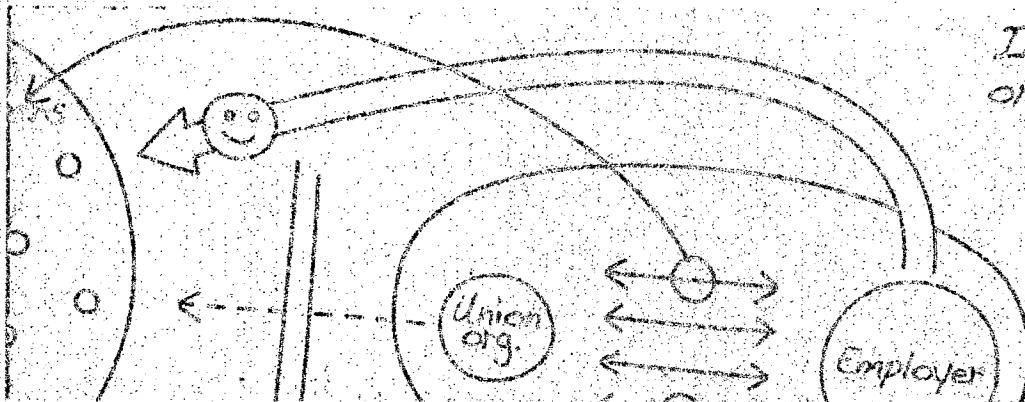




Interactions between the organization and the employee

- Labour/management
- Grievance hearings
- Health and Safety meetings

Toronto & York Region Labour Council

Campaign Planning Handbook

By Rob Fairley and Mike Balkwill

Interactions between the union and typical union member

Union bulletin board

Union newsletter

Union website

Union meetings (low attendance)

Automated phone calls

Occasional workplace visits

Pre and post bargaining sessions

Joint meetings

Informal discussions

Other unions
Central labour bodies

Campaigns

Greed of the one percent

Globalization

Neo-liberal ideology

Cuts to public services

Union busting

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Toronto & York Region Labour Council Campaign Planning Handbook

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The handbook can be downloaded for free at www.campaignorganizing.org

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6 Identify and investigate the primary target

Definition: *The primary target is the person with the power to give us what we want.*

Identifying the primary target can be challenging. Primary targets often set up decoys to deflect, confuse and manage opponents. Employers, for example, use managers and Human Resources departments to contain us. Governments set up “arm’s length” bodies which use consultation to demobilize us.

Sometimes, as we apply pressure, we discover that we have identified the wrong person as the primary target – and we must redirect our pressure. The key question is this: “Who has the authority, the power, to say ‘Yes’ to our demands?”

Investigate the primary target. Research its finances, history and key relationships. What are the strengths and vulnerabilities of the primary target?

You may be able to find vulnerabilities by researching the “official policy” of the primary target (its mission statement, for example). Contrast the target’s “official policy” to its “operating policy” (how it actually conducts itself).

7 Identify actions (tactics) that apply direct pressure on the “primary target”

Whenever possible, we direct tactics directly at the primary target. We must motivate our primary target to give us what we want. Or, in other words, provide a compelling reason, to our primary target, to give us what we want.

Whenever possible choose tactics which:

- apply maximum pressure on our targets
- apply as little pressure as possible on our members
- engage our allies without overextending them, and
- are familiar to our members and unfamiliar to our targets.

Often, primary targets are hard to reach, so we must identify secondary targets who *are* within our reach (see next section).

8 Identify and investigate secondary targets

Definition: A secondary target is a person who has influence over the primary target and is someone we can pressure to exert that influence in a way that is advantageous to us.

Identifying secondary targets is a great way to broaden a campaign and to increase the pressure on a primary target. When mounting a campaign against an employer, for example, secondary targets usually play a key role. An employer's customers, suppliers, bankers, regulators, middle management, etc. are all potential secondary targets.

If your campaign has international reach, identify secondary targets in other countries.

Brainstorm and then prioritize a list of secondary targets.

 See *Secondary Targets*, Appendix 5.

Note: Secondary targets are not allies. Allies are people with whom we have a bond of common interest and values. Allies are people with whom we have built a relationship of trust. Making a distinction between allies and secondary targets can open the door to working to influence people whom we do not trust, people whom activists might otherwise stay away from.

9 Identify actions (tactics) that apply pressure on "secondary targets"

What tactics might the campaign, or its allies, use to apply pressure on the secondary targets you have identified? Where is the leverage?

10 Identify allies and opponents

Allies

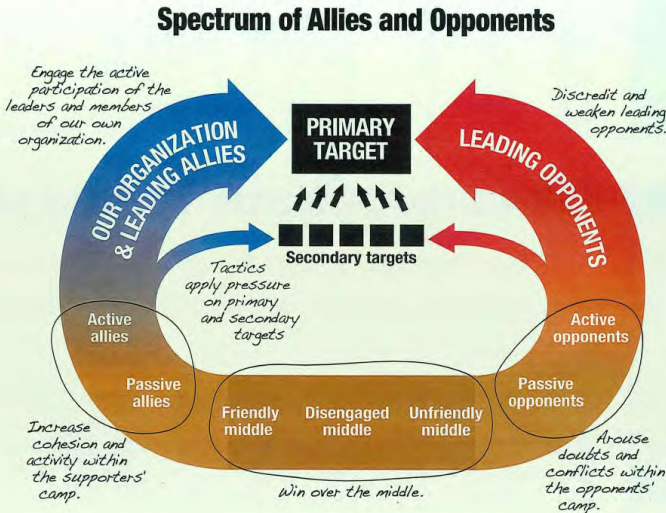
As noted above, allies are people with whom we have a bond of common interest and values. Allies are people with whom we have built a relationship of trust. The exercise titled *Spectrum of Allies and Opponents* is used to identify and rank the campaign's allies and opponents. The exercise is also used to identify ways to activate allies and neutralize opponents.

 See *Spectrum of Allies and Opponents*, Appendix 6.

Winning allies to take action to pressure our primary and secondary targets is usually a requirement for success. Creating, developing and protecting respectful relationships with allies is a top priority. We must not only know their strengths, we must understand and respect their limitations and constraints.

Opponents

It is important to understand the sources of our opponents' power, their strengths and their vulnerabilities.



Source: Adapted by Fairley/Balkovill from "Spectrum of Allies" in *Training for Change* by George Lakoff.

About the authors

Rob Fairley

Rob Fairley is the Director of Strategic Services at the Toronto & York Region Labour Council. Rob became a CUPE member in 1975 when he started at Toronto Hydro. He worked there as a labourer and as an electrician. He served as President of Local One for 7 years and served one term on CUPE's National Executive Board. Rob led the fight for ground-breaking equity programs at Toronto Hydro. Rob's speciality is facilitating strategic planning sessions for local unions. He has extensive experience organizing strikes and other campaigns – large and small.

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Mike Balkwill is a self-employed organizer and community development consultant. Mike has worked with grassroots community groups and non-profit organizations in many sectors: housing, health, community services, and environment. Mike organized successful campaigns to stop the development of an incinerator for radioactive waste in Brampton, Ontario. He also organized the successful campaign to remove mould from school portables in Peel Region. Mike has taught courses in community organization and social movements at McMaster and York universities. He is the publisher of *Pragmatics of Community Organization*.

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