New New Deal cheatsheet: how to fake it in a discussion of the book

A New New Deal: how regional activism will reshape the American labor movement, Amy B. Dean and David B. Reynolds, 2009, Cornell University Press, ISBN 978-0-8014-4838-6.

How much time do you have to prepare before the discussion?
• 5 minutes: read "What does this book do?" below, ignore the rest of these notes, flip through the book.
• 30 minutes: read these notes and flip through the book to see what catches your interest.
• an hour or so: read these notes and the Introduction (pp 1-18), then flip through the book.
• If you still have time, skim chapters 3-5 (pp 87-183) and read (don't just skim) pages 143-151.
• Still have time? Read the whole book.
• For bonus points, look at the website <http://regionalpowerbuilding.webs.com/>.

What does this book do?

Contrary to the book's misleading main title (which suggests that it focuses on federal policy), the book urges labor unions in the United States to convene and lead broad coalitions to build local power in regions centered on cities.

Using case studies of several such regional powerbuilding efforts, the authors advocate for a model that stands on three legs: "deep coalitions, policy work, and aggressive political action." (page 10)

These broad, deep coalitions seek to link all oppressed constituencies "to establish long-standing connections rooted in a common effort to build governing capacity over time." (p. 11) These coalitions require willingness to support each other's goals and even sometimes to "put the concerns of other coalition partners first in the interest of the coalition as a whole." (p. 11)

The policy work gets focused through "think-and-act tanks" that do research, develop policy goals, and monitor government agencies. "These organizations develop and propagate a broad vision of what's wrong and what to do about it." (p.11) They do so "in constant interaction with the grassroots labor and community organizations these policies are intended to serve—and whose action is necessary to implement them." (p.12) They also foster the coalitions.

"[P]olitical power building involves far more than just endorsing candidates and getting out the vote. It involves educating candidates about the labor movement and the needs and goals of working people." (p. 13) It also means recruiting and training champions to support the people's agenda. It means getting these champions appointed to governmental positions and elected to offices. Then it means supporting them in implementing the agreed-upon people's agenda.

Though several localities across the country have implemented approximations of this regional powerbuilding strategy, it requires a significant shift from the focus that many unions have on solely serving their current members. That shift, however, offers the chance to build a broad-based movement that can gain sufficient power to serve all their members *and* the whole local working class better than any organization could serve their members in isolation.

Ultra-condensation, chapter by chapter (page numbers from 2009 hardback edition)

Forward by Harold Meyerson (pages ix-xi)
A Note from The Century Foundation by Richard C. Leone (xiii-xv)
Preface (xvii-xxi)
Acknowledgments (xxiii-xxvi)
     Most readers can skip this opening material with no loss. Preface and Acknowledgments offer some background on the authors and their connections to the topic of the book.

Page xxi points to <http://www.powerbuilding.wayne.edu> as a general website on the topics of this book but that URL no longer works. Instead use <http://regionalpowerbuilding.webs.com/>.

Introduction (1-18)
     Labor unions form "the social force with the greatest capacity to foster a broad-based movement for social and economic change." (1) "[C]ommunity players have to be equal partners with unions." (2)
     (2-7) The Children's Health Initiative of San Jose, California offers an example of the kind of results that a regional powerbuilding project can accomplish.
     (10-13) This model consists of three "legs" that take organizational and programmatic forms as summarized above in "What does this book do?"

The Birth of Regional Power Building

1. Thinking Regionally (21-38)
     Why organize on the basis of a metropolitan region? Business already does; we need to respond. Such regions form the building blocks of our economy and serve as the generators of economic growth. They provide businesses with labor markets, customers, supply and input markets, and peer firms with which to collaborate.
     But regions have governmental jurisdictions that do not cover the whole region. The degree of this fragmentation varies from place to place, but causes inefficiencies for both business and justice interests. We get segregation by wealth and race. Different jurisdictions, for example, have responsibility for land use planning, economic development, and social services.
     When business coordinates regionally but government fragments subregionally, business interests tend to dominate. Labor and community organizations must organize regionally to defend our interests.
     "Regime theory" studies say
          [I]f those in charge of local government want to seriously influence the overall direction of their community they must ally with private groups that offer the resources and capacity to implement an agenda. The term regime has come to characterize the informal webs that bring together various public and private interests in a coherent way that allows them to govern. These relations revolve around a core group of "shakers and movers." They provide ways for public and private players to cross over their particular institutional boundary lines. Through frequent interaction in leadership development programs, issue forums, policy groups, and social networks, members of a regime develop a common identity and language.
               Functioning regimes do not necessarily control all aspects of government, but they do set the framework for overall government planning and direction. Regime players share a common understanding of what the problems are and, in general terms, how they should be addressed. Regime players may not always agree, but they resolve their conflicts

within the assumptions and framework provided by the regime. This common understanding shapes the public debate in terms of what issues get attention and how they are discussed. (28)

In the United States, most urban regimes link public authority to private business. They form "growth coalitions" that drive particular forms of economic development that benefit business interests, especially large businesses. "Public funds typically are used for those development costs that promise few financial returns, while profitable investment opportunities are left for business. In other words, the public assumes many costs and risks, while private business enjoys much of the direct gain." (29)

Some growth regimes include unions, especially building trades and public employees. Some include "middle-class and business interests from African American, Latino, and immigrant communities." "[S]uch players are at best junior partners in the regime." (30)

Labor and other community interests need to build our own regimes in order to govern. "If progressives do not build an alternative source of alliances and capacity, even committed progressive government officials will be compelled to work with key elements of the business establishment, and on that establishment's terms." (30)

The U.S. union movement has repeatedly approached approximations of this regional powerbuilding model. Pages 32-38 sketch that history with a focus on AFL-CIO President John Sweeney's support for revamping Central Labor Councils (CLCs). One of the authors (Dean) chaired a committee that sought to advance that work. The Union Cities program grew out of that effort with mixed, but mostly disappointing, results. "However, the AFL-CIO was mainly interested in mobilizing for national politics, especially the 2000 presidential race, and not in using its vast political spending to simultaneously build lasting local political infrastructure." (37) The project did, however, plant the seed of CLC-based powerbuilding.

2. The Regional Power-Building Model Emerges in California (39-83)

Case studies of the first two regional powerbuilding projects based around San Jose (40-58) and Los Angeles (58-71) show how the model began. They also show the need to create infrastructure organizations to support it. Pages 71-80 sketch the spread of the model in California. Pages 81-83 show it spreading (in varying degrees) elsewhere in the country (Denver, Atlanta, Boston, Connecticut, Pittsburgh, and New Jersey).

The Three Legs of Regional Power Building

3. Developing a Regional Policy Agenda (87-125)

We need to develop integrated policy agendas that serve the needs of a broad coalition. Not just listing everybody's goals, but finding a shared agenda in "redefining the regional political economy." (88) We need to advocate "a new view of the role of government in shaping the development of society." (89) "[T]o influence the private sector in ways that restore the link between industry success and community well-being. Rather than simply seeking to maximize profits, corporations must be required to pursue a dual bottom line, to work for both industry success and the well-being of the diverse groups that make up the community." (89)

"All successful power building strategies have embedded their issue campaigns in a shared general focus on reshaping regional economic development decisions. Why has this arena proven to be the glue that holds together long-term alliances?" (89)

If we define economic development broadly, it includes much of local governmental spending and policy-setting. "[N]ot simply about jobs but about healthy communities." (90) "Land use, transportation, housing, contracting, education, and other policies should be evaluated

through the lens of social justice. ... In short, most government policy arenas become 'economic development.'" (91)

    In this framework, economic development includes addressing such issues as affordable housing (91), adequate health care (91-92), renter's rights (92), classifying employees as independent contractors (92), pollution (92-93), immigrant rights (93), contracting out public work (93), and workers' rights to organize (93-94).

    Developing detailed policy proposals *and* the coalitions to back them requires staff, not just volunteers. Regional powerbuilding efforts require "some form of local nonprofit organization with dedicated staff." (95) The authors call these organizations "think-and-act tanks."

    "Finding resources to establish and maintain these nonprofit organizations presents a central challenge to all power building leaders. ... [H]ow funding and subsequent capacity comes together can shape a particular organization's balance between thinking and acting." (98) So far, most have gotten most of their funding from foundation grants.

    Current mainstream economic development offers only "variations of a basic growth coalition as described in chapter 1." (99) This "free-market" approach rests on isolated individualism. It emphasizes education for workers instead of looking at what kinds of jobs actually exist. It counts jobs and dollars instead of examining the quality of jobs and lives.

    The free-market framework puts business in charge and "typically relegates government policy roles to a passive and reactive role." (101) "[M]ainstream economic development actions suffer from lax or nonexistent standards, a secretive process, and narrowness in what government policy tools are actually used..." (102)

    Public subsidies to promote job creation generally fail both in numbers of jobs and in quality of jobs. Secretiveness contributes to their failure. (102-105)

    But we can't just criticize mainstream business-oriented economic development. We have to develop an alternative. That alternative has two parts: one, redefining the overall problem and solutions and, two, changing specific local policies.

    Regional powerbuilding projects have taken on policy changes that link winnable reforms to overall concerns: living wage campaigns (108), subsidy accountability campaigns (108-109), community benefit agreements (109-113), and sectoral development strategies (113-116).

    "Regional power building's policy work as described above naturally leads to a sophisticated approach toward employers. While individual campaigns may target and pressure specific employers, regional power building aims to change the regional economic and policy rules, not to declare a frontal assault on the very system of corporate America. ... [it] can involve coalitions with specific employer groups." (116)

    Some companies "do not compete primarily on low labor costs but by attracting skilled knowledge workers and keeping this workforce in the area even when individuals change companies." (116-117) Such employers allied with labor in Silicon Valley to win support for the public transit system, for example.

    "Such tactical alliances ... work because labor and its community allies, having pursued the strategies explored in this chapter, can approach cooperation from a position of independence. Without their own understanding of how the regional political economy works and a strong sense of what they want to achieve, progressive leaders risk getting co-opted into a nice-sounding corporate agenda that fails to deliver on social justice concerns." (117-118)

    Such tactical alliances worked when labor had "an independent analysis of how interests did and did not overlap" and when their "mobilized constituency allowed labor and its allies to interact with business figures from positions of mutual respect and strength. Such respect can be built at the individual as well as institutional levels. Power building leaders can get to know key business leaders as individuals while still keeping in mind that these people are both empowered and constrained by the institutional interests of which they are a part." (118)

   Businesses, even within the same industry, can differ on whether they choose the "high road" (quality goods or services with a strong investment in their workers and communities) or the "low road" (cutting short-term costs, especially labor). (121)

   "In seeking to block the low road and pave the high road, regional powerbuilding coalitions have a framework for both confronting and cooperating with employers. They can also approach the political structure from a standpoint not by being probusiness or antibusiness but by asking, What kind of businesses are we trying to promote?" (122)

   We have to win the "general battle for ideas." (124) "An effective social vision that has life and breath on the ground is not born from the heads of intellectuals but grows out of the values and ideas articulated in grassroots battles." (124)

4. Deep Coalitions (pp 126-158)

   These efforts require coalitions, but coalitions much deeper and longer lasting than usual. "Deep coalitions are a leg of the model that must be deliberately built. ... Leaders of regional power building work select issue campaigns based upon how such work will support their strategic relationship-building goals." (128)

   In one example, "[i]t would have been possible to develop a [housing] strategy based on building new affordable housing units to address the housing crunch that was hitting relatively well-paid union members; however, ... the policy push focused on the interests of lower-income renters." Winning an eviction protection ordinance accomplished several goals: it "forged a strong alliance with the local tenants' rights movement", produced public good will, showed labor "was not simply seeking community alliances for its own narrow benefit", and positioned labor to speak "as a representative of the interests of the working majority." (128-129)

   "Over the long term, such strategic campaigns help redefine labor's image in the community. Building labor's political influence and organizing more workers shifts from being a 'special interest' to a mechanism for growing power that benefits a range of community organizations and the community at large." (129)

   Page 130 has a table distinguishing four kinds of coalitions: ad hoc, support, mutual support, and deep.

   "The ultimate goal is to move interaction between key labor and community groups from transactional relationships ('I'll scratch your back if you scratch mine') to relationships based on intertwined interests and strongly shared values." (131)

   Groups don't just support each other's agenda. They "develop new mutual agendas that transcend their traditional activities." "[T]he direct organizational interests of key partners become embedded in a larger community cause and set of shared values around which" (131) they organize coalition campaigns.

   "Cooperation becomes not only a way of accomplishing the immediate tasks at hand, but also a vehicle for growing the capacity of each core partner to exercise power individually—and collectively as part of a coherent regional progressive movement. Leaders ... see their work self-consciously in terms of growing a movement of working people that can transform their region, state, and ultimately the nation." (131)

   "[G]rowing a constituency for power building efforts involves a twin process of defining the work to speak to different partners' core goals while at the some [sic, probably meant same] time encouraging them to view the building of a shared capacity for regional power as a necessary step for fully pursuing those core interests." (132)

   "[W]hile coalition work often involves a broad range of groups that vary from campaign to campaign, power building requires deliberate efforts to establish deeper relationships among a set of core partners." (132)

Building such deep coalitions can require time-intensive processes both to bring organizations together initially and to maintain and deepen their relationships. In one example (133), "staff had spent six months having one-on-one conversations with a wide range of labor and community groups to assess their interests, capacity, and potential as core partners."

"[U]nions differ widely in terms of their perceived interests and their level of participation and support." They "can find themselves in conflict over issues of who gets to organize and represent specific groups of workers, who did or did not make bargaining concessions that impacted other unions, and which unions endorsed which candidates. Thus, unifying the 'house of labor' at a regional level is an objective of power building that must be continuously pursued." (137)

Pages 137-140 sketch examples of building unity among unions and internal dynamics within the union movement.

"One implication of the above discussion is that when a labor council or similar leader embarks on the path of power building, he or she is taking risks to manage a complex set of relationships." (140)

"This conflicted political environment helps explain the general pattern, found over the second half of the twentieth century, in which labor councils attracted cautious leaders not known for particularly bold experimentation. ... [O]ver the past decade this situation has begun to change. ... A new generation of ... leaders continues to develop within this climate of crisis." (140)

"These innovators have to negotiate difficult tensions between asserting a bold path and building consensus. For example, in choosing to support MaryBe McMillan for North Carolina AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, federation president James Andrews had to decide between having a particularly skilled labor-community leader, activist, and researcher in one of the organization's three full-time positions and accommodating the expectations of his largest affiliate that one of their members would occupy the post." (141)

"The landscape of community groups in most regions is even more complex and fragmented than that of labor, making it essential to differentiate between organizations while seeking partners." (142) We can classify community groups as focused on service, advocacy, or organizing. Organizing groups "tend to make the most effective core partners". (142)

"Whatever the organizational type, two constituencies are particularly key components of the power building alliance with labor: communities of color and communities of faith." (143)

Pages 143-151 discuss labor-minority-immigrant alliances. *Read those pages — too important to condense.*

Labor needs an alliance with a coalition of justice-seeking faith-based groups. Sometimes that means allying with an existing faith coalition. More often it will mean fostering and supporting such a coalition.

To build power over a period of decades, we must "both expand the ranks of current power building leadership and ensure replacements for the current core." (153) Do that through civic leadership institutes (CLIs). Bring "together primary and secondary leadership from labor, religious, community, and political groups in a four- to eight-session program to develop their understanding of the regional political economy and a common vision of progressive change. Participation is through invitation, and leaders typically pay to participate." (153-154)

"Bridge builders" (people with background in more than one sector of the broad movement) play a key role. "Bridge builders understand where different groups are coming from, can speak their language, and can draw upon the personal relationships and credibility that they have with different groups." (154)

"Civic leadership institutes essentially work to establish cadres of bridge builders with a distinct twist. Ideally, institute graduates not only gain an understanding of the issues and reality

confronting various groups but also emerge with a shared analysis of the regional political economy and a common vision for building real power." (154)

Building Partnerships USA (a nonprofit organization of the authors) has developed a curriculum for civic leadership institutes. Table 4.4 on page 155 lists its seven modules, which "run roughly three hours each. Actual programs vary considerably based on local needs and audience." (155) Pages 155-156 sketch the modules.

"Designing an effective institute requires organizers to think about their long-term plan—how the institute fits into a larger picture of regional activism. At the same time, the one-on-one recruiting of participants should prove an involved and prolonged process as the goal is not simply to get people in to a room together but to build a relationship with them by discussing their constituencies' issues and organizational needs, links to regional decisions, and so forth." (157)

The institutes must use "participatory adult-education methods" instead of presentations by academic specialists. (157)

5. From Access to Governance: Building Aggressive Political Action (pp 159-183)

The political component of the strategy aims not just at winning elections. It also aims at "building capacity to govern." (159) This capacity requires a long-term focus that maintains grassroots mobilization "both during and between elections." (159) We do not want to elect and have access to sympathetic officials. We want to build a regime that will govern in the interests of working people.

"[T]he actual conduct of elections filters the popular will so as to marginalize the interests of the majority from the actual process of governing." (160) This happens through the domination of elections by corporate money, corporate media, advertising campaigns, two parties that both serve the elite, and individualized candidacies. (160-161)

"Political parties do not exist in the United States in terms of the classic definition of a party as a coherent and structured grassroots organization." (161) Candidates run as individuals with their own campaign organizations. Those with private funding have enormous advantages.

In this country, we have a "filtered democracy" that "formally allows democratic participation but substantially limits popular influence in actual practice." (161) "Low voter participation is the natural outcome". (162)

"[T]o mobilize decisive majorities, organized labor and its allies have to redefine the political process by engaging Americans in a new politics of substance. To do so requires building capacities that organized political parties should offer but in America do not: agenda and policy creation, grassroots alliance building, candidate development, and grassroots voter mobilization structures". (164)

Pages 164-169 review mainstream organized labor's rethinking of their electoral work in the 1990s and the first years of this century.

The regional powerbuilding strategy goes beyond that rethinking to create "a systematic and lasting regional capacity for political work" that "becomes fully integrated into the larger agenda for building regional power." (169-170)

First, we must build political unity among unions. "Electoral unity goes beyond simply endorsing the same candidates, however." (170) We "need to target specific races and specific communities. However, unions in a region may disagree on electoral priorities. Our nation's candidate-centered politics encourages fragmentation of electoral work as unions plug into separate candidate campaigns." (170-171)

"In theory, central labor councils provide the cross-union vehicle through which local unions come together, endorse candidates, and decide on races and communities to target. In reality,

individual unions often jealously guard their resources for political operations almost as much as their organizing programs. Thus, establishing a central labor council or area federation as the true leader of a politically coherent regional labor movement typically represents a major accomplishment." (171)

    We also need to persuade individual unions to delegate their electoral field staff and volunteers to the direction of the coordinating central labor body. (172-174)

    Using so-called "527" independent-expenditure campaigns, we can build ongoing grassroots organizations at the precinct level "rooted in local organizations ... to build permanent grassroots capacity over time." (175)

    Since the middle of the 1900s, labor has relied on the political system to generate candidates and then chosen among them. "This passive approach often leaves organized labor and other progressive groups having to choose between lesser evils." (178)

    Instead, we should develop our own candidates. The civic leadership institutes enable regional powerbuilding projects to do that. (179)

    "Labor councils that have shifted to regional power-building strategies typically reconsider labor's formal candidate endorsement process." Instead of questionnaires and interviews, "[p]ower-building labor bodies have instead demanded that candidates sign onto a more specific governing agenda." (179) Labor can also use the endorsement process to educate candidates.

    "The field operations and precinct networks ... also provide a direct capacity to hold officeholders accountable. Unlike the episodic structures build around national election cycles, this work is rooted at the local level in structures that do not disappear after an election. Thus, activists can mobilize grassroots capacity to demand accountability as officeholders face concrete and crucial policy decisions." (180)

    One regional powerbuilding project holds "ongoing public policy education sessions for friendly officeholders. Politicians appreciate the respectful treatment they receive as well as the information shared. This 'soft' way of holding candidates accountable helps build strong ongoing relationships...." (181)

    Along with the "think-and-act-tank" and the civic leadership institute, the central labor body forms a key third leg (especially for the political work).

    "Regional power building ultimately aims to establish a labor-community movement that becomes part of the mainstream. By this we mean that unions, activist groups, elected champions, and progressive reform ideas should be seen by society as familiar elements in the region's daily community and political life. Regional progressive players cannot simply win specific elections or policy reforms but must come to be seen as part of the region's governing fabric." (183)

The Spread of Regional Power Building

6. Understanding the Spread of Regional Power Building across the Country (pp 187-220)

    "Four factors appear to be critical in shaping the ability of organizers to successfully pursue regional power-building work: labor leadership, foundation support, peer-to-peer support [from established projects across the country] and regional economic conditions."

    "[T]he regional power-building model developed within relatively vibrant economic conditions. Thus, the core strategies focused on steering existing economic growth in more socially and environmentally sustainable directions .... But what if a region has far less growth? Can power building develop in regions with stagnant or declining economies? Certainly, the policy challenge is much greater as regional organizers need to address more direct strategies for

fostering economic growth and/or steer limited economic activity in ways that have to fend off accusations that their regional reforms jeopardize business investment."

Pages 189-199 describe examples of regional power building in growing local economies (Denver, Atlanta, and Seattle).

Pages 199-214 describe examples in "troubled economies" (New Haven and Boston, Milwaukee, and Cleveland).

In all cases, labor initiative and leadership appears essential. "Not only must these institutions provide support for launching a regional project but also the work must integrate deeply into each organization's core mission and goals." (214)

"Foundation support has also been a prerequisite..." "However, dependence on foundations, especially those national in scope, raises questions about the eventual limits of stretching such sources". (215)

"[O]rganizers can draw upon a proven general model and a growing range of adaptations to differing regional conditions." They can also benefit from "peer-to-peer support that includes several support organizations national in scope." (216)

Support organizations include Partnership for Working Families (a network of think-and-act tanks) and Building Partnerships USA (which offers a curriculum for civic leadership institutes and "helps groups use education, convenings, and skills training to build their regional alliance"). (216)

"Our case studies leave the question of economic context unresolved." (217) "Declining regional contexts do present challenges to some of the policy tools explored in this book. ... However, many of the policy tools ... do fit well with declining economic conditions." (218)

The reasons for the regional decline may also make a difference. For example, regions declining because sprawling suburbs have drained strength from urban cores "can explore the need to redirect such energy back into core urban areas if the region as a whole is to improve its economic well-being." (219)

7. Toward a National Strategy for Spreading Regional Power Building (pp 221-245)

"Imagine that the pioneering regional efforts covered in this book lead to further projects in various parts of the country, that regional power building comes to encompass strong organizing in some thirty or more major urban areas in the Northwest, West, South, Midwest, and Northeast. In some states, this work leads to solid blocks of progressive champions in the state legislature. These champions articulate innovative policy reforms and a vision for the future that have been carefully developed and tested at the regional level. At the same time, all of these regions become ground zero for rebuilding union density and membership-based community organizing. These power building regions in turn provide the basis for labor and its community allies to seriously fight for fundamental change at the national level." (221)

"By this we mean not simply getting out the vote during elections but actually articulating a reform agenda, mounting coordinated campaigns to enact legislation, and fully contesting the Democratic Party's vision and candidates in ways loosely parallel to the way the New Right took over the Republican Party." (222)

"We believe the scenario above is not utopian vision but a serious possibility.... The challenge is to reach a critical mass of regions." (222)

"Labor and its allies must build an independent politics—not in the sense of a third political party but by establishing their own vision of social and economic change, a concrete policy agenda that moves in that direction, and an ongoing capacity to mobilize people at the grass roots." (222-223)

"[O]rganized labor as a whole has never grown in America simply based on the additive organizing effort of individual unions. Significant union growth has always been accompanied by a broader social awakening." (223)

"[T]he labor movement is unlikely to build power in society—including power at the workplace—unless it also builds power on a geographic basis, in the neighborhoods, towns, and regions where people live and where their political institutions operate." (224)

We will have to deal with the claim that the AFL-CIO's Union Cities initiative "tried to rebuild central labor bodies" but failed. However, the limitations of the Union Cities program came not from its attempt to strengthen central labor bodies. They came from lack of agreement within unions on the relative importance of unions' role in the workplace and their role in the community. They also came from the lack of agreement that local and regional work should have as much importance as national concerns. "National union leaders often do not like their local unions to engage in activities that they see as excessively independent of the national agenda. They are also typically more concerned with federal elections than with local politics...." (226) "During the Union Cities experiment, few unions had developed a national organizing strategy and few among those had held a clear concept of how central labor councils fit into their organizing strategy." (226) Additional implementation factors doomed Union Cities; see pages 227-228.

Pages 228-232 summarize current attitudes by many (especially national-level) labor officials that will need to change before the regional power building model can reach its goals.

"Despite the above obstacles, regional power building does enjoy important support within labor that needs to be built upon." (232) Pages 232-235 describe the New Alliance process as an example.

Among other criteria, the New Alliance process decided that area labor federations needed to cover at least 100,000 union members. (233) In North Carolina, it requires the whole state to cover that many members. "The way North Carolina labor leaders have adapted to this situation is to use the state federation as the body for organizing power building-type work. Led by its dynamic new president James Andrews, the North Carolina State AFL-CIO has actively pursued long-term strategic alliances...." (235)

Pages 235-241 describe national AFL-CIO support for local and regional union structures and the debates (and lack thereof) about that support.

Pages 242-244 discuss the need to shift foundation funds toward supporting local work compatible with the regional power building model.

"Today liberals and progressives must return to the grass roots to rebuild the nation's civic infrastructure. Thankfully, the work explored in this book demonstrates that such a bottom-up resurgence is possible." (244)

"We have written this book as a call for organized labor and progressives to begin to debate the merits of a bottom-up program for contesting national power and to see the regional work emerging today as one building block toward this brighter future." (245)

Notes (pp 247-259)
Index (pp 261-275)

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