives, do a bad job at nurturing and promoting promising political talent. They call on them to recruit more actively and hire more political talent, pay them better, and provide an institutional environment in which they can develop their skills and flourish. They also call on donors to commit themselves long-term to build a strong and lasting progressive infrastructure.

Another set of criticisms and proposals revolves around the way Democrats use technology and new media, including the Internet. Again referring to the advantages Republicans enjoy in this field, they call on Democrats to make better use of sophisticated database technology to micro-target voters in order to

expand their base. They should use websites more systematically to take better advantage of the potential to recruit campaign workers. Pointing to the early success of the 2004 Dean campaign, they emphasize the huge potential of raising money through small online donations.

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Democracy Alliance

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

Democracy Alliance is an organized and staffed network of large donors, many of whom were significant contributors to the 2004 presidential campaign of John Kerry. Members were recruited by Rob Stein and Simon Rosenberg beginning in late 2004. They worked from an assessment that conservatives came to power after implementing a long-term plan to invest in the infrastructure of their movement. Christopher Hayes writing in *In These Times* (26 June 2006) puts it this way:

> In the wake of the 2004 presidential election, more and more progressive funders are coalescing around what might be called the Infrastructure First theory of progressive revival. Originally pioneered by former Clinton Treasury official and Democracy Alliance founder Rob Stein, and now advocated by everyone from DNC chair Howard Dean to SEIU President Andy Stern, the theory goes something like this: The single most important factor in the right's political dominance over the last several decades is its superior infrastructure—a network of well-funded, tightly coordinated advocacy organizations, grassroots groups, think tanks and media platforms that are capable of mobilizing the base, drawing in new converts, moving the national political debate and exerting astounding influence on elected politicians.

The objective of the Democracy Alliance is to better be able to compete with the conservative infrastructure in order to achieve Democratic election victories. Counseling more patience than many adherents to electoral strategies, the Democracy Alliance expects that it will take several election cycles to achieve their objectives.

In their first round of funding, between October 2005 and June 2006, they provided $50 million to progressive organizations, focusing on think tanks, advocacy groups, watchdogs and training centers. According to news reports, in order to become a "partner" in the network, members have to pay a $25,000 entry fee and annual dues of $30,000 to cover costs of operation. In addition, partners agree to spend at least $200,000 per year on organizations endorsed by the alliance. Currently there is an estimated 80 partners.

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Democracy for America (DFA) & the Democratic National Committee (DNC) "50-state strategy"

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

Democracy for America (DFA) is a political action committee headquartered in South Burlington, Vermont, with affiliates in all 50 states. It was founded by Howard Dean after his unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2004. According to the DFA Website it supports "fiscally responsible, socially progressive candidates at all levels of government." Its goal is to rebuild the Democratic Party from the bottom up.

In DFA's assessment, the Democratic Party needs to rebuild its base by increasing the participation of progressive grassroots, both as activists and as candidates, not only within the party, but in government and politics as a whole. To achieve its twin strategic objectives of electing progressive candidates and rebuilding the Democratic Party, it engages in a number of activities:

- DFA seeks to build a farm team of progressive candidates;
- the DFA Training Academy seeks to "focus, network and train grassroots activists in the skills and strategies to take back our country";
- the DFA Corps invests in communities;
- and it cooperates with other progressive organizations (for instance America Votes)

We could not find any statements of resource requirements for DFA or plans for amassing those resources.

Since he was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), Howard Dean has initiated a "50-state strategy" (DNC Website) based on the proposition that a sustainable electoral majority requires a strong and deep organization, which the Democratic Party currently lacks. The goal of the 50-state strategy is to rebuild the whole Democratic Party, on all levels, and in all 50 states.

The main operational goal is to organize an effective cadre of Democratic operatives in every precinct of the country, consisting of organizers, leaders, and volunteers. According to the DNC's website, this requires four specific types of operations:

1. The Democratic Party is hiring organizers chosen
by the state parties in every state -- experienced local
activists who know their communities.

2. We bring those organizers together for summits
where they can learn from each other the best
practices for getting organized to win elections.

3. Armed with the knowledge they've shared with
each other, Democratic organizers return to the states
and recruit and train leaders at the local level.

4. Those local leaders recruit more leaders and
volunteers until every single precinct in their area has
a trained, effective organization of Democrats
dedicated to winning votes for Democrats.

We have not been able to determine the amount of resources the DNC is
devoting to the implementation of the 50-state strategy.

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Green Party

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

The Green Party of the United States, a federation of local and state Green parties, was founded in 1984. The party currently claims 305,000 members, and has ballot access in 31 states. The highest-ranking elected official is a State Representative in Maine.

Neither the Green Party Platform of 2004 nor its Website offer a unified political strategy. There is, however, evidence of strategic considerations. The last strategic debate concerned its presidential strategy in 2003/2004. In response to strong pressure not to run a presidential ticket, three responses with strategic implications took form. Green & Growing: 2004 in Perspective, a statement initiated by party co/chair Ben Manski, and signed by 158 activists, emphasized the importance of a presidential campaign in order to gain ballot access, highlight the failures of Democrats on a range of issues, and strengthen their profile as an independent party. A Green Party Safe States Strategy advocated for an approach avoiding swing states. A so-called "smart states" strategy proposed a "nuanced" approach as a function of the situation in each state, taking into account the status of the state, access to the ballot, and the party's development. It was elaborated by Dean Myerson and adopted by David Cobb.

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The New Democrat Movement

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

The self-described 'New Democrats' understand themselves as the modernizers of the progressive tradition in the US, transcending the old left-right political spectrum. Hundreds of elected officials on all levels of government are said to be part of the New Democrat Movement. The organization at the core of the movement is the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), founded in 1984 by Al From, and its affiliated think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI). In Congress, it includes the House New Democrat Coalition and the Senate New Democrat Coalition. The New Democrat Network (NDN), founded by Simon Rosenberg in 1996, and its think tank, the New Politics Institute, are associated and positioned slightly to the left of the DLC/PPI formation. The American Dream Initiative, a series of policy proposals, chaired by Hillary Clinton, and published in July 2006 by the DLC, has been developed with support from the DLC, PPI, NDN, the Center for American Progress (CAP), and Third Way: A Strategy Center for Progressives.

The goal of New Democrats is to win elections for Democrats. They are a partisan formation. To win elections New Democrats espouse a centrist platform and draw a distinction between themselves and the left of the party. The most developed statement of this approach can be found in William Galston and Elaine Kamarck's *The Politics of Polarization*. Their political assessment is that the US electorate is simply too conservative to win with a more liberal agenda. They explain the election victories of New Democrat Bill Clinton by his campaigning to the center.

New Democrats believe that the "center" of US politics is the only "location" where elections can be won and since their objective is to have Democrats win elections they develop and advocate for positions and policies as close to the center as possible. They also believe that there are opportunities for innovative policy development that can take some elements from the left and the right and add some totally new elements to make a third way that will appeal to the center of the electorate. These are not some ungainly mixed policies, but rather new species of policy that are neither left nor right.

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Progressive Majority

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

The ultimate objective of Progressive Majority is to achieve progressive socio-political change by achieving Democratic election victories with genuinely progressive candidates. Their key assessment is that there are not enough progressive candidates and that it is easier to develop them "from scratch," as it were, rather than trying to transform more moderate candidates (which they tried to do at first.)   Key operations consist of recruiting, training, and helping progressive candidates get elected (including support for messaging.) Their distinctive tactic is to build and nurture a "farm team" at the local and state levels over the long-term. They support their candidates all along the way as they move up in the political hierarchy.   In order to make sure that the candidates are genuinely progressive, they have to get 100 percent on a questionnaire of 40 questions that tests their commitment to "the progressive agenda" (Conniff, June 2006).

Progressive Majority's resource strategy is to build a nationwide donor network to support both the organization's staffing costs and their candidates' campaigns. As of 2006, the group had offices in five states, and plans to reach eleven by 2008 and 20 soon thereafter. Progressive Majority claims that since 2004 112 candidates have run with a success rate of 71 percent. Executive Director Gloria Totten estimates that $24 million would be needed to grow to scale and reach targeted capacity in 25 states. "Our goals are to take back the state legislatures, and then take those states off the table in national elections" (Totten as quoted in Conniff, June 2006).

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Ruy Teixeira: *The Emerging Democratic Majority,* and Ruy Teixeira and John Halpin: *The Politics of Definition*

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

Ruy Teixeira, a sociologist who specializes on analyzing public opinion and socio-demographic data, is a joint fellow at the Center for American Progress and The Century Foundation, and co-edits, with Stan Greenberg and William Galston, *The Democratic Strategist: A Journal of Public Opinion & Political Strategy*.

Teixeira's strategic goal is to achieve a lasting Democratic majority through a series of Democratic election victories. He believes it is possible to benefit from demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural changes underway in US society by limiting weaknesses with constituencies where Democrats suffer disadvantages and by building on strengths where they enjoy advantages. His assessment is that social trends broadly favor Democrats (The Emerging Democratic Majority, 2002). A main problem confronting Democrats and progressives is that a majority of "Americans do not know what they stand for." (The Politics of Definition, April 2006). Criticizing both what they call the "politics of mobilization" and the "politics of inoculation" as limited and deficient, Teixeira and Halpin argue that only a "politics of definition" is capable of realizing a durable Democratic majority.

They summarize the main tenets of the politics of mobilization as follows: "Rally the progressive troops and maximize base turnout; Grow the base by finding nonvoters and drop-off progressives rather than appealing to the center; Take a no-holds-barred approach to the opposition that is highly critical and contrastive; and Fight for every progressive priority equally" (p. 11).

In contrast, they define the politics of inoculation in the following manner: "Appeal primarily to the median voter; Downplay or repudiate liberal policies; Create distance from the progressive base; Anticipate criticism and move to shore up perceived weaknesses, primarily on social, cultural, and national security issues; and Push a clear centrist agenda focused on fewer governmental and more market/individual solutions to problems; fiscal discipline; "common sense" cultural positions; and a Truman-like national security posture that puts the war against terrorism at the core of the progressive project." (p. 13)

Discussing the pros and cons of both approaches, Teixeira and Halpin conclude that they need to be integrated in a politics of definition. Democrats *and* progressives have to articulate and frame a clear and coherent message of what

they stand for, both in terms of values and on issues, and communicate it in a language that everyone can understand, and in a way that maximizes their strengths and minimizes their weaknesses with key constituencies. In addition, Teixeira advocates for strengthening the labor movement by supporting and promoting unions and labor reform. Unions continue to be a strong Democratic constituency. While their mobilization already is very high, their density could be increased ("A New Synthesis?," June 2006).

In *The Politics of Definition*, Teixeira and Halpin identify the constituencies with where Democrats enjoy strengths, and those where they suffer weaknesses, focusing on the white working class. The "building blocks of a progressive majority" are minority communities (African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans); single, working and highly-educated women; professionals; young voters (18-29 years); union households; "blue" states and regions; and cities, inner suburbs and "ideopolises." Democrats and progressives have to limit their weaknesses with the following groups: the white working class; white married women; white Catholics; white evangelicals; "red" states and regions; and emerging suburbs, true exurbs, and rural areas.

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Movement/Electoral Strategies

Deepak Bhargava

Coordinated State/Community-level Strategy

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)

G. William Domhoff

Peter Dreier

New World Foundation

Progressive Democrats of America (PDA)

Working Families Party

Deepak Bhargava

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

Deepak Bhargava is the executive director of the Center for Community Change (CCC). The Center was founded in 1968 with a mission to help establish and develop community organizations across the country, with a special focus on issues related to poverty and helping insure that government programs are responsive to community needs.

In Bhargava's assessment, progressives are facing serious weaknesses on the crucial levels of base building, ideas, funding, talent, and strategy. To address these weaknesses, Bhargava suggests that progressives should focus on four areas over the next decade.

First, progressives need to develop a long-term strategy for building the whole field. It should focus on particular regions (rural communities, the northwest, the south) and "strategic constituencies" (immigrants, Native Americans, and low-wage workers). It should also try to solve longstanding problems that keep the field from growing to scale. This implies recruiting and nurturing organizing talent and increasing funding. Building power should focus on the state level.

Second, progressives need to develop a new set of integrated issue campaigns. Connected to emerging constituencies, this should serve to build infrastructure and win on important issues.

Third, the historic separation of community organizing and politics, especially electoral politics, in his view is one of the greatest shortcomings of progressives and needs to be overcome. Progressives have to find new ways of articulating the two.

Finally, progressives need to invest in the development of new ideas, especially in articulating a new economic agenda. This has to be accompanied by a larger effort at communicating these ideas systematically.

Underlying this strategy is his belief that a politics based on building long-term, personal relationships is more effective than one based on short-term transactions. A frame that could animate this politics is, according to Bhargava, that of "interdependence."

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Coordinated State/Community-level Strategy

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

This strategy has evolved over the past twenty years out of diverse efforts to aggregate the power of numerous progressive advocacy groups and unions active at the community, metropolitan and state level. It is the product of no one particular strategist or organization, although some of the strategists we include in this report have been key consultants to it and the leaders of the Citizen Action network of state organizations were instrumental in starting many of these efforts in the early years.

It begins from a strategic premise that, given the particulars of the US system of governance, progressives can not hope to exercise power at the federal level until they have established a strong base of power in the states. Were progressives to somehow come to power at the national level without a deep base in the states, such power would be short-lived.

In a recent iteration of the strategy, between 50 and 100 progressive organizations and state/community-level leaders in a given state gather in "tables" (sometimes associated to formal coalitions and sometimes not) – and over the course of six months to a year construct a ten year strategic plan for building state-level power. The process emphasizes welcoming diverse views and respecting differences.

Intermediate objectives include expanding the voter and activist base, electing more progressive legislators from the ranks of progressive organizations, and selecting issue campaigns to unite behind and win.

The process of building the plan begins with an assessment of the particulars of the current power relations in the state. This power assessment is meant to inform all other aspects of the strategic plan.

Operational and tactical innovations include development of high quality voter files and membership lists, coordinated communications and policy development, enhanced civic engagement and organizing activities, joint field staffing capabilities, systematic and ongoing leadership development, and periodic convenings of progressive organizations and leadership.

The strategic plan for each state sets specific financial resource requirements and includes the provision of development staffing at the state level. For the last

ten years there has been a network of national funders[4] supporting the development of this strategy and its implementation. Strategic guidelines call for 50% of financial resources for the implementation of this strategy to come from in-state sources.

Strategic plans include specific guidelines, timelines, and performance benchmarks that will be used to inform periodic evaluations. Evaluations in turn inform revisions in the plan.

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[4] The Proteus Fund, Amherst, MA has served as the main convener and institutional home of this network.

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

The strategic objective of the DSA is to build a strong anti-corporate coalition and movement to advance socialist goals of economic democracy, global justice, and the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the rest of society, both nationally and internationally.

> Socialists have a major job to do. Today, transnational corporations dictate the structure of global economics, politics, and culture. Until popular movements democratize these corporate structures, the promise of democracy will remain unfulfilled. And democratizing economic and political power remains the essence of democratic socialism (Schwartz, 2006: 12).

The assessment of the DSA is based on their interpretation of economic, social, and political changes in the 20th century:

> With the collapse of the political economy of corporate liberalism came the atrophy of the very institutions upon which the progressive politics of the New Deal and Great Society had been constructed. No longer do the social bases for a majoritarian democratic politics -- strong trade unions, social movements and urban, Democratic political machines -- simply await mobilization by a proper electoral appeal. Rather, a next left must be built from the grassroots up (*Where We Stand*).

The DSA emphasize that the globalization of capitalism requires building the anti-corporate coalition on a global scale:

> But such movements cannot be solely national in scope. Rather, today's social movements must be as global as the corporate power they confront; they must cooperate across national boundaries and promote interstate democratic regulation of transnational capital (*Where We Stand*).

Democratic socialists see electoral activity as only one means to achieve their end of building an anti-corporate movement:

> Democratic socialists reject an either-or approach to electoral coalition building, focused solely on a new party or on realignment

within the Democratic Party. Our electoral work aims at building majoritarian coalitions capable of not only electing public officials on the anti-corporate program of these movements, but also of holding officials accountable after they are elected (*Where We Stand*).

More specifically,

 …[a] strategy of gradually encroaching upon the prerogatives of capital will involve creative experiments in workers' buy-outs, democratic control over pension funds, and mandated worker and consumer representation on corporate boards. But these can only occur through the growth of trade union and socialist political power. Socialism will be the achievement of an epoch in which the power of labor vis-à-vis capital will be constantly contested. If the relative power of labor grows, this terrain will take on increasingly favorable contours (Schwartz and Schulman).

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G. William Domhoff

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

G. William Domhoff is professor of sociology and psychology at UC Santa Cruz, and has written on progressive politics and strategy since the 1960s. His analysis is strongly influenced by what is known as power structure analysis, inspired by C. Wright Mills and other critical social scientists. The key challenge for progressives is how to change the power structure so as to provide an opening for progressive politics.

On the level of grand strategy, Domhoff's objective is to achieve greater equality, opportunity, and fairness for all people. The primary means is transformation of the Democratic Party into a more progressive organization. This is based on an assessment of the Democratic Party as essentially hollow, making it ripe for such a transformation. The key operation which is supposed to achieve this transformation is the formation of what he calls Egalitarian Democratic Clubs, through which citizens would organize and support progressive candidates running for office. One of the key tactics that progressives should use is that of strategic nonviolent action, which has proven successful during the Civil Rights Movement. According to Domhoff, this is still one of the most effective ways in which progressives can interrupt and disturb the everyday routines of the operation of political and economic power in society, thus drawing public attention to injustice and exploitation, which is supposed to mobilize people in support of greater justice, putting pressure on politicians to act accordingly.

He argues that progressives already have the right agenda. What they need to do is to develop a unifying rationale, abandon self-defeating tactics, and combine those tactics that have proven successful into a more attractive package. Specifically, he advises abandoning efforts to build third parties (because this is counterproductive in the US electoral system), centralized economic planning, and blaming the media. Instead, progressives should adopt, in addition to strategic nonviolence, planning through the market as their overall economic policy, and redefine "us vs. them" in a more inclusive way, especially seeking to include those who tend to feel alienated by certain aspects of progressive politics.

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Peter Dreier

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓	✓		

Peter Dreier is professor of politics and director of the Urban and Environmental Policy Program at Occidental College in Los Angeles. He has many years of experience in urban policy and politics, both as a scholar and as an activist. Most recently, he worked on getting a progressive candidate, Antonio Villaraigosa, elected mayor of Los Angeles.

Dreier's strategic objective is to make progress towards greater social justice. This requires not only effective grassroots organizing, but the forging of progressive coalitions that can not only win elections but promote policies and politics that preserve the coalition. It is not only about victory but about accountability. In Dreier's assessment, a major weakness of progressives is the frailty and fragmentation of their infrastructure. Hence, efforts need to concentrate on strengthening progressive infrastructure. He praises ACORN as one model of how to do this.

More generally, he sees the greatest potential for building progressive power in urban areas, and particularly in forging strategic coalitions between and among immigrants, minorities, and unions. In fact, it was the exceptionally high unionization within the large Latino community in Los Angeles that mainly accounted for Villaraigosa's victory. Dreier and his colleagues see urban agglomerations as the key laboratory for progressive politics, comparing today's Los Angeles with New York at the beginning of the century. He also sees opportunity to forge urban-suburban coalitions on a range of issues.

In an interview with the Progressive Strategy Studies Project, Dreier was optimistic about the potential of such coalitions being formed in many other states as well, especially considering that immigration is likely to continue at a high level. To be successful however, he believes that immigrants' rights must be translated into citizens' rights.

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New World Foundation

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

The New World Foundation, founded in 1954, is a grant-making foundation based in New York City. Colin Greer is the president of NWF. NWF's Webpage says, "[our] strategy is to support the building of social movements by supporting organizing, which builds a sustainable mass base of activists in viable organizations" (NWF homepage).

A description of this strategy is to be found in its 2005 report, "Building the New Majority." This paper includes an analysis of how the right has built and expanded its power and draws lessons from this for the left. It proposes how a 'new majority' can be built, analyzes who will build it, reviews what is already working, and examines where the structures of the new majority are emerging.

The core thesis is that it is time for Democrats to recognize that the future of progressive politics depends on the revitalization, comprehensive organization, and integration of the grassroots. The New World Foundation advocates that progressives concentrate on building and growing the progressive base by strengthening and integrating progressive infrastructure.

In their analysis, progressives have neglected expanding the base, and progressive infrastructure is weak and insufficiently integrated. The key strategic operation consists in an integrated approach to growing the core base, developing a new base, and appealing to swing voters. Progressives should avoid concentrating on only one of these three components since they can do so only at the expense of being detrimental to the other two.

It advocates for small-scale but long-term financing. The resources to fund this strategy will come in the form of grants from the New World Foundation and other like-minded donors, but it does not specify the magnitude of resources required in order to achieve the objectives.

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Progressive Democrats of America (PDA)

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓			

Progressive Democrats of America (PDA) is a national network of progressive grassroots who support each other in order to implement progressive legislation and policy on the national, state, and local levels. It emerged out of Dennis Kucinich's 2004 presidential campaign, and includes supporters from Democracy for America (DFA), which itself grew out of Howard Dean's 2004 presidential campaign. According to the FAQ section of its website, PDA does not have a governing board. Instead this "conglomeration of thousands of grassroots activists" is managed by a small group of grassroots activists (only two staff and two interns are paid), within the framework determined by "tens of thousands" of grassroots activists.

PDA explicitly pursues an 'inside/outside' strategy. This is a type of strategy that seeks to transform the Democratic Party into a more progressive organization (on the inside) and to build a strong progressive grassroots movement (on the outside). While the two components are meant to reinforce one another, in the case of PDA the emphasis is on strengthening the movement in order to transform the party.

Its distinctive tactic is the "grassroots fusion" model of organizing. It seeks to reduce the considerable overlap and fragmentation among progressive grassroots by trying to unite groups on the basis of similar issues and platforms, while preserving their distinctive identity and vision.

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Working Families Party (WFP)

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓	✓		✓

The WFP is a small party, currently operating in two states. Dan Cantor is its executive director. Founded in New York in 1998 by community organizations, labor unions, and ACORN, it also has a recent presence in Connecticut (currently it is also trying to establish itself in California, Massachusetts and Oregon.) The WFP works with "Open Ballot Voting" (aka "fusion voting") to advance the interests of its working-class, immigrant, and minority constituents. WFP believes that strategic use of its power of cross-endorsement of major party candidates help determining election outcomes and bring minor parties influence they can not otherwise have in the American 'winner takes all' system. Through fusion strategies the WFP can overcome the dilemmas typically faced by third party, that of wasting votes and/or being a spoiler.

> Our organizing strategy is to start local, think long-term, combine campaign work with organizing and education, and not waste supporters' votes on candidates with no chance of winning (WFP Website).
>
> We fight strategically using our ballot line as a tool. And we are in it for the long haul, organizing locally, statewide and eventually, nationally (WFP Website).
>
> Our strategy consists of using our electoral strategy to move our issue agenda, using success on the issues to build our electoral strength, and using both to strengthen our base. We work both against and within the major parties (mainly, but not always, the Democrats) and combine an "inside" strategy of lobbying and advocacy with an "outside" strategy of mass mobilization and protest. No, it won't fit on a bumper sticker, but we think this mix of approaches is the best strategy for moving New York (and, someday, national) politics in a more humane and progressive direction. (The WFP Strategy)

While the WFP is a political party, it is important to note that its strategy is neither purely or even primarily an electoral strategy, but an inside/outside strategy in which elections are just once component.

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Movement Strategies

Bill Moyer

Wade Rathke

Joel Rogers

Bill Moyer and the Movement Action Plan (MAP)

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

Bill Moyer (1933-2002) was an activist, author, and founding member of the Movement for a New Society. Moyer developed the Movement Action Plan, a model to better understand social change movements and to give them advice on how to succeed. The MAP describes the eight predictable stages of a successful social movement. Movement activists can be effective in four different roles, as citizen, rebel, change agent and reformer.

According to the Movement Action Plan (1990), this self-described "grand strategy" is based on the following understanding of grand strategy and social movements:

> A grand strategy is the broadest conception of the process by the different parts and programs of the movement fit together into one big map for going from here to there. A mutual understanding of the grand strategy provides activists with a common basis to evaluate the past and set the course for the future. Without it, the broad range of activists and groups within a movement do not have a consistent basis for organising and evaluating their efforts or reinforcing each other, leading to inefficiencies and unnecessary dissidence as groups go off in contradictory directions. The grand strategy of social movements is to promote social governance through participatory democracy.

The objective of the MAP is to advance participatory democracy. In a sense its object is the same as its preferred operational practice – becoming by doing. A key Moyer assessment is that many social movements lack strategic, big picture thinking that would allow them see how they relate to each other and how they could cooperate more effectively and become more unified. Part of the failure of many movements is their focus on tactics without regard for strategy.

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Wade Rathke

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Wade Rathke is the founder and chief organizer of ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, and Service Employees International Union Local 100, AFL-CIO. ACORN is one of the largest community organizations of low- and moderate-income families in the country, working to strengthen social justice and low-income communities. Founded in 1970, ACORN today reports a membership of more than 175,000 families organized in 850 neighborhood chapters in 75 cities, primarily in the US, but also in Canada, the Dominican Republic, and Peru (ACORN website).

ACORN members meet locally to work on campaigns and elect leaders. It is primarily financed through membership dues and grassroots fundraisers. It runs a number of campaigns to improve schools, housing, neighborhood safety, health care, and job conditions. In recent years, ACORN has increasingly focused on building progressive capacity, with programs promoting living wages, voter registration, and grassroots political organization.

Rathke's more recent thinking has focused on developing 'majority unionism,' a strategy to revitalize unions, and a new tactic for reconnecting union and community organizing with independent left politics and direct action.

Rathke's thought and work also revolves around the crucial relationship between resources, organization and power. ACORN's continued growth contrasts with the decline of most unions and the general crisis of the labor movement. When unions lose members, members' demands far outstrip organizational resources. For Rathke the core problem for progressives is a relative lack of power due to declining resources and, as a consequence, deteriorating organizational capacities.

Rathke emphasizes the importance of organizing, noting that organizers try out different methods and eventually adopt the ones that work best. In the case of ACORN, the priority is on increasing the number of dues-paying members and maintaining them in the organization as long as possible. The different techniques for recruiting, organizing and retaining members are designed to maximize this overriding goal. For Rathke, the power of an organization is a function of its membership and resources, which determines its ability to achieve its objectives, which in turn motivates new members to join and old members to

stay. One of the key challenges for progressive organizers is to cultivate this kind of virtuous circle.

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Joel Rogers

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

Joel Rogers is professor of law, political science, and sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and director of the Center on Wisconsin Strategy (COWS), a research center and project laboratory for progressive state and local policy. He has written extensively on American politics, democratic theory, and public policy.

Rogers' strategic approach combines vision and values with infrastructure and policy. His objective is to achieve progressive sociopolitical and socioeconomic change on the three levels of ideology, infrastructure, and policy. Rogers says that in order to realize this objective, progressives need to do the following. First, progressives need to clarify and define a common vision, and agree on common values broadly based on the tradition of social democracy. Second, progressive organizations need to improve communication, coordination, and cooperation between and among them, in order to reduce their overlap and fragmentation. Third, progressives need to build their infrastructure, prioritizing communication, youth development, service bureaus, the development of messages, and the training of messengers. Fourth, progressive financial resources need to be better organized and more efficiently and effectively allocated. He suggests developing and applying performance criteria to funded projects to measure outcomes objectively.

On the level of policy, Rogers tries to promote what he calls "high road" as opposed to "low road" economic and social development, through initiatives such as the Apollo Alliance, and characterized by "higher and more equal wages, better labor relations, more environmentally sustainable practice, greater investment in productive public goods, and affirmative support for public standards on the private economy" (COWS website).

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Examples of Sectoral and Cross-Sectoral Strategies

Apollo Alliance

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	

The Apollo Alliance (AA), was co-founded in June 2003, among others by Michael Shellenberger, co-director of the Breakthrough Institute, Bob Borosage, co-founder of the Institute for America's Future, and Joel Rogers, director of the Center on Wisconsin Strategy. The President of AA is Jerome Ringo, who also chairs the board of directors of the National Wildlife Federation, the country's largest environmental organization. AA represents a broad coalition of labor, environmental, business, urban and faith communities. It reports on its website that it has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, 23 international labor unions, and most of the national environmental organizations.

The three interrelated objectives of AA are:

- to stimulate investment of $300 billion over a period of ten years in a public-private investment program to create three million new jobs based on clean energy technology
- to strengthen national security by reducing dependence on imported oil
- and to mitigate global warming by reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

  "Our strategy is to build a national and grassroots alliance between businesses, labor unions, environmental groups, and urban leaders, mobilizing the public, and eventually passing legislation through Congress" (AA website).

In addition to building this broad-based coalition on the local, state and national level, and eventually getting Congress to adopt new policies, AA intends to frame the public debate around this strategic initiative. Framing theorist George Lakoff contributed to this in the early stages of AA (Griscom Little, September 2005).

The Strategy Center of AA offers more specific information and proposals how to implement this strategy on different levels and in different sectors. It includes a section entitled "Strategies for Clean Energy," which offers specific "strategies" on how advance clean energy policies in different sectors of the economy (agricultural, automotive, manufacturing, public sector). "Model Financing Strategies" offers details on how AA intends to achieve its goal of investing $300 billion in clean energy technologies over the next ten years through instruments

such as capital strategies, "energy savings performance contracts," "job quality standards on financial incentives," public benefits funds, public bonds, and state and municipal tax incentives.

On June 7, 2006, the Sierra Club and the United Steelworkers (USW) announced a new "strategic alliance to pursue a joint public policy agenda under the banner of Good Jobs, A Clean Environment, and A Safer World" (Blue-Green Alliance website). Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club, and Leo W. Gerard, president of USW, are also members of the National Advisory Board of AA. Sharing the same approach as AA, the Blue-Green Alliance seeks to challenge the "environment vs. jobs" argument, and develop a policy agenda focused on economic growth, job creation and environmental protection.

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Of related interest

Hertsgaard, Mark. "Green Grows Grassroots," *The Nation*, 31 July 2006. http://www.thenation.com/doc/20060731/hertsgaard (31 July 2006)

Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and Change to Win (CtW)

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

SEIU, founded in 1921, is the fastest-growing union in the US today, with 1.8 million members. Its main divisions are health care, public services, and property services. President Andy Stern's priority is organizing. Since he took office in 1996, more than 900,000 members have joined SEIU, most of them women and people of color. Stern also was the driving force behind the Change to Win (CtW) Federation, which was founded in September 2005 in a break with the AFL-CIO. The federation includes seven unions, representing six million workers: the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Laborers' International Union of North America, the Service Employees International Union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the United Farm Workers of America, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, and UNITE HERE.

The main objective of both SEIU and CtW is to improve the position of workers and ultimately to bring about a "pro-worker political consensus" (CtW website). This strategy is based on the assessment that only a much stronger labor movement can achieve these objectives. Their primary tactic is to focus resources on organizing on a much larger scale, not only locally and regionally, as traditionally has been the case, but nationally and globally. SEIU today spends half of its budget on organizing. CtW, in turn, decided to spend 75% of its resources on strategic organizing operations, which translated to $15 million in its first year of operation in 2005/2006. They evaluate the effectiveness of their strategy by the number of new workers they organize, and by the effectiveness of their campaigns in securing improvements for their members.

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Concluding Comments

We cannot claim a complete and comprehensive survey – we have included that which we have discovered so far. In that sense, this report is preliminary. Additional important contributions to strategy will be added to future editions of this report.

We also expect that our attempt herein at objective and systematic presentation will sometimes fail. As we assembled this report we realized that we began our work knowing more about some of the strategies than others and were able to gain access to more information about some than others. This simple fact means that a completely fair and balanced presentation is impossible. Some of what we presented we will get wrong. We apologize to those whose work we misconstrue.

We plan to produce revised, updated, and expanded editions of this survey and we urge readers to send us corrections and any suggestions for improving our classification system.

In this report we have refrained from including our opinions about the various strategies. This report is not about judging the strategic options presented. Our goal has simply been to present the strategies in a systematic way so that the reader can gain greater clarity and perspective on the variation of the field.

We have attempted to carefully account for when a given strategy has substantially addressed the necessary component parts of a complete strategy. We think this provides a useful tool for a quick assessment of how articulated a given strategy is. As we noted earlier this tool tells us nothing about how valid or useful a given component is, just that it is there. And in fairness to the authors of our selected strategies, few of the authors have set themselves the task of presenting complete strategies.

We think this tally of the components is of some interest:

Objectives	Assessment	Tactics/ops	Dynamics	Resources	Evaluation
18	18	18	3	9	4

In the above tally we have not included the examples of sectoral and cross-sectoral strategies, because we made no attempt to include all such strategies in our survey.

All of our strategies have *objectives* and *tactics/ops*. This is not remarkable, because inclusion of these components were minimal requirements for inclusion in our survey. In turns out that all of the strategies have some substantial *assessment*. The next largest representation of a component is *resources,*

included by half. The *evaluation* component is found in nearly a quarter. Only three of eighteen strategies addressed *dynamics*.

We will not comment further here on this representation of component parts. We expect that we will examine the significance of these imbalances in future studies.

Finally we call the attention of readers to one other demonstrable finding:

The class of 'progressive strategies' is highly heterogeneous. This especially holds true for strategic goals, which are frequently very different.

Wolfgang Brauner and Charles Knight
November 2006

Progressive Strategy Studies Project
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